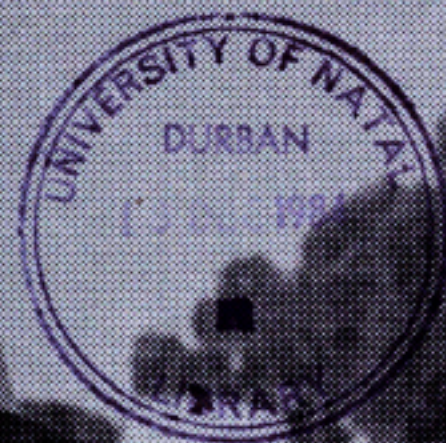


**THE
BLACK
SASH**

**DIE
SWART
SERP**



**HELP
RIGHT
THESE
WRONGS**

Dedication . . .

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

So help us God, in Whose strength we trust.

Toewydingsrede . . .

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

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

The Black Sash — Die Swart Serp

TEN PER CENT ARE FREE

CENSORSHIP is today very much in the air, and, for that matter on the air—Dr. Albert Hertzog's air. A Select Committee is receiving representations regarding the Undesirable Publications Bill; the Press Commission, so long in labour, has produced a rather peculiar mouse, so exclusive that the *Sunday Times* anticipates that its turn to read the copy allocated to the Press will arrive in 1974; and, in December, the Black Sash launched a petition from the citizens of South Africa, demanding that the S.A.B.C. should cease to be an instrument for propagating Government policy.

To us, it is no coincidence that these matters have simultaneously hit the headlines. It is, however, of the gravest concern that the intellectual freedom of South Africans is being threatened on three sides. For how have dictators, in our own time, set about subduing the populace? Not only by physical means, because, although prisons, banishment and concentration camps have their uses, they do not imprison the mind, and the modern dictator aims at the subjugation of the mind. He needs no extraordinary instruments to achieve his purpose, no thumbscrews, racks or dungeons, only the radio, the films and the Press. And now, in South Africa, each of these is being systematically tackled.

The Undesirable Publications Bill is designed to introduce on the widest possible scale the most intensive form of censorship. Ostensibly, its purpose is to tidy up the anomalies in our present system of censorship, nor will any deny the State the right to protect its citizens from what is "indecent or obscene" or "disgustful." in the words of the Bill. Its effect, however, will be to remove from the citizen his democratic right to choose, within the Rule of Law, what he shall read, see, write, portray or hear, since even records and sound-recordings are subject to the provisions of the Bill. With such dramatic censorship, he will not even know what is being kept from him. Wise parents withhold from their five-year-old children books or pictures which may affect them adversely. Is South Africa to be reduced to a nation of mental five-year-olds? Is this democracy when men are not permitted to know how ignorant they are? That is the supreme tragedy of Communist countries when, under extreme pressure from the State and from lack of contact with the free world,

Continued overleaf

TIEN PERSENT IS VRY

SENSORSKAP is vandag oral in die lug —om die waarheid te sê dit sweef deur die lug—Dr. Albert Hertzog se lug. 'n Gekose komitee ontvang tans vertoë rakende die Wetontwerp oor Ongewenste Publikasies; die Pers Kommissie, so lank in barensnood, het 'n „onindrukwekkende muis" voortgebring, wat so eksklusief is, dat die *Sunday Times* reken dat sy beurt om die afdruk, wat vir die pers bedoel is te lees, pas in 1974 sal kom; en in Desember het die Swart Serp 'n petisie op die strate gebring, waarin die burgers van Suid-Afrika eis dat daar 'n ent kom aan die gebruik van die Radio om die Regeringsbeleid te bevorder.

Vir ons is dit nie toevallig dat hierdie sake gelyktydig in ons hooflyne verskyn nie. Maar dit het die gevolg om die grootste besorgheid by ons te wek, omdat daar van drie kante gelyk 'n aanval gemaak word op die intellektuele vryheid van Suid-Afrikans. Want hoe het diktators van ons tyd die volksmenigtes onder die plak gekry? Nie alleen deur fisiese aanvalle nie, want alhoewel tronkstraf, verbanning en konsentrasiekampe nuttig is, kon hulle nie die verstand daardeur onderdruk nie, en die hedendaagse diktator mik op die beheer van die menslike verstand. Hy het geen spesiale instrumente nodig om dié doel te bereik nie—g'n duimskroef, pynrak of kerker nie—maar net die radio, die rolprent en die pers. En in Suid-Afrika word hierdie drie sistematies bewerk.

Die Wetsontwerp oor Ongewenste Publikasies mik daarop om oor so wyd moontlike vlak die mees intensiewe sensorskap toe te pas. Oënskynlik is die doel net om onreëlmatighede in ons huidige stelsel van sensorskap uit te skakel, en almal gun die Staat die reg om sy burgers te beskerm teen wat die wetsontwerp beskryf as onbetaamlik, onweloweglik en onstootlik lektuur. Maar in werklikheid sal dit die burger sy demokratiese reg beneem om binne die wet te kies wat hy sal lees, sien, skryf, voorstel of hoor, aangesien self plate en bandopnames deur die wet beheer word. Met sulke strenge sensorskap sal hy nie eers weet wat van kom weerhou word nie. Verstandige ouers weerhou boeke en

Vervolg ommes

Give me the liberty to know, to think, to believe, and to utter freely, according to conscience, above all other liberties. **Milton.**

the older people have forgotten what freedom is, and the children have never known. Dare we allow this to happen here and still call ourselves free?

The hallmark of democracy has always been the freedom of the Press. As Mr. G. M. C. Cronwright said recently in an address to the University of Cape Town Summer School: "A free people will have a free Press, an unfree people will have an unfree Press, and the laws affecting the Press of a country are the measure of that country's freedom." Let freedom of the Press not be misunderstood — it is freedom within the framework of the country's laws, a freedom which acknowledges and accepts its own responsibilities, but which cannot be dictated to by an authoritarian government.

No one can predict what legislation will follow the completion of the Press Commission's report, but if the pattern of legislation over the past thirteen years runs true to form, our greatest democratic liberty is in grave danger, the danger of an all-powerful censorship.

The third part of the systematic attack on the minds of the men and women of our land is the subtle, unseen effect of a Government-controlled radio. Here censorship has long been at work, determining what the citizen shall hear and how he shall hear it, and with such success that the Black Sash petition against propaganda on the air has foundered on the twin rocks of apathy and fear. Apathy: "But what's wrong with the



"You're still not at the stage where you can lift the twelve volumes of the Press Commission's Report!"

(Rand Daily Mail)

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

Reporting, headlines and comment, except where otherwise stated, by D. Grant, 37, Harvard Buildings, Joubert Street, Johannesburg; leading article by M. E. Fisher, 37, Harvard Buildings, Joubert Street, Johannesburg; African Trade Unions written by A. Hepple, 17, Ocean Street, Kensington, Johannesburg.

Cartoons by D. Marais, 77, Burg Street, Cape Town, and Bob Connolly, 174, Main Street, Johannesburg.

prente van sy vyfjarige kind. Word ons in Suid-Afrika behandel as 'n volk met 'n vyfjarige mentaliteit? Is dit demokrasie as die mens nie eers toegelaat word om te weet hoe onwetend hy is nie? Dit is die grootste tragedie van die Kommunistiese lande wanneer, as gevolg van Staatsbeheer en gebrek aan kontak met die buite wêreld, die ouer mense vergeet het wat vryheid is en die kinders dit nooit geken het nie.

Die vryheid van die Pers was nog altyd die kenmerk van Demokrasie gewees. Soos Mnr. G. M. C. Cronwright onlangs gesê het in 'n toespraak aan 'n somerskool van die Universiteit van Kaapstad: „'n Vrye volk sal 'n vrye Pers hê, 'n onvrye volk 'n onvrye Pers, en die wette wat die Pers in 'n land beheer is die maatstaf van daardie land se vryheid." Laat ons onder geen misverstand oor die vryheid van die Pers verkeer nie—dit is vryheid binne die raamwerk van die landswette—'n vryheid wat sy verantwoordelikhede erken en aanvaar, maar aan wie geen outoritêre regering kan voorskryf nie.

Niemand kan sê watter wetgewing sal kom na die afhandeling van die Pers Kommissie se rapport nie, maar as die patroon van wetgewing oor die afgelope dertien jaar volgehou word, dan verkeer ons grootste demokratiese vryheid in groot gevaar, die gevaar van 'n alles oorheersende sensorskap.

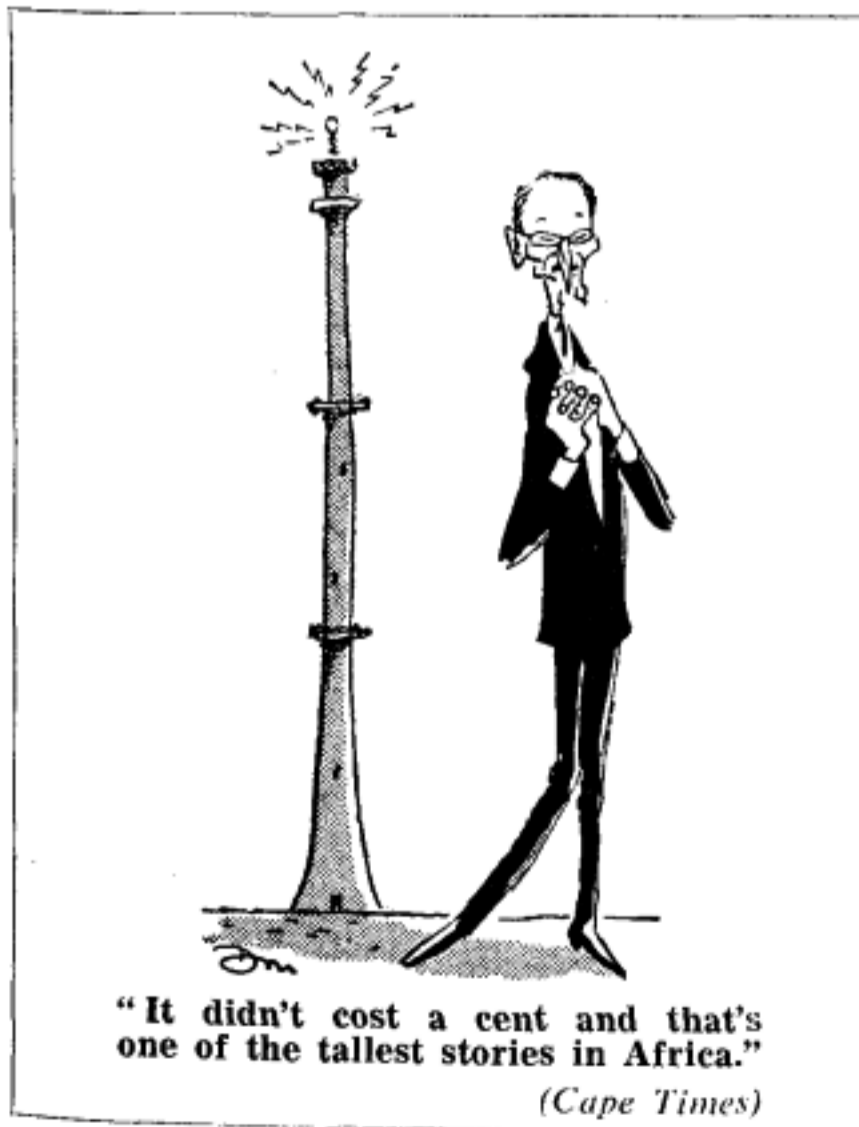
Die derde deel van die sistematiese plan om beheer te kry oor die denk vermoë van die mense van ons land is die subtile en onbespeurbaar effek van 'n radio wat deur die Regering beheer word. Hier is sensorskap al lank aan die gang, deur te beslis wat die volk sal hoor, en hoe hulle dit sal hoor, en dit was so suksesvol dat die Swart Serp petisie om te protesteer teen propaganda oor die eter skipbreuk gely het op

radio? It gives us awfully nice music." Fear: "I wish I could sign your petition, but I am afraid, afraid of losing my job, my pension, my passport, my new citizenship."

We had hoped for 250,000 signatures. We collected about 25,000. Only ten per cent. of those we thought were free are really free and unafraid. Is that enough to fight this strangling octopus of thought control by censorship of every kind?

There is nothing new in this. We saw it all in Hitler's Germany, and we are seeing it here in our own land today. That is to say, a few, too few, of us are seeing it, and desperately striving to awaken our fellow-countrymen from the political torpor, the couldn't-care-less apathy into which the vast part of White South Africa has sunk. To be fair, we must concede that it is not altogether the average man's fault. Thirteen years of systematic conditioning have taken their toll of the nation's thinking, so that a people once noted for its rugged independence of thought and action is rapidly being reduced to a kind of political jellyfish of apathy and fear.

For seven years the Black Sash has fought for morality in government. It is fighting now against the most immoral form of government, one which is utterly alien to a civilized people, government by the subjugation of the minds of men.



die rotse van onverskilligheid en vrees. Onverskilligheid: „Maar wat skort aan die radio? Dit gee vir ons baie mooi musiek." Vrees: „Ek wens ek kon die petisie teken, maar ek is bang om my werk, my pensioen, my paspoort, my nuwe burgerskap, te verloor."

Ons het gehoop om 250,000 handtekeninge te kry—tot op datum het ons slegs 25,000 gekry. Net tien persent van diegenes wat ons gereken het is vry is werklik vry en onbevrees. Is dit genoeg om die wurggreep van al die soorte sensorskap oor ons gedagtegang te bestry?

Dis niks nuut nie. Ons het dit alles in Hitler se Duitsland gesien—en vandag sien ons dit in ons eie land. Dit wil sê 'n paar—te min—sien dit en wend wanhopige pogings aan om ons medeburgers te wek uit die onverskilligheid waarin die oorgrote antal uit Suid-Afrikaners verval het. In alle billikheid moet ons erken dat dit nie juis die skuld van die gemiddelde burger is nie. Dertien jaar van sistematiese bewerking het sy effek gehad op die denkrigtings van die volk, tot so'n mate dat 'n volk wat voorheen bekend was vir sy onafhanklike denke en daed, vandag vinnig besig is om te verander in 'n soort van politieke seekwal van onverskilligheid en vrees.

Die Swart Serp veg al vir sewe jaar vir 'n morele peil in ons Regering. Vandag bestry ons die mees immorele vorm van regering, 'n vorm wat vreemd is aan die beskaafde mens, en wat regeer deur die verstand van die mens te probeer beheer.

NATIONAL CONVENTION IS SOLUTION

SAYS MRS. MOLLY PETERSEN

AT a public meeting held in St. Saviour's Hall, East London, in February, Mrs. Molly Petersen, ex-National President of the Black Sash, said that she could think of no better medium for providing a fair and lasting solution to the urgent problems confronting this country than the holding of a new sovereign national convention.

The last such convention, held in 1908, was attended by delegates from the four separate colonies of the Free State, Natal, Transvaal and the Cape, and resulted in the formation of the Union of South Africa.

"Only at a round table conference, where people of all race groups can meet in a spirit of goodwill and high endeavour, to discuss the problems which so intimately concern them all, can we hope to find a solution to our problems," said Mrs. Petersen.

"Such a conference must also have the power to implement the decisions taken and give them the force of law if any real benefit is to be derived from it, hence the increasing demand for another national convention to be called in South Africa. This is the only type of conference which has the power to translate its decisions into law."

Mrs. Petersen said the policy of apartheid had accelerated the resentment and frustrations which non-Whites have always felt concerning the discriminatory legislation under which they

suffer, especially during the past few years. This resentment had recently broken out into open acts of defiance, and the White people in this country had been jolted into a realisation that all was not well, and that some new adjustment of Black/White relationships must be sought.

"So great is the problem to be solved, and so widely divergent the ideas on how it should be solved, that many leading people in the country, both White and non-White, believe that nothing short of a national convention, called by the Government of the country, and empowered to put its decisions into effect, can meet the need," Mrs. Petersen said.

It was understandable, said Mrs. Petersen, that difficulties would be encountered when people of completely divergent views met to seek solutions to their problems; but in 1908, when the people of the country were facing grave difficulties, although the bitterness resulting from the Boer War was still very much alive, they sank their bitterness and resentment, and met together in a national convention.

"It must be remembered that Boer and Briton, putting distrust and bitterness in the background in order to find some solution to the thorny problems contingent on forming the then four states into some kind of Union, succeeded after many months of deliberation, and by making considerable concessions and compromises to each other's point of view.

"Bearing in mind the success which attended the efforts of those statesmen of a previous generation, there is belief and hope that a



**Black Sash Leaders at
St. Saviours Hall.**

Left to Right:

**Mrs. Deena Streek.
Mrs. Molly Petersen.
Mrs. Daphne Curry.**

(By courtesy of The Daily Despatch)

What Mr. J. W. Sauer said in 1908

Mrs. Petersen said that one of the most important matters discussed at the 1908 convention was the so-called "Native question." It was realised even then that this was one of the most important problems confronting the White people in South Africa.

She recalled "the clear vision of that true statesman, Mr. J. W. Sauer," father of the present Nationalist Minister, Mr. Paul Sauer, when he said at the convention of 1908, "In no circumstances whatever can permanent peace ever be founded on injustice We have proved the principle (of granting the franchise to Natives) correct for we have tried it and found it to work If we are to be a contented country the interests of all must be represented in the parliament of the country, and there must be political equality." In the same address, Mr. Sauer said, "The great principle of justice itself is at stake in this discussion; and there must be a just Native policy or the White man will go under in South Africa. Justice cannot be tampered with with impunity, and justice for the Natives would secure the position of the White man in South Africa for all time We cannot govern the Natives fairly unless they are represented by their own elected representatives."

"Sadly, and to my mind shamefully, latter generations of South Africans have not honoured the 'great principle' about which Mr. Sauer spoke," Mrs. Petersen said.

similar convention—born of our present difficulties — would be equally successful."

Mrs. Petersen went on to say that the White people in this country had to face the fact that the demand by non-Whites for freedom from racial discrimination was not likely to decrease. They had hopes of help from the changing world situation.

"The White people, on the other hand, except for a relatively small number, are utterly opposed to the removal of racial discrimination, fearing that by doing so they will surrender their own freedom.

"The tension resulting from these two opposing attitudes will, if nothing is done to resolve it, be bound to cause an explosion of some sort.

Realising this, many responsible leaders — both White and non-White — have started to arouse public enthusiasm for the calling of a national convention."

Mrs. Petersen said that the Government would naturally be reluctant to call a national convention, which would almost certainly not condone present Government policy.

"Therefore," she said, "the only hope of persuading the Government to take this step is to gain so much public support for it that the Government has no option but to meet the public demand."

Opinions that are opposed to mine do not offend or estrange me; they only arouse and exercise my mind.
Montaigne.

Men are never so likely to settle a question rightly as when they discuss it freely.
Macaulay.

We view with great concern the fact that there are still countries which, on racial and other grounds, deny a portion of their population a voice in the formation or control of government. However benevolent such a government might appear to be, government without the consent of the governed cannot be approved by Christians in our time. It becomes all the more worthy of condemnation if the people so deprived have the education and ability to use such a voice responsibly. In many areas of rapid social change, recent revolts and uprisings by the governed have come as a result of this denial of legal means of expression. It is imperative that governments which still deny the suffrage to their people, on the ground that they are not ready for it, should hasten the process of education for participation in government. The use of strong measures — involving mass killing by governments to suppress non-violent expression of reasonable grievances by people denied channels of political expression, cannot be condemned to strongly.

From Report on Christian Service of the Third Assembly of the World Council of Churches, New Delhi, as reported in the Race Relations Journal, October-November, 1961.

Obituary



to establish the "Model Republic," as the Free State came to be known. In her later years she wrote her reminiscences in a book called "Ouma Looks Back." She married in 1877 the late Mr. Moritz Levisieur, who came to Bloemfontein in 1862 and was later a veteran of two Basuto Wars. She devoted the first years of her married life to the care of her eight children, but from 1904 onwards she took an active part in many social movements—the National Council of Women, the Child Welfare Society, the Jewish Benevolent Society, and the Women's Enfranchisement Association, of which she became President in the Free State. In 1927, at the age of 70, she attended the Peace Study Conference in Amsterdam as the representative of the women of South Africa.

In 1953 she made a series of eight broadcasts, entitled "Ladies First," on her reminiscences of old Bloemfontein. On at least two other occasions she spoke on national broadcasts—on Christmas Day, 1958, in the B.B.C.

(Photographs by courtesy of "The Friend")

The Grand Old Lady

OF THE BLACK SASH

BY HELEN O'CONNOR

ON the 8th January, Mrs. Sophie Levisieur, the Grand Old Lady of the Free State, died at the age of nearly 105.

Mrs. Levisieur must surely have been the oldest member of the Black Sash. She was filled with enthusiasm for it from its inception, wearing its badge proudly on all occasions; and in 1955 at the age of 98, in spite of ill health, she attended, in her wheel chair, the ceremony of dedication and mourning on the lawns of the Bloemfontein City Hall. Her daughter, Mrs. Josie Pritchard, played a very active part in the movement.

Mrs. Levisieur became a national figure, and was renowned not only for her longevity, but also for her lively interest in all that was happening in the world. During her long life, she saw Man invent the car, the radio, the ocean liner, aircraft and spacecraft, high explosive bombs and nuclear weapons; she herself took her first air-flight at the age of 102.

Her parents were amongst the earliest pioneers in Bloemfontein, and she herself knew many of those earlier settlers who did so much



Mrs. Levisieur attending the Black Sash ceremony of mourning and dedication in Bloemfontein in 1955.

Commonwealth Christmas Broadcast, and on New Year's Eve, 1959. Her theme was always that the people of South Africa must learn to live together with mutual respect.

She retained her keen interest in political developments in South Africa to the end, and, in her last year, she still wrote letters to the Press, in her own hand, showing her clear grasp of events, and her uncompromising opinion of much that was done in the political sphere. In her mind she was never old, and she believed with every fibre of her being that the day would come when there would be peace, and the people of all races would learn to get on together . . . "as we did in the old days."

Miss May Bell

MISS MAY SOMERSET BELL, who died recently in Grahamstown, was a foundation member of the Black Sash. She was a loyal member of the Grahamstown Branch, and a spirited and enthusiastic worker. She attended every Regional Conference of the Black Sash held in the Eastern Cape, except the last one, when she was too ill to travel to Port Elizabeth.

Our Port Elizabeth correspondent writes: "Miss Bell was what every Conference needs, the person to bring a discussion back to the point, with clarity and tact. We shall all miss her spark and wisdom very much."

Miss Bell was the descendant of George Wood, an 1820 Settler. She was educated at Roedean, England, and the University of the Witwatersrand. She was well known in the Eastern Cape, and, indeed, throughout the country, as a prolific writer of letters to the newspapers, in which she championed the cause of people who she thought were being denied rights, endlessly pointing out to the public the injustices being done, especially to non-Whites.

She will be sadly missed, not only by Cape Eastern Region, but by the Black Sash as a whole, and by all liberal-minded people in South Africa.

The few democratic liberties we still enjoy are not unimportant illusions that we can allow to be taken from us without a protest. They represent exactly what remains to us of the great revolutionary conquests of the last two centuries.

—Albert Camus.

Book Reviews

Education and our Expanding Horizons

Proceedings of the National Conference on Education held in Durban at the University of Natal. 9th—21st July, 1960. — Edited by R. G. MacMillan, P.D. Hey, J. W. MacQuarrie.

The world has grown too small for anything but the truth, and too dangerous for anything but brotherhood.

Professor J. A. Lauwerys.

THERE is nothing so compelling as the voice of the expert. In this presentation of the proceedings of the Conference, a vast field is covered with a lavishness that will satisfy the most earnest educationist or would-be educationist. In addition to overseas speakers eminent in their own field, the organizers claim that "all the major groups and the major trends of educational thought in this diversified country were represented at the Conference, and the views of all groups—Indians, Coloured, African, Afrikaans and English-speaking—were presented by some of their acknowledged leaders." The mind boggles at the enormity of the task of reviewing 534 pages of expertise—furthermore expertise which reflects a great variety of approaches and points of view. Professor B. A. Fletcher indicated the width of the Conference in terms of certain tensions and different points of view: "the tension between the contributions of men and women to education and to the world, for whilst it is no longer as it used to be, a man's world, it is not yet a women's world, although the balance is much better; the tension between the generations, for the new generation must revolt against the old; the tension between the sciences and the humanities; and finally, the difference between the ordinary and the extra-ordinary, the adventurous and the unadventurous."

The addresses in the book are brilliant, the discussion thereafter stimulating, and throughout there is an indelible impression of tremendous personalities speaking with sincerity and conviction, with compassion, and with overwhelming evidence of love of beauty, a love of their fellow men, and above all, a great integrity of spirit.

The addresses deal firstly with the aims and the underlying philosophies which shape the educational process, and then consider the agencies both direct and indirect which further education. This is a repast to titillate all palates, to cater for the idealist and the practical teacher, the reactionary and the revolutionary, even the

Continued overleaf

EDUCATION AND OUR EXPANDING HORIZONS—Continued

bewildered parents. The chapter headings reflect the many aspects under consideration — philosophy and education; education and society; education in the pre-school, the primary and the adolescent years; education beyond the school—in the University, and in the modern world, that harder taskmaster; the importance of the humanities and the creative arts, and the value of science in the future of mankind. There is a valuable down-to-earth section on matching the curriculum to contemporary needs, and on new horizons in Teacher Education, with a reminder that the teacher's job is not to instruct but to help the child to learn, and to strive to cultivate in the pupil a keen critical sense which will not be deflected or suppressed by demagogues or mass hysteria.

Professor J. A. Lauwerys in his summing-up found four notions exemplified in the talks:

"First of all, education is clearly becoming the central concern of every major civilized nation, largely because it is a social instrument by means of which we try to hand on, to the next generation, the best of the past and the skills which will help us to improve life in the future. Mankind, if it wishes, may thus take a hand in the shaping of its own destiny under the inspiration of religion, moving ever forward in the spirit of God."

"Secondly, education is a dynamic process with various developmental aspects — mental, emotional, intellectual and physical. It is not something however, which is given to people, but rather something which is happening to them."

"In the third place, there is a change in the attitude towards subject matter. Teachers are no longer thinking in terms of telling people things and simply teaching certain skills, but a teacher tends to think of using his knowledge and placing what he knows at the disposal of the learner, in order to help the full development of the child.

"Fourthly, there is clear realisation that education essentially involves communication, which means that all possible media must be used in actual teaching. The arts should be used for the enrichment of the personality of the learner, communicating past experience, and leading to a better understanding of life."

Dr Lauwerys' parting advice might well serve as a creed by which to live:

"The world grows too small for anything but the truth and too dangerous for anything but brotherhood . . .

"When you teach, try to cultivate always in your pupils a spirit of hope and faith; to do this, carry both in your hearts. Secondly, teach in a spirit of optimism and gaiety, do not let education be a dull, drab affair. Cultivate the spirit of

confidence in the future, because the best is yet to be; have faith in truth and in freedom. If people are given freedom, they will not abuse it. Believe that if you seek after truth, then you will be rewarded. Never be afraid of pursuing that which you know to be best and highest in man. The best is yet to be. The glory of the future is that it is open and it can be moulded by us."

R.D.

Your Bantu Servant and You

THIS booklet, issued by the Non-European Affairs Department of Johannesburg, bears the sub-title, "A Few Suggestions to Facilitate Happier Relations between Employer and Employee."

"One of the most popular fallacies prevailing among South Africans" says the booklet, "is that 'I know the Bantu and how to treat him!' Our experience in the Department is the direct opposite to this, and it is only the exceptional European employer who is found on examination to qualify in terms of this claim. For this reason it is earnestly hoped that this little booklet will prove of some value to the public.

"Much of the tension which exists between the different racial groups in the country can be eased by you playing your part in giving serious attention to the human relationship factor in the handling of your Bantu domestic servant.

"Generally it can be said that where there is courtesy and mutual respect between people of different groups, this permeates into the groups as a whole. As an employer of Bantu, you can therefore help tremendously in establishing a harmonious relationship between the European and the Bantu of this country. Good Black/White relations very often have their foundation in the home, and the Golden Rule, 'Do unto others as you would have them do unto you,' could result in mutual goodwill and respect. If all members of your household treat a servant with recognition of his dignity as a human being, he will respond and reciprocate."

The booklet offers useful suggestions as to the general treatment of servants, and gives information and advice on food, liquor, accommodation, wages, hours of duty and leave. A considerable section is devoted to "the involved legal requirements" to which employer and servant are subject, and it is pointed out that it is the duty of the employer to acquaint himself with these and explain them to his servant. "Neglect on your part," says the leaflet, "may cause much heartburning and inconvenience to you, and arrests, fines and perhaps even imprisonment to your servant."

After a brief reference to the facilities available for the medical examination of servants, the booklet concludes with a short account of

the conditions governing the occupation of houses in the Johannesburg Municipal Townships.

All in all, the booklet is a very useful source of information and advice tactfully offered, and we congratulate the Department on this sincere gesture towards the improvement of race relations in Johannesburg.

The booklet is available in Afrikaans and English, and may be obtained free of charge from the Non-European Affairs Department, cor. Albert and Delvers Streets, Marshallstown, P.O. Box 5382, Johannesburg.

MISTRESS AND AFRICAN MAID

A similar leaflet, issued by the National Council of Women in Cape Town, gives some useful information regarding the employment of African women in the Cape, with specific reference to the legal requirements. It also sets out the provisions of the Contract of Service (nearly always a verbal one), which is governed by the Master and Servants Act, and covers payment of wages on dismissal, period of notice required, claims for food, quarters, wages, etc.

The pamphlet points out that as the Master and Servant laws are not uniform throughout the Republic, the statutory provisions mentioned reflect the position only in the Cape Province, and apply to both male and female domestic servants irrespective of race.

Copies of the leaflet may be obtained free of charge from the National Council of Women of South Africa, Cape Town Branch, 532/3 C.T.C. Buildings, Plein Street, Cape Town. Tel. 30269.

Letters to the Editor

The Intelligent Use of a Vote

From "Woman Voter", Johannesburg.

It would be interesting to analyse the various reasons "Everywoman" gives for her lack of interest in using her vote during elections. The most common reply to any attempt to enlighten her on what is happening in the land in which she lives and hopes to bring up her children is, "Well, you see, I'm not really interested in politics." Politics! As if the intelligent use of a vote, denied to so many citizens of South Africa, is something outside the everyday business of living life with some degree of responsibility!

What can be done to make the average woman realize that the vote, for which women in the early part of the century had to strive against what seemed impossible odds, is the deciding factor as to how her children are to be educated, how her household budget can be balanced, and, indeed, in determining her whole way of life? In these days of conditioned Press and radio, indoctrination of schoolchildren, and denial of the means of livelihood to many, is there no way to make her see that, apart from her own vital needs, the vote can be used in defence of the defenceless, to assist those less fortunate than herself towards the ordinary freedoms now denied them?

Should the Black Sash, whose members are awake to their civic responsibilities, not in some way, between elections and not only during them, plan a campaign to rouse women to the danger they are in, when through apathy and lack of interest in "politics" they further the power in the hands of those whose policy, allowed to continue, can make life not only more difficult, but perhaps, in the long run, impossible?

English South Africans

From Mrs. E. Kinsey, The Manse, Howick, Natal

I HEARTILY endorse the articles on the English South Africans (September, 1961, magazine). I feel that we deserve what we are getting. I was much perturbed that there was no outcry about Bishop Reeves or Alan Paton. I was also perturbed by the gratuitous insulting of Albert Luthuli. Now Mr. Eric Louw is proclaimed a hero when he flaunts his identity card "that the African objects to." He did not state that he was free to travel anywhere in South Africa, while an African was not. I have come across English-speaking people who do not know what are the grievances of the non-European.

I am also one who can criticise but do not know how to remedy the position except by protest. I was one of the original procession to the Union Buildings. I have never anywhere had such a feeling of solemnity as on that march.

I thought you might like to know that the magazine is read by the members. The number on Education was an excellent one.

Let Us Stand Firm

From "Dum Spiro Spero," Johannesburg.

THE days seem dark, but I refuse to be swept into the gloom which seems to be settling over us. There are three reasons which, while they may not be real to all, are valid for me:

- (1) Although the evident and sad swing to the right in public political thinking seems to be destructive of what we in the Black Sash are working for, **nothing is ever an end** — it is always the beginning of something else.
- (2) The aims that the Black Sash has worked for have not yet been achieved, but it is not the achievement that matters half as much as the working towards it, nobly and unselfishly.
- (3) I take courage from the fact that the establishment, as we know it now, cannot last. With certain objectives which it believes, and, I think, sincerely, to be best for South Africa, it is using improper, unjust and immoral means to bring them about. Such action carries within it the seeds of its own destruction.

Let us stand firm, in hope, for proper means to be used, for it is imperative that we continue to witness to what we feel to be right. But let us say "We believe . . .", rather than "We oppose . . ."

AFRICAN TRADE UNIONS

By Alex Hepple

IT is widely believed that African trade unions are illegal in South Africa. This is not so. The misunderstanding probably arises because of the Government attitude towards these organisations. It is not Government policy to give legal recognition to African trade unions. The practical effects of this official attitude are many.

The denial of legal status has put African trade unions in the position where they are treated by the State almost as subversive organisations. Their activities are closely watched by the Police Special Branch, and employers are being warned constantly to have no dealings with them.

In spite of this, many of these organisations are flourishing. Others are struggling to keep their heads above water. They are forced to devise special means to collect subscriptions from their members, for it is illegal for employers to deduct trade union subscriptions on account of their African employees.

The Industrial Conciliation Act, which provides for the registration and administration of trade unions, specifically excludes Africans. As this law also establishes machinery for the setting up of industrial councils, the procedures of collective bargaining between employers and employees, and the legal enforcement of agreements between them, the exclusion of Africans means the denial of these rights to them.

Government spokesmen say that Africans are not ripe for collective bargaining and that agitators would use officially-recognised African trade unions as instruments to gain political power. Most experienced White trade unionists strongly disagree with this view. They firmly believe that legal recognition should be extended to all trade unions, irrespective of the race or colour of the members.

There are several sound reasons for this attitude. In the first place, equal trade union rights for all South African workers would ensure that the proved procedures of peaceful negotiation

*Mr. Alex Hepple, former
Labour M.P.*



between labour and management, as practised by all civilised nations, would be adopted, learned and observed by all employees and employers in this multi-racial country. This would help to prevent racial issues from intruding upon economic affairs.

The second reason why White trade unionists favour trade union recognition for African workers is that they are fully alive to the importance of this matter in international relations. Behind the recent demand for South Africa's resignation from the International Labour Organisation was this question of trade union rights for African workers. In the international trade union movement, representing more than 100,000,000 workers in all parts of the world, the frequent call for the boycott of South African goods gains considerable support because of this discrimination against Africans in the field of labour organisation.

Another factor which weighs with White trade unionists is the right of African workers to fight for the improvement of their own wages and conditions. At present it is impossible for them to do so. There exists in South Africa the ludicrous spectacle of employers engaged in continuous debate on the whys and wherefores of increasing the shamefully low wages of their African employees, while poverty continues and the workers themselves are powerless to resist exploitation.

The stubborn refusal of the Government to extend full trade union rights to Africans is building up a mountain of trouble for South Africa. Fortunately, there are some enlightened employers who realise that the time has come to urge the Government to break from its foolish fears and unwarranted prejudices in this matter.

The Misery and Despair of **THE BANISHED**

THE article by "Fieldworker" in the December issue of the **BLACK SASH**, which attacked the summary banishment of Africans under the provisions of Native Administration Act No. 39 of 1927, gave rise to a good deal of comment in Johannesburg newspapers.

The *Rand Daily Mail* published an extensive review of the article. This drew a statement from Mr. J. P. Dodds, Acting Secretary of Bantu Administration and Development, which appeared in the *Rand Daily Mail* the following day. Mr. Dodds, objected to the use of the term "Siberia" to describe the places of banishment. He contended that people who are sent to Siberia disappear, and no information about them is given, whereas in South Africa "Parliament is fully informed about the number of banned persons and their circumstances." He also stated that the South African Government provided accommodation and a livelihood for those banned.

In a letter published by the *Rand Daily Mail* on the 24th January, the Headquarters Region of the Black Sash replied to the effect that, to most people, Siberia was a remote and desolate area where people whose political views and activities did not agree with those of the Russian Government were summarily exiled, where they were subjected to forced labour, and whence they might or might not be lucky enough to return. It could not be denied that Africans whose political activities embarrassed the South African Government were summarily banished to areas remote from their homes, and that some had died in exile. It was accepted that these people were not forced to work, but in order to subsist they were obliged to accept any employment, however unsuitable, that was offered to them, if, indeed, work was available in the area.

Black Sash Investigation

The letter continued, "From personal investigations which the Black Sash undertook a year or two ago for the information of members, it was found that the circumstances in which the banished persons were living varied considerably in different areas. In some cases they were fairly comfortably housed in pleasant country districts where there was companionship for them — some even had their wives with them,—and where employment was available at wages current in the area. Others, again, were banished to rough huts in barren and desolate spots where there were almost no human contacts. No employment was available, and subsistence allowances were shockingly inadequate.

"There they had lived for many years in loneliness, hopelessness and idleness, semi-starved, cut off from medical aid, and virtually dead to their families and friends, since they were almost illiterate, and could communicate with nobody.

"We understand the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development reviews all cases once a year, and that lists of the banished persons are tabled in Parliament. No report is given, however, and no details of individual cases, even when the banishments actually take place. Questions are allowed, but the replies are scanty and unsatisfactory. Members of Parliament base their questions, we are told, on information gathered from correspondence with the exiles or their dependants.

No Appearance in a Court of Law

"But whether the areas of banishment can truly be termed 'Siberias' or not, the fact remains that in a country that considers itself democratic people can be uprooted from their homes, separated from their families, and sentenced to indefinite periods of exile, entirely at the discretion of one man, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development. No charges are preferred against them, they make no appearance in a Court of Law, and they are given no opportunity of proving their innocence or defending themselves in any way. Moreover, these banishments affect only one section of the people, a section that is politically voiceless in the first place.

"The average South African would quite rightly be quick to condemn these undemocratic and inhuman practices if they occurred in Russia

Continued overleaf

A DONATION of £5 has been received by the Human Rights Welfare Committee, P.O. Box 59, Claremont, from an anonymous subscriber to the Black Sash Magazine, as a contribution towards a fund to assist the banished people. The receipt has been sent to the office of the Black Sash in Cape Town, where it has been filed. In an accompanying letter, the Hon. Treasurer of the Human Rights Welfare Committee expressed the thanks of the Committee to the anonymous donor, and indicated that the donation was most welcome.

THE DESPAIR OF THE BANISHED— *Continued*

or any other country, but how many South Africans are aware that such summary banishments are carried out in our own country, legally, under an Act upon our Statute books? How many can envisage the human misery and despair that result?"

Support for "Fieldworker"

Father T. Stanton, of the Community of the Resurrection, wrote to the *Rand Daily Mail* supporting many of the assertions made by "Fieldworker." He wrote:—

"During the past year, I had the opportunity of visiting several of the banished men referred to in an article in the Black Sash journal. I write to confirm from my own experience what was said in that article about the great suffering which is caused, not only to the banished men, but also to their families.

"It is quite true, as the Acting Secretary of Bantu Administration and Development said, that the Government does provide accommodation for those banned—although this accommodation is of the poorest sort. It is quite true that sporadic employment is provided—although in no case that I have discovered do the wages exceed R12 a month, and often they are far less.

"And the banished men are deliberately placed where they will not compete with local labour.

Families in a Pitiabile State

"A man can keep himself from starving under the conditions provided by the Government; but the fact is that these are nearly all married men, with wives and families for whom they are responsible.

"Two of the men I visited in Zululand were banished from their homes in the Pietersburg area for eight years. They had their wives and children with them. The wife of one of them was suffering from some mental disorder, and the children were clearly suffering from malnutrition, with legs and arms like sticks, and potbellies.

"Others whom I visited still have their wives and children in the Matlalas Reserve. I have first-hand information that the families in the Matlalas Reserve are in a pitiabile state. Not only is there no money for the education of the children—there is no money for food.

"The women are being victimised by being given land to plough far from their homes, and they are not allowed to start ploughing until they have paid R4—R6 to the local chief. It is remarkable that they are still alive at all.

"Herein lies the cruelty of this measure. A man when he has just himself to fend for can exist on very little. What causes him great distress is that his wife and children are unprovided for,

his wife is tempted to unfaithfulness, and he himself is deprived of family life and condemned to loneliness, which is the worst form of suffering.

"These banished men have never been tried, or convicted of any crime against the State. The Acting Secretary of Bantu Administration and Development may answer that their removal is in the interests of peace and order, and the public may agree. Whether this answer will convince our Maker on the Day of Judgment is more doubtful."

Reaction of Die Transvaler

The article produced a very interesting reaction from *Die Transvaler*, which published a lengthy report under a five-column headline, attacking the article and taking the *Rand Daily Mail* to task for giving it publicity. This was followed the next day by a leading article in which *Die Transvaler* attacked the *Rand Daily Mail* for its "attitude to South Africa" as exemplified in the wide publicity given to this article from "an obscure Black Sash pamphlet."

We find this reaction to the publicity — to which, incidentally, *Die Transvaler* makes its own considerable contribution—somewhat inexplicable. If the summary bannings and the treatment of those banned are moral and just, South Africa need not fear publicity. If, on the other hand, the system is wrong and inhuman, and a blot on the name of South Africa, is it not in the interests of the country for newspapers to combine, to bring the facts to the notice of the public and the attention of those in authority, that right may be done?

Justice Must be Seen to be Done

The greatest evil, in our opinion, is the fact that the banished persons are not tried in a Court of Law. According to *Die Transvaler*, Mr. Dodds states that these people are removed at the request of the tribe, while the S.A. Institute of Race Relations Survey of 1959/60 quotes the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development as saying that removals are resorted to where the presence of the Africans concerned is inimical to peace, order and good government in the area.

No doubt the validity of these requests and the full circumstances of each case are investigated before banishment takes place, and it may well be that many of the accused merit some punishment or restraint; but "justice must not only be done—it must be *seen* to be done." A due appearance in a properly constituted Court of Law would place the matter beyond all doubt, and go far towards restoring the good name of South Africa in the eyes of the world.

A nation that is afraid to let its people judge the truth and falsehood in an open market is a nation that is afraid of its people.

President Kennedy.

"SLEEP NO MORE!"

A FANTASY

I'M going to have another sleepless night. . . . It's so hot!—there's a storm coming up. . . . So much to worry about . . . the children, the doctor's bill . . . so many accounts to pay this month—money, money, always money! . . . And now we're finally out of the Commonwealth—aliens—how will it affect us . . . ?

There comes the rain at last—what a down-pour! Thank goodness the children are all in! . . . The animals . . . is the cat in? . . . yes, he came in when Fred locked up . . .

It's cosy lying in bed listening to the rain when you know everybody is safe inside. . . . But there must be some people . . . Natives, perhaps . . . do their houses leak? . . . perhaps some of them haven't even got roofs over their heads. . . . It's lonely out in the rain at night . . . lonely . . . alone . . . not a friend in the world. . . . Why do they hate us so? What have we done?

Is apartheid so terrible? After all, we've always lived apart from the Natives . . . people overseas don't understand . . . the Natives are different from us, not so civilised. . . . What a nerve for the new Native states to try to dictate to us! . . . But it isn't only the Native states—Canada . . . Australia too . . . even Britain! But what do they know about South Africa? . . . and anyway, they can't talk—look at Australia . . . they try to keep non-White immigrants out! But Fred says it's one thing for Australia to keep foreigners out—it's quite another thing to discriminate against your own Natives . . . the Natives are not foreigners . . . they were born here, as we were . . . they haven't got any other country . . . South Africa's their country as well as ours! . . . Oh, dear, I wish I could sleep!

Thousands and Thousands of Little Houses

But isn't apartheid meant to give them their own part of the country with full rights there? . . . But there are so many of them—more than half a million in Johannesburg alone, Fred says. . . . Could they all be sent to the reserves? . . . and anyway, who would do the work here?—there aren't enough White people! . . . Mrs. Brown went on a tour of the Native townships . . . she said there were thousands and thousands of little houses. . . . You'd never imagine so many Natives in Johannesburg, all working here. . . . They'll be here for years and years, anyway, or else why do they keep on building houses for them? . . . Mrs. Smith says it isn't fair, when they have to stay in the towns and are needed there, to give them no rights at all,

and promise them everything in their own areas, where most of them will never go. . . . I must try to sleep!

But what can we do? We can't give them all the vote . . . there are so many of them, they'd swamp us . . . Coloured people, too, and Indians . . . they'd elect a Black Government, and then where would we be? . . . They're so uncivilised . . . look at the Congo!

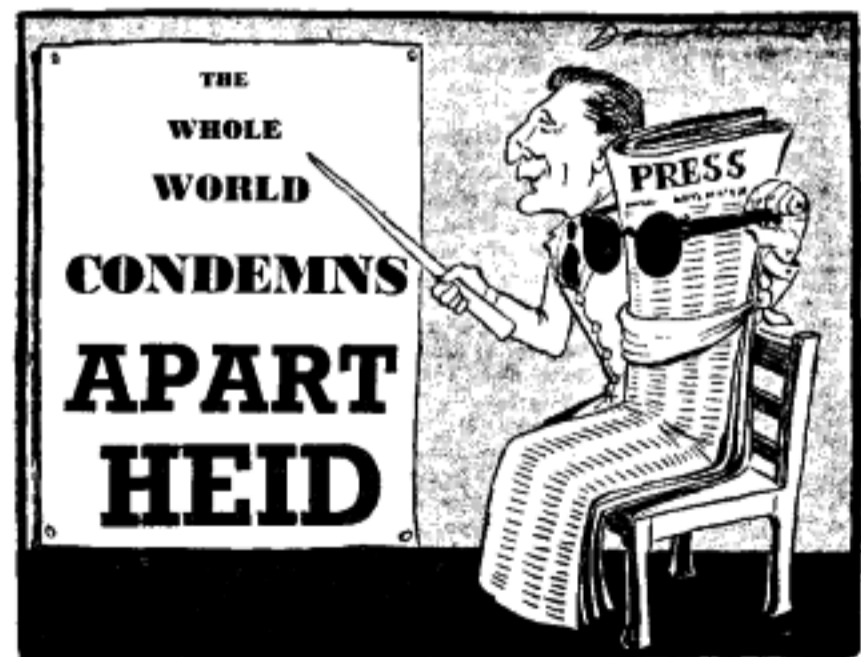
South Africa Isn't Like the Congo

Mrs. Smith says South Africa isn't like the Congo . . . there's a much bigger settled White population here . . . and our Natives are more developed. . . . They only want a chance to live decent lives and earn a good living. . . . She says the vote is only important to them because it would give them the power to make the politicians consider them a little as well as the White voters. . . . She says anyway the Western countries don't expect us to give them all the vote . . . only a little human consideration and some political representation . . . to give them some voice in their own affairs. . . .

It's Only Common Sense to Take an Interest

Mrs. Smith understands all about these things . . . I don't . . . I'm not interested in politics. . . . Mrs. Smith was angry when I said that to-day . . . she said I looked smug and self-satisfied, and I had no right to be! . . . She said that politics is the science of government . . . in a

Continued overleaf



"I want you to try hard. If you'll just cooperate you won't be able to see it at all."

(Cape Times)

"SLEEP NO MORE!"—Continued

democratic country the people elect a government to look after their affairs for them, like the management of a business . . . and it's only common sense to take an interest in what that management is doing with their money . . . their country . . . the future of their children . . .

"You vote, don't you?" she said, "What do you vote for?" Of course I vote—Fred sees to that! We voted against the Republic in the Referendum . . . Fred said it was the wrong time to make a change—we must hang on to our old friends and not risk being alone in the world . . . And what good did it do us?—we've got the Republic, anyway, and now we're out of the Commonwealth! . . . But of course, it wasn't just because we became a Republic that we had to leave the Commonwealth—the other countries didn't like apartheid. . . . Oh, apartheid!—everything comes back to apartheid! . . . I must go to sleep!

What Have We Done?

Apartheid . . . Apart-hate! It's not nice to be hated. . . . Why do they hate us . . . what have we done?

I like Mrs. Smith . . . I thought she liked me too, and respected me . . . but to-day she seemed so angry, so impatient . . . almost as if she thought me selfish and inconsiderate. . . . I don't think I am—I try not to hurt other people's feelings . . . I give to charity . . . I even collect sometimes, and goodness knows that's unpleasant enough! . . . I've always tried to be a good wife and mother, and to bring up my family to be law-abiding citizens. . . . If only I could sleep!

Perhaps she's right . . . perhaps that isn't enough! She says in South Africa only the White people have the vote. . . . We put the Government

in power and it's our duty to keep an eye on what they're doing in our name . . . what their laws are doing to the non-Whites . . . because they have no say in their own affairs . . . and when they try to protest they get into trouble . . . look at Sharpeville. . . . Oh, I must stop worrying and go to sleep!

What Can I Do?

After all, why am I worrying? What can I do? . . . I treat my servants well . . . I even got a permit for Selina to have her baby with her for a year. . . . Of course, she's such a good girl—I can't do without her.

Most of the servants' husbands sneak in to see them . . . it's against the law—that doesn't seem right! . . . I don't mind Elias . . . he's a respectable boy. . . . We've been lucky . . . we've never had a servant steal from us in all the 20 years we've been married. . . . Mrs. Jones had to get rid of Sarah . . . she kept missing little things. . . .

Those men in Fred's office, pinching pencils and things . . . the manager was furious when it came out, but he didn't do anything . . . I suppose that's not really stealing. . . . But last winter, when one of the Native messengers helped himself to a few offcuts of wood . . . ! Oh, why can't I sleep!

Identity Cards Are Not the Same as Passes

Is that thunder? . . . It sounds like guns . . . guns . . . those poor people at Sharpeville . . . the judge said they were not violent . . . they were protesting against the Pass laws. . . . But they must have passes . . . they have to be controlled . . . after all, we have to carry Identity Cards! . . . I wonder where mine is? Mrs. Smith says Identity Cards are not the same as Passes . . . the Passes contain all sorts of information that we would consider our own business, and any policeman can demand to see them. . . .

Mrs. Brown's boy was arrested outside her house because he hadn't got his Pass on him. . . . Mrs. Brown made a big fuss about it . . . she tried to get him out of gaol but he'd already been charged . . . it was Saturday and he had to stay in gaol until the Monday. Mrs. Brown and Mrs. Smith went to the Court . . . they said there were dozens of Natives there, arrested because they couldn't produce their Passes when the policemen stopped them . . . some had left them at home . . . some had lost them, and were arrested on their way to get new ones. . . . Lucas had to pay a fine of £3 . . . some had to pay more, £5 . . . £8 . . . it's a lot of money for a Native! If Mrs. Brown hadn't lent Lucas the

AFTER THINE IMAGE

Grant, O God,
That I be Blind
To the colour of my brother's skin;
And if his racial features
Differ from my own,
Or if he speaks a language
I do not understand,
Then give me grace
To see his smile
The gleam of humour in his eyes,
To hear the music in his voice,
To know I see a man
Patterned
After Thine Own Image.

K.L.M.

(The Star)

money to pay his fine, he'd have had to go to gaol for three weeks . . . and he's not a criminal, he's a good boy . . . it doesn't seem fair!

There's Fred snoring . . . but I won't wake him . . . he's tired—he works so hard. I wonder if he could get a better job in Durban . . . but I suppose it would be foolish to make a change now, when things are so uncertain. . . . Mrs. Smith says that Natives are not allowed to go from one town to another looking for a better job . . . they have to stay on in the same town, however badly off they are . . . and if they leave that town even for a short time, they might not be allowed to come back. . . .

They Have to Stand in Long Queues

What's the time . . . nearly three o'clock? I'll have to be getting up in less than four hours, and I haven't slept a wink! I wonder if the people in the townships are getting up yet . . . they have to start out very early, and stand in long queues to catch the buses and trains . . . is it still raining? Some of them have to walk a long way to and from the stations . . . I wonder if they have breakfast before they start . . . they're so poor, and food's so dear!

Martha has to come a long way now to do the washing—her bus fare's gone up a lot since she was moved to the new township. . . . I can't afford to pay her more. . . . She didn't really want to move, but they said that her son Simon couldn't stay with her in the old township because he was working in town . . . he would have had to go into a hostel, and Martha didn't want him to leave home . . . he's only 16 . . . so she agreed to move to the new township so that he could be with her. . . . She's quite happy, except for the bus fare . . . she's got a nice little house. . . . But some of the other people in the old township couldn't move, and their young sons had to go into hostels. . . . How would I like it if somebody told me my Jimmy couldn't stay at home when he starts work next year . . . that he had to go into a hostel with a lot of ducktails? . . . It wouldn't be right . . . it isn't right! It isn't right to move people around whether they want to go or not . . . look at the Coloured people in Cape Town . . . they have to leave their nice homes . . . because of the Group Areas Act . . . and start again on a bare piece of veld. . . . They don't move White people around so much, and when they do . . . look at the fuss they make! What would we say if they told us we had to leave this home we've made for ourselves . . . and start again in Vrededorp, perhaps, or Sophiatown?

"Sleep No More!"

Mrs. Smith is right—we White people have been unkind and selfish—even cruel. I keep thinking about those poor old people Mrs. Smith told us about . . . who were forced to leave their

home in the township. Ever since, I've been thinking about Mother . . . she was poor when she died, but she was happy . . . we gave her a home, and she was cared for . . . Mother was good and kind . . . she didn't deserve to suffer in her old age . . . but what had those poor old Natives done to deserve it? . . . they had worked hard all their lives . . . old people must have somewhere to live . . . the Government should look after them. . . . We pay taxes, don't we, while we are young enough to work? . . . and the Natives pay taxes too . . . however poor they are.

Oh, why can't I sleep! What's that thing we learnt at school — "Methought I heard a voice cry, 'Sleep no more!'" How terrible never to sleep again, thinking such thoughts! Oh, God, let me sleep, let me sleep!

That story can't be true . . . but supposing it is true? The old couple had to leave their home in Johannesburg . . . they were too old to work . . . only Natives who work in the towns are allowed to live there. . . . They were sent back to the kraal in the country where they were born . . . they were over 70 . . . it was 30 years since they had left. . . . They knew nobody there . . . their kraal was no longer there. . . . They had had to walk miles from the station and then they had to walk back . . . they had nowhere else to go. . . . It took them days . . . their feet were bleeding. . . .

Oh, Mother, Mother! What have we done? . . . What are we doing?

Whatever we think of apartheid between Black and White, everyone who reflects at all must deeply regret the apartheid that is being practised and encouraged between the Black father and his family

White South Africans have developed such a curious myopia about their Black fellow-countryman that they simply do not try to imagine him as he is. They do not apply the rules of life, as learned for themselves, to the labourer. They do not see that husky fellow as the father of growing children, who, far away in the reserve, are running wild because there is no masculine control stronger than that of an aged relative. The shabby Black woman with her last baby on her back is not seen as a tender-hearted woman who loves her man and loves her children, but just cannot cope all alone.

Jessie Hertslet, from "Grimmest Side To Apartheid" (*Cape Times*).

NEWS FROM REGIONS AND BRANCHES

IT SEEMS we are to have no respite from elections. Very early in the New Year, the Transvaal was plunged once again into the fever of election work—for the Provincial Council by-elections in February, and the Municipal Council elections in March. In April, Natal and Border will have their turn with two Parliamentary by-elections in Natal and one in East London.

The increasing tendency for Black Sash members to accept nomination as candidates for the political parties of their choice is the inevitable result of the political education they have received over the past seven years, and the encouragement they are given to take an active interest in government at all levels. We welcome the tendency as a sign of political maturity and responsibility, although, of course, as a non-party political organisation we are unable to support the candidature of any individual. In Johannesburg last month Mrs. Ruth Foley and Mrs. Jean Sinclair contested wards in the Municipal elections, and in April Mrs. Daphne Curry will seek election to the Parliamentary seat of East London City. Mrs. Foley and Mrs. Sinclair have suffered honourable defeat; Mrs. Curry knows that all her Black Sash colleagues wish her well, whether they agree with her politics or not.

HEADQUARTERS REGION (Transvaal)

The new Headquarters Region has settled down to its rather formidable task after a few preliminary troubles, partly caused by the unavoidable dislocation of the take-over from Cape Western, and partly because of the depletion of personnel through long leave, Christmas holidays, and election work undertaken by members. The move to the new central office took place during the Christmas recess, and the new Office Secretary, Mrs. Constance Visser, who started work at the beginning of January when there was almost no one to instruct or help her, is to be congratulated on the way she has tackled the job and fallen into the sometimes strange and difficult ways of the Black Sash.

Most of the energies of the Region, and, indeed, all Regions, in the last weeks of 1961, were spent in collecting signatures for the Black Sash petition against the use of broadcasting as a political instrument, and the work has continued into 1962.

Letters and Statements

As directed by the National Conference, letters of sympathy and congratulation were written to Professor Geyser and ex-Chief Albert Luthuli, respectively. A letter was written to the

Press, congratulating the S.A. Medical Association in Bloemfontein on the stand taken in upholding the Conscience Clause in the Constitution of the University of the Free State. Following Press reports and comments on the article in the December issue of the "Black Sash" entitled "South Africa's Siberians," a letter was written to the *Rand Daily Mail* pointing out the evils of the banishment of Africans under the Native Administration Act of 1927. This letter is referred to and quoted in the article, "The Misery and Despair of the Banished" in this issue of the magazine.

A Memorandum on the Undesirable Publications Bill was prepared, and has been submitted to the Parliamentary Select Committee.

Matters under consideration at present are the Group Areas Act Amendment Bill, Press Censorship, Race Classification, and Bantu Education.

Multi-Racial Consultation

This very important project is receiving special attention, and a sub-committee has been appointed to undertake the spade-work.

Fund-Raising

The Region itself has given a good deal of attention to this never-ending task. All groups have been organising competitions, cake sales, book sales, etc., to raise funds to replenish the Region's coffers. Members of Houghton Branch (Northern Group) organised two film evenings at the Pigalle Theatre in which all groups were able to participate. The films chosen were ten short documentary films from the series "Time to Remember," and besides providing the Region with a nice little nest-egg, they were most entertaining and instructive. Those shown on the first evening dealt with events in Europe and America from the beginning of the Edwardian era until the late "twenties," excluding the first World War. They were of particular interest to the Black Sash because they dealt in part with the Suffragette Movement in Britain. The films shown on the second evening dealt with some phases of the Second World War, and provided a valuable object lesson on the futility and destruction of war. While sparing the audience the harrowing spectacle of the human misery caused, they left one aghast at the sight of the material ravages of modern warfare.

Experiment in Consultation

The Saturday afternoon meetings with African women organised by Mrs. Morris have been resumed, after a short recess. At the first meeting of the new series, Mrs. Doreen Rankin spoke on Education, and some fruitful discussion followed, mainly on the subject of Bantu Education. Plans have been made for the next few

meetings, and include a reading of the poems of Vilakazi in Zulu, followed by an English translation by Mrs. Friedman, a talk by Mrs. Unterhalter on "Sociology in Towns in Britain," and a talk by Miss Eleanor Hawarden on the "Growth of the Franchise in Britain." As a relief from this rather heavy fare, one meeting will be devoted to "Gardens and Gardening," and will be held in the garden of one of our members.

The meetings are thoroughly enjoyed by all, and Transvaal members feel that a really valuable spirit of friendship and trust is being built up.

Rustenburg Branch

Rustenburg members have kept a constant watch on the progress of the implementation of the Group Areas Act in their town. An area three miles away has been allocated to the

Indian community. It is totally inadequate, and quite unsuitable for farming or market gardening. Trading licences have been reduced from the present 50 held in Rustenburg to a maximum of 15 in the new area. Representations have been made through the National Council of Women at every stage, even to the Group Areas Board itself, but to no avail. The Town Council is quite unsympathetic, and feels that the Act is Government policy and must be carried out. Our members intend to lobby the new Town Council when elected, and try to rouse the inhabitants of Rustenburg to a sense of the moral implications of the loss of livelihood by the Indians.

Witbank Branch

This Branch has interested itself in the inadequacy of old-age pensions, particularly for non-Europeans, and has provided the Region

Continued overleaf

NEW NATIONAL OFFICE-BEARERS



TOP: Left to right: Mrs. Dora Hill, Vice-President, Mrs. Jean Sinclair, National President, Mrs. Nettie Davidoff, Vice-President.

BOTTOM: Mrs. Kathleen Fleming, National Treasurer, Mrs. "Bobbie" Cluver, Hon. Nat. Treasurer, Mrs. Dorothy Grant, Magazine Editor.

NEWS FROM REGIONS—Continued

with full information obtained from the local authorities. The Branch wishes to bring the matter to the attention of Members of Parliament, and to urge that something be done.

A good deal of work has been done on Education through the Education Vigilance Committee in Witbank.

Bloemfontein

Bloemfontein members continue to work on Education, mainly through the Education Vigilance Association. They are members of a Joint Council of Europeans and non-Europeans, and were instrumental in raising money for bail and the defence of 57 youths who were charged with public violence after incidents in the location last May. All but two of the boys were discharged before the trial or acquitted of the charge. Bloemfontein now has the nucleus of a Defence and Aid Fund, in case need again arises.

Lowveld

Mrs. Wooding, of Barberton, was able to represent Lowveld at the Regional Council meeting in Johannesburg in February. She reported that Barberton people are sympathetic to the aims of the Black Sash, and hopes to organise a lecture or other public function in the near future. Members of the Headquarters Executive propose to visit Barberton in March or April if possible.

BORDER REGION

On the day after the close of the National Conference in East London, after all the strenuous work involved in playing hostesses to the visiting delegates, four indefatigable members of the Border Region were observed energetically applying themselves to the uninspiring task of selling magazines in the streets of East London. We are glad to be able to report that they succeeded in disposing of surplus magazines to the very last copy.

A good deal of hard work has been devoted to the Black Sash petition, and, as in all other Regions, our members found that they had to contend with a considerable degree of apathy and fear.

Towards the end of January, Mrs. Molly Petersen, of Cape Western, paid a visit to East London. During her visit, a public meeting was arranged in St. Saviour's Hall, and Mrs. Petersen spoke on the need for calling a National Convention, as reported elsewhere in the Magazine.

CAPE EASTERN

The Regional Conference held on the 1st November was attended by members of the Regional Council and representatives from Addo,

Alexandria, Salem, Graaff Reinet, Jansenville and Walmer. Apologies were received from Cradock, Adelaide and Grahamstown. After the normal business had been attended to, the meeting was addressed by Mr. Ramjee on the **Group Areas Act**. Several branches asked for advice on removals of Coloureds and Africans in their towns, as Mr. Ramjee is an authority on the ramifications of the Act.

Two delegates attended the **National Conference** in East London, and five observers were present on the second day.

Much work has been done on the **Petition**, and members have had to contend with apathy and fear, and even hostility from our opponents.

Several members attended the sessions of the **Race Relations Conference**, and found the proceedings fascinating and eminently worthwhile. The Black Sash had been asked officially to attend the opening and the multi-racial party on the Thursday night.

Three representatives of the Region attended meetings of the **Anti-Take-Over of Coloured Education Action Committee**. The main idea of this organisation is to bring the fears of the Coloureds to the attention of the general public, and also to arouse the Coloured parents themselves. The Coloured teachers are in a precarious position, as two have been banned.

CAPE WESTERN

Apart from work on the **Petition** and in the **Bail Fund Office** most work was suspended during the Christmas-New Year recess. The Bail Fund Office, which is now known as the **Athlone Advice Office**, was kept open on three mornings a week throughout the holidays. The number of Africans coming to this office for help is ever-increasing—during the period November to January, 525 cases were dealt with.



“Si. Everybody admires it, but you must try to convince your Signor Hertzog eet ees not for sale.”
(Cape Times)

Agreement with Institute of Race Relations

Early in February, the Region was approached by the Institute of Race Relations in Cape Town, with the request that the Athlone Advice Office take over the Institute's case work, in return for a contribution towards the expenses of the office. An arrangement has now been made whereby the Institute pays an amount of R50 per month, which has enabled the Region to take on a half-day office supervisor. They have been lucky enough to obtain the temporary services of Miss Elsie Rowland, late Housing Manager of the Cape Town Municipality, and feel that it will be a great advantage to have such an experienced person to start with. The Institute will make an interpreter available twice a week. Monthly reports will be made to the Black Sash and to the Institute of Race Relations. The office will be open from 9 a.m. to 1 p.m. Mondays to Fridays, and Cape Western feel that the work will now have the continuity it has always lacked, although the need for Black Sash women to volunteer to help in the office will probably become even greater because of this.

National Education Advisory Bill

Members will remember that the Black Sash submitted a memorandum on this Bill when it went before a Select Committee last June, with a request that a deputation be allowed to give evidence in support of this memorandum. Cape Western were very pleasantly surprised when their deputation was invited to give evidence in the middle of February. The deputation was led by Mrs. N. Marquard, ably supported by Mrs. M. Grant and Miss N. Henshilwood, late head of the Cape Town Training College. They were very courteously received and the interview lasted three-quarters of an hour. As soon as evidence has been forwarded to the Region by the House of Assembly, copies will be circularised to members.

Anti-Transfer Action Committee

NUSAS convened a meeting to form a committee against the transfer of Coloured education to the Coloured Affairs Department. The Region sent two representatives to this meeting, and the Black Sash has now joined the committee which was formed, which is apparently similar to that formed in Port Elizabeth.

Undesirable Publications Bill

Cape Western prepared a Memorandum on this Bill, as did the Headquarters Region, and both have been submitted to the Select Committee, as one is an amplification of the other. Cape Western have requested that a deputation be allowed to give evidence in support of the two memoranda, and they will represent the Headquarters Region if an interview is granted.

Cricket in Pinelands

Members of Pinelands Branch were approached by an African clergyman inviting them to bring a team of White schoolboys to play a cricket match in Langa against an African boys' team. Permission was granted by the Location Superintendent, and it was a most successful afternoon. Efforts to get permission to have a repeat match in Pinelands have so far been unsuccessful, but the Branch is trying to find a field somewhere where the match can be played.

NATAL COASTAL

There was a large "report back" meeting in November, and great interest was shown in the account given of the **National Conference**.

At the end of November, members of the Region were entertained by their Indian friends of the **Women's Cultural Group** at one of their homes. Twenty-one Black Sash members were able to accept the invitation, and there were over 100 people present altogether, including a number of Indian guests from Lourenco Marques and elsewhere. Mrs. Dora Powell gave a talk on the history of the Black Sash, its aims and its work, what it had accomplished and what it still hoped to do. A good many questions were asked, especially about the opening of Black Sash membership to all races, and Mrs. Ventress and Mrs. Wallace answered these, Mrs. Wallace explaining the Black Sash point of view on membership.

A good deal of work has been done on the **Petition**, with varying degrees of success in different areas.

The **January Regional Meeting** was well attended, the speaker being an African Y.W.C.A. worker, Miss Regalia Bam, who spoke on **Bantu Education**.

The Region reports an improvement in the attitude and manners of individuals and of those buying and serving in shops, and modestly hopes that this improvement may have something to do with the Region's quiet **Courtesy Campaign**.

Members of the Region take it in turns to act as chauffeur for Mrs. Powell, the Prisoner's Friend, and they have hopes that this activity may develop into a valuable means of giving help where it is needed.

The Region is increasingly active and enthusiastic, even producing its own **Political Review**, ably prepared and presented by Mrs. Sybil Adams, and has high hopes of being able to divide into three strong groups in the near future.

Only free peoples can hold their purpose and their honour steady to a common end, and prefer the interests of mankind to any narrow interest of their own. **President Woodrow Wilson.**

GOVERNMENT DEFENCE POLICY

BLACK SASH PRESS STATEMENT

THE BLACK SASH accepts that in an armed world adequate defences are necessary. We do deplore, however, the outburst of the Minister of Defence in the Senate on Monday, which he must have realised would cause dismay and even panic throughout the country.

Now that a Republic outside the Commonwealth has been achieved, a rallying cry has had to be found to unite White South Africans, an appeal to crawl into the "White laager" to defend South Africa against a Black army of liberation.

We ask Mr. Fouché to tell the nation which countries are secretly planning to send this army to invade our shores. Whether this threat be mythical or not, we would point out to Mr. Fouché that, but for the policy of his Government over the past fourteen years, there would be no threat to South Africa. Nationalist policy has led to the situation in which the Government is now creating White hysteria.

If it is Communism which is worrying Mr. Fouché — and to this creed the Black Sash is also implacably opposed — we suggest that a more enlightened and just policy would have ensured so contented and stable a multi-racial population that Communism could have gained no foothold here. A nation of 16,000,000 contented citizens with a share in the government and in the prosperity of their own country would have presented a united front against Communism.

To sum up the situation, whether the Minister's lurid picture be true or not, the fact remains that South Africa is isolated and therefore vulnerable. Our only hope of survival is not to march into a White armed camp, but to

demand that the Government completely reverses its policies. In election after election the voters have been stampeded through fear into returning this Government with even larger majorities. Let those voters now realise that the true danger lies in the very policy of the Government which they have supported.



**"Comrade Alexei Alexeivitch!
Nobody told us that South
Africa had developed a rocket!"**

(Cape Times)

If someone takes away your freedom, you may be sure that your bread is threatened, for it no longer depends on you and your struggle, but on the whim of a master. **Albert Camus.**

Freedom is the concern of the oppressed, and her natural protectors come from among the oppressed. **Albert Camus.**