

THE BLACK SASH



- The Value of Protest
- Arbitrary Punishment
- Group Areas

- The Kennedy Visit
- Encounter with the Law
- The Role of the Free Press

DIE SWART SERP

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THIRTY NINE AFRICANS are still in banishment. They have been removed from their home neighbourhoods and sent in many cases to near-desolate areas, many hundreds of miles from home and their language groups where they endure a hopeless, timeless existence. The Department of Bantu Administration has at last made a statement about these banished people, elicited, we think, by a plea from the Black Sash to the State President to grant an Amnesty for these unfortunates to celebrate the fifth year of Republic. Amongst other things, the statement says, "It was not necessary, under the terms of the Act, for a person who was banned to have committed any offence".

More than 1,000 people have been banned. The Minister of Justice has informed a deputation of members of the National Union of South African Students that one "does not have to be a Communist" to be banned under the Suppression of Communism Act, a fact of which everyone seemed well aware, but which had never before been admitted.

No one knows how many people have suffered another form of arbitrary punishment — the magisterial warning. People are called before a local magistrate and "warned" to stop their activities. Of all the appalling methods used to silence opposition this is possibly the worst. No indication is ever given of which activities must cease. The implied "or else" in warnings is sufficient to terrify most victims into giving up all their political and charitable interests, because no-one in his right senses would court a banning or house arrest order.

When information has been sought on why people are banned or placed under house arrest, the answer has been monotonous in its regularity; the person concerned knows why. This when it is apparent in many cases that he does not. People who have been warned have tried to find out what they may continue to do and have been given no satisfaction whatsoever.

And so the reign of fear continues. In our South African democracy one can be banished for doing nothing, banned for unknown reasons, or warned against unspecified activities. State witnesses and possible state witnesses are held for months under the 180-day detention clause, some of them being released after long periods without charge being brought against them, nor having been called in court by the state. Mass arrests of Africans are taking place daily. They are summarily tried and, most frequently, given nominal fines for trespassing, for being without passes, for having left their passes at home. The rule of Law seems to be in eclipse; the rule of fear has taken over.

NEGE EN DERTIG BANTOE is nog in ballingskap. Die mense is weg gestuur van hulle tuislande of woongebied, en in baie gevalle is hulle gestuur na verlate landsdele, honderde myle van hulle tuiste en taalgroep, waar hulle sonder troos of tyd hulle bestaan moet verduur.

Die Departement van Bantoe Administrasie het uiteindelik 'n verklaring gedoen aangaande die banrelinge. Onder andere het die verklaring gesê „onder hierdie wet is dit nie nodig dat so'n banneling aan enige oortreding skuldig hoef te wees nie.”

Meer dan 1,000 mense is ingeperk. Die Minister van Justisie het aan "NUSAS" deputasie gesê dat „'n persoon hoef nie 'n kommunist te wees nie” om onder die wet vir onderdrukking van kommunisme ingeperk te word nie. Dit is die eerste openlike erkenning van die feit.

Niemand weet hoeveel mense getref is deur nog 'n vorm van arbitrêre straf nie—die waarskuwing wat hulle van Magistrate ontvang. Mense word opgeroep om voor 'n plaaslike Magistraat te verskyn, en word dan „gewaarsku” om hulle aktiwiteite te staak. Van al die onstellende metodes wat gebruik word om mense stil te maak, is dit waarskynlik die ergste. Daar word nooit aangedui watter aktiwiteite gestaak moet word nie. Hierdie „waarskuwings” impliseer optrede van so'n drastiese aard, dat dit genoeg is om meeste mense so die skrik op die lyf te ja, dat hulle alle politieke en liefdadigheids werksaamhede staak, want niemand wat by sy sinne is nie wil graag ingeperk word nie, of onder huisarres geplaas word nie.

As iemand wil uitvind hoekom persone verban of onder huisarres geplaas is, kry hy altyd dieselfde antwoord—die betrokke persoon weet dit wel.

En dit terwyl dit heel duidelik is dat in baie gevalle hy nie weet nie. As die „gewaarskudes” probeer om vas te stel wat hulle wel mag doen, kry hulle net 'n ontwykende antwoord.

En dit terwyl dit heel duidelik is dat in baie Suid Afrikaanse demokrasie, kan 'n persoon in ballingskap gep'laas word sonder enige oortreding, ingeperk word vir onbekende redes, of „gewaarsku” word teen ongespesifiseerde aktiwiteite. Staats getuie, en moontlike staatsgetuie, word vir maande angehou onder die 180-dae wette, en sommige word na geruime tyd vrygestel sonder enige aanklag teen hulle, en sonder dat die staat hulle opgeroep het om in die hof te verskyn. Massa arrestasies van Bantoe vind daaglik plaas. Hulle kry vlugtige verhoor, en word gewoonlik 'n nominele boete opgelê vir die oortreding. Dit lyk asof ons nie meer deur die wet regeer word nie, maar deur vrees.

THE VALUE OF PROTEST

(A Talk given to the Black Sash in Johannesburg.)

By PROFESSOR ROBERT BIRLEY

I HAVE been asked to speak to you on the value of protest and I should say first that protest, in the sense of organised protest, is a comparatively recent phenomenon in the history of our civilisation. If you read the history of Europe in the last four or five hundred years you will find little about anything in the nature of organised protest. It is almost, though not quite, a post-war development, and when its history comes to be written I have not the slightest doubt that the Black Sash will come into Chapter One. This should at least mean something to you. I do not think there has ever been anything like protest, of the kind you no doubt have in mind, in a society which was to be found in the eighteenth century for instance, there was hardly anything of the kind. You do not find organised protest in an hierarchical society, though the first signs of the change in the nature of such a society may well be movements of protest.

The society of South Africa today is in some ways a very strange one, because in one sense it is a democratic one and in another it is not. It is quite clear that essentially it is undemocratic because the vote is given only to a comparatively small minority of the population. But, if you do what a great many people here do and simply rule out and forget the majority of the population, then, of course, it is a democracy, and it is quite possible for one of the leading members of the government to refer to it as a democracy, as was done in a speech the other day. After all, the government got into power by votes cast for them—by those who have the vote. If a protest is an expression of a feeling of conscience, you must have the kind of society in which it is possible to express its conscience, or at least what those who protest believe should be its conscience. I doubt whether this is possible in an aristocratic society. You yourselves, however, are members of what I have called a very strange society. As far as you are concerned, it is a democracy: you feel you can give expression to its conscience. But you are well aware, of course, that, although it shows them that there are people who sympathise with them, the Black Sash cannot represent the Africans.

My own experience of protest is very largely derived from Germany. I knew Germany fairly well before the war—at least I had some idea of what was going on there. I knew a great deal more about it after the war, when I worked there. As my work lay largely among students I was particularly interested in the protest movements among students against the Nazis. I did what I could to get to know those who had taken part in them and had survived, and from these I learnt a great deal. I am not going to pretend that there is an exact parallel between the situation here today and the situation in Germany then. If I had to point to one difference which is more important than any other, it would be, without

any doubt, the "Rand Daily Mail". I think I can perhaps appreciate better than some people what this means, at any rate to students. There was nothing remotely like it once the Nazis came into power. They could never read in the morning a different point of view from that of the Government; they could never experience the heartening effect which I know this has on people here. This is a very real difference, and there were others. One thinks of the influence of Fear, but, bad as things are here, when one considers the really sharp edge of fear—you got more of this under the Nazis than you do here. Anything like the demonstrations which you have here would have been absolutely impossible. I remember being in Berlin once before the war when a lorry came along filled with Jews who were being taken off, not, I think, at that time to a concentration camp, but probably to a kind of "township", as it were. Nobody said anything; some people looked uncomfortable. If there had been a protest at that moment it would have been a solitary one. I am not saying that there should not have been one—obviously there should have been—but it would have been a very, very difficult thing to do. Anything like the kind of demonstration you have here would have been stopped at once. And so, when I tell you of some of the protests that were made in Germany under the Nazis, I want you to realise that they were made by people who were working in far more difficult circumstances than you have here—and I know that that is saying a great deal.

I should like to tell you something about a group of students at Munich University, who gave themselves the perhaps rather romantic title of "The White Rose". They carried on their protests during the war, which did not make things any easier for them. Their leaders were a brother and sister, Hans and Sophie Scholl, aged twenty-six and twenty-two, a great friend of theirs, Christoph Probst, and another student,

called Alexander Schmorell. For some time at a later stage they had the help of a Professor of Philosophy, Kurt Huber, one of those professors who could draw an audience to his lectures from many faculties, including the Faculty of Science. I may add that these three young men were medical students and, under the arrangements in force in Germany during the war, medical students continued with their work at the University but during the long summer holiday were sent to the front to act as medical orderlies. (It was quite a sensible plan.)

Now what could this tiny handful of people do and what was the point in what they did succeed in doing? In one sense, their protest amounted to very little. It all started with the two Scholls, brother and sister, finding one day in the letter box of their home, a leaflet. (They had the immense advantage of having parents who understood them and supported them.) The leaflet was a reprint of a sermon by Clemens von Galen, Archbishop of Münster—so you see it is necessary to go back one step further, as it were, in the line of protest. Archbishop von Galen was a most remarkable man. He was politically, and in other ways, a conservative. It is interesting that many of those in Germany who took part in protest against the Nazis were politically conservative, among them Professor Huber. An issue had been raised which transcended political parties altogether. Von Galen kept up in his own diocese of Münster a kind of resistance which was very unusual. Thousands flocked to his sermons in the Cathedral, and in these he was extraordinarily outspoken against the regime, especially on the matter which, I think, disturbed him more than any other, the way the Nazis had during the war of taking off the people in lunatic asylums and quietly putting them to death because they were "useless mouths". This shocked him more than anything else, but he also spoke up for the Jews in a famous sermon delivered just after the first air raid on Münster, when incendiary bombs were used. It was not for those days a particularly bad raid, but some houses were burnt down. In his sermon next morning he said, "When you fled from your burning houses last night, did you think for a moment of the Jews who had fled from theirs on the Kristall Night of November 1938?"—the night of November 10th, when there were violent attacks on the Jews in Münster and many other German cities. This was indeed a remarkable thing to say then, during the war. In the end, after he had been placed under house arrest, the Gestapo officials came to Goebbels, the Minister of Propaganda and one of the leading members of the Nazi Government, and said that they must insist that von Galen was executed. And Goebbels replied, "We cannot. If we were to execute him, we should have to write off the diocese of Münster for the rest of the war." It is one of the most remarkable tributes to a bishop that I have ever heard of, if one appreciates what were the circumstances in Germany then.

His sermons were distributed as leaflets by people whose names are now forgotten and unknown, and one of them was put into the letter-box of the Scholl family, not in Munich but in Ulm, where the two were during a holiday. They read it, these two children—or almost children—and decided that something must be done. (Sophie was at first kept out of it by her brother, but she soon spotted what was happening and joined Hans and his friends.) They were constantly tortured by the thought—what on earth can we do? What is going to be the use of anything we do?

What they did to begin with was to produce, on a very old and decrepit duplicating machine, a leaflet which they then dropped into the letter-boxes of a great many houses in Munich. Until Professor Huber joined them, the leaflets were obviously written by students. They were full of quotations from writers such as Aristotle, Goethe, Schiller and Novalis. They were in some ways too high-brow, no doubt, but the first one began with the words, "Nothing is less worthy of a civilised country than passively to allow itself to be governed by an irresponsible gang of bosses who have surrendered to their lower instincts." They had a way every now and then of getting right to the point, such as in the tremendous sentence in the first leaflet, "If each of us waits for the other to begin, the messengers of avenging Nemesis will draw closer and closer," or, in later ones, "but it is not enough merely to sympathise. Much more is required. We must feel our share of the guilt. For it is the apathy of the Germans that enables these sinister men to act as they do", and, "We shall not be silent; we are your bad conscience. 'The White Rose' will give you no peace."

They produced the first of their leaflets in May 1942, and the second in June. There was then a pause while the young men went off to the Front. When they came back, they started again. In December and January the leaflets began to have a wider distribution. They persuaded some more students to join them. Although their security was hopelessly bad, they kept going for a few months. Two or three students took suitcases of the leaflets by train, one even getting as far south as Vienna, another as far north as the Ruhr. They used to choose a street at random and put one in each letter-box. What made this extremely dangerous in Germany at this time was that one was always liable to have one's suitcase opened at the station; not because it was thought that it might contain leaflets, but because one might have been into the country to bring back black market vegetables. But somehow they managed to get away with it; none of the suitcases was ever opened.

It did not last very long and it ended like this. Early in February 1943, the Gauleiter of Bavaria made a speech to the assembled students of the University of Munich. He spoke on the war

effort and, after saying something about what the men students could do, he turned to the girls. Their duty, he said, was quite simply to have children and they could best show their appreciation of the fact that they were allowed to be at the University by having a child a year. And if, he continued, any one of them was the kind of girl who was not very attractive and found it difficult to pick up a young man, "I can produce one of my own adjutants who will do all that is required for you."

The effect of this was to arouse the violent anger of almost the whole student body. His audience turned against him, rushed out into the street and held a demonstration outside. But the Scholls were not satisfied with that. They decided that on this there must be a showdown, that somehow, whatever happened, they must show what the students of the University felt. They went home and produced their last leaflet and a few days later, on February the 18th, they took suitcases of them to the University, arriving very early. They distributed them everywhere, in the lecture-rooms, along the passages, out of the windows. There is an open hall in the middle of the University with a gallery round it. They went up there and showered them down below. They did this before anyone else had arrived and at one point Sophie Scholl saw one of the cleaners, who was still there, picking them up. "Don't do that", she said, "they are meant to be read." The porter of the University saw what was happening; he closed the doors and rang up the police, and they were immediately arrested. In the flat where they lived there was quite enough material to enable the police to pick up some of the others. Before long Professor Huber was also seized.

There was not, of course, the remotest chance for them. In one way they were fortunate; they were not tortured, as was customary, and the reason was probably the effect they had on their jailors, which seems to have been very startling. Sophie Scholl, however, had an interrogation lasting for seventeen hours without stopping. They gave away nothing at all about their companions. Four days later they were tried by the Nazi People's Court, always an appalling experience. A good deal has been written about that trial. All I can say is it reminds me, when I read of it, of the trial of Joan of Arc. If you read the trial of Joan of Arc—there is a very full account of it—you realise that, as the trial proceeds, the roles are reversed, that she becomes the prosecutor and her judges are in the dock. You get the same impression at the moment when, for example, Sophie Scholl turned to Roland Freisler, the quite dreadful man who was the judge, and said, "You know, you all readily agree with what we have said and written; the only thing is that you are afraid of saying so." The sentence was quite inevitable; they were condemned to death and next day the three of them who were tried at this,

the first trial, Hans and Sophie Scholl and Christoph Probst, were beheaded. The others were tried soon afterwards and nearly all of them were executed too. Professor Huber's trial was very remarkable. He said some things in the course of it which are, I think, very significant as showing what The White Rose were really after: "During the last ten years what the party has destroyed is every sense of moral obligation", and "Every morally responsible citizen should raise his voice against the threatening tyranny of might over right, of capriciousness over free will." He asked for a return to "clear moral principles, the Rule of Law and mutual trust among all men."

I think the best commentary on this protest was made by their younger sister, Inge Scholl, now married to one of the young men on the fringe of the movement who escaped, and living at Ulm, where the family used to live. She has written a short book on the subject. She used to torture herself with wondering, was it worth it? Could we have done more? What would have been the best line of action? She herself had little to do with it, as she was only seventeen at the time, but she knew something of it. What could have been done? Was it worth it? She summed up the answer by saying that they felt responsible for society and could do nothing else. But we have to consider what was the point of it, because, on the face of it, it was a complete failure. The Gestapo mopped up all those involved. All I can say on this comes from my own experience.

After the war, when I had to concern myself with the German Universities, I came to the conclusion that you could divide the students, or nearly all of them, into three groups. There was a minority group, quite influential then, who simply hoped that there would be another war against the Russians very soon, in which they would die defending the West. I thought this a dangerous attitude; what it came to was that, having had a thoroughly good performance of *Götterdämmerung*, they wanted another one. I thought that you could see in them the authentic Nazi death wish, which is one of the almost pathological aspects, not only of Nazism, but of Fascism generally. There was a Spanish general on Franco's side who used to conclude all his speeches with a tremendous cry, "Down with the Intellect: long live Death!"

The majority had a quite different attitude. They were not communists—there were very few Communists in the Universities of Western Germany, then or now—but they were materialists and they believed in a wholly materialistic philosophy of history, in a sense a kind of economic determinism. They held that power was simply the reflection of economic circumstances and that whoever was in power—whether a party or an individual—was there merely as a result of economic forces. The danger of this view was, of course, that it gave power its own validity; you

could never criticise it because it was there inevitably. I thought that this attitude of mind was also very dangerous.

But there was another minority and they were those who really did feel desperately anxious about what had happened in their country, who found it extremely difficult to decide what was their own responsibility, and yet did feel responsible, although they might have been quite young at the time. For them the future was what mattered and they believed they could do something about it, difficult as it was going to be. They had got to put things right. I found that among these the names of Hans and Sophie Scholl had certainly not been forgotten. In Munich today you will find that the great square outside the University is called the Scholl Platz, the Scholl Square, and inside the University is a fine memorial to them. But what is perhaps more significant to me was a remark made to me by a young German only a few months ago. He was a very able young man, just finishing his time at school, who had been awarded a scholarship to an English University. I was talking with him in Düsseldorf—he was a Rheinlander, who had nothing at all to do with Munich—and I said, “Forgive my asking, but does the name of Scholl, Hans or Sophie Scholl, mean anything to you?” “Sophie Scholl,” he said, “my school is named after her.”

So, you see, it was not pointless, although their situation had been such a desperate one that it must have seemed quite pointless. One of the finest remarks that was made by one of the Germans who resisted the Nazis—and there were a great many more than some people realise—was made by Father Alfred Delp, a Jesuit priest, who was eventually executed in a concentration camp not long before the end of the war. In his last letter, which he wrote from prison, he used the words which I have never forgotten for they seem to show better than any others what the position then was. “This is the time of sowing, not the time of harvest.” I believe I can understand what he meant. This was not one of the periods when you could expect to see results. You were doing the sowing—or, as he said, you were being sown by God—and, when that actually occurs, you can see no results at all. But he knew that in history one period follows another and that his was “the time of sowing, not the time of harvest.” I believe that there is a profound lesson in this, a universal one, which extends far beyond Germany. There are times in the history of a nation when all you can say is, “This is the time of sowing.” You cannot hope to see tangible results: the time for them is not yet. And it can be very difficult to be patient and believe that there is ever going to be a harvest. That is what I have felt about a good many of the young people I have met at the University during the last few days.

Now protests are of different kinds. The sort of protest you made is one made by people who have the same democratic rights as others in a country—in this case as the other whites in the country—but who know that there is at the moment no chance, no chance whatever, of things happening of the kind you think ought to happen. What you feel—of this I am sure—is that somehow the voice of conscience must be expressed and that that is all you can do. All I can say is that I am certain that when you do this you are, in fact, sowing, in the way that Alfred Delp had in mind. But there are other kinds of protest too, protests made by people who do not have such rights, and who have no alternative but to protest.

I wonder if I might read you a passage from a report I have had to write recently on events at the University College of Rhodesia, which was on the subject of this different kind of protest.

“In trying to understand the incidents into which I have been asked to enquire, I have been constantly reminded of an earlier experience of my own eighteen years ago, when I was closely in touch with students whose allegiance was to the free world and were at the Communist-controlled University in the Russian Sector of Berlin.”

Perhaps I might say a word on this. It was a most exciting period of my own life, the early summer of 1948, when things became intolerable for the students in the East Sector of Berlin in what had become a communist university. The incident which “sparked things off” was when two students were dismissed for writing articles in an American newspaper. I thought the protests that resulted were beautifully carried out, and I may add that they were almost all planned in my office in the British Sector of the city. The students showed remarkable resolution. I remember that, when a notice was put up in the University saying that anyone who took part in a protest demonstration must be expected to be dismissed, they came to me and said, “Now, what do we do?” I answered, “Supposing you have a demonstration now, how many do you think you can get to join it?” They said they thought they could get pretty well the whole university. “If you can do that,” I said, “it will be all right. But if you cannot, you must try different tactics. If you can, then have your demonstration, because they will never dismiss the whole University.” They hired a cinema just inside the British Sector where they had one of the most splendid protest meetings you can imagine. (I thought it right not to be present myself, but I heard all about it afterwards.) In fact, the students were not dismissed, and they even withdrew the dismissal of the two students who had written the articles. And then these admirable students came to me and said, “This is all very well, but it will not happen like this next time. Please, may we have a new University?” And this is the start of a

new story which led up to the founding of the Free University in Berlin which now has 17,000 students.

May I continue to quote from the passage in my report?

"When politically conscious people are denied—or feel that they are denied—their proper rights by means of normal political action, they fall back on what seems the only alternative; that is, the language of protest. If those protests can be made stronger by means of demonstrations, or such actions as boycotts, so much the better. Rightly or wrongly the African students felt that the attitude of the European students in the University was such, and the attitude of the College authorities in failing to appreciate their case was such, that they had no alternative but to make a protest, and as emphatic a protest as they could. And it would be absurd to suppose that they were not influenced by their general views of the Rhodesian situation. The College seemed to them to be becoming a microcosm of the country."

I think I should read you the next paragraph in order to give you what is, I believe, a true picture of the situation at the University College.

"I should say here that I do not believe that their assessment of the attitude of the European students was justified. For this reason I do not think that it should be impossible to find a solution to the problem that now faces the College."

This was a different kind of protest from yours; the kind of protest made by people who feel that they have no chance of expressing themselves politically in any other way. That is not your problem, though there are obvious similarities between all forms of protest. There are, in fact, many different forms of protest and it is being carried out in different ways in different parts of the world. The African students at the University College of Rhodesia protested in one way and some people were greatly shocked by what they did. My goodness! they should have thought what students are doing nowadays at places like Djakarta or Cairo to see what students can do. On the whole it was a relatively mild affair. The people who protest against the nuclear bomb in London are in a way in a similar position to your own, even though some of them are too young to have the vote. Most of them are able to use the vote, but they feel that their point of view is disregarded. They feel so strongly about the problem that their conscience is stirred and they hold that they must try to stir the conscience of other people.

I feel that I might finish with this observation about protest, and I hope you will not take it amiss if I do. Anyone who protests, as you do, who feels that he or she must express something on their conscience, who, as Inge Scholl said, "feels that he or she is responsible for society", anyone who does that is something of a rebel. May I tell you what I used to say to the young men—or rather the boys—whom I had to deal with and were obviously by nature rebels. Thank goodness there were some of them. I was encouraged by the fact that I was headmaster of a school which had produced one of the first Protestant martyrs, a good many other Protestant martyrs, also Catholic martyrs, the Commanders in Chief of both the Army and the Navy on the Parliamentary side during the Civil War, two men who signed the American Declaration of Independence, and later, both Charles James Fox and the poet, Shelley, the two men who between them really founded liberalism in nineteenth century England. I felt that I must show them what the true obligations of the rebel were. The first point was put to me by a very remarkable man, Kurt Hahn, who had been the headmaster of a great school in Germany and afterwards founded Gordonstoun. We were discussing this question and we decided that the first question to be asked of a rebel, choosing one's own time, is "Granted that you are going to be a rebel. But are you going to be a fighter or a quarreller?" This is quite a fundamental decision for a rebel to make, for there is a real difference between the two. The quarreller is essentially egocentric. But you have to go further and ask them this. "Very well then you are in a state of rebellion. What are you rebelling against? Is it something worth rebelling against? How important is it?" But the second question you must ask them is even more important. "What are you rebelling for? Presumably you are rebelling for something; otherwise you are being purely destructive." That, above all, you had to try to persuade them to consider, what is going to happen suppose you pull it off?

I hope you will not take it amiss, my having compared you to the very immature young gentlemen with whom I used to have to deal. For I believe strongly that any movement of protest ought to do, as I feel sure you do, some very clear thinking both on what it stands for and what it wants to have in the place of what it protests against. It will gain great strength from doing this. That is why I think that such a venture as your Black Sash Magazine is so well worth undertaking, for it makes people think. And may I add that I think your Advice Bureau is most certainly well worth while, for in this way you are doing really excellent constructive work.

These have been, I am afraid, some intolerably rambling thoughts on what is not at all an easy

subject. It is quite a new one. You have not a great many precedents to follow in discovering the best way to set about things. I should say myself that you should concentrate on just those things to which those young Germans constantly referred in their pamphlets, questions of moral obligation. One feels that the moral obligations of a society are being forgotten and that one must try and remind them somehow what they are,—above all, a feeling of responsibility for the whole of society. As Inge Scholl said of her brother and sister, what kept them going was that they could not think that this has nothing to do with me. They had that hideous feeling of personal guilt because of what *other* people were doing. And yet, as I have said, you may feel that you cannot get anywhere. So finally, I ask you to remember what Father Alfred Delp said, for it is encouraging although it may make you feel that you have a long way to go. This is a time for sowing; the time for harvest comes later. But there will not be a harvest unless there are some people to do the sowing.

BABOON TOON

by Bob Connolly



(By kind permission Rand Daily Mail.)

I DREAMED A DREAM, and in my dream a certain Man was standing on a high mountain, and stretched before Him was a rich land, which God had blessed with many fruits, and He had sent men of all races to dwell there.

But the rulers of the land were all of one race, and they made harsh laws that they might keep their own traditions, so that the lives of the people were made bitter with hard bondage.

And there was fear and darkness throughout the land.

And in my dream the Man went down from the mountain, and a great multitude of all races followed Him, and He taught them saying: "Love one another."

And He said: "For what shall it profit a man if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his soul?"

And many that followed were hungry, and He stopped by the wayside and shared His bread with them; and He sat with them.

But there were some who did stand apart and murmured, saying: "These people are unworthy, and it is not right that we have dealings with them, except they be our servants."

And He answered saying: "If ye salute your brethren only, what do ye more than others?"

And He said: "If any man desires to be first, the same shall be last of all and servant of all."

And taking a child that they had held unworthy, He said: "Whosoever shall receive this child in My Name, receiveth Me, and whosoever shall receive Me, receiveth Him that sent Me, for he that is least among you all, the same shall be great."

And as He journeyed He came to a place that was fenced about, and there were guards that none might enter therein, — "for everyone that doeth evil hateth the light."

And there lived only men there for the rulers had decreed that their wives should live in a far land; yet it is written of a man and his wife, ". . . they are no more twain, but one flesh. What therefore God hath joined together, let not man put asunder."

And He spoke words of comfort to the men, and the authorities arrested Him, saying that He was an agitator, and He said to them: "If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil."

And they could not.

And He was taken before the rulers, and they accused Him that He would make insurrection against them, and He answered them saying: "Ye reject the commandment of God that ye may keep your own tradition."

And straightaway He walked through His guards, for they could not hold Him.

And He came to a city and saw before Him a great church, which He thought to be His Father's house. And He went to go into the church to pray.

But the elders asked Him of what race He was, and He answered saying: "Whosoever shall do the will of God, the same is My brother and My sister and mother."

But they were blind leading the blind, and they would not let Him enter.

And He went out from there and shook the dust off his feet and said: "This people draweth nigh to Me with their mouth and honoureth Me with their lips, but their heart is far from Me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men."

Anna Pearce.

THE VISIT OF SENATOR KENNEDY

(We publish two impressions of the visit of Senator Robert Kennedy to South Africa from different sections of our population)

By DR. W. F. NKOMO

THE RECENT VISIT of Senator Robert Kennedy to South Africa will go down in history as a landmark in the political life of our country. Few events will rank with it. I think of the visit of Mr. Harold Macmillan to this country in the year 1960, which aroused similar interest. Mr. Macmillan delivered the famous "Winds of Change" speech in Cape Town during his visit. This speech has left its mark on the people of South Africa as well as on the African Continent in general. It shook political thinking to the roots. It exasperated those die-hard politicians who are all the time seeking to entrench the status quo. Those who believe in white domination and white supremacy saw their position very much threatened by this appeal for new thinking and the acceptance of change.

A little more than six years since this time, there came the visit of Senator Kennedy. He came as a result of an invitation of N.U.S.A.S. His coming was not popular with those at the top of the political tree in South Africa. They viewed his coming with suspicion, especially as it was in response to the invitation of N.U.S.A.S. The result was that the Senator was cold-shouldered by the government and those close to the government. He was suspected of coming to this country to sow dissension. There were those who even accused him of being insincere. They felt he had sinister motives.

On his arrival, the Senator, contrary to expectations, said, "I want to say how delighted we are to be in South Africa. There are many ties between our countries, and for us there are personal ties as well." He referred to his grandfather, John F. Fitzgerald, who introduced a resolution in the United States House of Representatives in which he appealed for the encouragement of the Boers of South Africa to emigrate to America. This he backed by mentioning the great qualities of these people. He thus came to South Africa full of admiration for the people of the country.

Perhaps the mistake that the Senator made was that he came to this country as a guest of N.U.S.A.S., and that, unlike most visitors to the country, he came prepared to "exchange views with all segments of South African thought and opinion, on what we together can do to meet the challenge of our time." We have become so accustomed to thinking of the people of our country as consisting of three and a half million whites that when any one thinks of us as a whole he immediately becomes suspect and is regarded as having sinister motives.

It was because the Senator was coming to this country to hear the views of "all segments of South African thought and opinion" that he was very warmly welcomed by most of the people in this country who are still free to think for themselves and make their own choice. This, I think, should be stretched to include those who would choose if they were permitted to do so without being ostracised by their fellows. I believe that most Africans and other non-whites who knew who he was welcomed the Senator to this land. This was very well indicated by the way the Senator was mobbed by people of all races wherever he went. I ought to mention the three hours which he spent in Soweto as an indication of the way Africans welcomed him. This was shown by the spontaneous and warm reception which the Senator and Mrs. Kennedy got from the students and staff of the Orlando secondary school. Their presence in Soweto filled many with hope and kindled the flames which were smouldering in the hearts of the young people who were becoming despondent and hopeless about the future. It gave them the sense of belonging, if not to the South African privileged minority, at any rate to the world family of enlightened people. It was a heart-warming experience for these youths of Soweto. We all felt a new throb of life in our hearts. It was as though we had been given a blood transfusion. We were given new hope when we felt the love and sympathy of a man who has devoted his life to the struggle of righting past wrongs in the life of his nation, one who had come to our country with an open mind and a readiness to learn. As he himself put it: "I hope, above all, to learn, and I thank you for giving me the opportunity to do so."

In his Day of Affirmation speech at the University of Cape Town, he emphasised those principles which have helped to rekindle the flames of freedom in the hearts of all. He did not appear to be speaking in a self-righteous manner. He refrained from finger-pointing. He often said in his speeches, "I refer, of course, to the United States of America." He was not here as one representing a perfect country, condemning the practices of our country. He brought us no really new concepts; he merely reminded us of old truths. Thus he stressed the place of the individual in a free and democratic way of life. He said: "At the heart of that Western freedom and democracy is the belief that the individual man, the child of God, is the touchstone of value, and all society, groups, the state, exist for his bene-

fit. Therefore the enlargement of liberty for individual human beings must be the supreme goal and the abiding practice of any Western society."

He was forthright and challenging in his statements everywhere. That is why some of us have referred to his whirlwind visit to this country as a challenge to all of us, white and non-white, young and old, to face the challenge of change. I am convinced that we all need to look closely into our way of life and do something positive to put right the wrongs in our way of life; as individuals and corporately as a people and nation. We belong to one nation and we have to rethink our position on this basis. I believe with Senator Kennedy that upon such a basis we can all begin to build the sort of world that we all desire, where we shall live in mutual respect and love.

We need to find a forum for the expression of our views and for the sharing of views of others. We need to search for dialogue within our own country as well as with other countries in the world.

One was encouraged by the fact that the Cape Nationalists adopted a cordial attitude to the Senator. The students of Stellenbosch did good work for the Afrikaans students of our country by their open-mindedness and their respectful tolerance to the honourable visitors to our country. One also feels happy that a man of the calibre and influence of Dr. Anton Rupert had the courage to throw a party in honour of the Senator and Mrs. Kennedy. This was a worthwhile gesture which was honoured by great personali-

ties such as the widow of the late the Honourable Dr. D. F. Malan. This should help the Senator to realise that he ought not to treat South Africans as being collectively cold towards him or to freedom.

It always does a people good to be looked at by others. The visitors often see them in their true perspective. Often we do not see ourselves as we really are. Scrutiny by others is always helpful. This is how I view the visit of the honourable Senator to this country. It has rekindled fires which should illuminate our land and the whole of the African continent. It has had the newness and freshness of youth. We have been in great need of such a visit. We certainly need more such visits. The Senator ought to come back to South Africa. We also ought to have visits by some of the personalities whom he suggested.

He has challenged the youth to become the leaven of society. Let us hope that the inspiration which the youth of our country derived from the visit of the Senator will live for a long time and that youth will have done with softness and small living and thinking. Long may the light which the Senator kindled in the hearts of all of us burn.

We look to the outside world for inspiration in our attempts to solve our problems, but we realise, as Senator Kennedy himself does, that it is we ourselves, as South Africans, who will do this. Once the barriers fall and dialogue follows, a new day will dawn.

By C. O. GARDNER

LIBERAL-MINDED, energetic, optimistic, self-confident, glamorous, powerful (in several senses of the word), Senator Kennedy made a great impact upon South Africa.

In his speeches (which were, incidentally, more fully recorded and televised than any other speeches that South Africa has experienced), he emphasised that all men are fundamentally equal, and that the important problems of human relationships being faced by individual countries are closely related to the problems confronting most other countries, and are ultimately the concern of all human beings. He called upon young people to think honestly and generously, and to have the courage of their convictions: it was one of their special tasks, he said, to demand and to bring about reform.

It is interesting to consider in what light Senator Kennedy was seen by some of the different sections of our much-divided population.

To most Afrikaner Nationalists his visit was like a bad dream, an all-too-familiar nightmare memory: he was the imperialist outsider who

interferes. His charm, his aplomb, his wealth, his influence upon, and his familiarity with the strange and dubious outside world, all this merely added insult to injury. His liberal attitudes, the Nationalists felt, were dangerous, impertinent, "untraditional", "unChristian" (even though Kennedy himself was a Christian). Yet it was something of a shock to them—not that they admitted it—to have to realise and to show so openly just how distant their own views were from those of the rest of the world. To make matters worse, Senator Kennedy smilingly had them in a cleft stick: if their Cabinet ministers had consented to see him, he might have embarrassed them, but by refusing to see him they embarrassed themselves.

To most urban Africans, on the other hand, Senator Kennedy's visit and his speeches were the most interesting and exciting event that has

taken place for some time. They were delighted; they read the reports in the newspapers; they talked about it all incessantly. Some of them even had the good fortune to see and hear the visitor from the distant land of glamour, the man who symbolised for them hope and solidarity with the great outside world, the politician who was more powerful than Dr. Verwoerd and Mr. Vorster put together. For South Africa's Africans (almost all of whom have been intimidated into silence), Senator Kennedy represented a brief, miraculous foretaste of the future for which they yearn, but of which they often despair.

But what of the English-speaking section of the electorate? Most ordinary English-speaking White South Africans—supporters of the United Party, swaying sometimes a little towards the Progressives, but more often, and more largely, towards the Nationalists—were distinctly unhappy. They disliked the glib over-confident American who simplified South Africa's unique problems—and who also made them feel a little guilty! But it was all something of an eye-opener to them: they became unhappily aware of the isolatedness of the great Nationalist Mama to whose apron-strings they had for some time been wittingly or unwittingly attached, and they couldn't help noticing that the famous and influential American visitor was obviously more interested in meeting Progressives, Liberals and members of NUSAS than the respectable and "responsible" representatives of their own sober views. I don't suppose many people were "converted" by what Senator Kennedy said in his few days in South Africa; but a good deal of useful and painful thinking seems to have been provoked.

And finally, how did Senator Kennedy strike that comparatively small body of people (people of all races) who are dedicated to firm but non-violent opposition to Nationalist rule, to Nationalism's innumerable injustices?

The reaction was not a wholly homogeneous one. Some people were completely and unreservedly enthusiastic. Others had a few doubts. There was a certain amount of discussion about the quality of Senator Kennedy's sincerity: what exactly *was* the relationship (it was after all a peculiarly Yankee mystery) between his earnest moral appeals and his own maybe perfectly acceptable love of power? How profound was his thinking? Was he perhaps, just slightly, an astute and enlightened political playboy? . . . Most liberally-minded people felt that the Senator's performance in Durban had been a little blemished (his words had not always been sufficiently cogent and he had not answered every question effectively), but then his speech in Cape Town was superb. But then again, it was perhaps somewhat disturbing—at least to innocent South Africans—to find that he was accompanied by a professional speech-writer . . .

But these doubts existed, where they existed at all, in a context of gratitude and admiration and good cheer. For Senator Kennedy, whatever his possible shortcomings (and most of the liberal-minded doubters were prepared in the end to overlook them, or even to feel that they had perhaps been carping in their criticisms)—the Kennedy phenomenon was a great boon to the cause of political justice, wisdom and generosity in South Africa.

Senator Kennedy's visit was a boon in two main ways. It revealed, and it encouraged.

It revealed—as I have already suggested—the pathetic isolation and vulnerableness of the Nationalist Government. It revealed, in the large and enthusiastic gatherings that it brought about, that the anti-Nationalist forces in South Africa are not inconsiderable, and that the forces that support them in the great outside world are morally impressive as well as politically powerful. There were also many minor revelations: observers from outside, and those South Africans who can think and judge, were made aware of the injustice of Robertson's banning, of the tragedy of the obliteration of Chief Luthuli as a public figure, of the harshness of various governmental restrictions, of the true aspirations of the people of Soweto. One became alert, in a fresh way, as if seeing through the eyes of Kennedy himself, to the crassness of the Nationalist Government. And there is a certain consolation in seeing Nationalism for what it is.

All these revelations helped the opponents of the Government to see South Africa in a different, a somewhat less gloomy perspective.

And this was encouraging. Senator Kennedy's visit provided a shot in the arm for the serious opposition in this country. It was a relief to see his easy smiling confidence, a pleasure to respond to the straightforwardness of his logic, an inspiration to know that a good deal of the world's power seems to be being harnessed by people who are not unconcerned with justice and human decency. It was good to realise, and to be told, that the battle for human values and human rights which is being waged in South Africa, often forlornly, often a little hopelessly, is but one part of a battle that is raging, within parliaments and within the hearts of men, throughout the world. And it was exciting to realise, finally, that we in South Africa, so far from being on the fringes of the great contest, are at the centre of it; and that, so far from being novices or camp-followers, we are (if we have the guts) as truly the combatants as Senator Kennedy himself is a combatant.

History has shown to what extent the fate of nations depends upon the courage and imaginativeness of creative minorities. A creative minority is precisely what Senator Kennedy was inviting us to be.

THE ROLE OF A FREE PRESS

By RENE DE VILLIERS

WHY should newspapers be free? Why is freedom of the Press essential to the proper functioning of a democracy?

Because only free newspapers can give the public all the facts of every situation and so enable the people to come to their own conclusions.

Newspapers which are subservient or shackled are unable to tell the whole story at all times; and without the whole story the reader is at a hopeless disadvantage and cannot participate effectively or intelligently in the government of his country.

Take Rhodesia. Newspapers there can only tell their readers what the Government thinks is good for them. Facts about unemployment, trade balances and riots, for instance, are withheld or half-told. The Rhodesian public, therefore, cannot know the true facts of the situation in which they find themselves. In other words, they cannot help their Government in making up its mind about the future. In such a case an unfree Press is useless in helping the public to govern: more, it may even be dangerous because it may be giving some people the idea that it is telling the whole story of Rhodesia, whereas it may only be telling the part of it — the part that appeals to or suits Mr. Ian Smith and his Government.

Before we go any further, however, let me give you a definition of a newspaper. C. P. Scott, great editor of the old *Manchester Guardian*, defined it thus:

"A newspaper has two sides to it. It is a business, like any other, and has to pay in the material sense to live. But it is much more than a business. It is an institution; it reflects and it influences the life of a whole community. It may even affect wider destinies. It is, in its way, an instrument of government. It plays on the minds and consciences of men. It may educate, stimulate, assist or do the opposite. It has a moral as well as a material existence, and its character and influence are in the main determined by the balance of these two forces. It may make power or profit its first motive, or it may conceive itself as fulfilling a higher and more exacting function".

And what is Press freedom? *The Times* of London, wrote this four or five years ago:

"Freedom of the Press concerns the fundamental right of citizens in a free society to have access to the facts on all public topics and to every variety of opinion, freely expounded to them by any man or woman who has anything to say. The freedom of the Press is one of the

liberties of the subject which belongs to the very kernel of the rule of law. It has been established as the result of bitter fighting in past centuries and is never finally safe anywhere in the world".

Finally, to put in a nutshell the relationship between a free Press and a democracy, I again quote Scott:

"A free and independent Press, that is, a Press which is free to say what it chooses subject only to the restraints of decency and the law of libel, has come to be an indispensable instrument of popular education and of popular government. A free Press has ever been and ever will remain alike the bulwark and sure sign of public liberty. It is not merely that it is in the modern state the necessary means of political propaganda and political agitation without which no active healthy political life can exist at all, but only through it can the individual obtain the effective expression of his thought and make his due and perhaps essential contribution to the life and energy of the nation."

The basic function of a newspaper is, as I said at the outset, to give the public all the facts. It can only do so, however, if it is under no obligation to a Government or other forces with vested interests to protect or advance. A picture distorted by interested parties or by a Government with an axe to grind, is, more likely than not, a distorted picture and therefore misleading. To give the truth as it sees it, a newspaper must be brave and bold: it must say what others dare not say or are afraid to say or cannot afford to say.

The classic function of the Press — and one which was exercised far more vigorously and irreverently in the days of yore — is to open doors that are otherwise shut: to blast them open and to shed all the light it can on dark places — not for sensationalism or for profit but for the sake of the public which is entitled to know what is going on around it and what is being done in its name or to it or for it.

Governments the world over at all levels like to operate in the dark and tell the public only what they think is good for them and what will not embarrass those in authority.

It is the function of newspapers to inform the public even if this embarrasses governments, provided that this is in the public interest. The public is entitled to know, but governments are

not expected to agree to this when they have anything to hide.

The Press is the eyes and ears of the public and anything withheld from the Press is denied the public. The Press is the public, the whole public; and if it is to serve the whole public it must be untrammelled by regulations or vested interests with selfish ends to serve.

Too few people realise that a country's freedom can always be measured by the freedom accorded to its newspapers. Restraints placed on newspapers, for whatever purpose or on whatever pretext, are restraints placed on you as individual citizens. That is why freedom of the Press is quite as vital to democracy as the freedom of speech and of assembly, the independence of the judiciary and of the legislature — all inalienable rights won by brave men and women in struggles with authority down the ages.

Because of this vital role, a free press is invariably the first target of the dictator, whether it be in modern Russia, China or Africa, or in inter-war Europe.

At the same time it is important to realise that newspapers have and indeed ask for no more freedom than every individual in a free society has a right to do. They are subject to the same rigours of the law as any individual or public company. But because they serve the public, and are under an obligation at all times to give the public all the facts, they dare not be satisfied with any fewer rights than those to which the individual is entitled as part of his birthright in a free society.

The public, however, has a right to ask what guarantees there are that newspapers will not abuse their freedom. The remedy, I would say, lies with the public. Freedom of the Press, as I have suggested, is not an assured, inalienable right honoured by all. Aggrieved people, or political opponents, will always want it whittled away. As long as the Press does its duty, it will be assailed by those whose evil or folly or even shortcomings it lays bare. It can best protect its freedom, therefore, by deserving and earning the support of the public-spirited. If they are prepared to defend it, it need have few fears.

On the other hand, if, by dishonouring its professions of fairness and decency and of providing a platform for opinions of all kinds, it forfeits the support of the public-spirited, its freedom will sooner or later disappear.

In other words, the Press is in the hands of the public. It needs citizens of a society which wants its highest interest safeguarded by a Press free to give all the facts, just as much as those citizens need a free Press as the bulwark of their most precious rights.

I would end these few thoughts with a final quotation, this time from the American journalist, Joseph Pulitzer.

Discussing whether newspapers should censor themselves in a time of cold war (such as the world is now experiencing in the confrontation between the free and the Communist worlds), he wrote:

"The Press is a tribune to defend the undefended, a chronicle to record its times, an examiner of controversies; it monitors the economy and the social progress of its age, it is a journal of man's successes and failures, a fighter for progress and reform; it is a herald of events, an observer of the tides of change, a commentator on the great issues confronting the nation, a reporter of happenings in public life, a review of the policies — good and bad — of its leaders; the newspaper is a challenge to the policy makers, a guardian of man's liberties; it is a mirror of man's aspirations; a sentinel to protect the public.

"If the press is all these things — if it offers enlightenment to guide a free society towards a more noble destiny — could it serve unimpaired for long under the restraints of even self-imposed censorship? Would not the honoured institution become enfeebled and decline in its capacity to support the nation's struggle against tyranny or, conversely, to challenge decisions which, in a climate of moderation, might be recognised as inimical to America's best interests? A free institution would slowly lose its character and abandon its tradition. If the press lives by disclosures, a muted journalism would debase the truth and be undeserving of the trust imposed on it by the writers of the constitution."

Recommended Reading

The Nature of the non-Western World — Vera Dean.

To Katanga and Back — Conor Cruise O'Brien.

Prejudice in the Classroom — Eleanor Hawarden.

Sudden Assignment — Lord Alport.

Classic — A Quarterly Magazine.

BOY AND I MEET THE LAW

By RUTH COPLANS

SEA POINT, a luxurious suburb in Cape Town, presents the picture of a concrete jungle. More people are crowded together there than in any other part of Cape Town, except District Six. It is the home of many rich, elderly widows, unmarried women, and elegant young couples, and, because of the density of population, forms a lucrative source of revenue to the Bantu Administration. Periodically, in the interests of the community, raids are carried out in these huge blocks of flats. The raids come swiftly, silently, and with frightening efficiency.

Two nights ago, Boy, my mother's African chauffeur was caught in the police net. Although the hour was early, and my mother was home, he was given no chance to tell her of his arrest, nor could he use the telephone, nor would the police accept his pass book as security, nor was he able to pay a spot fine.

In the morning we discovered his whereabouts, and I hastened to Standard House, the home of Bantu Administration, to attend the court. As I could not discover Boy's crime, (Boy being an educated African of sober almost taciturn personality, and impeccable background) I took the precaution to have R40 in notes on me. This large building in Observatory houses several offices and businesses, but the presence of many sad, apathetic Africans shuffling their feet aimlessly outside, betrays the whereabouts of the Court better than any sign-post.

When I went inside, I felt like Alice in Wonderland. There was an endless corridor with rooms leading off on each side, and absolute silence prevailed. Yet, every door was open, and every room filled with dejected black people, sitting on hard benches, awaiting the verdict with resignation and fatalism. The officials and I were the only white people there. I found it difficult to credit that a massive raid had taken place, and scores of people had been spirited away, and yet I was the only claimant for the physical freedom of one adult African male.

Afrikaans is the language of the officials and their staff, and speaking English is like going on a tour of Italian churches with a group of German tourists. It does not promote togetherness, nor engender a spirit of co-operation. I thought how confusing this language must seem to the African culprits, and thus it could explain their air of "che serà, serà".

Boy's crime was revealed to me. He was accused of "Harbouring". My mind flew to stolen property, Dagga, Prostitutes and Thieves. I was very relieved to find his crime was that he was simply accused of permitting a fully clothed

African woman to visit him sedately in his room at the flat at 10.45 p.m. When my relief and exasperation showed, I was told that my elderly Mama was lucky, as the Law made provision for her to be fined for neglecting to ensure that there were no irregular visitors. I reminded the very pleasant and harassed official that there was yet another and graver law which effectively prevented my mother from entering the bedchamber of a male African.

The Prosecutor was grim and determined. I could not blame him. He and his six assistants were drowning in a sea of documents, papers, and pass books, whilst the milling crowd outside grew and grew; but even the officials were non-plussed when the sentence was barked out "R20 fine." I observed audibly and stringently that a night out in Paris is cheaper than that. The Prosecutor expostulated that Sea Point was an all white area, and that these people were there purely for the convenience of the white householders, and the Law would not tolerate a little Langa or Guguletu in the backyards.

It seemed like hours before Boy was given his belongings and released. During this time his book was scrutinised thoroughly for any further irregularities, and sure enough R14 was required for tax arrears. A trembling Boy begged me to settle this amount. When all the debts were finally paid, a jovial, benevolent spirit of paternalism prevailed, and the official assured me that the Law was for the protection of us all, and was astonished when I sharply retorted that these laws brutalize, and destroy the dignity of the individual. He had a glimmer of compassion in his eye, and I thought that this work and the daily encounter with the misery and futility had not entirely blunted his spirit.

As we made our exit, some hours later, we saw several speeding cars driven by irritated housewives coming to collect their "treasures" before the weekend, and I thought exultantly that these few women would never again be able to say with sincerity "I didn't know".

The Implications for South Africa of Arbitrary Punishment

An address to N.U.S.A.S. at the University of the Witwatersrand.

By JEAN SINCLAIR

I have been asked to speak to you today, on the implications of punishment without trial with special reference to banning orders.

The concept of punishment without trial is abhorrent to all of us who value personal liberty. Arbitrary punishment is a negation of the rule of law and therefore denies justice.

The rule of law is difficult to define. It is a concept on which the basic principles of civilisation have been built. It demands that the powers of the legislature and the executive, relative to the basic rights of individuals, be limited. Those limitations should be imposed whether by the Constitution of the country and/or a Bill of Rights, or, as in Britain, by tradition where Parliament voluntarily imposed limitations on its powers. In other words, Parliament must not, through legislation, violate the Common law which is a body of law built up through the ages for the protection of the individual. There must be a balance between the freedom of the individual and the public good. In order to maintain that balance, an independent judiciary is essential for the effective functioning of the rule of law.

Seven hundred and fifty years ago, the Magna Carta laid down the basis on which civilised standards of justice have since been founded. Two clauses, Numbers 39 and 40 are particularly relevant to this discussion and read thus:

Chapter 39

"No freeman shall be arrested, or detained in prison, or outlawed, or banished, or in any way molested; and we shall not set forth against him, nor send against him, unless by the lawful judgement of his peers and the law of the land."

Chapter 40

"To no one will we sell, to no one will we refuse or delay, right and justice."

In South Africa today, the rule of law has been abrogated through the legalised usurpation by Parliament of certain powers which rightly belong to the judiciary.

Much of the recent legislation places exorbitant powers in the hands of the executive and in

many cases, it specifically excludes recourse to the Courts. Although this practice has been used with increasing regularity in recent years, it is not a new phenomenon in South African legislation. As far back as 1927, the Native Administration Act was passed which empowers the State President, whenever he deems it expedient in the public interest, without notice, to order any tribe, portion of a tribe, or individual African, to move to any stated place. This is the Act which this Government has used to banish, it is believed, 126 Africans from their homes to far distant areas.

There have been many laws passed since 1948 which deprive people of their liberty in one way or another and which exclude their right of appeal to the Courts. The laws with which we are most familiar and which are used constantly to punish people without charge or trial are the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950, in terms of which most, or all of the banning orders are issued, and the Criminal Procedure Act, No. 96 of 1965, which empowers the Attorney General to detain potential State witnesses for periods of up to 180 days. There is the General Law Amendment Act of 1963 with its notorious Clause 17—the 90 day detention clause. This clause was suspended from January 11, 1965 but can be reimposed at any time. On January 29, 1965, according to the figures given by the Minister of Justice to Parliament, 1,095 people were detained under this law. House arrest is provided for under the Suppression of Communism Act. The Minister may prohibit any person whom he considers is contravening the Suppression of Communism Act from absenting himself from any stated place or area, and can also prohibit him from performing any specified act.

There are at least 25 types of banning orders. Each subjects the individual concerned to some of the following prohibitions:

All banned people are forbidden to attend political gatherings, or to belong to organisations which in any way discuss any form of State, any policy of a State, or which in any way undermine the authority of the government of a State; or from entering the premises of such an organisa-

tion. Some banned people have been given whole or partial house arrest; some are confined to specified magisterial districts; or to a township where they live, from 8 p.m. to 7 a.m.; or are forbidden to enter any non-White areas; or to enter factories; or railway premises or harbours; or premises of specified organisations; or are forbidden to be concerned with the preparation, printing or publication of any newspaper, magazine, pamphlet, book, handbill or poster without permission; or from entering premises where any publication is produced; or to communicate in any way with any listed or banned people; or to communicate with any one other than members of their families; or are ordered to report daily or weekly to the police; or are forbidden to give lectures; or to enter educational institutions or to communicate with a newspaper; or are forbidden to enter any court of law except as a petitioner, accused or witness; and one person was even forbidden to visit any hospital.

The orders are generally issued for periods of five years. The sayings or writings of banned persons may not be published by anyone. Failure to comply with all the conditions of a banning order, such as failure to report to the police at the appointed time, result in prosecution and on conviction, to heavy prison sentences.

Before discussing the implications of arbitrary rule in South Africa, I want to touch on the differences between totalitarian and democratic systems of government. Very briefly, totalitarian systems, such as fascist and communist systems, hold that the State is supreme; that the people exist for the benefit of the State and that the lives and actions of the citizens are directed in the interests of the State. The State decrees and the people obey. They are usually one party governments and therefore have no free parliamentary elections. On the other hand the democratic state lays stress on the liberty of the individual, has a two or more party system of government, free elections by an electorate which has adult universal suffrage, or a franchise on a qualified basis. In a democracy the State governs for the benefit of all the people. It abides by the rule of law and insures that justice is available for all.

Why then, has South Africa, which professes to be a democratic state, resorted to methods which are used by totalitarian countries? South Africa has a two party, or rather a three party government, freely elected by a white electorate, having adult universal suffrage. Four-fifths of the population, however, who are not White have no say in who governs them or how they are governed. The result is that the government has to rule without the consent of the majority. Totalitarianism has had therefore, to be invoked in order to maintain control. It is fundamental to Apartheid, and our liberty, our human rights, justice and the rule of law are sacrificed to insure that the existing order retains control

against the tide of history. Apartheid is an unnatural dogma. It is a policy which works directly against the logical development of peoples in a complex society. For this reason its implementation must rely on coercion, and when coercion fails, on force. The menace of totalitarianism has become a reality and its logical conclusion is a one party state.

The Government having to rule without consent, has had to resort to authoritarian methods, foreign to a democratic country, and having done so, it can never return to democratic government and ensure the implementation of its policy. We must face the fact that more prohibitions will be imposed, the rule of law will be further eroded, legislation will become more drastic and restrictive and human rights and liberties will become fewer, until they all but disappear. All this is being done to ensure that one section of the population will remain on top and its position of privilege be entrenched.

South Africans have allowed this situation to arise because for 18 years a creeping apathy has spread throughout the country. We failed to realise that no one can retain his liberty if that liberty is denied to his neighbour. White South Africans, guarding their privileges and enjoying the good things of life, have, through their apathy and lack of political interest, sacrificed on the altar of Apartheid, the values and freedoms for which civilised people have fought for centuries. They have allowed the rule of law to be subverted; the jurisdiction of the courts to be circumvented; discriminatory laws, depriving the non-Whites of their rights to be passed in their name. All that their indifference has achieved is, in fact, the loss of their own rights.

Excessive powers have been vested in the executive and neither Parliament nor the Courts have any means of curbing the use of that power.

Banishments, bannings, house arrest, imprisonment without trial, removal of passports and deportations, though perfectly legal, are thoroughly immoral. There are many invasions of the freedom of the press. Books, plays, art, are all censored. No longer have we an impartial broadcasting system and we, the licence payers and the taxpayers, have to submit to an endless stream of Government propaganda over the air.

There is the assault on academic freedom, restrictions on employment — on employers and employees. Mixed audiences at entertainments and sports gatherings are proscribed and there are the continual irritations of petty apartheid. In every direction there is pressure to conform. Punishment without trial is just one of the restrictions necessary to enforce an unpopular policy on an unwilling population.

For these unfortunate victims of punishment without trial the implications are tragic. As Mrs. Suzman has said, for the banned, it is a life of twilight existence. They have become un-

people. Their voices are more effectively silenced than those of the dead. At least the writings and sayings of unbanned dead people can be published. The banned are committed to an unutterably dreary, lonely and frustrating existence. They live in isolation. Some, under house arrest live alone. These have not even families to talk to and one can imagine what their evenings, weekends and public holidays must be like in solitary confinement. Many of the banned have been unable to continue their employment owing to the conditions of their banning orders. They all live in fear of forgetting to report to the police on the stipulated day. It would seem to me that this is nothing short of mental torture. They are forgotten people. There are more than 440 of them and how many of us even remember who they are?

The same applies to the banished people, all of whom are African. They are not necessarily banished for political offences, but often for opposition to tribal authorities or to a chief. They are sent hundreds of miles from their homes, where they cannot speak or understand the language. They are left for years in banishment. It is difficult to obtain the exact figures of the numbers banished, but it is believed that since 1948, 126 people have been banished. Some have died in exile, one has been in banishment for fifteen years and another for eleven years.

The 90 day detention and the 180 day potential state witness detention laws are well known to us all. I do not think that we require to go into all the implications of solitary confinement, of continuous interrogation, of standing for hours and hours on end. Anyone with any imagination is fully aware of what that must be like.

The effects of dictatorial rule on South Africa are incalculable. She has manoeuvred herself into a position of isolation. She has alienated the goodwill of the West and antagonised Africa and Asia. She is a country without friends, except for Rhodesia and Portugal. She could have been, and should have been the leader of Africa. She is constantly threatened with boycotts and sanctions. She has been expelled from many international bodies, and has been denied over-flying rights over most of Africa. Her citizens are shunned all over Africa and India. She has become an embarrassment to the West and she is being left to go it alone. She appears to be the only country in the world which makes a virtue of race-prejudice. She is struggling to make herself economically independent, because it is evident that pressures will increase and there is little likelihood of an improvement in international relations.

The people of South Africa are ridden by fear. The Whites are afraid of the Black man, of being swamped, of losing privileges, afraid of criticism or of criticising. They are afraid of the truth, of being non-conformists. The non-White is afraid of being endorsed out of urban areas,

of being summarily arrested or of not being allowed to accept employment, or of being separated from his wife and family. People are afraid too, of the most trivial things, which is unthinkable in any free society.

Our prison population is enormous. On 30 November, 1965 there were 74,287 convicted prisoners and 11,924 unconvicted prisoners in gaol. For the year ending 30 June, 1965, the average daily prison population was 72,637. Taking the population at 17,000,000 this means that 40.2 persons in every thousand are in gaol at any one time.

Because the government has abandoned democratic procedure it has the power to keep the public in ignorance of matters which are of concern to us all. For instance, it is difficult to find out the numbers of people still in banishment, or in 180 day detention. Answers to parliamentary questions are often not given on the grounds that either statistics are not available on certain issues, or that it would involve too much work to get the figures out, or because, it is said, it would not be in the interests of the safety of the State. This last statement has been given in Court too, when State witnesses have refused to answer questions in cross examination.

Government propaganda has induced a state of confusion in the public mind. The indiscriminate labelling of individuals as communists and the equation of liberalism with communism has conjured up a belief among people that those who criticise and oppose government policy are communists. The smear campaigns and the witch hunts have cast suspicion on perfectly innocent people and organisations such as NUSAS, the Institute of Race Relations, the Christian Institute and the Black Sash. They are all suspect and condemned out of hand by the large unthinking section of the White public.

Everywhere there is acquiescence to the dictates of the Government. There is not a ripple of dismay, much less of anger, when such laws as the 180 day detention law or the Bantu Laws Amendment Act are introduced in Parliament.

This apathy and this docility is bad enough in itself, but by far the most disturbing aspect of all this indifference is the abandonment of the standards and values of true civilisation. The rule of law, justice, political morality, respect for human rights and liberties. Who cares what happens to his neighbour? Who cares about punishment without trial? Who cares about Press censorship, or about freedom of speech, or of association, or about freedom of movement? In fact do people mind about the whittling away of their rights and freedoms? Is it nothing to them that their children are being indoctrinated at school; that race prejudice has been encouraged; that stress has been laid on Nationalism and not on patriotism?

The whole emphasis in the West, today is towards incorporating in legislation, human rights

and liberties. In Europe there is a treaty to which all European countries have subscribed, except France, Spain and Portugal, which has as its aim the entrenchment in legislation, of human rights and liberties. Not only can one country petition the commission or Court, concerning an infringement of rights in another country, which is party to the treaty, but an individual can seek recompense if he feels himself to have been deprived of his rights. In America rights and liberties have been entrenched in legislation, but in South Africa we are busy passing laws which deprive all and sundry, not only of their rights but of justice. We are swimming against the tide of social progress and using the bogey of communism to divert public attention from the Western concept of social justice.

This is a gloomy and sad story. It is like a Greek tragedy moving inexorably to its end. One of my favourite quotations from an article by Winston Churchill, published in 1936, when he was a lone voice warning the apathetic people of Britain about the dangerous rise of Nazism, is apt in this situation:

“The dear desire of all the peoples, not perhaps even excluding a substantial portion of the German people themselves, is to avoid another horrible war in which their lives and homes will be destroyed or ruined and such civilisation as we have been able to achieve, reduced to primordial pulp and squalor. Never till now, were great communities afforded such ample means of measuring their approaching agony. Never, have they seemed less capable of taking effective measures to prevent it. Chattering, busy, sporting, toiling, amused from day to day by headlines, and from night to night by cinemas, they yet can feel themselves slipping, sinking, rolling backward to the age when ‘the earth was void and darkness moved upon the face of the waters.’ Surely it is worth a supreme effort — the laying aside of every impediment, the clear-eyed facing of fundamental facts, the noble acceptance of risks inseparable from heroic endeavour—to control the hideous drift of events and arrest calamity upon the threshold. Stop it! Stop it!! Stop it now!! NOW is the appointed time.”

I do not however, want to end on this depressing note. The one thing that has heartened so many of us and has brought hope and encouragement, has been the magnificent protest of the students against the arbitrary banning of Ian Robertson. In all humility, I would like to con-

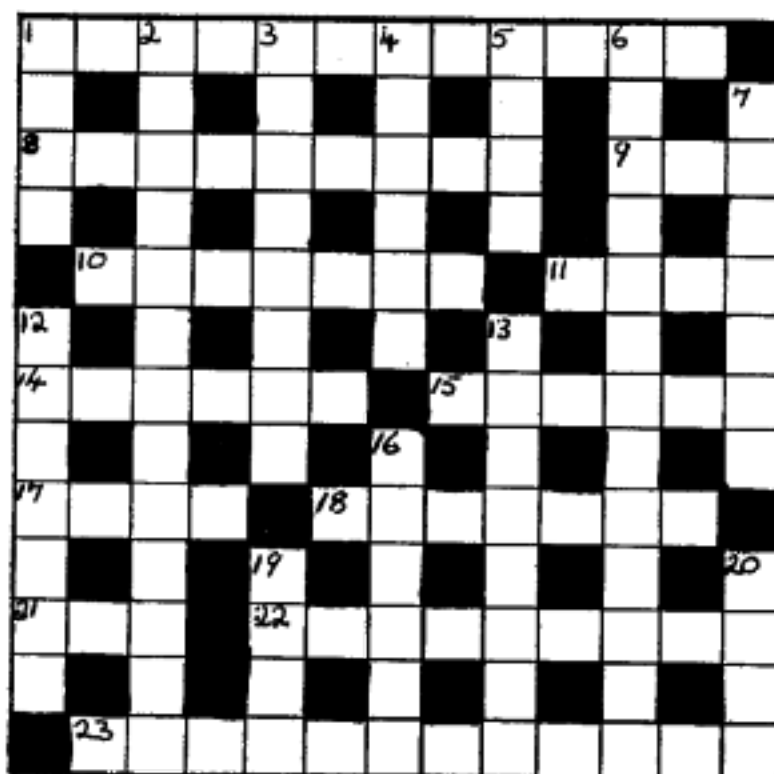
gratulate you on your stand, on the march, on the most impressive all night vigil on Thursday night and above all on your refusal to be intimidated, and your determination to carry on with all lawful protest. The one hope for our salvation is to reawaken the public to the knowledge of its duty, in its own interest and in the interests of South Africa, to protest, to keep alive the spirit of dissent. For all of us who are concerned, our efforts must be directed to persuading the public that through its apathy and acquiescence it is assisting in the destruction of all we seek to preserve.

ANNUS MIRABILIS

To be a good South African
 You first must be a Nat.,
 If lesser truths are arguable
 There's not a doubt of that;
 Unless you're *un*-South African,
 Don't whine or shake a fist,
 For if you do, you're 'liberalistic',
 Worse! a communist.
 Now separate development —
 The basis of our creed —
 Is what, in our Republic, serves
 Each group's most basic need;
 The term is more South African
 Than 'White supremacy',
 It's shorter, sweeter, sounds much better
 When it's plain S.D.
 It's *un*-South African to ask —
 Economists to tell —
 If plain S.D. is practical
 With no preceding £!
 Why quibble? Though our currency
 Employs the rand and cent,
 When present boom means future slump
 What price the argument?
 Though every source of all our wealth
 Is menaced by S.D.,
 It's *un*-South African to count
 The cost to you and me.
 All *true* South Africans will trust
 The future's magic date
 When every wrong becomes a right
 In 1978!,
 When 'Homelands' will be adequate
 For every group and race,
 Wherein what seemed 'Cloud-Cuckoo-Lands'
 Each man shall have a place!
 Then the unworkable will work,
 Confusions disappear,
 To prove unscrambling scrambled eggs
 Can be accomplished here.
 How this will happen, none can tell
 Save HE WHO SAYS IT'S SO,
 But that's enough — for that is all
 We know or need to know!

Tarantula.

CROSSWORD — by R.M.J.



ACROSS.

1. Dated Monster (Anag.)
8. Has faith in the girl — oh no!
9. Grecian or storied.
10. Timeless?
11. A lip to hold water.
14. Small quake.
15. Not in front.
17. Addlepate.
18. Expand.
21. Drink for golfer.
22. Naked.
23. Lens defects.

DOWN.

1. Half.
2. Printers times are wrong.
3. Teller.
4. Ted sat and ate.
5. As well as .
6. Idiots use cant — it's a libel.
7. Count in.
12. Law.
13. Animate.
16. Crown.
19. African remedy.
20. March, Caesar!

(Solution on Page 21)

A Letter to the Editor

Dear Madam,

The President of NUSAS has been banned, and a prominent voice has opined that NUSAS itself may be one of the next of Mr. Vorster's victims.

Some Sashers have been banned, and others "warned". No doubt this has been done "pour encourager les autres". It seems not unlikely that the Sash itself may be banned in the not too distant future.

But before this twilight descends upon us, *and even if it does not*, may I ask every member to consider a vast potential which cannot arouse the attentions of the Special Branch, or constitute a threat to livelihood, or personal freedom.

I refer to the power of Prayer. If every Black Sash member would pledge herself to spend only

10 minutes a day in petition to Almighty God for the righting of those wrongs in our national life of which we are all so conscious, the results would be truly miraculous, and if persevered with, would bring about amazing changes.

I suggest that the prayer time should be the same every day, and that it should be at a time when one is not likely to be interrupted. Early morning is better than late at night, when one is often too tired to concentrate, or might be tempted to "skip". If these petitions are made in a spirit of faith and humility (for we are all corporately guilty), there will also be a great blessing on the one who prays.

Gwendoline Dugmore.

In Memoriam

THOMAS NGWENYA

The Black Sash in Cape Town were saddened to learn last month of the death in Rhodesia of Mr. Thomas Ngwenya, who for many years was perhaps their most hardworking liaison with the African community, and who often appeared on their platforms. We print below an appreciation from a Cape Western Regional Councillor:

In any society based on a reasonable measure of equality of opportunity and recognition of individual merit, Thomas Ngwenya's qualities of head, heart, and character would have assured his rise to a position of public eminence.

As it was, in Rhodesia—where he was born and where he spent his last years—and in South Africa—where he spent most of his adult life, despite very little formal education and no material advantages whatever, he rose to a position of leadership among his fellow Africans, and won the respect and admiration of most non-Whites and Whites alike who knew him.

So far as his position among Africans was concerned, he might well have been more prominent than he actually was, both in politics and Trade Unionism, had it not been for his moderation in a situation in which every provocation to extremism presented itself.

Mr. Ngwenya could never preach Black racialism. And as a resolute anti-Communist his efforts to counter Communist attempts to infiltrate African movements led him into painful controversy of a kind deeply distasteful to one of his nature.

Yet he was always marvellously cheerful and appreciative, even in the face of the doubtful health of the diabetic—full of faith and warmth, of compassion, love and hope for all mankind. Although a man of unequivocal decision, and unsparing of himself in his devotion to principle, he was relaxed, modest, humorous—notably free of any chip-on-the-shoulder defenciveness such as so often blights those who have overcome early social deprivation.

Thomas Ngwenya's wisdom and judgment gained a measure of recognition outside the ranks of Africans, as evidenced by the number and status of Europeans, concerned about race relations, who consulted him. These included even such unlikely people as prominent exponents of Afrikaner Nationalism in the fields of journalism, the Universities, and business.

But this fine man's career also demonstrated poignantly the tragedy of the modest African leader in a society dominated by White extremism. It evoked no response from the powers that

be, either in South Africa or Rhodesia; no attempt at fruitful co-operation in the interest of improved race relations. In 1960, for instance, he was detained in Cape Town when an emergency was proclaimed, despite his complete lack of connection with those forces among the Africans, which gave rise to the proclamation. And in Rhodesia too, much of his last years were spent in restriction. Such is the suicidal nature of a policy of repression that it should thus fall upon, and so waste a man like this.

MARGUERITE DREYER

With deep regret the Plumstead/Constantia Branch records the death on March 29th, 1966 of its former chairman, Miss Marguerite Dreyer, of Kenilworth. Marguerite Dreyer had a full and varied life dominated by service to the community. Educated at a private school in East London and at Rustenburg Girls' High School she was at one time Headmistress of Observatory Primary School and later of Aliwal Road Primary School.

She was a fine sportswoman excelling at tennis and hockey. She played hockey for Western Province for many years and in 1925 she was chosen to represent South Africa. She was a member of the 1926/27 overseas touring team and again in 1930 played for South Africa at the Empire tournament.

During the war she aided the war effort by organising functions both at school and in her own garden.

Always public spirited and a live wire she joined the Sash soon after its foundation, and with her sister Doreen devoted herself unsparingly to its activities.

She convened the Annual Fete on more than one occasion, and organised the Needlework Stall up until a few months before her death.

For many years Chairman of the Plumstead/Constantia Branch she worked strenuously to further the aims and ideals of the Sash, undaunted by the illness which dogged her last years. — We shall miss her.

THE GROUP AREAS ACT AGAIN

THE DEPREDATIONS of the Group Areas Act continue all over the country. Our last issue reported fully the Proclamation of District Six.

Here are three more instances of the application of the Act.

On Friday, 24th June, 1966 the area of Claremont above the railway line was proclaimed as a White group area.

The Cape Western Region sent the following letter to the Cape Times:—

"It was, of course, too much to hope that the Government would listen to the pleas, made by persons with detailed local knowledge and expertise, for the non-White community above the railway line in Claremont to be allowed to remain there. Evidence as to the hardships which would be caused to all sections of this group, some of whom have lived and traded in the area for generations, has, as is customary, been completely ignored by the master-planners in Pretoria. For, in the implementation of the abominable doctrine of the physical separation of races, economic and philanthropic arguments are regarded as merely the rantings of suspect humanists, and as such must be wholly rejected. People, businesses, homes, all are to be sacrificed.

Yet again, in the unforgettable words of Uys Krige, the dispossessed are to be dispossessed, the humble humiliated, the defenceless attacked. Because their skins are not White they must be ejected from an area which the Government has abrogated to itself to declare White.

So the shoddy spectacle of the expulsion of a harmless group is to be re-enacted yet again until every area which the Government so declares is purged of its darker-skinned citizens, whose skills and talents have undoubtedly contributed greatly to the development of that area. And when this brutal piece of surgery is finally completed, what will be left? Bitterness, where there was once affection; suspicion and distrust where there was once mutual respect and goodwill; desperate frustration where there was once eagerness and a desire to serve the community; and a corrosive feeling of rejection which, in our opinion, cannot but hasten the destruction of harmonious relations in what is inescapably a multi-racial land."

On Friday, 1st July, the area along the Black River from Park Road, Rondebosch to Maitland—known as Fraserdale—was proclaimed for Whites only.

The following letter was sent to the Cape Times:—

"And now Black River!

Yet another group of respectable middle class non-Whites, about 150 families, must leave the homes they love, through no fault of their own.

These are hard-working peace-loving people who stand to lose greatly. In the undeveloped areas to which they will have to move they will have the inconvenience of being unwilling pioneers in regard to roads, telephones, distance from work, schools, etc. yet because of their income they do not qualify for economic Council housing schemes on the 30 year Home Ownership basis.

Once again we must protest against a ruthless decision of the Group Areas Board, with its flagrant disregard of human emotions and basic security."

Mrs. Mary Birt, a Regional Councillor, who lives in Rondebosch, also sent the following to the Cape Argus:—

"The proclamation that the area Fraserdale is to be White comes as a not unexpected blow to many of the people concerned.

In 1961 the Group Areas Board announced its intention of proclaiming part of Rondebosch, always known as Black River, as a Group Area for Whites only.

The residents of Black River consist of Whites and non-Whites in almost equal proportions most of whom fall within the middle income group, but in spite of the differences in culture and patterns of living the individuals have got on very well with each other and all sections of the community have been living together in peaceful accord. Non-Whites protested vigorously against such possible proclamation and no more was heard about it until November 1964.

In November 1964 an advertisement appeared in the Cape Argus announcing the Department of Planning's intention to investigate the Fraserdale area with a view to its being declared for White or for non-White or as an area with buffer strips. It took some time for the people living on the Black River to realise that this was Black River under another name and that once more their homes were at stake. At the subsequent Group Areas hearing members of the Board were left in no doubt whatsoever as to the cost to non-Whites of moving them from their homes, some of which had been in families for nearly 100 years.

According to the recent press report a house to house socio-economic survey would be held and as houses in non-White areas became available, they would be offered to disqualified persons.

Since the majority of the 150 non-White families living in Black River are home owners of houses costing between R6,000 to R12,000 which they keep in excellent repair, it seems that the socio-economic survey will be able to make a long and costly survey only to find out that it is the colour of skins that disqualifies otherwise entirely desirable, peace-loving, hard-working residents.

Those who abhor the whole idea of Group Areas have difficulty in finding words any more to express their shame as each disintegration of real community takes place. The sum of injustice, cruelty, hardship and economic disadvantage is immeasurable but to the authorities the snapping up of the gnat of Frasierdale will be as nothing after the gulping down of the camel of District Six."

Indian families in Pageview, Johannesburg are now being issued with eviction orders under Proclamation 110 of 1963 of Pageview as a White Group Area.

The Transvaal Region sent the following letter to the Johannesburg City Council:—

"With regard to the imminent removal of Indian families from Pageview the Black Sash once again states its absolute opposition to the Group Areas Act.

We condemn the uprooting and destruction of settled communities and deny that this Act can be applied with any measure of social justice.

The Indians who live in Pageview are citizens of Johannesburg who have contributed their fair share to the growth and prosperity of the City. They have formed, over the years, a settled community with its own identity and spirit which will be completely shattered by the forcible removal of its members to Lenasia where they will be scattered about in a much greater area with environmental ties destroyed.

A new community identity will not easily be developed in Lenasia because of its distance from Johannesburg, and the necessity for most adult members of the community to work in Johannesburg entailing long hours away from home.

We wish to draw your attention to paragraph 12 of the memorandum drawn up by the Cape Town City Council on the proclamation of District Six as a White Area:—

"Experience abroad, particularly in the United States, has shown, over and over again that the relocation of small and large communities which have, despite their lowly economic level developed a community spirit and identity, has resulted in the disruption of the community and the disintegration of those social ties and obligations necessary to keep the forces of social decay at bay. The effect of this subsequent degeneration on the conduct of the individual has been marked; crime rate soared, anti-social habits gained ground even when the new environment created was a decided improvement on the old and as a consequence the new environment often rapidly deteriorated".

The effect of this removal on individuals living in Pageview will be most serious and in some cases their lives will be so disrupted that it is doubtful if they will ever recover. The small traders, for example, who can only make their businesses show a profit because they live nearby and can utilise the members of their families as shop assistants, and can work late into the night on their books will have their means of livelihood taken from them. What provision is to be made for waiters to return to their homes late at night when their day's work ends? Every individual will be affected in many ways by the inadequate housing, transport and school services in Lenasia and by the complete lack of a hospital, police station and nursery schools.

The Black Sash asks you to appeal to the Minister of Community Development and to the Minister of Indian Affairs to consider the plight of these people and to rescind Proclamation No. 110 of 1963 of Pageview as a Group Area for White ownership and occupation and to allow the existing stable community to remain as part of the corporate community of Johannesburg."

SOLUTION TO CROSSWORD.

Across: 1. Demonstrated; 8. Mistrusts; 9. Urn; 10. Undated; 11. Pail; 14. Tremor; 15. Behind; 17. Tape; 18. Distend; 21. Tee; 22. Undressed; 23. Astigmatism.

Down: 1. Demi; 2. Misinterprets; 3. Narrator; 4. Tasted; 5. Also; 6. Educationists; 7. Include; 12. Statute; 13. Sentient; 16. Diadem; 19. Muti; 20. Ides.

FROM THE SOUTH AFRICAN NURSERY

Ten Little Black Boys went out to dine,
One tried a white place,
And then there were nine.

Nine Little Black Boys decided they were late,
One got in a "slegs blankes",
And then there were eight.

Eight Little Black Boys tried to go to heaven,
One left his pass behind,
And then there were seven.

Seven Little Black Boys collected up some sticks,
A big policeman caught one,
And then there were six.

Six Little Black Boys for education strive,
One thought *far* too deeply,
And then there were five.

Five Little Black Boys wanted to earn some
more,

One took a "white" job,
And then there were four.

Four Little Black Boys travelling overseas,
No passport for the one,
And then there were three.

Three Little Black Boys thought they would be
true
To all their precious ideals,
Then there were two.

Two Little Black Boys sitting in the sun.
Inertia overcame them,
And then there was one.

One Little Black Boy grew up to be a man,
Is the solitary survivor
Of a great White Bantustan!

J.D.

The lawyers and the minister
Were walking hand in hand.
They wept like anything to see
Such quantities of banned.
"If they were only cleared away"
They said "It would be grand".

"The time has come" the lawyers said
"To talk of many things;
"Of house arrests and Communists,
"And divine rights of Kings:
"We are a little fearful lest
You even clip our wings".

The lawyers and the minister
Walked on a mile or so
"How could you think" he sadly said
"I wished to frighten you.
"Such steps against your noble selves
"I'll not be party to".

"We have no reason to believe
"That you would let us down.
"We recognise your oft proclaimed

"Respect for cap and gown.
"But somehow we are not convinced
"Our turn might not come round".

"I weep for you", the strong man said
"I deeply sympathise".
With sobs and tears he sorted out
A few to penalise,
While taking out a handkerchief
To mop his streaming eyes.

"But wait a bit" the lawyers cried,
"We must pursue our chat
"But some of us are out of breath
"And all of us are fat".
"No hurry" said the minister.
They thanked him much for that.

"O lawyers" said the minister,
"You've had a pleasant run
"Shall we be trotting home again"
But answer came there none.
And this was scarcely odd because
He'd silenced every one.

S.D.

REGIONAL REPORTS

HEADQUARTERS

This report covers the period from our Annual General Meeting held on June 15th to mid-July.

1. Our activities centred round "Family Day" which was held on July 11th. We approached the Christian and the Jewish Churches asking them to devote their services on Saturday 9th and Sunday 10th to prayers for African families which are separated by the laws of the land. On Friday 8th we had a demonstration. The posters used were:

THOSE WHOM GOD HATH JOINED
TOGETHER LET NO MAN PUT ASUNDER.
PASS LAWS DESTROY FAMILY LIFE AND
UNDERMINE OUR SOCIETY.
PASS LAWS SEPARATE HUSBAND FROM
WIFE.
PASS LAWS SEPARATE CHILDREN FROM
THEIR PARENTS.
PASS LAWS MAKE MARRIED MEN LIVE IN
"BACHELOR" HOSTELS.
HOSTELS ARE NO SUBSTITUTE FOR
HOUSES.

This pointed out the cynicism of celebrating Family Day when so many African families were being broken up through Influx Control. We wrote an article which was published on the main page on Saturday 9th in the Rand Daily Mail. On Saturday evening the Star had a leader on the subject and on Monday morning, Family Day, the Rand Daily Mail also had a leader bringing to the notice of the public what the operation of the pass laws and influx control mean for African families.

2. Letters to Press.

(a) An open letter to the Law Society on the banning of Ruth Hayman. A most unsatisfactory and evasive reply was given by the Law Society, and this resulted in further letters to the press from Mrs. Suzman and Mr. Fisher. The Law Society then replied at length—a wordy lawyer's letter in which the principle of upholding the rule of law was not mentioned. The Star, the Rand Daily Mail and the Sunday Times all carried leading articles on the subject.

(b) A letter in reply to an article by a City Councillor pointing out inaccuracies in his statement on Influx Control.

3. General Meeting.

Our next meeting is planned for August 9th when Mr. de Villiers will speak on Freedom of the Press.

CAPE WESTERN

We are pleased to report that we have had quite a spate of new members in the last few months.

Group Areas

In response to the petition from citizens of Cape Town mentioned in our last report, the Mayor eventually called a meeting to discuss the Proclamation of District Six as a White group area. Unfortunately owing to the sudden illness of Ex-Chief Justice A. v.d. Centlivres, who presented the petition, the meeting has been postponed for the time being.

After the supreme horror of the District Six zoning, the recent proclaiming of the whole village of Claremont as a White area threatens to be passing almost unnoticed. However we held a stand in Claremont on Friday, July 1st from 5-5.30 p.m. our posters simply read: "Claremont White Group Area — unjust". 19 women stood in pouring rain. The stand attracted quite a lot of attention.

Athlone Advice Office

	April	June	June
Men endorsed out	23	41	34
Women endorsed out	19	26	63
Miscellaneous	59	64	71
Old cases	100	162	168
Total	193	293	309
Daily average	11	15	14

The latest regulation that is bringing clients to our office and hardship to the Africans deals with unpaid leave. Formerly a man could go home on leave and provided he did not stay away for more than 12 months, he was allowed to return to his previous employer. Not so today. We have had many cases of men who, having overstayed their six months leave by even a few days have been refused permission to return to their former employers and have been endorsed straight back to the Transkei. Although such workers cannot legally be refused permission to return to their previous employer within 12 months, they have to obtain permission to do so before leaving the Transkei if they have been away over six months, and have to be freshly recruited on Form B.A.403. Thus they lose any qualifications they may have and become contract workers in future.

Sash Parties

Two delightful multi-racial parties were held in June, one by Rondebosch Branch on the 14th for about 47 people and the other by Claremont on the 17th which was attended by about 60 people. After a buffet supper the guests were entertained with slides and films.

Mrs. Robb held a cheese and wine party at her home for young marrieds in an endeavour to interest more young women in the Sash. Mrs. Roberts gave an excellent talk on "Why the Black Sash . . .?" A lively discussion followed.

The Banning of NUSAS President

For two days the Black Sash assisted by manning tables in Cape Town where citizens were asked to sign a petition that Mr. Ian Robertson should be charged or released. A protest march of students and staff was organised by the SRC, at which the Black Sash was represented. Three tickets for the Kennedy lecture at U.C.T. were given by NUSAS to the Chair and two vice-chairs.

Stand on May 18th

We held a stand at the top of Adderley Street from 1-1.30 p.m. Our posters read: "Punishment without Trial is not justice." "Innocent or Guilty, the Courts not the Minister must decide." 54 women stood.

All Branches Meetings

At the May All Branches meeting we were given a most illuminating talk on conditions in a Mission Hospital in the Ciskei.

At the June meeting Miss Elsie Rowland told us about the origin and work of the Citizens Advice Bureau.

A Questionnaire to go to members is being prepared with the object of increasing the participation of all members in the activities of the Sash.

Statements and Letters to the Press

- 12.5.66 To Cape Times, Cape Argus and Die Burger on the Banning of Ian Robertson.
- 16.5.66 To Cape Argus on Punishment without Trial.
- 10.6.66 To Cape Times on Deputy Secretary of Justice's speech to the students of Wits.
- 20.6.66 To Cape Times, urging employers of African labour to note the Circular sent out by the Langa Registering Officer.
- 27.6.66 To Cape Times on the zoning of Claremont above the railway line as a White group area.

CAPE EASTERN

March 15th

At our first Council Meeting of the year, Mrs. Levey handed over the Chairmanship of the Region to Mrs. Davis.

March 24th

The Regional Council met to decide on a statement re the banning of the S.A. Defence and Aid Fund. The statement was checked by our legal adviser.

March 27th

Decided on request to hold back the statement until the 30th March.

March 30th

Election Day and most of our active members were involved.

April 19th

At our first general meeting our speaker was the Rev. Lovemore of the Methodist Church on Race Relations. Interesting talk and profitable discussion followed. It was decided to have a speaker at every general meeting and invite husbands as well as women non-members.

May 2nd

Regional Council meeting approved a letter going to the Press re the banning of Ruth Hayman. This was in the E.P. Herald of May 4th in a good position in the letter column. A letter also went to the City Council asking for permission to stand on 18th May, protesting against banning, banishment, house arrest, etc.

May 12th

Mrs. Allchurch and Mrs. Davis interviewed the Mayor who said he could not give permission without full Council Meeting on May 26th. After discussion we found we had to accept this but members and branches were alerted and posters made for May 27th.

May 14th

A statement went into the Saturday Evening Post from this Region protesting against the banning of Ian Robertson and banning in general. A further letter went in on Monday, May 16th deploring the principle of banning without trial.

May 17th

General Meeting of members when Mrs. D'Altera Turner, a History M.A., gave us a talk on History text books. She showed how we could present alternative points of view to our children to try to counteract prejudice arising out of a rigid text which was found in available books in schools (primary).

May 26th

The City Council granted the permit for us to stand next day, with no comment apparently.

May 27th

Our protest stand took place in the Mayor's

Garden from 4.45 to 5.15 p.m. with 27 women and about 15 posters. Four members came from Addo and three from Alexandria. The Press and the Special Branch were in attendance, but there were no incidents and we were glad we had persevered. It was an opportune time as it was the day after the NUSAS interview with Mr. Vorster. From comment, we have gathered that *each* person should carry a placard (large) on protests — more effective. Wording this time was good: "Is it nothing to you all ye who pass by" was a special eye-catcher.

May 28th

Grahamstown Branch stood 23 strong with placards. Their first demonstration for years and most impressive. They also have some new members. The Town Council in Grahamstown debated for a long time whether to allow the students' march and the Sash stand, but the voting eventually went 8 for and 4 against.

We were delighted to see that the Relief Department of Christian Council had their files and money returned and were once more able to function. Sash members helped in a small way with blankets and clothes during the difficult time.

We are struggling to establish sub-committees, but with so few active members it has come to nothing yet, except for the letter-writing and press statement group.

We were disappointed that our General Meeting planned for June 7th had to be cancelled, for the reason that our speaker, Dr. G. E. Malherbe of Race Relations, felt that he had to be back in Durban on that date to meet and hear Mr. Robert Kennedy, but another date in the future has been promised.

BORDER

It was decided at the end of last year that the Region would hold meetings quarterly in different member's houses, and at these meetings the activities of the Region in the previous quarter be reviewed, and further activities planned.

This has met with success, as the meetings have proved popular and well attended. About 20 members are usually present.

Between meetings contact is maintained with members by circulating interesting newspaper cuttings, and Headquarters circulars. These are circulated on four different rosters, each member being required to sign on a slip attached to the circulars, the date she received these, and the date they were passed on to the next person. In this way the circulars are kept moving!

As instructed by National Conference, a letter was written to NUSAS asking for names of students who might have left University and settled in our area, and although a sympathetic reply was received, we have as yet received no names from them.

Local information regarding Group Areas was obtained from the City Council, and passed on to Mrs. Stott in Cape Town.

Mrs. Noel Robb has been invited to visit East London and address a meeting or meetings on the pass laws. In particular we hoped to arrange a meeting with the local Rotary Club who have expressed interest in forming some type of Advice Office.

A roster was formed to listen to SABC broadcasts, and make suitable complaints. Members were each given a week starting from February 7th to April 25th.

Some members were told, "Sorry we can't help you." One member who said, "I am sick of being fed with the wrong sort of information," was met with the reply, "And who says it's the wrong sort?"

Mrs. Streek, our Chairman, who made a very strong protest, was put in touch with the Chairman of the local Advisory Board.

Members will continue to complain to the local SABC, but not on a roster basis.

There has been much discussion about the formation of a group similar to Johannesburg's Saturday Club.

Local opinion, both White and non-White, has been canvassed, and as a result it has been decided to make more contact on an individual basis for the time being.

We hope at a later stage to be able to use this contact to form a multi-racial sewing circle, women meeting to make articles for a definite local charity. Such a project would seem to fit in with local conditions.

The Region decided in January to subscribe to the Government Gazette, and a member has been made responsible for reading each one, and marking anything of interest. These are then passed on to interested members, and form another link between members who would otherwise only meet once a quarter.

There has been discussion, and some investigation into what action the Region can take in regard to helping Africans claim from the Workmen's Compensation fund. However, it was decided to get further information from the Athlone Office before starting a scheme here. In the meantime the Gazette's are being marked where local names appear.

The record of the Cape Town protest meeting against 'Apartheid in Sport' was played at the January quarterly meeting, but as yet no speakers have been invited to address meetings. This is mainly due to the local lack of suitable speakers!

We are happy to report that our financial position is reasonably healthy.

With the Border Region down to the size it is, it had been decided that 1966 would be a year of consolidation. So far, we are pleased with the progress we have made.

The Region was very happy to join Sashers

throughout the country and demonstrate against banning without trial, on May 18.

Handicapped as we are, with so few members able to stand, we decided on a token demonstration of four women. Finally five of us stood, two at a busy intersection that businessmen use on their way to work, and three at a similar place in the suburbs. We think most people using cars or buses going to work must have passed our demonstration. In addition, hundreds of school children saw us on their way to school. We stood for an hour, from 7.30 a.m. to 8.30 a.m.

Press publicity was most favourable. The Daily Dispatch featured an article on its leader page, and published a picture of us the next day. On May 18 there also appeared a short review of "Everybody's Guide to the Pass Laws."

Two Sashers also wrote independent letters to the paper, so that on May 18 we had quite a leader page splash.

We have one new member, and two resignations.

Our Chairman has started writing to firms in connection with Workmens' Compensation. We have ten firms in the area who could be contacted.

She has also written to the Chairman of the Non-European Affairs Committee of the City Council regarding residents of the new African township here, Mdantsane, being deprived of their land rights in the Transkei and other "Bantu homelands."

We hope to have an African woman speaker at our next general meeting in July.

We still keep in contact with each other by sending circulars and other items of interest through the post. We can't do much, but our morale is still high!

NATAL COASTAL

Meetings

Three open meetings and four executive meetings were held during this period.

March: Because of pre-election activities no open meeting was held but we did have an executive meeting and were most fortunate to have Mrs. Peggy Levey with us. Mrs. Levey spoke to us of the work for the Banished People which impressed us greatly and we were happy to have her with us.

April: We played, at our open meeting, the record which we had brought from Cape Western — "People in Protest." This was much appreciated by the 28 people present.

May: We listened to a tape recording of "Black Like Me" which made a tremendous impact on all of us. This meeting was very well attended.

June: Mr. John Dowley, Student Adviser at Natal University, spoke to us on "Education in

Rhodesia" Mr. Dowley was the former Under Secretary for Education in Rhodesia, and was most interesting, and fully answered the flood of questions asked by many of the large audience. A guest whom we all hold in respect and affection was present at this meeting — Mrs. Peggy Levey.

Stands

We held two Stands in May. The first on 6th May to protest against recent bannings in particular and the next on 18th May to protest against Punishment without Trial in general. We were honoured and delighted to have with us at the first one, our National President who was holidaying in Natal. The number standing was 14-18. We feel this could be increased but several of our members were overseas and quite a number were off ill at this time. At the second stand four students joined us in their gowns.

Letters to Press

The Chairman wrote two letters, one on the banning of the Defence and Aid Fund and another on recent bannings in particular and punishment without trial in general both of which were published with headlines in the morning and evening papers alike. Also, both papers prominently printed a copy which we sent them of our National President's excellent challenge to "Current Affairs" on the Congo hangings.

Workmen's Compensation

Unfortunately, we have made no progress with this so far, short of analysing the Gazette, but we intend to persevere in trying to trace at least some of these unfortunate people whose money lies unclaimed.

Banished People

We continue to make our small monthly contribution to the funds of the Committee of Human Rights. We approached one or two of our M.P.s in January and intend to do so again immediately.

Advice Office

Since 1st March we have had 66 interviews; opened files for 10 of these; had one certain success and one probable. In addition there have been many whom we have definitely helped with advice and a few others whose cases we have reason to think turned out all right but who have not yet returned to us.

New Members

We have enrolled four new members, one of whom is a former member whom we are delighted to welcome back to the fold and another — Mrs. Dorothy Platt whom we are delighted to welcome from the Transvaal Region.

for their support, for the immense value of their association, and regrets that her use to the Black Sash has been forced to an abrupt end. Developments will be reported in due course by the Committee.

This Region wishes to compliment the National President on her tireless vigilance and tenacity of purpose in making Statements and writing letters to the Press.

Vigil Organiser's Report

On Friday, April 15th, Heather Morkill, one of the most active and energetic members of the Black Sash in Pietermaritzburg, was served with banning orders by the Minister of Justice. As soon after this date as possible, on Saturday, April 23rd, at 8.30 a.m. a protest stand was held at the edge of the Supreme Court Gardens. At least twenty members demonstrated, displaying posters deploring cavalier banning and house arrest, and drawing attention to South Africa's cavalier disregard for the processes of law. As a more particular protest, each member wore a 'apel card bearing the names of Jean Hill and Heather Morkill, our two banned Natal members, and held up a banner reading: "We deplore the banning of Heather Morkill."

The Special Branch provided the usual obligato of note-books, furtive cameras, side-long stares, and slouch hats.

On May 15th, the Pietermaritzburg Branch had planned to participate in a nation-wide demonstration against arbitrary punishment. The Mayor, Mr. Rodseth, with characteristic soundness of principle and judgment, however did not grant permission for this demonstration on the grounds that it might provoke public disorder at a time devoted to celebrating the Republic. We therefore postponed our arrangements till the first Saturday in June, i.e. June 4th.

The students of the University of Natal, who had, in their turn planned a demonstration march into the centre of the city against the banning of the NUSAS chairman, Ian Robertson, met with a similar rebuff, and were obliged to wait until the tide of popular self-congratulation had ebbed away. On the evening of June 1st, ten members of the Black Sash joined this postponed student march at the invitation of the organisers. Torches and posters held by a good 40 people followed the main banner: "Release Ian Robertson". This march soon proved ill-fated. About half a mile from the University gates, squadrons of hooligans, whether motivated by a sudden release from the goodwill and prosperity of the previous two weeks, or by a more conscious and organised devotion to the party in power, swooped on the demonstrators, tore banners, torches and posters from them and did their utmost to impede the legal and orderly gathering to proceed to its destination. With varying credit neither the police nor the marchers retaliated. The vigil, which

had been planned to conclude the march, had to be abandoned. No Black Sash members were injured.

The Black Sash stand of June 4th proved a great success. About 20 members of the Black Sash and three or four sympathetic members of the public registered their disapproval of arbitrary punishment as follows. Under two banners reading:

"Innocent or Guilty, the courts, not the Cabinet must decide" and "South Africa must return to the Rule of Law", regularly disposed posters read: "Why do South Africans allow . . ." "Banning without trial", "House Arrest without Trial", "Six-months detention without Trial", and (held by Miss Friday in front of the cannon), "The Rule of Law is our Birth-right."

Four members of the Special Branch performed their customary act. In addition half a dozen uniformed policemen regarded the scene from across the road until the demonstration ended. There were no incidents.

A special vote of thanks must be offered to Mrs. Dugmore for her superb execution of the posters and banners. It would be hardly an exaggeration to say that even a professional draughtsman of Nationalist persuasion would have stopped to admire them impartially.

"Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by? behold, and see if there be any sorrow like unto my sorrow, which is done unto me, wherewith the Lord hath afflicted me in the day of his fierce anger."

Lamentations Chapter 1, verse 12.

A.M. is now 16 years old. When he was born, in the Pietersburg district, his mother, Kate, was repudiated by his father's people. Kate died when her son was only 18 months old and her brother, Piet, took responsibility for the child whose father had also died. Since Piet was not married, he left the child with his brother-in-law in the area, but paid for food, clothes and school fees. Piet married in 1963, and his brother-in-law then asked that the child be taken over by his real uncle. Piet was quite willing to do this as the child had no other relatives, was a lively boy and anxious to take a vocational training course. To do this, the boy must be on his uncle's housing permit but, despite three visits to the Superintendent concerned, permission has not been granted.

From The Advice Office.

NATAL MIDLANDS

Meetings

The Regional Committee has met each month. Three General Meetings took place. There was an open discussion, led by Mrs. Dyer, on bannings, banishments and house arrests in May, and at the general meeting held in June Mr. Colin Gardner (Chairman of the Pietermaritzburg Branch of the Liberal Party) gave his impressions of Senator Kennedy's Durban Meeting. This was a great success, stimulating discussion by incisive, controversial and novel points of view.

Members attended a Meeting at the University of Natal to protest at the banning of Mr. Ian Robertson, and later took part in the torchlight march. A report of this march will be found in our Vigil Organiser's report. Using Black Sash office as a justification, the Chairman achieved an invitation to Senator Robert Kennedy's Durban Meeting. This proved an immensely stimulating experience.

Sub-Committees

Sub-committees have been convened for:

Publicity and Propaganda
Non-White Affairs
Membership and Magazines
Fund Raising
Demonstrations
Transport.

The relative reports follow:

Publicity and Propaganda

Press statements have been made on the banning of Mr. C. K. Hill; on the banning of Heather Morkill; on the banning of Ian Robertson.

Letters to the Press:

- (a) Asking Mr. M. C. Botha to justify his claim that "South Africa strives to promote and encourage respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms . . ."
- (b) To the Rand Daily Mail and the Natal Witness protesting against the display of thuggery by hooligans at the Students' March, and the absence of police control.
- (c) To the Natal Witness in reply to a correspondent who asked "Where was the Black Sash" in protesting against the Congo hangings.
- (d) An Advertisement appeared on the Leader page advising that the Mayor had refused permission for our Region to take part in the National Demonstration on May 18th on the grounds that it might provoke disorder at a time given to celebrating the Republic.

Records of a Cape Town Protest Meeting and various tape recordings have been played and distributed widely, including to people outside Black Sash and political orbits. A record of the Cape Town Meeting was handed to overseas representatives of the Round Table.

A tape recording of Senator Kennedy's Durban meeting is available for loan to Regions.

Non-White Affairs

Multi-racial tea parties have been held regularly. Attendance has not been high, but the contacts are worthwhile. At the last event one of our non-white friends gave a demonstration of Italian cooking, which proved a popular success.

The Chairman approached the Manager of the Municipal Bantu Affairs Department to discover what improvement of facilities were to be incorporated in the new B.A.D. Building. Plans were produced, and the general improvement in conditions for prospective employers and employees appears to be encouraging. This will be followed up.

Investigation into amounts unpaid under Workmen's Compensation is proceeding. Many letters have been written, several replies received and two employees have been traced.

Three Regional Committee members approached Capt. Smith, M.P. and Mr. W. Webber, M.P. about Banished Africans. Both were sympathetic and promised to support this question in Parliament. Information has been given to them in writing.

Membership and Magazines

New membership lists, including all country members have been drawn up and magazines distributed from Pietermaritzburg to all members of the Region. A plan to increase membership amongst University students is being followed up.

Fund Raising

A picture, donated by Mrs. Z. Hawkins, raised a useful sum.

Transport

Members of the Region are reminded that if transport to the meetings is required, please phone Mrs. J. Hey, 26201.

Banned

A Pietermaritzburg member, Miss Heather Morkill, was banned on April 15th. Miss Morkill was Pietermaritzburg secretary of the Liberal Party. Although a comparatively new member of the Black Sash she was active, useful and energetic, and it is scandalous that she should have been put "hors de combat" by these arbitrary means.

Warned

The Chairman has been served with a magisterial warning. To avoid a Banning Order, the consequences of which would have drastic impact on home and office, she has no choice but to resign, with complete reluctance, from the Chair. She thanks the Regional Committee and members

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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 the contributors.

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

Cartoons by courtesy of Bob Connolly and the "Rand Daily Mail", J. H. Jackson and the "Cape Argus."

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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 of mutual trust and forbearance, of sanctity of word, of courage for the future, and of peace and justice for all persons and peoples. We pledge ourselves to resist any diminishment of these, confident that this duty is required of us, and that history and our children will defend us.

So help us God, in Whose strength we trust.

Toewydingsrede . . .

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

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