

THE BLACK SASH

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THE FORGOTTEN PEOPLE

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NO SOUTH AFRICAN

DARE REMAIN NEUTRAL

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THE MOST INHUMAN

BILL YET DEVISED

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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.



No South African Dare Remain Neutral

THE YEAR 1963, at this early stage, shows all the portents of being one of the saddest in South Africa's history. For as sad as it is to see a child of bright promise grow into a weak-kneed wastrel, so tragic is it to see a nation, young, vigorous and full of boundless possibilities, stumble blindly to its undoing, through inability to tackle its problems with courage and selflessness.

The problems are not new. They have been with us for many years, but each year finds White South Africa less able to make up its mind, more and more a passive victim of its own political inertia. The "traditional way of life", the "Why worry? Alles sal regkom!" attitude, has become a creeping, strangling threat to our very existence, yet we will not see it. The sun still shines, business is reasonably good, there is sport at the week-end and bridge or the cinema at night, so why bother to interest oneself in politics, in Poqo and Bantustans and bannings? The Stock Exchange and the sporting page are much more our traditional way of life. Let the politicians get on with it — that is their job!

Make no mistake about it — the politicians are getting on with it. At this early stage of the session, the Publications and Entertainments Bill, which tells us what we may hear, see, read or write, is practically law; the first Bantustan is about to come into being; and the draft Bantu Laws Amendment Bill, which seeks to control even more stringently the lives of Africans, and turn them into mere labour units in the White areas, has been published. The political party which came to power fifteen years ago on the slogan "Apartheid", is now being forced by hostile world opinion to implement apartheid. At the same time, by bannings, house arrest and censorship, it is

(Continued Overleaf)

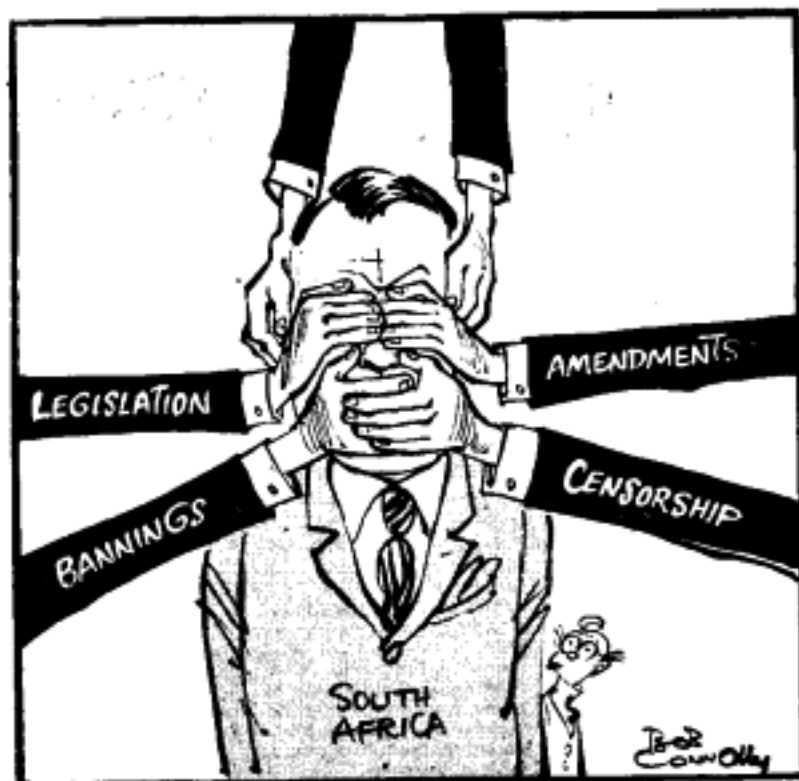
Geen Suid-Afrikaner Durf die Besluit Ontduik nie

REEDS op hierdie vroeë stadium gee die jaar 1963 alle tekens dat dit een van die treurigste in die geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika gaan wees. Want net so treurig soos dit is om te sien dat 'n veelbelowende kind ontwikkel in 'n willose deugniet, net so treurig is dit om te sien dat 'n nasie, jonk, veerkragtig en met onbeperkte moontlikhede, blindelings voortstruikel na sy ondergang, weens sy onvermoë om sy probleme met moed en onbaatsugtigheid aan te pak.

Die probleme is nie nuut nie. Ons leef al jare met hulle, maar elke jaar lyk dit asof wit Suid-Afrika minder bevoeg is om besluite te neem, en meer en meer die passiewe prooi word van sy politieke wilsverlies. Die „tradisionele lewenspatroon“, die „kannie worrie, alles sal regkom“ houding, bedreig ons bestaan met 'n steeds stywer wordende wurggreep en ons sien dit nie raak nie. Die son skyn nog, die sakewêreld flot redelik goed, daar is sport in die naweke en brug of die rolprent saans, dus waarom sou ons ons interresseer in die politiek, in Poqo, Bantostans en verbannings? Die aandelemark en die sportblad is baie nader aan ons tradisionele lewenswyse — laat die politici maar die land onder hande neem. Dit is immers hulle werk.

Verstaan goed, die politici neem die land deeglik onder hande. In hierdie vroeë stadium van die sessie is die Publikasies en Vermaaklikheids-wetsontwerp, wat vir ons sê wat om te skryf, of bepaal wat ons mag sien, of selfs probeer voorskryf wat ons mag dink, al byna wet. Die eerste Bantuoestan neem gestalte aan en die voorgestelde Bantowette Wysigings-wetsontwerp, wat poog om alle aspekte van die Bantoe se lewe nog verder te beheer, en hulle net te beskou as werks-eenheid in die blanke wyke, is reeds gepubliseer.

(Vervolg Ommes)



ALL HANDS ON DECK

(*"Rand Daily Mail"*)

stifling any opposition or protests from those South Africans who believe in freedom, and are honestly seeking a way out of our dilemma.

The choice before White South Africa is apartheid or integration: we cannot have it both ways. Apartheid, as it is now, is a "Heads I win, tails you lose" policy. It is now called "separate development", with the Transkei as the show window displaying its meagre stock of political rights, to distract the world's attention from the denial of rights in the White areas. There is to be all the non-White labour deemed necessary in the White areas, without political rights, of course, for these are to be "enjoyed" in the Bantustans. In effect, for the Africans it means work with no vote, or a vote with no work.

This is undoubtedly very agreeable for White South Africa, but it will not work. The more vigorously political rights are denied, the more desperately they are desired. White nationalism has bred Black nationalism, which cannot forever be repressed. The conflict between the two nationalisms has bred fear and resentment: White fear of Black, Black resentment of White.

Where is South Africa going? All the signs point downhill, to an unthinkable abyss of fear, sabotage, bloodshed. Sabotage at the moment is sporadic — a pylon blown up here, a train derailed there — but for how long will it consist of isolated incidents? Sabotage solves nothing. It is condemned by all decent people and alienates potential sympathy, while it feeds the flames of

Die politieke party, wat vyftien jaar gelede aan die bewind gekom het met die strydkreet van „Apartheid”, word nou gedwing deur vyandige wêreldopinie om apartheid uit te voer. Terselfdertyd word enige opposisie of protes van dié Suid-Afrikaners, wat glo aan vryheid en 'n eerlike oplossing soek vir ons probleme, deur verbanning, huisarres en sensorskap versmoor.

Die keuse voor Suid-Afrika is tussen apartheid en integrasie — die een of die ander. Soos apartheid vandag uitgevoer word, is die witman altyd aan die wenkant. Dit word nou „afsonderlike ontwikkeling” genoem, en die Transkei, met sy armsalige voorraad van politieke regte, is 'n soort toonvenster, om die wêreld se aandag af te trek van die weerhouding van regte in die blanke dele. Al die nodige nie-blanke arbeid sal in die blanke dele toegelaat word, sonder enige politieke regte, want dié sal hulle in die Bantoe-stans „geniet”. Kortom beteken dit vir die Bantoe: werk sonder stem, of stem sonder werk.

Hierdie reëling is ongetwyfeld hoogs bevredigend vir blanke Suid-Afrika, maar dit sal nie die gewenste uitwerking hê nie. Hoe meer gedetermineerd ons word om politieke regte te weerhou, hoe buitensporiger sal die verlange daarna wees. Wit nasionalisme het swart nasionalisme voorgebring, en dit kan nie vir ewig onderdruk word nie. Die stryd tussen die twee nasionalismes het vrees voortgebring: Wit vrees Swart, Swart koester 'n wrok teen Wit.

Waarheen Suid-Afrika? Al die tekens wys af-draend, na 'n ongekende afgrond van vrees, haat, sabotasie en bloedvergieting. Op die huidige tyd-stip is sabotasie sporadies — 'n stutpilaar word (*"Cape Times"*)



He only knows one way of making things hot for people — more and more Worcester Sauce.

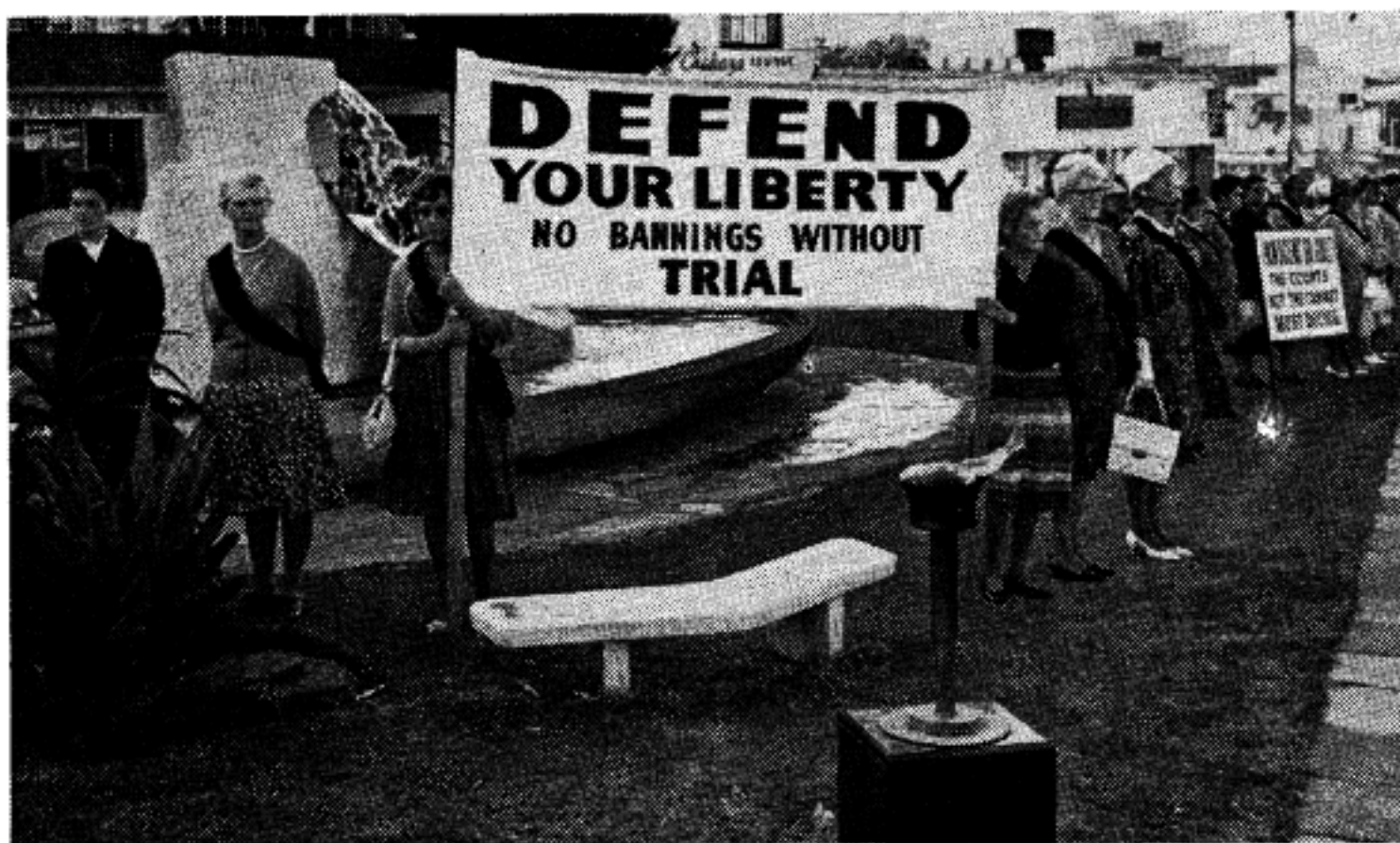
hatred and violence; but the normal democratic methods of voicing grievances are denied to the millions refused political expression where they work and live. And it must be remembered that this denial is taking place on a continent in which nearly every subject state has in the past ten years achieved political independence.

South Africans must rouse themselves from their apathy, they must wake up to the desperate plight to which exclusive nationalism has brought our country, and must make their choice. EITHER we have *complete* separate development, which is manifestly impossible on the basis of the present allocation of 13% of the country to 70% of the people, and would require sacrifices and upheavals which stagger the imagination; OR we must acknowledge the economic integration which already exists and accept the logical results, political and social integration. No compromise is possible, either in the eyes of the world, or in terms of life in this country.

No South African *dare* remain aloof from this decision, for, in Abraham Lincoln's words, "there is a special place in hell for those who remain neutral in a moral crisis."



Photograph by Struan Robertson.



One of a series of daily demonstrations mounted for a week in February by Transvaal Region of the Black Sash, in protest against the continued banning without trial of South African citizens.

hier opgeblaas, 'n trein word daar ontspoor — maar vir hoe lank sal dit bly by afsonderlike insidente? Sabotasie los niks op nie. Alle regdenkende mense verfoei dit, en dit vervreem enige simpatie, terwyl dit die vlam van haat en geweld aanblaas, maar die normale demokratiese metodes om griewe te lug word aan miljoene ontsê, deurdat hulle geen politieke seggenskap het waar hulle werk en woon nie. Dit moet ook onthou word dat hierdie weiering van regte geskied in 'n vasteland waarin byna elke afhanklike staat gedurende die afgelope tien jaar sy politieke onafhanklikheid verkry het.

Suid-Afrikaners moet hulle onverskilligheid laat vaar. Hulle moet besef watter uiterste nood ons land in verkeer as gevolg van eksklusiewe nasionalisme, en hulle moet kies. OF ons moet totale aparte ontwikkeling hê, iets wat klaarblyklik onmoontlik is op die huidige basis van 13% van die land vir 70% van die mense, en wat opoffering en omwentelinge sal verg wat alle verbeelding te bowe sal gaan; OF ons moet die ekonomiese integrasie wat tans bestaan aanvaar en die logiese gevolge aanneem: politieke en sosiale integrasie. Geen kompromis is moontlik nie, nog in die oë van die wêreld, nog in terme van ons voortbestaan in hierdie land.

Geen Suid-Afrikaner *durf* die besluit ontduik nie, want soos Abraham Lincoln gesê het: „Daar is 'n spesiale plek in die hel vir diegene wat neutraal bly in 'n morele krisis.”

Facts about Africans banished from their homes without trial:

THE FORGOTTEN PEOPLE

by MURIEL HORRELL

Research Officer, S.A. Institute of Race Relations

THE Native Administration Act of 1927, passed when the Hertzog Government was in power, contained a section empowering the Governor-General, whenever he deemed it expedient in the general public interest, to order any tribe, portion of a tribe, or individual African, to move from one place to another, and to remain in the area stated until given permission to leave. Banishment orders still in force after a year must be tabled in Parliament; should both Houses pass resolutions disapproving of a particular order, it would cease to have effect.

A few Africans were banished prior to 1948. I believe, for example, that six men were sent away from Mabieskraal, about 50 miles north of Johannesburg, and that Mr. Jacob Mpanza, who led the squatter movement in Johannesburg that resulted in the establishment of the Moroka Emergency Camp, was sent away to the Ixopo area. There were possibly a few other cases, but no extensive use was made of this provision of the law.

During recent years, however, about 130 banishment orders have been issued. It appears that in general such orders have been served on people who have campaigned against Government measures.

The Matlalas.

So far as can be ascertained, one of the first persons to be banished after 1948 was **Mrs. Ma-koena Matlala**. Her husband, the Chief of a reserve near Pietersburg, had been engaged in a dispute with government officials over land rights. The story is confused, but it appears that he thought the Government intended converting some of the tribal land into property of the S.A. Native Trust. After his death, his wife, who succeeded him, continued this dispute until 1950, when she was banished to a farm in the Kingwilliamstown area. Her son, then about 12, was removed from school by members of the police and taken to join her, and there they still are, more than 12 years later.

A more amenable man named **Joel Matlala** was appointed Chief, and from then on a serious split developed in the tribe. Joel was murdered by his opponents, following which numbers of people were arrested. Two were condemned to death, but their sentences were commuted. Between 1952 and 1954, the Government banished 19 more men and 2 more women of this tribe, in some cases after they had served terms of imprisonment, sending

them to widely scattered places. The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said some months ago that they had been removed because the Government officials considered their lives to be in danger.

They are a pathetic group. According to reports by the Human Rights Welfare Committee, four have died in exile, two were allowed to return home but died shortly afterwards, and 16 are still in banishment. **Sibija Matlala** was one of those who were released. He was seriously ill at the time, and no transport was provided for him. It took him nearly a day to stagger, a few yards at a time, from the nearest bus stop to his home. After a few words with his wife he collapsed, and died four days later, without speaking again.

Jeremiah Moroka, a member of the tribe, was sent to the Transkei together with his wife and two youngest children. They could not, of course, understand Xhosa, and it is said that Mrs. Moroka could not endure the isolation, and her mind apparently failed. She vanished with the two children, and there has been no word from them since. Four older children are being brought up by an aunt at Matlala's location near Pietersburg.

Another of these people is **Maeme Matlala**, who was banished to the Bushbuckridge area more than ten years ago. He is an old man, in his eighties. For five years after the police took him away his wife had no news of him at all; much to her joy, the Human Rights Welfare Committee recently arranged for her to pay her first visit to him. They found him living in conditions of extreme poverty. As he is too old to work, his life is one of unending waiting.

When the Committee sent him a parcel of clothes, it apparently gave him back some sense of dignity. He got someone to write, in reply, "Now we are made people again."

Witzieshoek.

During the early 1940's, a section of the people in the Witzieshoek Reserve, near Harrismith, objected to regulations made by the Government for the culling of cattle. There had, apparently, been some misunderstanding. Resentment mounted as the culls continued, until eventually a group led by sub-chief **Paulus Mopeli**, a grandson of Moshoeshe (Moshesh), set fire to plantations and cut the fences of grazing camps. Rioting followed.

In about 1950, Paulus Mopeli was sentenced to a term of imprisonment for refusing to obey Government regulations, and thereafter he was banished, first to the Groblersdal area and later to the Frenchdale camp, about 60 miles west of Mafeking. His wife, **Treaty**, was banished later, and for the first three years was separated from her husband, only being allowed to join him later. They are still at Frenchdale.

Mabieskraal.

Other isolated instances of banishment occurred, but the next case of widespread unrest was at Mabieskraal.

It appears there have been periodic disturbances there for some twenty years, but during the early 1950's the Regent, **Jeremiah Mabe**, and his councillors, led a large section of the tribe which opposed the introduction of the Bantu Authorities system. In a memorandum drawn up subsequently, they stated that acceptance of the system would amount to rule by Government officials rather than the traditional tribal leaders. Jeremiah was deported in 1956 to the Driefontein camp, south of Frenchdale and about 100 miles from Vryburg. He was released conditionally in 1959, but was again banished a year later.

The Government appointed **Mogatle Mabe** to succeed him. Since then, there have been reports of victimizing, strong-arm methods and hut-burnings.

Prohibition of Interdicts.

When he first received his banishment order, Jeremiah Mabe appealed against it, and it was set aside by the Supreme Court, Pretoria, on the ground that he had not been given any opportunity of stating his case before being required to move. Shortly thereafter, **Mr. J. H. Saliwa**, who had been ordered to move from Glen Grey to a farm near Pietersburg, instituted a similar action, which failed in the Supreme Court but succeeded in the Appellate Division.

The Government then introduced changes in the law, in terms of the Native Administration Act and the Natives (Prohibition of Interdicts)

Act, both of 1956. It was provided that banishment orders would be served without prior notice. No Court of Law might issue an interdict which would have the effect of suspending the execution of an order pending the outcome of an appeal. A man served with a banishment order might appeal only after moving to the place stipulated. If, after obeying the order, he so requested, the Minister would furnish him with the reasons for its issue and so much of the information on which the Government's decision was based as could, in the Minister's opinion, be disclosed without detriment to public interest.

In practice, people who do ask for the reasons are told that their presence in their home area is considered to be inimical to the maintenance of peace, order and good administration. Because so little information is furnished, and because those concerned are generally banished to remote places where there are no lawyers, it becomes well-nigh impossible for appeals to succeed.

Conditions at Places of Banishment.

Little was known by the public about the banishment areas until July, 1956, when the periodical "Drum" published an account of conditions at Frenchdale. A few weeks later, **Mr. John Cope, M.P.**, visited the camp and published his impressions.

Both Frenchdale and Driefontein are in the Kalahari, where it is scorchingly hot in summer and the only shade is that cast by the thatched huts in which the men live. There are no trees. The farms are very isolated, with no people living nearby. The nearest store is two miles away from Driefontein and eight miles from Frenchdale. There are no opportunities of employment. The camps are not guarded, but the men face a criminal charge if they leave a stipulated area. In general, they can walk to the nearest store without permission, but require permits to visit towns. **David Mabe** died in Driefontein, and, as I mentioned earlier, two members of the Matlala tribe were released from these camps only to die very shortly afterwards at home.

There are other banished men at Wesselsvlei, also in the Kalahari, in Tabaans location in the Sibasa district, in Mandini in Zululand, and on Trust farms in the Kingwilliamstown, Kuruman, Pietersburg, Groblersdal, Eshowe and Gollel areas. The policy is to send people to areas remote from their homes, where, the Government considers, they are unlikely to stir up any unrest. But this means that they generally do not know the language of the local inhabitants, and this adds to their loneliness.

THE FORGOTTEN PEOPLE (Continued)

They are generally escorted away by police without being given any opportunity of returning home to say good-bye to their families and to collect some clothing. It is a grim fact that the families are not advised officially that the men have been banished, and are not told where they are. After arrival at the place of banishment, they are allowed to communicate with whom they wish, but this is often of little help as many of the people concerned are illiterate.

The Human Rights Welfare Committee found, for example, that Moses Moichewa from the Matlala Reserve had lost all contact with his family. The first news of Frans Ramara, from the same area, that was received by his family was three years after he had been banished, and was baldly to the effect that he had died.

Banished men may have their families with them, the fares being paid by the Government, but rural wives generally feel that they must not risk losing their plot of land, which forms their only security for sickness and old age. They need to stay home and grow crops to provide food for the families. At few of the banishment camps are there educational facilities for children.

The families are allowed to visit the banished men, and in exceptional cases of hardship rail warrants are provided. But the distances to be travelled are great, and in normal circumstances few can afford the fare, so that this is more or less a concession on paper only.

Administrative officials visit the camps occasionally, the police come more often, and the district surgeon sees the men about once a month. But often, there is no way of summoning a doctor in an emergency. Apparently David Mabe died before the district surgeon came.

Each man is paid R2 at the time he is banished. He may be offered employment on the Trust farm where he is sent, if available, repairing roads and fences and clearing bush, at wages ranging from R8 to R12 a month.

I understand that only one man is receiving the maximum wage of R14. If employment is not available, an allowance of R1 per month plus rations worth R3 a month may be offered. These allowances were paid only after the Press publicity in 1956. The rations are meagre — they include mealie meal, mealies, condensed milk, peanut butter, a little vegetable fat, and, sometimes, tea, coffee and sugar. Meat is seldom provided. Huts are allocated to the banished persons, but these are usually devoid of furniture, and no cooking

pots, cups, cutlery or other such elementary necessities of life are provided. Until they can manage to afford something better, the men sleep on sacks stuffed with grass. Yet many of them were people of standing in their community!

The Minister has said that in certain circumstances the families are assisted, but so far as the Human Rights Welfare Committee is aware, in only one case is official help being given. The children of Ben Baartman, the trade union leader and A.N.C. Chairman at Worcester, who was banished to Northern Zululand, did receive grants after their mother died.

Banishment orders are reviewed annually on the basis of reports sent by Bantu Affairs Commissioners, and some men have been allowed to return home, unconditionally, or for stated periods, or under permits that can be withdrawn at any time and are granted on certain conditions, e.g., that the holders refrain from interfering in tribal matters and from participation in such activities as may be stipulated.

Present Numbers.

Questions as to the numbers now in exile and their whereabouts are to be put during the present session of Parliament. So far as is known at present to the Human Rights Welfare Committee, there are about 50 still in banishment; 12 have died, 10 of them in banishment; 15 have fled from the country and are cut off from their families as they dare not return; the whereabouts of 5 are unknown; 44 have been allowed to return home, but of these 3 were subsequently re-banished; in 11 cases orders have been withdrawn.

Since 1956 there have been many more cases, as the numbers I have quoted indicate. Some arose from disturbances in Sekhukhuneland in 1958, when serious clashes took place between Government supporters and people who opposed the establishment of Bantu Authorities and the culling of stock. It was a long and tragic story, culminating in murder. Thereafter, more than 300 arrests were made, a few men were executed, some received life sentences, and many others were convicted of various offences and sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment. Twelve men were banished, and six of these are still in exile. The Chief and four of his councillors were allowed to return on conditional permits after the man appointed to take over had failed to win the people's confidence. It has still not been feasible to set up a Bantu Authority in the area. One of those who

are still away is **William Sekhukhunes**, an old man of 78 who now works on a farm in Zululand to support himself. Another is **Stephen Nkadi-mong**, who is living in a lonely area in Ingavyma. He is one of those who have refused Government employment.

Also in 1958, there were serious clashes in the **Zeerust** area, when large sections of the **Ba-Harutse** tribe opposed the issue of Reference Books to women. The Chief and several others were banished.

More recently, men have been banished from **Zululand** for organizing the destruction of soil reclamation works as a form of political protest, and many from the **Transkei** for opposing the establishment of Bantu Authorities.

There was **Mrs. Elizabeth Mafekeng**, the mother of eleven children, who was ordered to go from Paarl to a lonely farm Southey in the Northern Cape, but she escaped and fled to Basutoland. A case that was given much publicity was that of **Anderson Ganyile**, who was banished from the Transkei to Frenchdale. He, too, escaped to Basutoland, but was arrested by the South African police within the borders of that territory. Eventually, after there had been much public protest, the charges against him were withdrawn.

In each of the cases where rioting has occurred, there have been numerous arrests, and hundreds of people have been sentenced to terms of imprisonment. **But some of these people have received double punishment, for they have been served with banishment orders immediately after their release from gaol.**

No Appearance in a Court of Law.

The main points on which this system has been criticized, are, of course, the facts that these banished people are not brought before the courts and tried (no attempt is made to go into the justice or otherwise of the sentences, as nobody knows the facts); that they are given no hearing before they are sent away, and that the decision to banish them lies entirely with the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development.

If they had been brought before a court of law and convicted of offences, many of them would by now have served their sentences and be free men again. But there is no defined end to their term of banishment, which is entirely at the Minister's discretion, and these untried people have nothing to look forward to but an indefinite period of boredom, frustration and loneliness.

DROUGHT AND DISTRESS

TWO of our readers comment in their different ways on recent newspaper reports of severe drought in the Northern Transvaal, where the farmers are leaving their farms to look for work in the towns, and African labourers, also faced with general crop failure, have many months of hardship ahead.

Mrs. Ruth Hall, of Johannesburg, says:

It is with deep regret that one reads of the severe drought conditions in the Pietersburg area. How fortunate it is that the White farmers are free to move about as they please and sell their labour in the best market, thus earning sufficient to tide them over until conditions improve and they can return to the land.

The plight of the Africans is more obscure. They are only allowed to move about under permit and as influx control allows. It seems, however, that there is already a surplus of labour in the area and influx control is being tightened up. This leaves them with no alternative but to remain with their families in the drought-stricken areas and starve.

Mrs. R. M. Johnston, also of Johannesburg, writes:

The **PIETERSBURG FARMERS ARE PACKING THEIR CASES**

And **LEAVING THEIR FARMS** for more prosperous places.

The **RAINS HAVE NOT COME**, the **BOREHOLES HAVE DRIED**,

The **CROPS WILL NOT GROW**, the **CATTLE HAVE DIED**,

Work must be found in a domicile urban, Johannesburg, Cape Town, Welkom or Durban.

The Pietersburg labourers stay in their places —

The kraal is the home for men with black faces.

The **RAINS HAVE NOT COME**, the **WATERHOLE DRIED**,

The **CROPS WERE NOT SOWN**, the **CATTLE HAVE DIED**.

The Bantu Commissioner — God save his soul —

Is **TIGHTENING UP ON INFLUX CONTROL**.

(The words in capitals are recent newspaper headlines.)



SOUTH AFRICA IN THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION

By MURIEL FISHER

In this article Mrs. Fisher deals mainly with those troubled areas of Africa, Algeria and the Congo.

The Congo.

IN 1960, two independent Congo Republics appeared on the map, distinguished by the names of their capitals, which face each other across the river: ex-Belgian Congo, **Leopoldville**, and ex-French Middle Congo, **Brazzaville**. We are particularly interested in the history of the former, a history which is still in the making, as UNO knows to its immense cost.

When the Portuguese reached the Congo mouth in 1482, they found the well-established **Bakongo** state, which lasted until the 17th century. Today, the three million Bakongo are divided between the two Congos, Portuguese **Angola** and little Spanish **Gabinda**. In the 1870's, Stanley's discovery of the Congo River triggered off the "Scramble for Africa", in which King Leopold II acquired the Belgian Congo for his private and most profitable estate, until the shocking treatment of its people was revealed in 1908, and the colony was taken over by the Belgian Government.

During the 1890's Leopold's men met Rhodes' men coming from the South, and their bargaining produced the oddly-shaped Congo-Northern Rhodesia border.

Belgium ran its Congo Colony as a commercial affair, with efficiency in the big mining companies, and with food, jobs, education and health services for the people, but with no votes for Black or White. Their attitude remained rather smug even after the war, with the Italian Empire vanished, France and Spain having troubles, Britain letting her colonies go, and the Mau Mau disrupting Kenya. But the African Revolution inevitably came to the Congo, too.

In 1952, a Bakongo Secret Society emerged, **ABAKO**, led by **Joseph Kasavubu**, and with an underground network all over the country. It flared up like a bush fire, until in 1957 the Belgians were forced to let the people of the major cities hold elections.

Other parties sprang up, but **ABAKO** was so strong that in 1958 Kasavubu demanded universal franchise and independence. The Belgians increased security measures, but rioting broke out in Elisabethville and looting and murder spread all over the Congo, until in January 1959 King Baudouin was forced to promise free municipal elections to be followed later by full Government elections. Kasavubu and other **ABAKO** leaders were in jail, which seems to be the *sine qua non* for an African leader.

As in other African countries, there were rifts between the African leaders. **Moise Tshombe**, premier of **Katanga province**, sought autonomy for his mineral-wealthy province, and there was tribal warfare in **Kasai province**. **Patrice Lumumba**, on the other hand, wanted a centralized state, and in the elections he became Prime Minister, with a small majority, of a large and divided government. Kasavubu, now out of jail, became President.

Halfway through 1960 came independence, followed by the mutiny of the Force Publique, a wave of violence and murder from which the Whites fled, and the collapse of administration and economic life. Belgium rushed White troops in to restore order, Lumumba and Kasavubu appealed to the United Nations for help against Belgium, and Tshombe, backed by the Belgian mining companies, took advantage of the confusion to declare **Katanga** independent. A month later, **Kalonji** proclaimed a **Baluba** mining state in diamond-rich **South Kasai**.

The immense mineral wealth in copper, cobalt, uranium and diamonds in this part of Africa has dominated the political scene. Northern Rhodesia's copper was a potent factor in the formation of the Rhodesian Federation, and the wealth of Katanga provided a large part of the revenue of the Belgian Congo, so that the stand of Tshombe and Kalonji was backed by the mining companies.

Lumumba, using Russian aid, sent troops to suppress Kalonji's stand. 300,000 Kasai Baluba fled from their homes and died of starvation at the rate of 1,400 a week until UNO could get food and relief through to the remote areas. UNO also, in the person of **Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld**, sent an international force into Katanga and the Belgian troops left, but Tshombe hired White mercenaries and defied UNO.

In September, 1960, Lumumba and Kasavubu split, the Government collapsed, and **Mobutu**, the army chief, seized power, but later came to terms with Kasavubu. Lumumba, at first protected by UNO troops, fell into Mobutu's hands and was "killed while trying to escape". His deputy, **Antoine Gizenga**, backed by the Communist powers, Ghana and the United Arab Republic, set up a rival government at **Stanleyville**.

In August 1961, after nearly a year of confusion and worse, UNO persuaded the Congo Parliament to appoint a new Government with **Cyrille Adoula** as Prime Minister, **Gizenga** as his Deputy, and **Kasavubu** as President. **Tshombe** still sat independent in Katanga.

M. Adoula, a former trade union leader, had supported neither Lumumba nor Kasavubu, and has emerged from the Congo post-war agony as an honest and realistic leader. He has restored law and order to a large extent, come to terms with President Kasavubu and eliminated Gizenga, who had too close a connection with Communism and was imprisoned. M. Adoula then had the task, with the aid of the UN Secretary-General, U Thant, of persuading Katanga and Kasai to rejoin a unified Congo. UNO was spending 10 million dollars a month in the Congo, and U Thant had to get tough with the two recalcitrant provinces.

During last year, Kalonji, newly "escaped" from prison, agreed to rejoin, and at the end of 1962, after UN's failure to persuade President Tshombe to do the same, U Thant invaded Katanga. The Katangese put up a show of resistance and threatened to blow up mining installations and bridges. In fact, no significant damage was done, President Tshombe left for Europe to receive medical attention, and the province of Katanga, with its tremendous mineral wealth, is now under

the control of the Central Government.

President Tshombe returned in March 1963 to a tumultuous welcome from his people and it is highly probable that we have not heard the last of him.

North Africa.

Africa north of the Sahara is not really Africa, in the sense that its peoples are not Africans, but Arab and Berber, and predominantly Moslem. The North African states are more accurately an extension of the Middle East plus a considerable admixture of Mediterranean Europe, and their problems are not necessarily the problems of Black Africa; yet what has happened in **Morocco**, **Tunisia**, **Algeria** and **Egypt** has certainly influenced the political evolution of the rest of Africa and, indirectly, ourselves.

I intend, in the remainder of this article, to concentrate on the three states grouped together by geography, race and religion, namely, small Morocco, tiny Tunisia and immense Algeria, with its bitter conflict over the last eight years.

Morocco.

Morocco is an ancient Arab-Berber state, which never came under Turkish rule, as did its neighbours, but itself, from the 11th to the 13th centuries, ruled over **Mauretania** and much of Spain, where its influence is still seen in the famous Moorish architecture of Granada's Alhambra. Today, the ragged descendants of the Moorish Empire roam the desert with goats and camels, although Morocco may still become quite a wealthy country. She was nominally independent until 1912, when the Sultan had to accept a French protectorate over most of his country, and Spanish protection over zones in the North and South, **Ifni** being the best-known area.

In 1927, **Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef** was made King Mohammed V. over the heads of two elder brothers. He reigned quite peacefully, amusing himself with fast cars and racehorses, until the growing nationalism made itself felt. When complaints reached him that the French were against education for Moslem girls, he rebelled against both French policy and Moslem orthodoxy, and had his daughter, **Princess Aisha**, educated, which had a tremendous effect on millions of Moslem women throughout North Africa. He even allowed her to be photographed in a bathing suit. The Princess still leads the emancipation movement.

After the war, as in every African country, the independence movement grew stronger, and when the King identified himself with it, the French

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AFRICAN REVOLUTION (Continued)

deposed him, in 1953. A wave of terrorism, boycott of French goods and counter-terrorism ended in the return of Mohamed as King in 1956, and Morocco became an independent state. All French troops had to be removed, and America agreed to give up her air stations. Economically, this harmed Morocco, since their capital departed with the French, and American dollars ceased to flow so freely.

Politically, there were troubles too. The extremist politicians thought the King too weak and wanted a "Greater Morocco", including parts of French Sahara and Spanish territories. In 1956, **General Franco** exchanged Southern Morocco for Ifni, but the discovery of oil under Ifni led to bitter fighting between the Moroccan Liberation Army and Spanish troops. In 1960, France granted independence to **Mauretania**, many of whose people are Moorish, and this upset French-Moroccan relations. In 1961 King Mohammed died, and his son **Hassim**, who had been Deputy Prime Minister, succeeded him. He became head of a coalition government, which took important steps towards a constitutional monarchy. Although Morocco has this year bought Russian aircraft, and accepted loans from Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, its government is distinctly right-wing.

Tunisia.

Tunisia was a French protectorate from 1861, with the same Arab-Berber inhabitants as Algeria, but with closer contacts with Mediterranean Europe. In fact, 10% of its population of over 4 million were Europeans, although many of these have left since independence in 1956.

Tunisia's struggle for independence was led by **Habib Bourguiba**, an ardent Nationalist, who in 1957 deposed the Bey or traditional ruler and became President of the new republic. After 1956, France retained the naval base of **Bizerta**, which led to fighting in 1961, when French forces had still not evacuated Bizerta in spite of frequent Tunisian demands. United Nations intervened, and President Bourguiba finally accepted French use of Bizerta for a limited time during the period of international tension over Berlin, but the conflict had by then done lasting damage to relations between French and Tunisia. This was a pity, because Bourguiba had always been Western-orientated, and while supporting Algeria's struggle for independence, had striven to keep **Algeria** in the French community. **Tunisia** has now lost French financial aid, which both **Morocco** and **Algeria** are

enjoying, and one feels that General de Gaulle is treating Tunisia like a naughty child, who may one day be forgiven.

Algeria.

While both Morocco and Tunisia achieved their independence fairly easily, the struggle in Algeria has been long and bloody. The people of Algeria, Arabs and Berbers, were conquered over the centuries by Phoenicians, Romans, Spaniards, Turks and, from 1830 onwards, by the French, but always eluded their conquerors, although there was never an Algerian nation until after 1945. Their bond was religion, not national feeling.

After the French conquest of 1830, the great body of Moslems, under their leader **Abd-el-Kadir**, fought the French in a series of small wars of incredible savagery on both sides — for instance, when a French officer bottled up 500 Arab men, women and children in a cave, lit a fire and asphyxiated them.

This long bloody conquest of Algeria set a pattern of violence which was to be repeated a hundred years later with astonishing similarity. Before Abd-el-Kadir was finally defeated in 1847, he told the French: "You may stay 300 years, like the Turks, but in the end you will leave."

When **Marshal Bugeaud** became Governor-General in 1830, a number of Frenchmen moved to Algeria and the basis was laid for **French Algeria** and the problems which culminated in the bitter conflict of the past eight years. Had it not been for the one million-odd European settlers, the "colons", a large and vocal minority, France would either have given in to the upsurge of nationalism, as in Morocco and Tunisia, or herself have prepared the way for self-government as in her former colonies in West Africa. Algeria might be compared with **South Africa** or **Kenya**, where the White minority has acquired much of the land, leaving the non-White majority poor and landless. Even that is not a really accurate comparison, since the non-Moslem Algerians were not all French, but the product of haphazard colonization from Malta, Sicily, Greece and Spain, and very often from the lowest strata of society. Actually, only one in five was French, although all automatically acquired French nationality.

Napoleon III. tried to stem the flood of colonists, but after 1870 a new wave of immigration took place, and the financial power of large wine-growing farmers and companies and of the commercial

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.

Mrs. Fisher wishes to acknowledge her indebtedness to "The Algerian Problem", by Edward Behr, the recognized authority on Algeria.

community was such that one French government after another had to bow to the demands of the Europeans in Algeria.

In 1954, Algeria was governed by a Governor-General and an Algerian Assembly of 120 delegates, 60 elected by one-tenth of the population and 60 elected by nine-tenths. The Assembly also sent delegates to the French Parliament, but elections were so "rigged" that even to-day Moslems suspect elections and referendums without outside control.

The first Nationalist movement was a religious one, led by **Messali Hadj**, who back in 1925 demanded complete independence. A larger movement was led by **Ferhat Abbas**, who wanted above all things to be a Frenchman, but found at school what it meant to be a Moslem. Discrimination, as in South Africa, increased his agitation for equality, since no Moslem could have full political rights unless he gave up his "personal Koranic status". In 1936, **Leon Blum's** government tried to remove the discrimination, but was opposed by the Algerian Europeans and by **Messali Hadj**, and his government fell. In 1943 **Ferhat Abbas** and other leaders, who asked for self-determination without distinction of race or religion, were jailed, since the idea of an Algerian state was anathema to the "colons". Similarities between the Algerian situation and that of South Africa are obvious, but are not the parallels often quoted by ill-informed people in defence of apartheid.

The real starting point of the Algerian revolt was **May 8th, 1945, V.E. Day**, when a Moslem parade in **Sétif** ran into the police, shots were fired by a panic-stricken policemen (cf. **Sharpeville**), and in the riot that followed 29 Europeans were killed and 49 wounded. The French revenge was pitiless and inhuman, with whole villages bombed and wiped out. That day saw the birth of the National Liberation Front. **Ferhat Abbas** and **Messali Hadj** were both in eclipse, the 1948 elections were full of fraud, the young politicians had lost faith in democratic systems, and, feeling that "the bullet spoke louder than the ballot", began to plot in secret. One of them was **Ahmed ben Bella**, who had fought with the French Army in the war. He founded a secret army, but it was discovered in 1950 and **Ben Bella** was jailed. The collapse of his

secret army brought collapse to Algerian Nationalists and a splitting of forces, some joining **Messali Hadj** and some the moderate **Ferhat Abbas**.

In 1952 **Ben Bella** escaped to Cairo and there laid the foundation of the F.L.N. (the National Liberation Front), and of his own position as Prime Minister of the independent Algerian Republic to-day. He and his Committee split Algeria into 6 **Willayas** or **Zones**, well organized, with arms smuggled in from Egypt, Morocco and Tunisia, and the revolt was planned for November 1st, 1954. The moment was timed to embarrass the French Government after its defeat in Indonesia, and with troubles in Morocco and Tunisia. Government policy was weak and vacillating. French politicians refused to negotiate with the Algerian rebels, while at the same time agreeing to Moroccan and Tunisian independence.

The rebellion began in Eastern Algeria, and France answered force with force. The main object of the rebels was to create panic and disorder throughout Algeria, while asking for honourable negotiations with France. The new Governor-General, **Jacques Soustelle**, tried to settle the revolt, but was opposed by the Europeans, who, like Whites in other parts of Africa, were not prepared to surrender their existing privileges. He managed to bring in some mild reforms, but when further uprisings and massacres of Whites took

("Sunday Times")

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AFRICAN REVOLUTION (Continued)

place, he became implacably opposed to Moslem Nationalism. The revolt spread, with terrible reprisals by the French, and 1956 ended with the first bomb explosions in Algiers itself.

The next French Government, under **Guy Mollet**, allowed the French army to gain too much power. In the "Battle of Algiers" which lasted over a year, the Army used torture as the basic instrument to overcome the F.L.N. terrorist network, and executed thousands without trial. By this time (January 1957) all the surviving F.L.N. leaders were in Tunis, taking stock of the position. A Committee of Nine was formed, later to be the **Algerian Provisional Government**. A conference was planned by **President Bourguiba** and **King Mahommed** to try to create a Franco-North African Community, but the French Army, acting on its own initiative, captured Ben Bella on his way to the Tunisian Conference and destroyed all belief in France's good faith. At the same time, the Algerian rebellion threatened to destroy the good relations between France and Morocco and Tunisia, since French public opinion held them responsible for continuing the Algerian revolt.

On **May 13th, 1958**, French army officers and Algerian Whites staged a revolt which overthrew the Fourth Republic of France. They seized the government, set up a Committee of Public Safety and called **General de Gaulle** back to power, believing that he supported their claim that Algeria was part of France. They were bitterly disillusioned when in 1959 he announced that he was prepared to grant Algeria "self-determination". He made overtures to the rebels, which were not accepted, and the war dragged on. General de Gaulle knew very well that France was fighting not only the rebels but her own army in Algeria, which combined with the extremist Whites, the "Ultras", to stage the "Barricades Week" in January 1960, which they hoped would bring about de Gaulle's downfall. He broke that insurrection and proved that he was strong enough to keep control. More than 1,000 Army officers were transferred out of Algeria and the Army was gradually deprived of its political power.

In January 1961, General de Gaulle's great personal triumph in a referendum gave him full power to settle the Algerian rebellion, but it was not until the failure of the four-day "Generals' Insurrection" that the Army realized that it could no longer impose its views on France. Algerian Whites, however, were still bitterly opposed to

"self-determination" and continued their O.A.S. terrorist campaign of plastic bombs and other demonstrations.

But at last the path to peace was open, and negotiations between France and the F.L.N., headed by **Belkacem Krim**, began in Geneva in May 1961. General de Gaulle offered generous terms, i.e., liberal measures in Algeria, a cease-fire, the release of 6,000 political prisoners and the transfer of Ben Bella and other F.L.N. leaders from prison to house arrest in a mansion in France. The peace talks were continued at Evian in July, and in March 1962 the French Government and the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic, with **Youssef ben Khedda** as Prime Minister, reached agreement on a cease-fire, to be followed by the independence of Algeria. The country was to be ruled by a French High Commissioner with an Executive Council of 12, until a referendum could be held for all Algerian voters, giving them a choice between unity with France and independence in co-operation with France. French military bases were to be retained and operated by France on a fifty-fifty basis. The referendum was held in July 1962 and Algeria became an independent republic.

Immediately, a bitter conflict arose between Prime Minister **Ben Khedda** in Algiers and F.L.N. leader **Ben Bella**, who, on being freed from prison, went via Cairo to Oran, where he set up his Political Bureau of Seven Men. For a month there was virtually anarchy in Algeria, until the leaders agreed to lay aside their differences. Ben Khedda gave in, since most of his Ministers had gone over to the other side, and Ben Bella entered Algiers in triumph.

The effects of his victory are widespread. It must bring Algeria into Nasser's sphere and thus kill Bourguiba's pro-Western influence. Algeria is now a member of the United Nations, and as such will strengthen the Afro-Asian bloc. The immediate effect of Ben Bella's move to the left is that 800,000 Whites have now left Algeria, leaving the administration of the country in ruins. Only a large French subsidy is keeping things going, and the leftist programme of "land reform" will probably wipe out what still remains of productive European farming. France expected perhaps half that number to leave, and is seriously embarrassed by the problem of finding housing and jobs for the flood of immigrants.

(To be Continued)

THE DRAFT BANTU LAWS AMENDMENT BILL

EARLY IN FEBRUARY, Mr. Frank Waring, Minister of Information, held a special Press conference to give advance publicity to a Bill drawn up by the Department of Bantu Administration and Development. Mr. Waring himself had not yet read the Bill, but presented it as a measure designed primarily to promote healthy race relations, to eliminate obsolete and overlapping provisions of existing Bantu legislation, and to ease the lot of the African worker. When the draft Bill was published a few days later, and its provisions were found to be harsher and more oppressive than ever, while it gave the Government drastic and far-reaching powers to control all African labour, Press correspondents complained that they had been "taken for a ride".

Comments upon the Bill prior to its revision by the Cabinet were called for by the Department, and many organizations and individuals availed themselves of this invitation, mainly attacking the Bill on the grounds of its inhumanity, its interference with labour and with the powers of local authorities, the hardship and inconvenience it would cause both Black and White citizens, and so on.

The Black Sash submitted two memoranda, one from National Headquarters and one from the Cape Western Region.

HEADQUARTERS' MEMORANDUM

AFTER careful study of the draft Bantu Laws Amendment Bill published in the Government Gazette Extraordinary No. 430 of the 8th February, 1963, the Black Sash is of the opinion that the proposed legislation will have disastrous effects on the spiritual, mental and economic well-being of the African people.

Although practically every facet of the day-to-day existence of the Urban African is already controlled under existing laws, the draft Bill provides for further, more stringent, restrictions. For example, Africans who qualify at present under the provisions of Section 10 of the Native (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act, No. 25 of 1945, have a legal right to live and work in a proclaimed area. The new Bill converts that right into a *privilege* to be granted or withheld by the Minister.

We believe that the proposed amending legislation will have the following effects on the African people, on the economy and on the future of South Africa, and will curtail still further the rights of citizens born in South Africa.

1. Human Considerations.

- (a) The Bill removes the small measure of security hitherto enjoyed by Africans living *legally* in proclaimed areas, which has given them some opportunity of becoming stable and responsible members of the community, but the removal of this security will create a rootless and unsettled community.

- (b) It will intensify the already evident break-up of family life, the cornerstone of stability in any society. Presently, the number of convictions for technical offences under the "Pass Laws" is nearly 400,000 a year. Under the new Bill this number will certainly increase, resulting in further loss of employment, and consequently an increase of "endorsements out". Children will be deprived of the care of their mothers; there will be a further decline in parental authority, a growing contempt for the law and an increase in juvenile delinquency and crime.

The psychological effect of insecurity and the disruption of home life will affect the mental health and the physical well-being of the Africans. Implicit in this Bill is the control of a man's right to choose a wife, because he cannot bring her to live with him in the area where he is employed, except in certain circumstances. This is indefensible. Generally, the separation of husband from wife and children

The Draft Bantu Laws Amendment Bill (Continued)

encourages immorality and crime and corrupts the natural desires "implanted by God", which can only be "directed aright" if the sanctity of the home is maintained inviolate.

The removal of the discretion of the local authority to allow a wife to visit her husband in a prescribed area, if he has been in employment in that area for a period of not less than two years, is a violation of the right of a woman to live with her husband.

The restrictions which control the entry of women into prescribed areas will aggravate the imbalance in the proportion of males to females in these areas. The social evils which arise therefrom are well known. This imbalance, which is evident to-day in the Western Cape, may well have been a contributing cause of the disturbances in Paarl and elsewhere.

The sentiments expressed by the Honourable, the Minister of Social Welfare and Pensions, Mr. J. J. Serfontein, in Parliament on the 4th March, 1963, must surely apply to all races. He said,

"We are aware of the dangers which are working destructively on family life, and this gives rise to concern.

"Phenomena such as divorce, alcoholism, and juvenile delinquency must be seen as unhealthy symptoms of the inability of many a family to protect its spiritual, organic and functional unity in a changing world."

Mr. Serfontein's desire to preserve family life is nullified by the provisions of of this draft Bill. As women, we feel strongly that laws which adversely affect the happiness and stability of the family are unjust, unjustifiable and immoral.

- (c) If permit holders under Section 10 (1) bis of the Native (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act, leave the area at any time, they are in danger of being "endorsed out" on their return, although their families may be dependent for support on their earnings. The deletion of this sub-section in the Urban Areas Act will force them to choose between losing contact with their families or giving up their employment and returning to their homes, where in all probability

there is no work available. This is an unwarranted interference with family life.

- (d) The Bill will create even more "stateless" people in the land of their birth. The Black Sash has ample evidence that many African men and women, "endorsed out" of a proclaimed area, are not permitted by the local Bantu Commissioner to remain in the area to which they have been sent. In some cases of which we have evidence, people not born in the Bantustans are not legally entitled to be anywhere in the Republic of South Africa. The ensuing frustration, impoverishment and hopelessness even result in attempts to commit suicide.
- (e) Africans and their dependents who are removed from prescribed areas to their homes or to a scheduled or released area may be "endorsed out" to rural areas where starvation and malnutrition already exist; areas which are not equipped to house, feed and employ or sustain the people already living there. Africans who are "endorsed out" may be forcibly placed in employment for which they are not suited or which they do not like. They can be placed in "detention" (the Draft Bill does not define the term "detention"). In our opinion, the Government, through these provisions, is planning to create a servile and poverty-stricken labour force.

2. Economic Repercussions.

The Bill departs from the accepted principle of free and private enterprise and adopts the policy of a controlled and directed economy. The Minister will have the power to direct the employment and movement of the country's labour force. In practice this means, indirectly, the control and direction of capital. The Minister will have the power to terminate labour contracts, to curtail and control the supply of labour and to force industry to operate in any area in which he may determine that labour is available.

The Bill imposes stringent and unfair conditions on the self-employed African and on the African trader, and provides for severe penalties for infringement of the law. This is contrary to the principle of free enterprise.

The Bill again denies the right, basic in

every democracy, that a man shall be permitted to sell his labour freely and to his advantage. This denial makes the worker servile to the state, a condition found in totalitarian and Communist states.

3. The Cost.

- (a) Apart from the inevitable deterioration in economic growth, the cost of implementing the new stringent clauses of the draft Bill is incalculable. It is impossible at this stage to predict precisely the increase in the number of man hours spent at Pass Offices, in Courts, in prisons and in the execution of the innumerable formalities imposed on the individual, as well as the ancillary expenses which will necessarily be incurred by the Department of Justice.
- (b) The Government's apartheid policy has seriously impaired the public image of South Africa and practically isolated the Republic from the rest of the world. The passing of this draft Bill must exacerbate that position.
- (c) Although it was claimed that this amending legislation would smooth the path of the African, we are convinced that its provisions reveal arbitrary power and excessive control over the life of the African. These extremely wide powers conferred

upon the Minister will make pawns of these people — pawns to be moved and directed at the whim of the Minister. This new Bill constitutes a further infringement of human rights and liberties.

The structure of race relations in this country, so vital to the well-being of all its inhabitants and the future of the Republic, is further drastically undermined by this Draft Bill. So many of its provisions give the Minister so much power over the lives of human beings that the Black man's bitterness and eventual hatred of the Whites must create an extremely grave and highly dangerous situation, full of foreboding for the future.

The multiplication of oppressions under this amending legislation may result in a situation which all the physical power of the State will not be sufficient to contain.

The Black Sash has, over a number of years, consistently protested against the "Pass Laws" and their attendant deprivations of the rights and liberties of the individual. This mass of legislation is not only morally indefensible but is a prostitution of the ideals of democracy which the present Government so frequently professes to uphold.

On the basis of our practical experience of the effects of existing legislation on the urban African, we call upon the Minister to withdraw the Bill with its unethical and inhumane provisions.

CAPE WESTERN REGION'S MEMORANDUM

A MEMORANDUM submitted by the Cape Western Region of the Black Sash says that the draft Bill does nothing to relieve the hardships and injustices which Africans suffer under existing laws — on the contrary, many of the clauses will increase the hardships which they suffer on account of discriminatory legislation.

The only "concessions" in the Bill — the possibility of the Minister's granting some exemptions from the application of curfews; the right of Africans to visit African townships in which they are not themselves resident; and the acceptance by the Government of responsibility for paying the cost of repatriation of certain classes of Africans (and their dependants) who are being endorsed out of prescribed areas — are not likely to do anything to make the Bill more acceptable to Africans. In any case, they are not concessions, but merely reasonable ways of administering some aspects of these unjust laws. They will be lost

sight of under the multitude of severe new hardships which this Bill will cause.

The Bill makes further drastic inroads into the freedom of individuals both Black and White, thus undermining the best practices of democratic government. It contains the undesirable principle of throwing the onus of proving himself innocent on the accused, instead of an accused person being presumed innocent until proved guilty. This subverts the ordinary practice of law in this country, and the Black Sash deprecates the tendency of the present Government to extend this principle in many important new pieces of legislation.

While believing that the contents of the Bill will result in increasing race frictions and in causing economic uncertainty, the clauses which most deeply concern the Black Sash are those which tend to increase African hardship and insecurity.

These include all those clauses which tighten up the prohibitions against Africans working in

(Continued Overleaf)

The Draft Bantu Laws Amendment Bill (Continued)

prescribed areas, which are usually those areas where the best opportunities of employment are to be found and where the best wages can be obtained.

After attacking many of the provisions of the Bill in detail one by one, the Memorandum continues:

It would appear that the conception behind the Bill is that Africans shall have no rights in White areas of the Republic and that they will be allowed in to work for Whites in such manner as may best suit the Government.

A careful perusal of the Bill makes us conclude that while workers are to be pushed out of prescribed areas, i.e., including all the Urban and Industrial areas of the country, and can even be arbitrarily removed from the employment they have, there is nothing to ensure that this will only be done if other suitable employment with comparable wages is available elsewhere.

From our experience of the position at present, we know that people are sent out of urban areas even if there is no employment available elsewhere, and/or without the worker being informed of where he can definitely obtain similar adequately paid employment.

It seems to be contemplated that the Africans not wanted by the Government in towns are to be sent to African areas, where, as everybody (including the Government) knows, there is virtually no employment available.

Indeed, the Bill evidently contemplates a concentration in these areas of settlements or camps of displaced persons which will serve alike as dumping grounds for their dependants and as sources of cheap migrant labour for White employers whose wages and conditions of employment would not attract "free" labour.

While it has been noted that sums of money are to be expended on the provision of houses, in the Reserves, it has also been noted that no provision has been made to provide adequate opportunities for employment for the Africans who are to be removed from prescribed areas.

The Tomlinson Commission made it clear that a living on the land could be had for only about half the population of the African areas at that time, and that the other half needed to be provided with other avenues of employment if they were to earn enough to support themselves and their

families. Avenues of employment for these people have not as yet been provided and yet it is now proposed in addition to send Africans there from outside.

Where there is real unemployment, we believe that this should be dealt with as an economic problem and by using the methods adopted in other Western civilized societies: by creating, and encouraging private enterprise to create, employment opportunities; by making assistance available in the form of adequate education, specialized training and unemployment insurance funds, etc., and not by driving away the unemployed to some remote place and by forced labour.

The Black Sash considers that it is morally unjustifiable and totally unrealistic to treat Africans in the so-called "White" areas of the Republic as if they were cattle.

The Black Sash believes that the increasing number of disturbances and the recent outbreaks of violence on the part of Africans are a direct result of the harsh, unjust, discriminatory laws which so bedevil every aspect of the daily lives of Africans in the Republic. So, far, the Western Cape appears to have suffered from the strictest application of the existing laws, but under this new Bill Africans throughout the country can be as adversely affected as those of the Western Cape are at the moment. In the opinion of the Black Sash, this is likely to drive the majority of Africans to a point of complete desperation, and to cause them to form or join utterly undesirable organizations, as being the only way left open to them to bring about change.

It is the firm belief of the Black Sash that laws which are unjust can never help to ease race frictions but can only increase them.

As has been shown fully, and we hope clearly, in this Memorandum, the proposals in this Bill will make the already hard lives of the Africans almost unendurable. **To perpetrate such an abuse of the power which Whites have over the lives of Blacks by virtue of their political dominance would be to the everlasting disgrace of White South Africans in general and of the Nationalist Government in particular. We therefore request, with all the sincerity at our command, that this Bill should not be adopted by the Government, who we have been given to understand are not as yet committed to it.**

THE DRAFT BANTU LAWS AMENDMENT BILL

What Others Think

S.A. Institute of Race Relations.

THE INSTITUTE said it deplored the plan to deprive Africans who were born in a town or who had lived there for lengthy periods of any sense of security in regard to rights of continued residence.

The Bill would do this by giving the Minister the right to force any Africans out of a town if he considered there was an excess of "reasonable labour requirements."

"These people are the most Westernized of the Africans. Many of them have lost all touch with the Reserves. All their interests and associates are in the towns.

"They could form a stable middle class on whom the country could rely to maintain peace and order, to provide a settled, progressive, intelligent labour force and to enrich urban life generally."

The Bill would enable the Minister to usurp the functions of the Department of Labour, and would give him complete control over the supply and distribution of African labour throughout the Republic.

"It would be within the Minister's power to force all industry in a particular area, or a particular type of industry, or a particular employer, to cease operations."

"Rand Daily Mail"—"Quid Pro Quo"

ONE outstanding analysis of the Bill has been made by the Institute of Race Relations, which points out that it gives the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development "sweeping and quite unprecedented powers" over the lives of seven million Africans in the White areas. This is no exaggeration. If it is passed as it stands, this legislation will make the Minister a dictator with complete control over the movement, residence and occupation of every African living outside his "homeland".

Strange as it seems, the Government regards its Bantustan policy as a generous gesture to the African and one which should be hailed by world opinion as marking a great advance in race relations. But the price which Africans must pay for this gesture is the surrender of all their rights in the White areas . . . This Bill is a *quid pro quo*, a strict bargain. Limited self-rule in the Bantustans, and, in return, nothing at all in the White areas.

"The Star"—"Undermines Stability"

THE draft Bantu Laws Amendment Bill undermines stability and security at the moment when these factors are most needed.

The Bill would set up a system for what amounts to the direction of all African labour — including farm labour — when what primary and secondary production needs is less regimentation, not more. How, it has been asked, are industrialists — or farmers, for that matter — in areas from which African labour has been eliminated to compete with those where it is merely rationed, or still untouched?

The Bill also imperils the domicile rights of Africans in urban areas when Africans are restless enough as it is and when . . . the influx to urban areas is steady anyway.

"Sunday Times"—"A Portable Labour Force"

STARTING from the assumption that all Natives are citizens of one or other Bantustan, and that their presence in the "White areas" is permissible only for so long as their labour is required, the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill proposes to turn non-reserve Natives into what someone has called a "portable labour force". The Bill strips from them most of the legal rights of residence and employment to which they have been clinging precariously in the urban areas during the past 14 years of Nationalist Party rule, and confirms them now as temporary sojourners in the fullest sense of the word.

(Continued Overleaf)

BOILED DOWN



(“Rand Daily Mail”)

THE DRAFT BANTU LAWS AMENDMENT BILL

What Others Think

The Progressive Party—“The Most Inhuman Bill yet Devised”

EVERY employer of African labour — domestic, industrial or commercial — and every African worker will be at the mercy of the Minister of Bantu Affairs if the most inhuman Bill yet devised by the Nationalist Government . . . goes through.

The Bill is not only inhuman,

- It is irresponsible in the light of the shortage of hostel and other accommodation in distant townships that can only be reached by an already overburdened transport system.
- It threatens further the already limited respect for the sanctity of family life in South Africa.
- It increases arbitrary interference by officials with the rights of employer and worker to decide where a person may work and should live.
- It could mean that a man who has been sentenced and served his sentence could be punished again for the same offence.
- It intensifies influx control while severely limiting right of appeal against its application.

The Progressive Party condemns the draft Bill for a great many reasons, both moral and economic.

Because it will merely apply the inhuman and repressive aspects of the Government's policy of apartheid, this Bill must inevitably lead to increased racial tension and finally to disaster if it goes through.

“The Times”, London—“Unpersons”

TO people who know the labyrinth of South African racial legislation, it must have seemed almost impossible to devise fresh laws to add to the regimentation, harassment and humiliation of the Black man.

The relentless logic of apartheid theory, however, has triumphantly come up with further refinements. In the name of healthier race relations, a new Bill, the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill, has been published to codify and harmonize the various Acts which enforce segregation.

To put some order into the present confusion of the laws — itself a source of injustice and a weapon of tyranny — would be desirable.

Whether or not the new Bill would achieve this, however, it is plainly designed to remove whatever slender safeguards remain to the African population in the urban areas. It formally abolishes all remaining rights of residence.

Under Section 10 of the Urban Areas Act of 1955, an African could establish such a right if he was born in the area, could prove 15 years' continuous residence, or 10 years' continuous em-

ployment — though these rights could be overridden by a banishment order.

Now they are finally to be cut away. The new Bill provides that an African may reside in an urban area only if his labour is certified as essential there.

Can the South African Government go much further in the Orwellian process of turning Africans into “unpersons”?

The Liberal Party (Transvaal Division)—“This measure is immoral”

OUR case is more than a mere political one. It rests on a deep abhorrence for this immoral law. To us, the best touchstone of morality is: Would you have this done to you? We pose the question to those who promote this law.

The effect of the Bill is to make the residence, employment and presence of an African in a “White” area dependent on official permission. Africans will be considered as temporary sojourners, not capable of acquiring rights of permanency.

The party opposes this policy as immoral because:

- The family is an assurance of social stability. Migratory labour destroys African family life, and to promote this policy is to be a knowing party to that destruction.
- The problem of the relations between the peoples of South Africa cannot be solved by the supremacy of one group over another.
- Whites are not entitled to have the benefits of African labour while according them the status of chattels, without rights.

“It is significant that the mining industry is exempted from the most oppressive sections of the Bill. The Minister may also exclude other industries.

“It seems to us that mining is so essential to the economic well-being of South Africa that even apartheid gives precedence to this golden calf.”

Professor P. V. Pistorius

THE total effect (of the Bill) is that any African outside the Reserves is completely at the mercy of the Minister of Bantu Affairs. He has no home security, no security to reside in any area and no security of family life. He can be moved about arbitrarily at the dictates of labour needs. Although he constitutes the majority even in the White areas, he is a chattel in the hands of the Minister.

(“Rand Daily Mail”)

THE PASS LAWS

LIKE many other responsible citizens and organizations in South Africa, the Black Sash has for many years been deeply concerned about the effects on the African people of the group of laws known as the "Pass Laws", which bear only on the Africans, and are generally acknowledged to be one of the main causes of African unrest and racial friction in our country. From time to time, we have made representations on the subject to responsible authorities, including the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, which have hitherto been courteously received.

Notwithstanding repeated recommendations for the relaxation of these laws from well-informed and authoritative sources, the Government has consistently tightened up the legislation and applied the provisions more and more stringently. The draft Bantu Laws Amendment Bill, published a few weeks ago, and heralded by Mr. Frank Waring, Minister of Information, as a measure designed to ease the lot of the African and ameliorate race relations, contains provisions even harsher and more repressive than those already on the Statute Book.

Feeling that the ever-increasing severity of these laws and their implementation constituted a serious danger to race relations in South Africa, the Black Sash decided to make a further appeal to the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, and the following letter signed by the National President of the Black Sash was accordingly addressed to him on the 20th February:—

Dear Sir,

We write to you because of our deep concern for the future of South Africa — a future which is dependent for its stability on a harmonious and contented society.

In recent years the tensions between the various races have increased and there is undoubtedly great dissatisfaction among the non-White people. This steady deterioration in race relations cannot be denied and is a matter of great anxiety to all who have the interests of South Africa at heart.

Careful study of the present situation has convinced the Black Sash that the greatest cause of resentment among the African people is the Pass Laws, which are to them a symbol of oppression.

The history of these laws is a tragic one, and the Black Sash from its inception has opposed the harsh and bureaucratic control of the lives of non-White citizens.

The "Pass Laws" were introduced in the early years of the nineteenth century, when the Africans were largely illiterate. The purpose of the "Pass" was to identify them when they moved to European settled areas. As the country became more populated, the "Pass Laws" were used for enforcing contracts and arresting deserters. By 1879, there was already a measure of control over the movements of the African people who could be brought before a magistrate and made to prove their *bona fides*.

Although "Passes" were originally designed to identify primitive people, now they are used to control all Africans whether primitive or educated. This control of freedom of movement and employment has always been bitterly opposed by the Africans and the existence of the Pass Laws, with

the opposition to them by the Africans, has always caused uneasiness among the Europeans. This uneasiness has been proved by the appointment, during the past fifty years, of a number of Government Commissions, whose findings recognize the legitimate grievances of the Africans and recommend the relaxing of these laws.

Although in the early days the purpose and the implementation of "Pass Laws" may have been benevolent, very soon the system was found to bear so harshly on the African people that the first efforts to abolish them were made just after the Boer War. This culminated in an outcry against "Passes" after 1910. In 1913, the successful passive resistance in the Free State resulted in the withdrawal of a proposal that women should also carry "Passes". From then to this very day there has been increasing opposition to the "Pass Laws" and especially to their application to women.

Nevertheless, the Government in 1952 decided to apply "Pass Laws" to African women, despite the general abhorrence of the system by the African people. Since 1955, in every important town in the Republic, African women have sought interviews with officials of the Department of Native Affairs, to express their deep-rooted antagonism to the issue of Reference Books and all their implications, which cut right across established native custom. That same year, two thousand native women marched to the Union Buildings in Pretoria to seek an interview with Dr. Verwoerd, then Minister of Native Affairs. They were refused. In August 1958, twenty thousand women gathered at the Union Buildings to see the Prime Minister and to submit a petition signed by tens of thousands of

(Continued Overleaf)

The Pass Laws (Continued)

women. They were refused even a hearing. Although ignored, the African women continued to organize protests and to seek interviews with officials in the hope that the Government would relent in its intention to extend the application of "Pass Laws" to women. Consistently, the Government refused to pay heed to those peaceful protests. Their answer to the African women has been to gazette the date on which reference books became compulsory.

The objections to the "Pass Laws" as they affect men are equally valid in regard to women. These laws constitute a threat to family life, the basis of a stable society. They cause insecurity because the absence of a rubber stamp in a reference book can lead to arbitrary arrest and detention. As a natural result of these laws, the country must face an increase in immorality and in juvenile delinquency.

As White women, we know how we would feel if we were subjected to the same hardships and indignities as those which are and will continue to be the lot of African women under the "Pass Laws" system. We feel it is a disgrace to allow African homes to be broken up and children to suffer through the imprisonment of their mothers, and through additional poverty when money for food becomes money for fines. Already parental discipline is considerably weakened through the forcible separation from their fathers. More than 300,000 African males are convicted each year for petty and technical offences relating to "Bantu" control.

We do not even dwell on the colossal cost to the country of these convictions and of the whole system.

Since all peaceful and legal forms of protest have now been denied to the African people, we have seen in recent months a dangerously different form of protest emerging. The Africans are resort-

ing more and more to violent methods. Harsh laws and even more severe penalties have so far proved no deterrent to this new pattern of protest.

It is a truism that no government can govern indefinitely without the consent of the governed. The "Pass Laws" and other repressive legislation which are the cornerstone of "apartheid" fan the flames of hatred which automatically becomes anti-White "Black Nationalism". The persistence of the Government in pursuing its "apartheid" policy endangers the lives of all South Africans and the future of our country.

We appeal to you and the Government, from our innermost convictions, to pay heed to manifestations of unrest. The new Draft Bill would appear to curtail even more drastically the freedom of movement of the entire urban African population, who, feeling so insecure that they have nothing to lose, may undermine the security of the whole country. It is imperative that you reconsider the whole basis of the "Pass Laws".

The Private Secretary of the Minister of Bantu Affairs and Development replied in the following curt terms:

"Dear Madam,

By direction I acknowledge receipt of your letter dated the 20th February, 1963, and have to inform you that the Honourable the Minister is of the opinion that your organization is meddling in a matter of which it knows nothing."

To this letter, the National President of the Black Sash replied as follows:

Dear Sir,

I acknowledge your letter of the 27th February, 1963, in which you state that you are of the opinion that our organization "is meddling in a matter of which it knows nothing".

With the greatest respect, we would bring to your notice the fact that for the past eight years our organization has devoted itself to the study of legislation with a view to upholding democratic ideals and political morality in our country. This study has revealed to us the many unjust results of much of the legislation on the Statute Book and the many unhappy effects upon human beings of the implementation of Apartheid Laws, particularly those administered by your Department.

You may recall that Mrs. E. Stott, on several occasions in Cape Town, and together with me in Pretoria, brought to your notice the tragic effects of the "Pass Laws" and Influx Control on the lives of many of our African people. In our letter of the 20th February, 1963, we again mentioned these effects and stressed the deterioration in race relations, which we consider is endangering the future of South Africa.

As an informed body of women, with practical experience in this field, we therefore regret that you deemed it necessary to dismiss as "meddling" our sincere efforts to put before you the truth as we see it.

We would have expected greater courtesy and understanding from an elected representative who is a Minister of State.

("Cape Times")



**"So you're an Anti-Communist, hey?
Well I don't care what kind of Communist you are."**

CHRISTMAS IN RETREAT

CHRISTMAS DAY and Boxing Day, traditional days of rejoicing and family celebration in Christian countries, were spent this year by fifteen members of Cape Western Region of the Black Sash in isolation and austerity. After attending church services early on Christmas morning, these women went into retreat "somewhere in the country", away from their families, and remained there in silence for two days. While their families and friends celebrated, they ate bread, and walked some distance to fetch drinking water. There was no electricity, so they went to bed at sundown on camp stretchers.

This voluntary act was a gesture to identify themselves at this time of family festival with the thousands of African women separated from their husbands, and express their sorrow at the compulsory separation of families by South Africa's laws.

Most of the women had ordered Christmas provisions for their families, and prepared dinners which had been left in ovens. Three had left young children at home, and two had left their houses full of guests. Their own food was meagre and sleeping conditions austere, but they felt that they were in the very lap of luxury compared with those Africans who live in the grinding poverty of a filthy slum or a leaky pondokkie. They came to "the place of silence", having left behind them all the joys and family fun of a "White" Christmas.

To what end? As they themselves expressed it, they wanted to get as close as possible to the African mothers, wives, daughters and grandmothers who have been parted by law from their menfolk. At this Christmas season they wanted to let these women know that they grieved with them, tried to experience a small part of what they suffered, and felt the guilt and shame that belongs to all South Africans who allow these things. **They wanted to add their mite to those forces working to make White South Africans aware of what is being done in their name to fellow countrymen and women who are Black.**

In a statement to the Press, Mrs. M. C. Petersen, Vice-chairman of the Cape Western Region, said:

"We know that many White people are unaware of the hardships caused by the fact that African families are deprived of the ordinary family life enjoyed by Whites.

"We hope that during this season White people will give a little thought to the thousands of African women and children, many of them Christians, who every year must spend this time away from their husbands and fathers because of the laws of the land, which deny them the right to live in the areas where the husbands live and work.

"We are convinced that if Africans had been able to live according to the same laws as the

White people, South Africa would now have been enjoying a peaceful and stable way of life.

"We wish peace and goodwill to all men."

State President's Christmas Message.

It is ironical that in a Christmas message broadcast to the nation, the State President, Mr. C. R. Swart, said:

"At a time like this, our tenderest thoughts go towards the families of our nation, the family life, the devotion, affection and mutual respect between husband and wife, between parents and children, between brothers and sisters. We all consider it a great privilege for the family circle, with parents, children and grandchildren, to celebrate Christmas as a family gathering."

Common Humanity.

In a leading article, the "Cape Times" said:

The anonymous Black Sash women who went into retreat on bread and water and stayed away from their families over Christmas have made a gesture of unique significance for South Africa. Perhaps it was one which needed to be made in this country more than any other in the world. For the women concerned were White women, and they were showing their sympathy for the thousands of Black families whom the authorities have considered it necessary to break up in the interests of "preserving the White nation". These women would be the first to accept the State President's assertion in his Christmas message, "We all consider it a great privilege for the family circle . . . to celebrate Christmas as a family gathering." But the Black Sash women forwent this privilege to remind us of how many African families had no chance of enjoying it because of legislation, much of it very recent legislation. They were in fact carrying out, in their gesture of fellowship from one group of human beings to

(Continued Overleaf)

Christmas in Retreat (Continued)

another, another part of the State President's advice to the nation, "Whatever we design or do, let love for what we desire to achieve be the ruling motive, and never hate against others."

We have reached the end of a year in which a recognition of the shared humanity of all citizens in South Africa, whatever their colour, has not been a dominant feature of life. Several times during the year White and Black have worked together without thought of race or group differences to save men, women or children involved in some or other disaster. But in the heat of other events both sides have tended to forget that they belong to the same family of mankind, and that their minor cultural differences are slight beside the multitude of interests and desires they have in common as members of the family of man. One group in South Africa wishes to sweep all Africans out of the Western Cape at whatever cost in human suffering and spiritual loss to protect its own ephemeral "security". Another group is so infuriated by the White patterns of thought and behaviour that lead to this kind of proposal, that it wishes to slaughter as many White people as possible and terrorize the rest out of the country. At a time, then, when our common society is becoming polarized into such extremes of mutual rejection, the Black Sash demonstrators have performed perhaps the most badly needed service in the Republic to-day.

GOVERNMENT BY DECREE

THE WARNING issued to Mrs. Adeline Hain and the banning order served on Mr. Peter Hjul, both office bearers of the Liberal Party, have once more focused public attention on the danger of placing arbitrary power in the hands of one man, the Minister of Justice, power which is being used to silence extra-parliamentary criticism of Government policy.

Mrs. Hain and Mr. Hjul belong to a recognized political party, diametrically opposed to Communism and to totalitarianism. The Liberal Party legitimately opposes the apartheid policy of the Nationalist Government. Is this a crime?

Warnings and bannings remind us of Mr. Vorster's ominous comments in the second reading debate on the "Sabotage" Bill, when he denounced all his critics.

The Minister assured the country that the Act

WHAT THEY THOUGHT ABOUT

WE hoped that our small token gesture might focus attention here and there on the destruction — by law — of African family life, might capture the imagination here or there in a way that prophets and politicians perhaps cannot always do . . .

WE read, we prayed, we thought, we wrote. We looked inwards as well as outwards and upwards, and so we did not come away deceiving ourselves about the value to our fellows or ourselves of our little time "apart". But we learnt afresh that there really can be no such thing as a Whites-only Christmas — not one that is blessed . . .

I THOUGHT of our own Prime Minister (not even born here) and our Divisional Commissioner of Police, who were with their families — both, I believe, good family men much loved by their families. If they had been Africans they would have been in "bachelor" quarters . . .

MOSTLY I thought of those countless African women, whose faces I can no longer even remember, who came (to the Athlone Advice Office) to ask if I could help them to remain with their husbands . . .

I THOUGHT of a friend . . . somehow, although he reads the English language Press daily, it has escaped him that if he had been born in this country as a Black African he would not have been allowed to own his own "home" in Cape Town, and he would not have been able to have his family with him legally for years . . .

would be used only against those guilty of sabotage or of furthering the aims of Communism. Of what value is that assurance when the public must accept only the Minister's word, unsupported by a trial in a Court of law?

A particularly tragic aspect of this authoritarian system is that there has been such an insidious softening-up of public opinion that few of the electorate even recognize the need to protest against bannings and house arrest.

Let the people, for so long sunk in their political apathy, arouse themselves, and add the weight of their support to the challenge issued by Sir de Villiers Graaff, to test the guilt or innocence of Mr. Hjul in a Court of law.

The time has come for South Africans to demand a return to the rule of law, and the cessation of government by decree.

BRAINS TRUST ON CENSORSHIP

SIX prominent literary and legal personalities, including two Nationalist Members of Parliament, took part in a Brains Trust on the Publications and Entertainments Bill, arranged by the Cape Western Region of the Black Sash, and held in the Claremont Civic Centre on the 5th March.

During a lively debate covering a wide range of subjects, it became apparent that there was a clear-cut division of opinion on the practical value and literary desirability of the Bill, between the two Members of Parliament on the one hand and the rest of the team on the other.

The question-master was **Mr. Gordon Bagnall**, writer, broadcaster and critic, and the members of the panel were **Professor B. Beinart**, Professor of Roman Law at the University of Cape Town, **Mr. Blaar Coetzee, M.P.**, **Mr. Gerald Gordon, Q.C.**, **Dr. Abraham Jonker, M.P.**, **Mr. Uys Krige**, the Afrikaans poet and author, and **Mr. Leo Marquard**, the historian. **Mrs. Eulalie Stott**, a former National President of the Black Sash, was also on the platform. There was an audience of about 400 people.

Three questions were put to the team:

1. Briefly, do you consider any form of censorship is necessary?

In reply to this question, **Mr. Gordon** said that he was not in favour of any form of censorship at all. People should be encouraged to learn to select the good from the bad, and the best answer to bad writing was to supply the public with good writing.

"Censorship is historically the weapon of the tyrant, the weapon of the man who controls the organs of government in such a way as to ensure that the power of government is not taken from him. Right through history tyrants have imposed censorship as a means of keeping themselves in power. I say a decent, virile democracy does not need censorship."

Mr. Coetzee asked where censorship was divided from control. The Bill was designed to control, not to censor. He was sure that no one present would agree that a publisher or producer should be allowed to publish filth or show an indecent film for the sake of gain. He felt that **Mr. Gordon** was completely wrong to suggest that there should be complete freedom. The Bill before Parliament was a fair and reasonable way of controlling things.

Mr. Krige accepted that there should be a certain amount of censorship.

"We know", he said, "that millions have been made out of cheap and undesirable books for children, and out of pornography. But haven't we enough laws to control this already? We seem to be overwhelmed by a veritable Table Mountain of

laws. (Applause)

"We already have about 22 laws to cover pornography, as well as the police. Why this vote of no confidence in the police all of a sudden? We also have adequate laws for political censorship, so why must we have another Board of Censors?"

Dr. Jonker said that since 1953 we had had proposals to combine all the old laws into one uniform law. This was not a vote of no confidence in past laws, but merely a streamlining of these laws, a consolidatory measure. (Laughter) He said that censorship was necessary in any democratic country — there was censorship in Ireland, in the State of Georgia in the United States, Tasmania, Queensland, Western Germany, Holland, New Zealand, Buenos Aires and even in St. Cloud, Minnesota. In bringing in this Bill, South Africa was in line with legislation throughout the modern world.

Mr. Marquard: "I cannot say I am impressed with this list of countries, but it does interest me that someone like **Dr. Jonker** should want South Africa brought into line with the Western world. Even if you call this control, what do you want to control? You would obviously, in any reasonable country, have to control subversion and pornography. So far as subversion is concerned, haven't we got enough legislation already to cover this? And our old obscenity law seemed to be working very well. No, I am certainly not in favour of censorship as it is in this Bill."

Prof. Beinart said that the words "censorship" and "control" were just a matter of terminology — it all boiled down to control of freedom of speech. Any control must be a reasonable control, and a good case must be made out for wanting to introduce such control — not just citing a list of other countries, and not very sophisticated countries, at that.

"It seems to me," he said, "that every 'consolidating' measure introduced in this country has a habit of bringing in a lot of innovations. I would say that certainly there must be some censorship, but within limits."

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Brains Trust on Censorship (Continued)

2. If it is granted that a form of censorship or control is necessary, would you consider the present laws as being adequate?

Mr. Coetzee: "I don't think so. They are effective in so far as literature by local authors is concerned, but in so far as overseas literature is concerned — and about 80% of the books read in this country come from overseas — the present laws are definitely not adequate.

"The censorship of books coming in from overseas is done mainly by customs officials, who are faced with crates of books from which they have time to choose only one or two titles. Having censored these, they pass the full crates. What is more, books that are stopped in the customs shed in Cape Town are passed through in Port Elizabeth or Durban, and so on.

"I am not against paper-backed books as such, but of all the undesirable literature that does come to this country, almost 100% of it comes in the soft-covered form."

Mr. Marquard: "Apart from school books, which don't count in this matter, 90% of the literature in this country is of overseas origin.

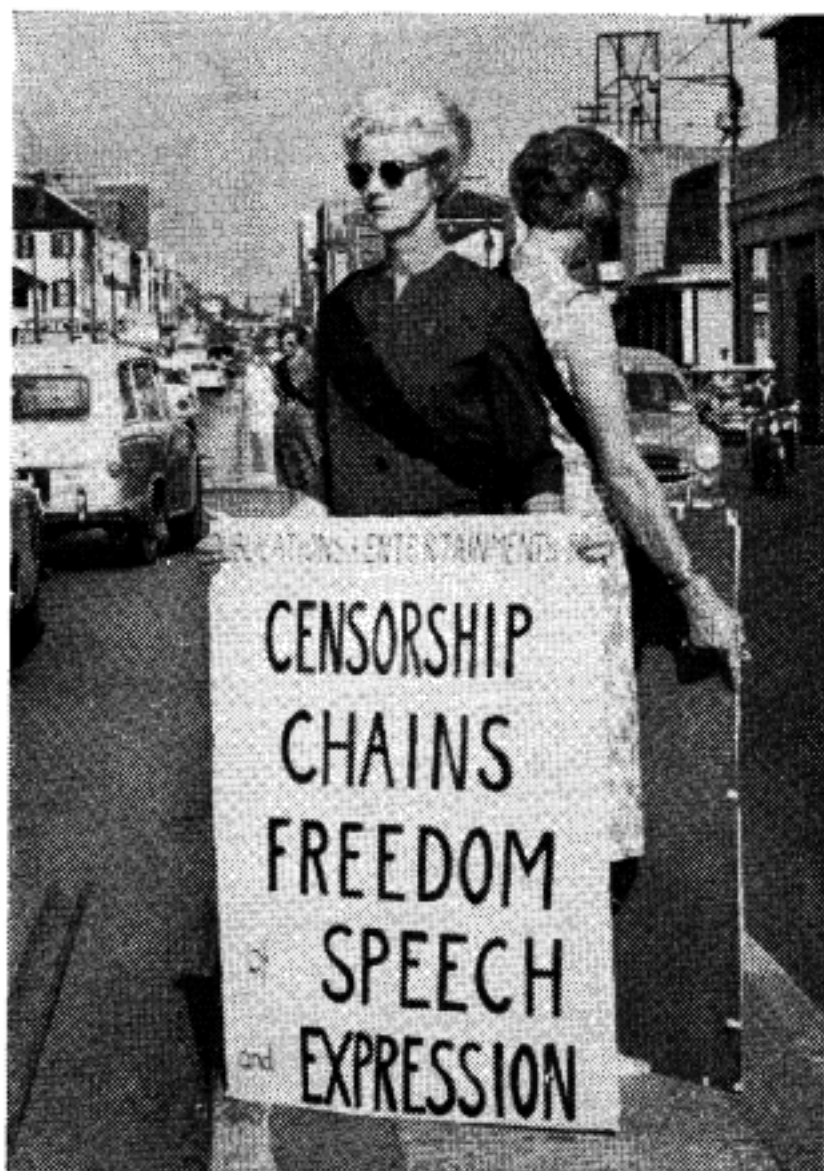
"I do agree with Mr. Coetzee that the present system is hilariously funny, and not effective, mechanically. But that is the mechanics of the thing, and the law itself is not necessarily at fault. More efficient people must be put in the customs shed to see if the law is effective or not."

Mr. Gordon said that he would like to qualify his answer to the first question and repeat what he had said then: that censorship as such is not necessary in a virile democratic society.

"We have got in South Africa a Police Offences Act (to be repealed by the new Bill) which can prosecute before the courts any literature reported as being indecent, pornographic and so on. England has no censorship. There they have prosecution before the courts.

"The law as it now stands has no censorship, except on imported literature. The local literature is not censored, but is subject to the Police Offences Act. In this way anything that is really filthy can be subject to prosecution.

"Why should we be told what we must read? (Loud applause) We have these laws, and they are sufficient."



Two Members of Cape Western Region of the Black Sash demonstrate against the Publications and Entertainments Bill. Other posters used in the demonstration read: "Censorship Muzzles Unpalatable Truths."

Dr. Jonker: "Firstly, I would like to say that the Police Offences Act is being repealed because it has been taken over in full by the new Bill.

"Secondly, there is nothing in the Act which set up the 1931 Film Censors Bill which authorizes it to deal with literature — that is a function which the Government passed on to the Board, of which I am a member.

Previously, no one complained to the courts, because of the expense involved. Now, under the new Bill, it will be easier, because complaints will go to the Board. This is not a vote of no confidence in the courts: it puts the courts above anything we have had in the past."

Prof. Beinart: "At present we have out and out censorship, without an appeal against the decision

of the Minister of the Interior. Anything would be better than that — even this Bill.

"But, and this I emphasize, between the court and the public, in the new Bill, is the Board, and by this you are going to hamper the man of creative instinct. True, a man can appeal against the banning of his work, but he is being prosecuted in the meantime.

"On the control of pornography, if you have stopped it by banning all soft-covers up to the 50% level, why have an Act against it?"

Mr. Krige: "We are told that we can appeal against a decision of the Board of Censors. I was recently called to give evidence in a blasphemy hearing on the Rand, which I know has already cost the young artist concerned a large sum of money. With this in mind, I cannot see writers appealing to the courts when they cannot afford the charges involved."

3. In the Publications and Entertainments Bill, under "undesirable" one of the definitions of "undesirable" is "what is prejudicial to the safety of the State, the general welfare, or peace and good order." Could this definition be used to prevent reasonable criticism? Will it have the effect of stifling criticism of the Government?

Mr. Coetzee: "All the newspapers that are members of the Newspaper Press Union are excluded from the provisions of this Bill, which makes it clear that any question of curtailing criticism of the Government is excluded."

Mr. Bagnall: "They have formed their own organization."

Mr. Coetzee: "In which I have no faith whatever. If I had had my own way, I would not have excluded the newspapers from this Bill."

Mr. Gordon: "Mr. Coetzee says the exclusion of the newspapers is wrong. I think so too, but for a different reason. This Bill repeals a number of old Acts that kept them in check — the Police Offences Act, for instance. As they are not subject to this new Act, they are no longer subject to any Act. That means they can put French postcards on the front page, without fear of prosecution — so long as they are members of N.P.U."

Mr. Bagnall: "I think Mr. Gordon is possibly doing the public a disservice by suggesting such a thing!" (Laughter)

Mr. Krige: "This could have the effect of stifling the writer. The real writer has nothing to do with "ja-broerdery", yet we seem to have more and

more conformity thrust upon us. Censorship of this kind tends to inhibit the writer, particularly the Afrikaans writer."

Mr. Marquard: "I think this clause is definitely prejudicial, when one considers the differences of opinion we have been having on the differences between liberals and communists. At any rate, I do not think the safety of the State is all that important. I think the interests of the public are a darned sight more important." (Applause)

Dr. Jonker: "In all civilized countries, anything prejudicial to the State is prohibited. In Israel nothing may be published concerning anything to do with the security of the State, and in the United Kingdom you have the Official Secrets Act . . ."

A member of the audience: "That's a different thing entirely!"

Dr. Jonker: "This Bill has nothing whatever to do with criticism of the Government."

Asked by Mr. Coetzee if he honestly thought that any court in South Africa would ban any book because it was critical of the Government, **Mr. Gordon** replied that he had the highest confidence in the South African judiciary, which was completely unaffected by party politics. (Applause) But he was afraid the courts were going to be shackled. There was no provision in the Bill for the calling of expert evidence in an appeal to the courts against decisions of the Censorship Board.

Mr. Coetzee said that if this were the case, he would take the point up with the Minister, and was sure the matter would be put right in the Senate.

Mr. Krige said that one of the most powerful weapons of the Nationalists was the claim that those who did not vote for them were not Afrikaners. The young Afrikaans writer always had this feeling of silent conspiracy against him.

"Take the Paarl case", said Mr. Krige. "An Afrikaans writer may feel that the cause of these troubles is the system of migrant labour. But he doesn't want to be labelled a liberal. If he writes about this, with all its tragic implications, is he not likely to suffer these inhibitions?"

"The writer and the poet are very responsible people — more so than politicians, for instance.

"We want posterity to judge our work, not the Board that is going to be set up!" (Loud applause)

Dr. Jonker introduced the subject of the strictures of Mr. Cecil King of the "Daily Mirror" on the laws governing the English Press, but at this point **Mr. Bagnall** interposed, amid laughter,

"It is getting late, and I really must ban this — and there is no appeal against my decision."

NEWS FROM REGIONS AND BRANCHES

SINCE the National Conference, most of the activities of the Black Sash have centered around house arrest, bannings without trial, censorship, and, particularly since the publication of the draft Bantu Laws Amendment Bill, the Pass Laws and influx control. Demonstrations have been held in all Regions, and we have been greatly encouraged by Press and public support.

Especially is this so in the case of Cape Western's "Christmas Retreat" (reported elsewhere in the Magazine), which was carried out in accordance with a National Conference Resolution. This gesture of sympathy with African families disrupted by the laws of our country made a great impact on the public imagination. Numerous letters and messages of congratulation were received, and accounts and comments were published in several local papers, including one widely read by non-Whites, as well as newspapers in other parts of the country.

Members of Cape Western Region understand only too well, from the poignant tales unfolded daily in their Athlone Advice Office, how heavily the Pass Laws bear upon the urban African. We should like to offer the congratulations of fellow Black Sash members in other Regions on this courageous effort to open the eyes and stir the conscience of White South Africa.

HHEADQUARTERS REGION has made statements on the **banning of Mr. Peter Hjul, the stability of family life, the need to defend our liberty.** These have been published in the Press in the form of letters, and appear elsewhere in this Magazine.

A telegram was sent to **Sir de Villiers Graaff,** congratulating him on the stand taken on the subject of **bannings without trial** and the language clause of the **Transkei Bill.**

A novelist in Australia has asked for recent information about our organization, as she wishes to write an article about the Black Sash for publication in an international women's magazine. Recent issues of our Magazine are being sent to her, together with photographs.

Draft Bantu Laws Amendment Bill.

All Regions have been greatly concerned about the restrictive provisions of this Bill. Headquarters submitted a Memorandum to the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, which received considerable publicity in the Press. **Cape Western,** by their own request, submitted their own memorandum, which was based on details gleaned from their experience in the Athlone Advice Office.

At our suggestion, the S.A. Institute of Race Relations arranged a meeting to which representatives of various organizations were invited, to explain the provisions of the Bill. **Miss Muriel Horrell** gave an analysis which was of great value.

Passes for African Women.

Fearing that the ever-increasing severity of the Pass Laws constituted a serious danger to race relations in South Africa, Headquarters Region appealed to the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development to relax these laws, sending him a Memorandum on the subject. As reported elsewhere in the Magazine, he sent a very curt reply through his Secretary. We replied to this letter, and thereafter handed the whole correspondence to the "Sunday Times". The newspaper published a full report, referring to our Memorandum as "a carefully-worded, thoughtful and well-documented letter."

CAPE EASTERN REGION

Demonstrations.

TWO demonstrations were held in this Region during February, the first on the moving of the Coloured people in Port Elizabeth under the **Group Areas Act,** and the second against the principle of **Banning without trial.** In the latter case, members from the country branches, who were in town for the Regional Conference held that day, were able to take part.

Regional Conference.

This Conference, held on the 27th February, was a report-back from the National Conference held in Durban last year, a report from all



NATIONAL OFFICE BEARERS OF THE BLACK SASH.

Mrs. Roberta Johnston, who was recently appointed Hon. National Secretary, and Mrs. Kathleen Fleming, who is National Treasurer for a second year.

branches and sections of the Regional Council, and also a farewell meeting for **Mrs. Alison Pirie**, Chairman of the Region since 1955, who is leaving the Eastern Cape shortly to live in Durban.

There were delegates from **Sundays River, Salem, Alexandria, Graaff Reinet, Grahamstown and Walmer**, and also many observers. Branch reports were read and commented upon, and all Black Sash activities of 1962 were discussed.

Tributes to Mrs. Pirie.

Great regret was expressed that Mrs. Pirie was leaving the Region, and members found it impossible to put into words their sense of loss. **Mrs. Gardner** of Salem read a moving tribute written by **Mrs. Noad**, one of the older members. She praised particularly the courage and tenacity shown by Mrs. Pirie. **Mrs. Richey** of Grahamstown reminded Conference that she and Mrs. Pirie had been together on the epic march in Pretoria in 1955, an experience she would never forget.

During the afternoon, a **guest speaker** gave a very clear talk on **Trends in World Education**, with general reference to South Africa and particular reference to **Coloured Education**.

Banished Africans.

The Country Branches of the Region are interesting themselves in the welfare of people in their area banished under the Native Administration Act of 1927. **Mrs. Levey** is in charge of this work, and reported that she and her Committee sent off food parcels to the banished at Christmas

time, with the help of the country branches.

BORDER REGION

S.A. Foundation.

THE Region opened the year with an invitation in January to two members of the South African Foundation to address the members and to answer questions. There was a very good attendance at the meeting.

The first speaker dealt with the need for the Foundation from an economic point of view. He said that the Foundation hoped to better the living conditions of our many under-privileged people by inviting new industries and projects to South Africa, which would to a large degree help to solve our unemployment problems.

The second spoke of the running of the Foundation, and the success they feel they are achieving by their invitations to overseas visitors. A programme is suggested to these visitors, but they are at liberty to go where and to see whom they please. Most of them ask to see Chief Luthuli. He said that their reactions are varied, and they are at liberty to say what they please about what they see.

Questions were put, and in an extremely happy and co-operative atmosphere both men endeavoured to answer queries honestly and to put across their enthusiasm for their organization, which was undoubtedly genuine.

In reply to the charge that the Foundation is propagating Government policy, and white-washing the Republic for sale overseas, one speaker asked his audience to picture a "round table" of men of all political beliefs discussing in an amicable way, without any domestic political end in view, the welfare of South Africa. This in itself, he said, was an achievement in a country so torn

(Continued Overleaf)

CAPE EASTERN'S LOSS, NATAL'S GAIN

Mrs. Alison Pirie, founder of Cape Eastern Region of the Black Sash, and Regional Chairman for nearly eight years, who is leaving Port Elizabeth to live in Durban.



News from Regions (Continued)

by conflicting political beliefs. It was inevitable that the picture painted by this group as a whole would be neither black nor white, but "Foundation grey". On being taxed about the Foundation's "rosy-hued" pamphlets, he said that at the time of producing these, they were "cutting their teeth", but he felt that the pamphlets were unimportant compared with the success achieved with visitors who come to see for themselves, and may form their own opinions.

Both speakers denied that the Foundation is working hand in glove with the Government Information Bureau.

Demonstration.

Border held a demonstration with posters in Oxford Street on **banning without trial** on the 2nd March. As Saturday is East London's busy morning, the demonstration was seen by hundreds of people. A photograph of two women with their posters appeared in the newspaper on the Monday morning. A letter to the Press on the same subject was published on the Saturday morning.

Kei Road Branch.

This branch is made up of a group of women who have not outside activities at all, but whose loyalty to the Black Sash is unswerving. They keep up their interest by holding discussions on subjects of current and political interest. Mrs. Gillian Litchfield, who has for some time past acted as general organizer, Chairman, Secretary and Treasurer, has now taken up a post outside the district, but has agreed to carry on as before on her brief visits home. We would like to pay tribute to her spirit.

NATAL COASTAL REGION

THIS Region decided to carry out its own version of the "Christmas Retreat" by writing to all Church leaders in Durban, asking them to include in their services a prayer for the African families broken up by the migratory labour system. This was done, but no replies were received.

The possibility of opening an **Advice Office** is being investigated, although it is felt that the need for it is not as great in Durban as in the Cape. There is a so-called "Border Area" and very little, if any, "endorsing out" is done. However, there are naturally plenty of other problems which Africans have to face, and if the Region finds it feasible to start an office to deal with these, it will do so.

The Regional Committee has invited the Women's Committee of the Institute of Race Rela-

tions to have tea with them at their next meeting, in order to discuss the possibility of collaborating in the running of an advice office.

Demonstrations.

In December, a stand was mounted, with posters reading "**House Arrest Without Trial is not Justice**".

In February, a stand with posters, **Your right removed to see, hear and speak freely**".

On March 1st, a stand with posters: "**Defend your liberty. No bannings without trial**".

On March 10th, a stand against the **Bantu Laws Amendment Bill**, with pamphlets containing an explanation of the provisions of the Bill, compiled by Mrs. Duncan.

The Banished People.

A sum of R30 has been sent to the fund for providing food parcels for the banished people and their families. The Region hopes to be able to send R10 per month.

University Apartheid.

Natal Coastal Region supported the stand taken by the three Methodist Ministers, who fasted for five days on the University steps as a protest against University Apartheid. Mr. Ntlabati has been prevented by the Government from continuing his theological studies at any South African University. Representatives of the Black Sash attended the service on the final morning as a gesture of sympathy.

NATAL MIDLANDS REGION

NUMEROUS demonstrations against **House Arrest** have been held by Pietermaritzburg Branch. A large-scale demonstration at the time of Helen Joseph's house arrest, and the Black Sash National Statement, were given excellent publicity in the "Natal Witness". Since then, the Branch has held a token demonstration each week in which house arrests have been made.

Another series of demonstrations was held against an unusual breach of democratic practice by the Pietermaritzburg City Council. At one of these, the demonstrators received the attentions of the Special Branch and a photographer.

On January 26th, a stand was held against the extension of **Job Reservation** to the Bar Trade in Pietermaritzburg and Durban. On January 30th, the Branch demonstrated against the **Publications and Entertainments Bill**, and during the week February 25th to March 2nd, three stands were held against **Bannings without Trial**.



Three Regional Leaders of the Black Sash

L. to R.: Mrs. Dora Hill, Transvaal Region, Mrs. Adèle Keen, Natal Coastal Region, Mrs. Daphne Curry, Border Region.

Group Areas Protest.

The City Council refused the Pietermaritzburg Branch permission to hold a march against the implementation of the Group Areas Act in the City, the reason given being that the date and time were unsuitable and would interfere with traffic. The Branch wrote to the Mayor asking him to choose a date and time, and the Mayor replied that the Protest March could be held any day after 5.15 p.m. A day at this time was chosen, and the Branch notified the Mayor, who then informed our Secretary that on the advice of the police he was unable to permit a march at any time in case a disturbance was caused.

A letter has been received by the Branch from the **Community Board** in Pretoria answering some, but not all, of the questions asked by the Branch.

Bantu Laws Amendment Bill.

A public meeting to protest against this draft Bill was held in the Pietermaritzburg City Hall in February. The meeting was sponsored by the Black Sash, the Liberal Party, Natal Indian Congress and certain Churches. **Mrs. Corrigan** spoke on behalf of the Black Sash, and her remarks were warmly applauded.

Multi-Racial Tea Parties.

The Region continues to hold these regularly. At the two most recent parties, a demonstration of flower arrangements and one on stage make-up by **Miss R. Lundie** were very popular.

"Endorsed Out."

Soon after the National Conference, **Mrs. Shirley Parks**, the organizer of Cape Western's **Athlone**

Advice Office, visited her mother, **Mrs. W. Reid**, of Maritzburg, and kindly addressed the Branch on the subject of the "endorsing out" of Africans in the Western Cape.

At a Regional "report-back" meeting after the National Conference, Cape Western's record, "Endorsed Out" was played.

African Women's Passes.

The Pietermaritzburg Branch did not continue their investigation into the premature demand for Women's Passes. There seemed no point in doing so, as they have now become compulsory. The Region points out that the official who was interviewed by the Black Sash did not say that he did not know the carrying of passes was not yet compulsory. What he did say was that he had mislaid a document, and was unable to give a full picture without it. Eventually, he found it, and said he had continued to demand the Passes as it was kinder to the African women to get them used to the system before they became compulsory.

CAPE WESTERN REGION

AS reported elsewhere in this Magazine, fifteen members of Cape Western Region spent Christmas Day and Boxing Day in isolated retreat, in order to show their sympathy for African women whose family life was broken up by the laws of the land. A statement was given to the Press, and there were excellent leading articles on the subject in the "Cape Times". Numerous letters of sympathy and congratulation were received.

(Continued Overleaf)

News from Regions (Continued)

Other Demonstrations.

A stand was held on **Human Rights Day** with about forty posters setting forth the human rights that Western democracy supports, such as the right to work, to freedom of speech, association, family life and so on.

A stand was held on the 31st January against the Publications and Entertainments Bill, with posters reading "**Censorship Chains Freedom of Speech and Expression**" and "**Censorship Muzzles Unpalatable Truths**". Eight Special Branch police were waiting for the Sashers and measured the distances between them as they stood. Mrs. Stott was told the police had been investigating complaints under Act 8 of 1953.

Inquiry into Paarl Riots.

Just before going into recess, the Region submitted a memorandum to the Commission on the background causes of unrest. **Mrs. Pearce** of Wellington gave evidence to the Commission, making it clear that she spoke not as a member of the Black Sash but in her private capacity. She was able to speak from extensive acquaintance with conditions, gathered in the course of her courageous and tireless efforts to help Africans in trouble under the Pass Laws. **Mrs. Stott** attended many of the sittings.

Athlone Advice Office.

The office was closed from December 24th to January 2nd. During December 169 cases were interviewed, and 464 in January.

The law is gradually being applied more stringently. No African out of work is being given the privilege of going to the Labour Pool to apply for another job, as it is claimed there are many "school-leavers" with priority, as they at present "qualify" to remain and work in the Western Cape. No wives or visitors to their families can ever qualify to remain. Nevertheless, it is still felt that the office creates a valuable fund of goodwill by the mere fact of being there, and providing patient and sympathetic listeners.

A short article based on "cases" interviewed in the office appeared in the December issue of "Good Hope", the magazine run by the Church of the Province of South Africa.

Just before Christmas, **Mrs. Robb** gave a very successful party in her home for the interpreters, office workers, and all who have helped in the work.

Removal of Africans from the Western Cape.

A memorandum to the Cape Town City Council on this subject was submitted on December 4th. An interview with the Divisional Council has also been requested. The Black Sash has not yet been requested to send a delegation to speak to the memorandum before the Bantu Affairs Committee of the City Council.

Mrs. Jessie Hertslet, a well-known authority on the African peoples and a keen sympathizer of the Black Sash, has suggested that every women's organization be urged to join in a plea for Bantu home life and to work together to abolish migrant labour. A letter has been sent to the A.C.V.V. and other Afrikaans women's organizations

Bantu Laws Amendment Bill.

A sub-committee was appointed in February to study the implications of this draft Bill, and a memorandum was forwarded to the Secretary for Bantu Affairs.

Statements and Letters to the Press.

Statements were made on the **Paarl Riots**, the **banning of "New Age"** on the **Publications and Entertainments Bill**, on the **Transkeian Territories** on the **banning of Mr. Peter Hjul**.

Fund Raising.

The annual fête was held on the 1st December, and was opened by **Mrs. Margaret Ballinger**. It was most successful, and a sum of R1,158.58 was raised, R167.07 more than last year.

In response to a letter of appeal sent out in November for donations towards the work of the Black Sash, R94.20 was received before Christmas, and soon after Christmas another R559.80 — perhaps a gesture of sympathy after the Christmas demonstration. It is some years since such an appeal was sent out, and these gifts are very welcome and much needed.

Simon's Town Branch —A Correction.

In the December/January issue of the Magazine, under Cape Western Regional Report, it was stated that "The Simon's Town Branch protested to the Mayor of Simon's Town against the implementation of Group Areas".

We are thankful to report that Group Areas have not yet been implemented in Simon's Town. What this Branch did do was to draw the attention of the Mayor and Council to the Group Areas Amendment Bill and the drastic effect it would have on the town, and to ask them to make an official protest to the Minister. This they did in very strong terms.

TRANSVAAL REGION

IMMEDIATELY after the return of the delegates from the National Conference, the Region organized a meeting in **St. Francis' Church Hall** on the evening of November 12th, when **Mrs. Noel Robb** of Cape Western Region addressed a specially invited audience on the hardships suffered by Africans when they are "endorsed out" of the Western Cape.

A **Report-Back Meeting** on the National Conference was held the following day.

Another special meeting was arranged in November by the **North Eastern Group** and over forty members of all Groups and Branches heard an address by **Mr. Carl Keyter**, on the work of **Kupugani**, the non-profit making organization recently established to administer famine relief.

Demonstrations.

In November, a 48-hour vigil was held to protest against the principle of **House Arrest** and the by-passing of the courts. There were no incidents, but one solitary egg, apparently flung by a passer-by, made its appearance unnoticed by the demonstrators. The posters used read: "**Detention Without Trial is not Justice**" and "**Innocent or Guilty? The Courts, not the Cabinet, must Decide.**"

On **Human Rights Day**, December 10th, a stand with posters was held, again stressing the inhumanity and injustice of **House Arrest** and detention without trial.

Early in February, groups of **Black Sash** women protested against the **Publications and Entertainments Bill** by handing out lapel badges, depicting the three monkeys of tradition, to passers-by at different points in Johannesburg. (Reported on elsewhere in the Magazine.)

From 25th February to 1st March daily stands with posters were held at various points, as a protest against bannings without trial, and in support of the "**Defend Your Liberty**" call of the six citizens of Cape Town.

Letters and Statements to the Press.

A letter was written to the Johannesburg City Council regarding the proposal for a Grant-in-Aid to the South African Foundation. Arising out of this, a further letter was addressed to Mr. Patrick Lewis of the City Council Management Committee, suggesting ways in which the Foundation might carry out its function of re-establishing South Africa's credit in the eyes of the world.

In December, a leading article appeared in the "Star", suggesting that **influx control** was essential. The Region made representations against this to the Editor, with the result that the paper com-

OBITUARY

Mrs. Annie Lang

MRS. ANNIE LANG, who died in January after many months of illness, was one of the founders of the **Black Sash** in Pretoria and one of our most valued members.

She took the Chair of the Pretoria Branch when the first flush of enthusiasm was dying away, and for some years her warm personality and able handling of our problems kept the **Black Sash** alive in Pretoria. Her pleasant home was always available for meetings and for functions which she organized with great success. Only ill-health obliged her to give up her position, and she was very much missed.

Mrs. Lang was a daughter of Senator Sir John Fraser, who took a leading part in the public life of the Orange Free State. Her husband was for many years on the staff of the Boys' High School, Pretoria, and later Headmaster of an important school in the Cape Province.

She was an active member of the Presbyterian Church, and was for two years General President of its Women's Association, which she also represented on the Committee of the Penal Reform League.

Her courage and devotion to causes which she knew were worth fighting for must have influenced her sons and daughters, who have shown an active sense of responsibility in their contribution to the development of our society.

missioned an article giving our ideas on the subject. This was written by **Mrs. Muriel Fisher**, and was duly published on the leader page of the "Star".

In reply to a letter published in the "Star" in February, asking why the **Black Sash** did not mourn the murder of Whites at **Bashee River** in the Transkei, the Region wrote to the paper deploring all acts of violence, and explaining our standpoint, especially in the matter of Pass Laws, and pointing out that these laws were the main cause of African frustration and unrest. The letter was published in full.

Advice Office.

The Region opened its Advice Office, the counterpart of Cape Western's Athlone Advice Office, on the 11th February, with the knowledge and cooperation of the authorities, who have given much valuable advice and information. On the 6th March, **Mr. Steenhuisen** of the Municipal Bantu Affairs Department addressed a large group of **Black Sash** women on the subject of the present regulations under the Bantu Urban Areas Act, giving them a good deal of valuable information and explanation.

(Continued Overleaf)

News from Regions (Continued)

Generous donations from Black Sash members and supporters enabled the Region to start the office off with a comfortable fund, but it is obvious that a regular income will be needed to run the office effectively.

Office Staff. To the Region's great regret, Mrs. Constance Visser left the country at the end of January to live in England, after a year of sympathetic and tireless service as Black Sash Office Secretary. Miss Yulissa Bokwe, her successor, joined the staff at the beginning of the year, and has already proved of invaluable assistance as interpreter in the Advice Office.

Attendance at Commissioners' Courts. This work was continued at the Wynberg courts until the end of the year by the Northern and North Western Groups. An extended roster is now being drawn up to include members from all Groups, as it is realized that the first-hand knowledge gained of the application of the Pass Laws will be of great help in the Advice Office. It is hoped that there will be regular attendances at both Wynberg and Fordsburg courts.

The Saturday Club.

The Club went into recess in December after a successful and most enjoyable picnic afternoon held in Mrs. Fisher's grounds. The re-opening of the club has been delayed by the absence of the Convenor, Mrs. Elin Morris, but meetings at fortnightly intervals will start again at the end of March.

Group Areas Act.

On Human Rights Day, four members of the Region went to Pretoria to watch the court proceedings against Mr. Nana Sita, a frail and elderly Indian, who had defied an order to leave his home above his shop in Hercules and move to Lenasia, twenty miles away. Evidence disclosed that Mr. Nana Sita would suffer considerable hardship and financial loss if he moved, as would other Indians moved under the provisions of the Group Areas Act.

Mr. Nana Sita was sentenced to three months' imprisonment, and since his release a week or two ago, has again defied the order and returned to his home and shop in Hercules. The Region is watching the position.

Rustenburg Branch continues to keep a watching brief on the effects of the Act on the Indians in that area.



What is evil? De Klerk will tell you.

TRANSVAAL REGION of the Black Sash recently demonstrated against the Publications and Entertainments Bill by handing out lapel badges, bearing the above illustration, to members of the Johannesburg public, at strategic points in the City during the peak traffic hours.

In a statement to the Press, Mrs. Jean Sinclair, National President of the Black Sash, said:

The Publications and Entertainments Bill is another step towards complete totalitarianism. The Nationalists want to control the minds of South Africans and reduce the nation to a crowd of regimented robots.

The Government has tried to stamp out every form of personal freedom with methods that have a sinister similarity to those employed in Nazi Germany.

The Group Areas Act lays down where one may be; the Urban Areas Act whom one may employ; the Separate Amenities Act with whom one may associate; the Education Advisory Council what our children must be taught; the Extension of University Education Act with whom our children must be taught; the Sabotage Act how and where we can protest; and now this obnoxious Bill seeks to control our thoughts and inhibit the search for truth.

Banished People.

On the 6th February, a Regional Council meeting held in Rustenburg was addressed by Miss Muriel Horrell, of the S.A. Institute of Race Relations, on the subject of Africans banished under the Native Administration Act of 1927. Her address is published elsewhere in this issue of the Magazine.

Waverley Group and Rustenburg Branch are planning to raise funds to assist some of these people.

Emergency Relief Committee.

Registration of this fund as a welfare organization has now been refused, and the Committee will meet shortly to decide how to dispose of the remaining funds.

BLACK SASH PRESS STATEMENTS

“Defend your Liberty”

RECENTLY six people in Cape Town, including the Hon. A. van der Sandt Centlivres and Mrs. Margaret Ballinger, called upon us all to defend our liberty.

They called upon us not to submit to the removal of personal liberty through arbitrary bannings without charges being brought, and without recourse to the courts of law.

The Black Sash supported this call to defend our freedom by demonstrating every day for a week with posters reading “Defend Your Liberty”, and “Innocent or Guilty?—The Courts, not the Cabinet Must Decide”.

On March 15th a man delivered a lecture to the silent demonstrators, repeatedly hurling the epithet “contemptible” at them. He claimed to be an ex-

serviceman who fought for freedom in the Second World War. We are not ashamed to be labelled “contemptible”. In former years, the “Old Contemptibles” gave an account of themselves which brought them undying fame.

We ask all ex-servicemen, and this man in particular, what was the freedom for which they fought? We were all involved in that fight. As we understood it, we fought for the values which are the basis of Western civilization, the rule of law, freedom from want, freedom from fear, freedom of speech, freedom of worship.

The issues of the 1939-45 war are the issues we are fighting in South Africa to-day — totalitarian methods and government by decree.

We call on all ex-servicemen, before it is too late, to respond to the call of “the six” in Cape Town: “Defend Your Liberty”.

The Stability of Family Life

THE REPORT of the Department of Social Welfare and Pensions tabled in Parliament points out that the family and family life are threatened from all sides by factors which have a disintegrating influence. The report continues: “As far as South Africa is concerned, this is an opportune time to direct attention to the family as the primary institution on which our future depends.”

In the Senate the Minister of Social Welfare and Pensions expressed concern about the dangers which are working destructively on family life. He said: “Phenomena such as divorce, alcoholism and juvenile delinquency must be seen as unhealthy symptoms of the inability of many a family to protect its spiritual, organic and functional unity in a changing world.”

With these statements the Black Sash entirely agrees, but would ask the Minister if he was referring only to the break-up of family life among the White people of South Africa. If he was not, and was in fact including families of all racial groups, Mr. Serfontein would be advised to point out to the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr. de Wet Nel, that the policies of their two departments would appear to be in conflict.

Believing as we do that the family is the basis of stability, is it not the duty of the Government to see that married men are encouraged to lead normal family lives? Instead, the Government is deliberately breaking up the families of the Afri-

can people by endorsing many of the women and their children out of the urban areas.

Under existing laws an African is entitled to remain in a proclaimed area (urban area) if he was born there and has since birth continued to live there, or has lived there continuously for fifteen years, or has worked continuously for one employer for a period of not less than ten years, or is the wife or the unmarried daughter of a man who satisfies the above-mentioned qualifications.

There are, however, thousands of other men who live and work in the urban areas under permit who do not qualify to have their wives and families living with them, although they have been employed in such areas for many years. These married men have to live in hostels for single males.

It is time that the Government and the White people in South Africa realized how wrong this is. The hardship, sorrow and human misery consequent on separating a man from his wife and family are indescribable.

The electorate, by its tacit approval of this inhuman policy, is guilty of a crime against humanity, and of violating the principles of Christian teaching.

We hope that the Government will extend those measures which it intends instituting to halt the deterioration in the stability of the family, to cover all families of every race and colour.

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

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