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# THE BLACK SASH

# DIE SWART SERP

**National Conference Issue**



## *Dedication . . .*

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

So help us God, in Whose strength we trust.

## *Toewydingsrede . . .*

**M**ET trots en nederigheid verklaar ons ons gehegtheid aan die land van Suid-Afrika, ons wy ons aan die diens van ons land. Ons belowe plegtig die ideale te handhaaf waarmee ons Unie besiel was—ideale van onderlinge vertrouwe 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.



## **SOUTH AFRICA AND EVENTS IN AFRICA**

**Address to the Black Sash National Conference  
by JEAN SINCLAIR  
National President**

**WE ARE AT THE END** of another busy year and have done what we could to keep the flame of freedom alight in South Africa. In all Regions we have tried to bring to the attention of the public legislation which is, in the opinion of the Black Sash, unjust, discriminatory and a further restriction on the freedom of the individual.

The events in South Africa cannot be reviewed in a vacuum; the pattern of what is happening here must be reviewed against the background of events in the whole of Africa. There is no doubt that what takes place to the north of us must have a profound effect on the future of South Africa.

It has been said that the 1960's are the years of Africa's destiny. South Africa has lost a golden opportunity of the leadership she could have given to other independent countries to bring about peaceful change. Instead, our Government's policy is repudiated not only by the rest of Africa, but by the whole civilized world.

The seven years of war in Algeria, instead of being a solemn warning to the Whites in South Africa as to the probable consequences of a White minority clinging to its privileges against the rights, wishes and needs of the majority, has, in fact, had the opposite effect of strengthening this White minority's belief in Apartheid, and it has intensified its resistance to the acceptance of changing conditions.

The Government warns unceasingly of the dangers of granting rights, both human and political, to non-Whites. State propaganda uses every incident of racial friction anywhere in the world to illustrate that only chaos can result if freedom of association with people of a different colour is not restricted.

The Nationalist Government believes that, with its policy of Apartheid, it will save White civilization for the world. Africa and the Western world believe that in the policy of Apartheid lie the seeds of the destruction of White civilization.

### **The African Revolution**

We are enmeshed in the African Revolution. There is nothing we can do to prevent it or to stop the inevitable changes which are already taking place. Apart from the ethical reasons, surely it is in our own interests to see that changing conditions bring about better and happier conditions for all of us.



**Mrs. Jean Sinclair  
who was  
re-elected  
National President  
of the  
Black Sash  
at the  
National Conference**

The development of the new African States is of vital interest and importance to the West. The Communists are directing their main drive towards the under-developed countries. Whether Africa's choice is Communism or whether it will take the path of Western democracy may possibly determine the future peace of the world. It may also determine whether the majority of the world's people will enjoy individual freedom or whether they will be vassals of authoritarianism.

Although the newly independent States have many differing problems, many of them have important features in common. The bulk of their populations is poor and uneducated, — government tends to be authoritarian and Nationalism is widespread. The West is competing with the Communist countries for the acceptance of democratic ideals as opposed to the Communist ideology.

**(Continued Overleaf)**

# South Africa and Events in Africa (Cont.)

The United States, Great Britain, the European Economic Community, the Nordic countries, Israel and others are giving financial aid on a huge scale, and are sending trained personnel to overcome the serious shortage of technologists and technicians, to institute educational schemes and to assist in the development of a money economy. The conversion from a subsistence economy to a modern economy will have a profound effect on the social and political changes which accompany economic progress.

## The Influence of the Colonial System

Mr. Harry Oppenheimer, who recently gave the fourth "T.B. Davie" Memorial Lecture, had some interesting things to say. After pointing out that, with the exception of Egypt, Africa prior to the Colonial era had "failed to develop anything that could reasonably be called a civilized society", he stressed that it was the influence of the Colonial powers which provided the stimulus for African advance; that while the Colonial system could not provide democracy itself, it provided the conditions for spectacular progress and brought the explosive force of individualism to Africa. "It opened up a field of individual effort by the Africans as well as Europeans. It broke into the closed, harsh, frustrating tribal system and provided social, economic and even political opportunity for the talents of individual Africans . . . (and) it may well be found in the long run that the introduction to Africa under the Colonial system of the concept and practice of individual freedom and initiative was even a more significant change than the introduction of European organization and techniques."

If Mr. Oppenheimer's premise is correct, it holds out a very real hope that the African States, as they develop, will find the democratic institutions suitable and acceptable. It is to be hoped that these States, having won UHURU, will pursue and hold sacrosanct the rights and freedom of the individual.

## Racial Groups in Africa

The problems of the countries to the north of us differ from those in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia in one important facet. The northern countries are in the main Black countries. South Africa and Southern Rhodesia are multi-racial countries. In both these latter countries, there is a substantial White population which is there to stay and which accepts that it has no other home. South Africa belongs to all groups, to the Africans, the Coloured people, the Asians and the White people. They are all part and parcel of the South African population, a multi-racial population — and therefore, multi-racialism has got to be made to work.

The days have already passed when any civilized country will accept that any minority group has the right to dominate the majority by virtue of the colour of its skin. Although prejudice has always been, and always will be, a human failing, it is only in comparatively recent times that colour prejudice has come to the forefront and that its implications have assumed such large proportions.

It is generally accepted by the Governments of Western countries that discrimination on grounds of colour, race or creed is morally indefensible. It is accepted, too, that a man is judged by his own worth and that all men are equal before the law. The official attitude of the governments in most countries is that the State will protect the freedom of the individual and it will endeavour to break down bitterness and hatred caused by prejudice.

This is the background against which we must review the events here in South Africa.

The South African Government is almost alone in the world in its policy of racial discrimination. It rejects multi-racialism; it believes in separate development and the formation of Bantu Homelands in which, eventually the Africans will have a modicum of independence. If this policy were practicable — and the general consensus of informed opinion is that it is not — it might be an attempt at an honest solution. However, all races are so interdependent and so necessary to the industrial economy of the country that it is not now possible to separate the racial groups. Is it not reasonable, then, to believe that in multi-racialism lies our solution?

## The South African Economy

The economy of South Africa is basically sound. We have mineral wealth, a sound agriculture, a developed industrial economy and a large labour potential. The economy is capable of great expansion. In fact, the war years and the years immediately following were a period of unprecedented expansion in South Africa.

What are the reasons for the slowing down of the rate of development and why are our overseas markets decreasing?

After Sharpeville and until April last year, there was an outflow of capital so severe that the Government was forced to impose restrictions on capital leaving the country in order to build up the Reserves, which were perilously low, and to stabilize the country's finance.

The Reserves have accumulated and now stand at a high level, the Government has been telling us for months that a boom is just round the corner; but it has never happened. There is a reluctance on the part of foreign investors to invest capital; the restrictions on the selling of shares abroad, the compulsory repatriation of capital, the uncertainty over the political situation, are all factors causing this stagnation. All this adds up to one thing only — the Government's obsession with ideological matters and their determination, in spite of the opposition of the civilized world, to pursue the policy of Apartheid.

The second most important point is the fact that the Government has persistently refused to do anything about developing the considerable potential of the home market. The very low wages of the unskilled worker have resulted in the inability of the non-Whites to buy any but the bare necessities to maintain life. The Apartheid legislation which affects the lives of our non-Whites so adversely therefore to the same degree adversely affects the efficiency of the labour force.

The severe drought in many parts of the country over several years has brought to light the 'national scandal' of malnutrition and starvation among such large numbers of the population.

The differentiation between the wage levels of the skilled and the unskilled worker, resulting in a very high standard of living among the White people and the very low standard of living among the non-Whites, compared with the restrictions and the frustrations imposed on the non-Whites by the Apartheid legislation; the use of fear propaganda, such as the repetitive allusions to the dangers of Communism and liberalism and the appeal for White unity — all are indicative of a 'facist-style' state. A situation such as this can only be maintained by force.

## Events of the Year

Let us now turn to the current events of the year. As usual this has been another year of apprehension and anxiety in South Africa.

Provincial by-elections followed the General Election. In the Transvaal, these were in turn followed by a Municipal General Election. Black Sash women, as always, played their full part, working for their own political parties.

The Parliamentary Session this year was crammed with controversial legislation, much of it being a further deprivation of rights of all sections, but in particular of the non-White people.

Dr. Verwoerd announced the Government's policy for the Transkei, the first stage in the carving up of South Africa into so-called independent states.

There was yet a further amendment to the much-amended Group Areas Act; this time the Provincial franchise rights of the Coloured people at the Cape were removed.

Mrs. Suzman failed in her Bill to repeal the portions of the Immorality Act which govern interracial sex relations. We congratulate Mrs. Suzman for her courageous speech.

The announcement of the Orange River Scheme — admirable in itself — had the desired effect of diverting public attention away from the disturbing facets of Apartheid legislation.

Then came the famous speech of the Minister of Defence. He appealed to the Whites to climb into the White laager and to fight until 'the blood rose to the horses' bits to defend South Africa' against an enemy which, he said, 'was advocating and secretly planning' an attack on our shores.

The Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the United Nations Committee on Colonialism visited South Africa and South West Africa in April and May. It is regrettable that the Chairman, with his statements, denials and accusations, has not only made a laughing stock of his Committee, but has left South Africa with the misgivings that the mission did not come with the intention of making an impartial and objective investigation.

The General Law Amendment Bill, the most controversial Bill in a controversial session, was passed in spite of wide-spread criticism from the Legal Profession, the political parties, the Black Sash and many other organizations and individuals. Its provisions are a denial of the rule of

law, they provide further restrictions on individual freedom and on the freedom of the Press, and the penalties for conviction under this law are harsh in the extreme.

We have already felt its effects on the freedom of speech. The ban on the publication of statements made by banned persons without the permission of the Minister and the deposits required before a new publication is contemplated are forcing not only the Press but printers to be particularly cautious.

We ourselves have had difficulty in finding a printer willing to print the Black Sash magazine. Our Editor had many a sleepless night in her endeavour to get a firm to undertake this job. We are happy to say that she was successful.

The end of the Parliamentary session left not only the members of Parliament exhausted, but the public bewildered, frustrated, nervous and, if I may use a hackneyed phrase, 'punch-drunk'.

There has been a definite move to the Right by the White electorate during the last year, and a hardening of White opinion against more liberal thinking.

The disturbances in the Congo, in Southern Rhodesia, in Kenya, in Ghana and in other parts of Africa have all had an influence on public opinion here. The fact that these disturbances were dissimilar in all the countries and had no bearing on our situation here has not been appreciated. It is assumed that these disturbances result from giving the Black man political rights, when the Black man is not civilized enough to be able to exercise power responsibly, and it is felt that it must be a lesson to South Africa to keep "die Kaffer op sy plek" for the foreseeable future.

## The Work of the Black Sash

In the context of the African scene as a whole and of the Parliamentary and extra-Parliamentary activities in South Africa, the Black Sash finds itself working for justice and for no discrimination on grounds of race, colour or creed. We are working to see that the inevitable change will come about as peacefully as possible.

On the one hand we have both a Government whose beliefs are the antithesis of the beliefs we hold, and an apathetic and privileged electorate reluctant to accept change; on the other hand, the majority of the population, frustrated, harassed and poor, unable to protest against the unjust laws which govern their lives.

Our activities have included a petition addressed to the Prime Minister and members of his Cabinet against the misuse of the S.A.B.C. Twenty-five thousand signatures were obtained from listeners who considered that the S.A.B.C., a public utility, was being used to propagate the views and opinions of one section of the White population.

The Prime Minister acknowledged the petition in a reply sent through his private secretary which stated "that the Government, as you should readily understand, have no confidence in your organization. It cannot, therefore, be impressed by any petition sponsored or instigated by it."

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# South Africa and Events in Africa (Cont.)

It is a sorry state of affairs when a government is not prepared to listen to a minority view point if those opinions are contrary to the opinions held by the ruling party. This is totalitarianism and it is contrary to the principles of democracy to which this Government professes its adherence.

Many demonstrations have been held on different issues, the most important being the determined stand against the General Law Amendment Bill.

In Johannesburg this demonstration was a revelation. For the first time we realized that the police, with notable exceptions, were not prepared to be impartial or to protect all persons against assault and obscene language, as is the duty of a police force. In Parliament, the silence of the Minister of Justice on the hooliganism on the City Hall steps of Johannesburg, led us to conclude that if this behaviour did not have his approval, at least it had his acquiescence. Our attackers, those hooligans who kept up a constant barrage of eggs, fish and vegetables, who spat in the flame and who threw lighted cigarette-ends in our hair, were uncomfortably reminiscent of Hitler's S.A., that body of young thugs who were used to break up political meetings and strike terror into the hearts of the public.

We were deeply touched and deeply moved by the numbers of women who came to stand with us. Not only did all our old members join us, but very many women, whom we had never seen, came to do their turn round the Flame of Freedom. I was proud when I arrived at the City Hall on several occasions, to find women not only enduring the indignity of obscene missiles thrown at them, but their mien unflinching and their faces impassive. Their dignity and bearing won the respect and the sympathy of the general public.

Another great surprise to us was the effect that the symbol of the Flame had on the general public. It came to mean something to every freedom-loving person. On one occasion a man brought his children to look at the Flame. He said to them: "Look at this and remember it, for this is History."

The routine work of the Black Sash has continued throughout the year, various activities being carried out by different Regions. It is invidious to single out any one Region, but our admiration and congratulations go to Cape Western for the remarkable work being done by their Athlone Advice Office. I hope you have all read the article in *Forum*, "Endorsed Out" by Mrs. Noel Robb. It has made a tremendous impact on a large number of people whom for years we have been hoping to influence. The introductory remarks to the article referred to the Black Sash as "South Africa's conscience and mission of mercy". It is praise indeed to be recognized as South Africa's conscience — a conscience combined with compassion.

## Moral Principle

The great strength of the Black Sash is that it took its stand on moral principle. It has always spoken up, without fear or favour, to uphold the ideals in which it believes.

## AIMS AND OBJECTS OF THE BLACK SASH

**T**HE BLACK SASH is non-party political and undenominational, and, by non-violent and peaceful means, strives for the following objectives:—

1. To conduct propaganda and enlist support and aid for the observance of political morality and the principles of parliamentary democracy within the Republic of South Africa.
2. To secure the recognition and the protection by law of Human Rights and Liberties.
3. The political education and enlightenment of citizens of South Africa, and other persons.
4. The doing of all such things and the carrying out of all such activities as may further the objects of the organization.

The values which are our standard, date back to A.D.1215, to Magna Carta. Chapter XXXIX states: "No freeman shall be arrested, or detained in prison, or deprived of his freehold, or outlawed, or banished or in any way molested; and we will not set forth against him, nor send against him, unless by the lawful judgment of his peers and by the law of the land." This is what we understand by the rule of law, this is our traditional way of life.

We value truth, honesty, justice, freedom of speech, of association, of worship, of movement; freedom from want and freedom from fear. These are the values which civilized people believe to constitute liberalism. We are not interested in doubletalk or double meanings. Our values mean what they were intended to mean. We make no apology for being liberally-minded nor do we intend to keep silent.

What is the White civilization we are asked to preserve? In 1931 Jan Hofmeyr said that he feared in the effort to preserve White civilization, we would sacrifice the ideals of Western civilization.

Has this country not already sacrificed those ideals? What of the rule of law? What has happened to individual freedom? Where is the freedom of the press? Where is justice? Is this White civilization?

**Our survival is of no account if our ideals, our values and our principles perish.**

We have a just cause, we shall defend it and we shall go on working, as we said nearly eight years ago, day in and day out, for the things in which we believe.

The Black Sash will not be intimidated by threats, nor will it be diverted from its objective. We are dedicated to the service of our country. We can "bear to hear the truth we've spoken, twisted by knaves to make a trap for fools". (Kipling)

We shall keep the Flame of Freedom burning in our land and in the end, we shall succeed.

# THE EIGHTH ANNUAL NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE BLACK SASH

**B**LACK SASH National Conferences have always been a source of encouragement and refreshment to us all, and the eighth Annual National Conference held in Durban in November was no exception. The standard of debate was high, and while there was general agreement on principle and objective, on controversial issues an even greater spirit of compromise than usual was apparent, an earnest desire to find a **modu vivendi** that would accommodate the varying shades of opinion.

Delegates and observers were welcomed most kindly by our Durban hosts, who went to endless trouble to ensure our comfort and enjoyment. Our sincere thanks are due to the "universal aunts" who attended to our countless needs, and to Mrs. Keen, Mrs. Davidson, Mrs. Ventress, Mrs. Wallace, and other members of Natal Coastal Region, whose hard work and organization made this a memorable Conference.

The Conference opened with a speech of welcome by Mrs. Keen, followed by Mrs. Sinclair's Presidential address, which is reported in this issue.

## The Year's Work

Reports by Regions of the year's work disclosed the usual wide range of activities undertaken by the Black Sash. The palm for constructive work this year must go to Cape Western Region whose Athlone Advice Office is providing invaluable assistance to Africans "endorsed out" of the Western Cape, or in other trouble with the pass laws and influx control regulations. The public address of Mrs. Robb and Mrs. Birt on the Urban Areas Act have roused great interest, and focussed attention on the break-up of family life and other hardship caused by the pass laws generally. The Region's suggestion of a "Prisoners' Friend" in the local Bantu Commissioner's Court has been agreed to by the local authorities, and our members have hopes that they will have some say in the appointment of this officer.

Border Region reported a good deal of apathy in the area, and the loss of a number of members. This made little difference to the work of the Region, however, as the most active members still remain within the Black Sash. The Region has suffered in its demonstrations from the attentions of the Special Branch.

Border's major interest of the year was the proclamation of Group Areas in East London, and a full account of the proposals of the Group Areas Board was distributed at Conference.

Natal Midlands has done a good deal of work during the year with other organizations on a non-racial basis. Demonstrations, protest marches and meetings and symposiums have been held, and the Region has particularly interested itself in the local implementation of the Group Areas Act, passes for African women and job reservation in the Provincial Council.



## NATIONAL VICE-PRESIDENTS

**Mrs. Jeannette Davidoff and Mrs. Muriel Fisher, who were elected National Vice-Presidents of the Black Sash**

Mrs. Ventress reported the results of a thorough investigation by Natal Coastal Region into the work of the S.A. Foundation. Conference agreed that the Black Sash should investigate and suggest practical ways in which the Foundation might carry out its aims of presenting a more favourable image of South Africa to the world, e.g., by instigating a Multi-Racial Conference.

Mrs. Keen was commended on the work done in Natal Coastal Region in the last eighteen months which has resulted in the re-establishment of the Region.

Cape Eastern Region gave Conference a graphic and moving account of the severe punishment meted out to a sixteen-year-old African boy, who received lashes for failure to produce a Reference Book. The Black Sash made a thorough investigation into the case and made representations in Parliament through Mrs. Helen Suzman and Mr. Plewman, and also to responsible officials. Unfortunately, the boy's parents, probably through fear of reprisals, refused to lay a charge against the authorities.

(Continued Overleaf)

# The Annual National Conference (Cont.)

The Country branches of this Region are greatly interested in the plight of Africans banished without trial under the Native Administration Act of 1927, and Mrs. Peggy Levey made a strong appeal to Conference to take up the cudgels on their behalf. Any relief that can be given to these unfortunate people, however, comes under the heading of welfare work, which the Black Sash decided some time ago it could not possibly undertake. It was suggested that country branches might interest themselves as individuals in local cases, or work in conjunction with the local Human Rights Welfare Committees.

Transvaal Region's outstanding work of the year was the sustained protest against the General Law Amendment Act, which is being continued as the Act is implemented with constant demonstrations and stands against house arrest and the by-passing of the Courts. Association with women of other races is maintained by means of regular meetings of the Saturday club, and a constant watch is being kept on the proceedings of the local Bantu Commissioner's Courts as a preliminary to opening an Advice Office similar to that of Cape Western.

Little progress has been made on the mammoth "History of the Black Sash" undertaken by the Region two years ago, as our history is still in the making, but a brief outline of the establishment of our organization and its "first seven years" has been produced as promised last year. It is included in this issue of the Magazine, and will be issued separately in booklet form.

Contrary to expectation, there has been little reduction in membership as a result of the raising of the membership subscription last year, but a good deal of dead wood has been pruned out in all Regions. All Regions co-operated during the year in protests against the "Sabotage" Act and House Arrest, and made investigations into the Bantu Education Act. Cape Western Region made a summary of the provisions of this Act, which will be distributed to all Regions in abridged form.

All Regions worked on the petition against the slanted broadcasts of the S.A.B.C., and all encountered apathy and fear in their areas. Conference felt that the petition had been ill-timed, but that another launched now might have better results, as public indignation has been aroused by the now blatantly pro-Government broadcasts.

## Major Decisions

Major decisions of Conference were concerned with constitutional amendments. It was agreed that aspirant members of the Black Sash should be proposed and seconded by existing members of the organization, and should be required to sign a membership form accepting the principles and the aims and objects of the Black Sash. It was also agreed that any alteration to the categories of persons admitted to membership should have the backing of a substantial majority of the members, and a two-thirds majority of the total voting strength of the National Conference was agreed upon.



Natal Coastal Regional Chairman and some of her helpers. Seated: Mrs. A. Keen (Chairman), Mrs. P. Davidson. Standing: Mrs. M. Davidson, Mrs. Hayes

The question of the opening of the membership of the Black Sash to women of all races has been discussed for the last two years, and this year it was brought up as a firm proposal by Border Region. There was more support for the proposal this year than in the earlier discussions, but it was obvious that very many members of the Black Sash are still of the opinion that the strength of the organization lies in the fact that it is a group of voters with a strong sense of personal responsibility as its driving force, pledged to fight against wrongs brought about by voters. The resolution did not obtain the necessary two-thirds majority, but it is a matter that is very close to Border Region's heart, and they intend to bring it up again next year.

A number of minor amendments were made in the Constitution, mainly the correction of illogicalities and the tightening up of phrasing suggested by our Mrs. Russell of Pietermaritzburg, whose knowledge of procedure and public affairs has stood us in good stead over the years.

## General Discussion

Interesting discussions were held on separate amenities, Human Rights Day, the S.A. Foundation, the removal of Africans from the Western Cape, haunts and demonstrations. It was agreed that the Black Sash was opposed in principle to the enforcement of separate amenities, but where local authorities are compelled to provide separate amenities, the Black Sash insists that these amenities should be equal in every respect.



## National Headquarters

Transvaal was again elected Headquarters Region, and Mrs. Jean Sinclair was elected National President for a second year, with Mrs. Jeannette Davidoff and Mrs. Muriel Fisher as National Vice-Presidents. Headquarters Region subsequently appointed Mrs. Roberta Johnston as Hon. National Secretary, and Mrs. Kathleen Fleming and Mrs. Dorothy Grant were again elected to take charge of the National finances and the Magazine, respectively.

## Highlights

Highlights of the three days of Conference were the enjoyable cocktail party given by our Natal Coastal hosts on the Tuesday evening, the lunch-hour demonstration on the Wednesday, and the delightful social evening with the Region's Indian friends on Wednesday night.

More than fifty women took part in the poster demonstration against house arrest, the by-passing of the Courts, and indoctrination by the S.A.B.C. The demonstration, which was held in the City Gardens, was carried out in the greatest comfort, as members were carried to and from the City Hall by bus, and a delicious sandwich lunch was served on the bus by our hostesses. That bus ride will long be remembered by us all — the animated conversation of our fifty women was something to hear, and strongly reminiscent of the school playground!

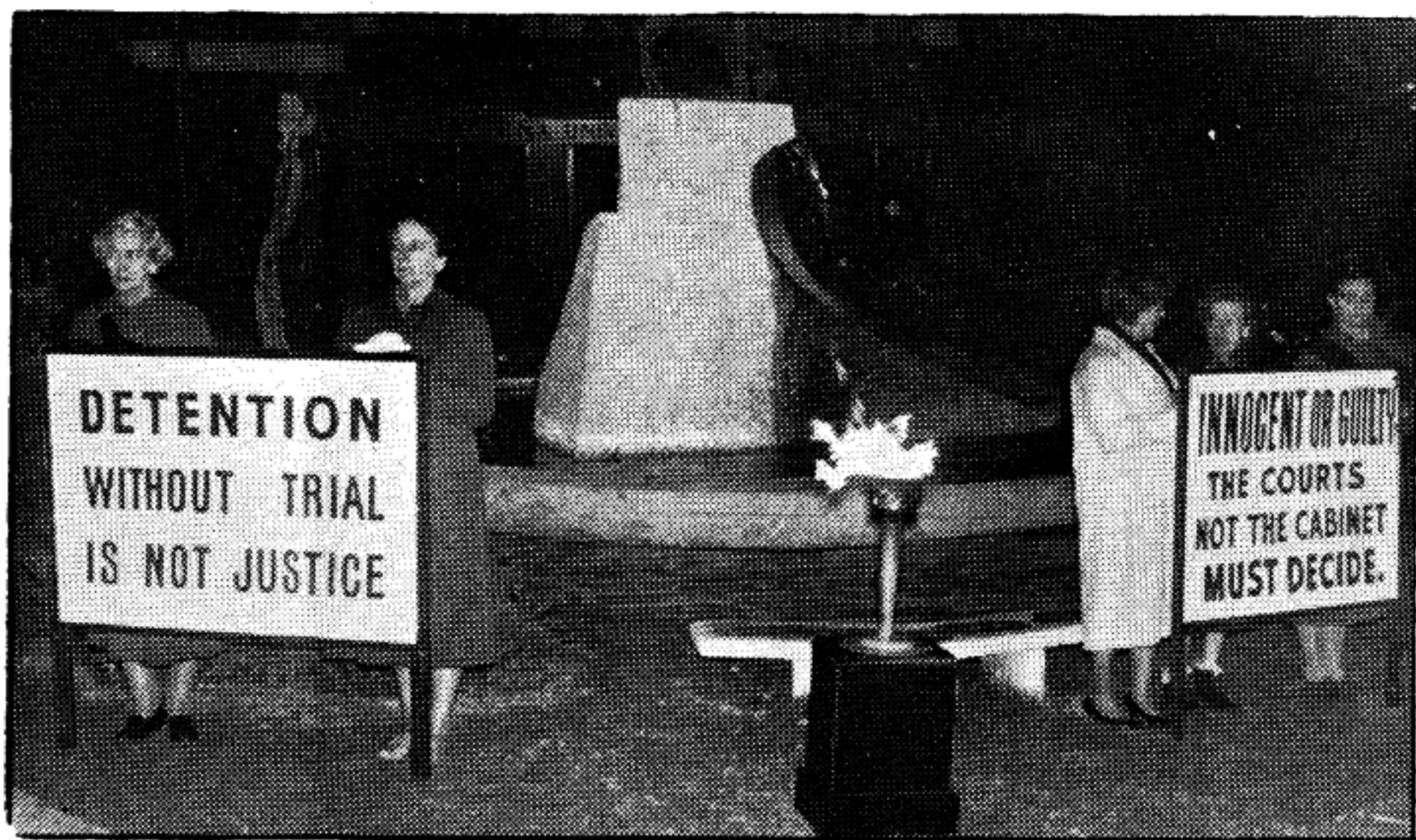
## COVER PICTURE - DURBAN

### The Lunch Hour Demonstration against House Arrest, the By-passing of the Courts and Indoctrination by the S.A.B.C

At the social evening on the Wednesday, members of the Indian Women's Cultural Association staged a spectacular sari display for our entertainment. The show was compered by a charming young woman doctor, and a number of lovely Indian girls modelled dozens of beautiful saris and traditional costumes in rich and exotic fabrics and breath-taking colours. There was also a graceful dancer of traditional and symbolic dances.

To the Black Sash women, tired after two days of Conference and with a third day before them, it was a wonderful and relaxing evening, and we cannot sufficiently thank our Natal Coastal members for their inspiration, or their Indian friends for the enchanting memory they gave us to take away.

## House Arrest and The Rule of Law



The Black Sash began its protests against the General Law Amendment Act when the Bill was first placed before Parliament, and continues to show its opposition to the provisions of the Act by frequent demonstrations. In the picture above, the Transvaal Region begins a 48-hour vigil to protest against the principle of House Arrest and the by-passing of the Courts.

# HOUSE ARREST AND THE RULE OF LAW

**"It is oppression to torture laws so that they torture men" — Bacon.**

**I**N OCTOBER, the Minister of Justice, Mr. B. J. Vorster, exercised powers conferred upon him by the General Law Amendment Act and issued the first House Arrest Order, which confined a Johannesburg woman to her home at night and at week-ends and on public holidays for a period of five years. Since then, he has issued a number of orders confining certain people to their homes for twenty-four hours a day for five years. In reply to protests, Mr. Vorster claims that his action in sentencing these people without trial is not arbitrary, and that the punishment meted out to them is not inhumane.

The **Hon. O. D. Schreiner**, former Judge of the Supreme Court of South Africa, and President of the Institute of Race Relations, says, in a statement published in the "Race Relations News":

**"T**HE world is striving to establish the Rule of Law everywhere. It is important to understand what is meant by it.

"It does not mean that laws should not be harsh or unfair. Some harsh and unfair laws infringe the Rule of Law; others, also undesirable, do not.

"The Rule of Law means that law should rule; in other words, that the life, liberty, freedom of speech and movement of the individual should not be endangered or restricted by State action save in accordance with a general precept applicable to all persons in circumstances set out in the law, the applicability of the general precept to a particular person being decided by a court of law.

"A law can itself infringe the Rule of Law. That is because whatever will be enforced by the courts is law in form, even though it provides no general precept. So a statute providing that the persons whose names appear in a schedule are to be executed, imprisoned, or restricted in their speech or movement or be deprived of their property would be a law in form and would have to be enforced by the courts; but it would not be a general precept providing that anyone who did certain acts would be liable to suffer certain consequences. Such a statute would be effective law but would infringe the Rule of Law.

"Similarly, if a law provided that a Minister of State or an official could by an order direct the execution, imprisonment or restriction of movement of persons selected by him, this law and action under it would infringe the Rule of Law. The infringement would be more flagrant if there were no appeal or other form of control.

"Infringements of the Rule of Law can be excused in cases of emergency, where the safety of the State or the maintenance of peace and good order require immediate action. The temporary nature of the emergency is crucial.

"An order covering a period of years cannot be justified on grounds of emergency. It must be possible within a much shorter period to embody general precepts in a statute and so secure the punishment through the courts of law of persons contravening these precepts.

"House arrest, in which the person in question is, without conviction by a court of law, required for many years to confine himself to his own home, is a clear infringement of the Rule of Law. Where the restriction is for 24 hours in the day, the person is confined as if in a gaol, without being provided with food, services and protection."

## Surrender by Instalment

**A** LEADER page article in the "Star" of the 28th November makes these points:

More than six weeks ago, the Minister of Justice issued his first house arrest order . . . Protest meetings were held, and Opposition leaders issued statements condemning Mr. Vorster's action.

Two weeks later, the first orders were issued confining people to their homes for 24 hours a day for five years. There were more protests . . . and everyone talked of house arrest.

The weeks passed by, and the flimsy slips of white paper beginning, "Whereas I, Balthazar Johannes Vorster, believe . . .", issued steadily from the panelled office in the Union Buildings . . .

The three latest ones were issued last week. **The newspaper headlines were smaller. There were no protests.**

Today, 16 people are leading twilight existences, incarcerated in their houses and flats by Ministerial order. These people have never appeared in a court of law. They have never been given an opportunity to defend themselves.

Whether the people under house arrest are communists or not is irrelevant. The Rule of Law is the very basis of the White civilization which the government says it is so anxious to protect. It is the sacred principle that every man or woman has a right to a defence in court, be he a murderer, a thief — or a communist; that every man is innocent until proved guilty by open and free trial . . .

If he is found guilty of trying to overthrow the State by violent means, few would protest against the severest sentence being imposed . . . A system where a branch of the police prosecutes, the political head of the police judges, and the voice of the defendant is never heard, is inimical to Western civilization . . .

# The High Court of Vorster



THE SUNDAY TIMES

The tragedy is that few people even remember the names of these thus "sentenced". **House arrest has become just another aspect of "the South African way of life."**

This national amnesia has, of course, been advanced by Mr. Vorster's banning of all gatherings assembled to protest against the arrest, trial or conviction of any person.

But in any event, the initial shock is over: Protests have been made, and, as usual the Government has taken no notice . . .

But perhaps an even greater danger than the system of house arrests itself is that the system is coming to be accepted as the norm by people who pretend to believe in the rule of law.

Now that they have become a habit, are they to become part of "the South African way of life" — just another of those things about which South Africans will say: "People overseas simply don't understand"?

Many South Africans have been so indoctrinated and softened by 14 years of Nationalist rule that they have grown to accept even the most outrageous violations of Western governmental practice as commonplace. The country's ethos has changed.

Separate universities, separate representation of voters, job reservation, segregation in the professions, by-passing of the courts — all these and more have glided into the new South African approach.

A regular pattern is developing. The Government announce a scheme which clashes with the normal concept of freedom. Loud protests follow from a section of the White population. The Government carry out their scheme regardless. The protests peter out, and everyone becomes used to living with the new system.

And so the old South African way of life is changing. It is a process of surrender by instalment.

# SOUTH AFRICA IN THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION

By MURIEL FISHER

The second article of the series in which Mrs. Fisher surveys for us the changing scene in the vast continent on which we live.

**IT COMES** as a surprise to many English-speaking people to learn that the French colonial empire comprised 75% of what is commonly known as West Africa. As we know, France's colonial policy differed completely from that of Britain. She never attempted to help her African territories towards independence. She merely made the people French Africans who could, on a qualified franchise, send their own representatives to the National Assembly in Paris. The basic difference was, perhaps, that there was no colour bar under the French system, while the more liberal British clung to the colour bar. The British created African Nationalists, the French created French Africans. The result, with the tragic exception of Algeria, was that when colonialism turned almost overnight to autonomy, there was neither revolution nor chaos, as happened in the Belgian Congo.

## French West Africa

The great change began in 1956, when Monsieur Mollet's government, forewarned by events in Indo-China and Algeria, introduced the famous "loi-cadre" which introduced African election to African Cabinets, but still with a Governor appointed by Paris. Two years later, when President de Gaulle came to power, he recognized the force of African Nationalism and came to terms with it in one grand gesture. With Monsieur Houphouët-Boigny of the Ivory Coast he toured all the French territories in Africa, and also Madagascar, and offered them a simple choice — autocracy within the French community or total independence without French money. The acceptance of the former was complete, except by Guinea, whose young leader, Sekou Touré, chose total freedom. General de Gaulle was furious, and stopped Guinea's annual subsidy of £7 million on the turn, so that Sekou Touré had to look elsewhere for funds, mainly to the Communist countries.

Otherwise, transition was painless, with independent states appearing all over West Africa, either singly or in Customs Unions or loose Federations. Of Algeria we shall speak later.

## British East Africa

While the British and the French colonial empires in West Africa have over the past five or six years burst the bonds of colonialism and erupted into independent states, the same process has been taking place in British East Africa, but far more painfully and violently. Africa is learning that independence is not necessarily synonymous with peace, even in the West African states, trained for many years towards self-government. Ghana, that shining symbol of freedom for all of Black Africa, is seldom without its troubles and seldom out of the news. Dr. Nkrumah has, since the alleged assassination plot, demoted and detained three of his Cabinet Ministers, and he has as many problems as five years ago.

It is becoming more and more apparent that democracy, which is so well rooted in the colder climates of Britain, Europe and North America, wilts and dies under a tropical African sun. Not even in our own country has it had much success, even among people of European descent. How

much less can it be expected to thrive among the African peoples, conditioned throughout centuries of tribal life to accepting without question the one-man rule of tribal chiefs? Moderation is regarded as weakness, and invariably, as in the past, the Nkrumah, the Nyerere, the Houphouët-Boigny, the Kenyatta, becomes the idol of the people.

East Africa, like the territories in the West and in the North, was stimulated and disturbed by the War, the lessons learnt therein and the knowledge gained, as well as the realization that the White man, always so unquestionably the master, was so far from perfect that White man was fighting White man, just as Black men have fought through the ages. War experiences led also to thirst for more knowledge, more education. The fortunate few who achieved education returned to be politicians, agitators, occasionally statesmen, and often cruel and ruthless leaders like the Mau Mau "Generals".

British East Africa consisted of **Uganda, Kenya Colony and Protectorate**, which is a narrow coastal strip, **Tanganyika**, once a German possession and then a Mandated Territory, and the little Sultanate of **Zanzibar**.

## Uganda

This is the smallest of the mainland territories and has about 6½ million people, with no settler problem, since White settlement has always been discouraged, and the 8,000 to 10,000 Europeans are mostly administrators or missionaries. There are about 50,000 Indians. In all, only 1½% of the population is non-African. There are four provinces, dominated by **Buganda**.

In 1862, the explorers Speke and Grant discovered the small Hamitic kingdom of **Buganda**, ruled by **Mtesa I**, directly descended from a dynasty which began in the 15th century. He was friendly towards the first White men, and allowed missionaries to work in Uganda, though his successor tried to murder all Christians.

Today, the Kabaka or King of Buganda is **Mtesa II**, (Freddie to his friends), who went to Cambridge and served in the Grenadier Guards, but this does not make the set-up any the less feudal. Buganda is a paradox in Africa today, since, far from craving independence, it has remained fiercely feudal and aristocratic.

(Please turn to Page 11)

# South Africa in the African Revolution (Continued from Page 10)

Uganda, a British Protectorate since 1893, has two parallel governments: firstly, the usual British Governor, Executive Council and Legislative Council, with very slowly increasing African representation; and secondly, Buganda's own Parliament, the Great Lukiko, under the Kabaka and his Cabinet.

In 1953, the British Government, with its passion for federation, hinted at a Federation of Uganda, Kenya and Tanganyika, but King Freddie, afraid of being dominated by White Kenya, dug his toes in and said, "No!"

This gesture cost him his throne, for a while, at least. He was put on a plane and rushed to London. Sir Oliver Lyttleton tried to explain away this precipitate action, but Buganda went into mourning, the men grew beards to demonstrate their loyalty to the Kabaka, the Lukiko refused to nominate another king, and the Kabaka's sister is said to have died of grief. The King demanded independence, not only from East Africa, but from Uganda, which would have meant economic ruin for the other three provinces. Finally, after lengthy negotiations, the Kabaka was allowed to return as a constitutional monarch, on condition that Buganda remained in Uganda. King Freddie got all he wanted — no federation, full control over Buganda, the majority of seats in Legco for Africans, and three Cabinet posts for Buganda in the government of the whole country. In 1955, after two years' absence, he returned in triumph to his people. Beards were shaved, drums beat, and the people feasted for three days.

Political parties in the other three provinces, who wanted independence for Uganda, tried to infiltrate into Buganda, but with little success. In 1958, African representatives to the Legco of Uganda were directly elected in an all-Uganda election, and in March 1961 the Council became virtually democratic, 82 of 101 members being elected on a common electoral roll. The Kabaka of Buganda saw no reason to give up his ancient throne to become a shadowy political figure, his tribal chiefs objected to losing their powers as had happened in Ghana, and Buganda therefore boycotted both elections, and in 1961 declared her independence from the rest of Uganda.

However, a Constitutional Relationships Committee had drawn up a new constitution to ensure the unity of the country while allowing for a federal set-up between Buganda and the other provinces. Uganda became independent in October this year, and under this constitution the Kabaka and his tribal chiefs will probably be able to retain their traditional policy while the rest of Uganda becomes more democratic. In the absence of White settlers to oppose Black Nationalism, political parties have been slow to form and are mostly Catholic vs. Protestant vs. Muslim, instead of Black vs. White.

Economically, Uganda is the most prosperous of the East African countries. Most of her export crops of coffee and cotton are produced by peasant farmers; less than a quarter of a million are in paid employment, and these are mostly refugees from Ruandi-Urundi. There are also some industrial enterprises and a large hydro-electric station on the Nile, supplying electricity to Uganda and to Kenya.

## Consideration of East African Federation

Before going on to Kenya and Tanganyika, let us look briefly at the idea of a Federation of these territories. Julius Nyerere, Tanganyika's leader, is a champion of federation, and is supported by Tom Mboya, the "angry young man" of Kenya. Both think that Nyasaland and Ruandi-Urundi might join such a federation. The idea of federation is not new — the British suggested it in 1927, but the mere mention of it in 1953 was enough to cause Buganda to threaten to secede. Africans have always feared the domination of the White settlers of Kenya, but with African control the idea is now more acceptable. Much of the machinery for federation already exists in a Customs Union, and in the East African High Commission set up in 1949, which controls many inter-territorial services, such as Railways and Harbours, Aviation, Customs, Postal Services and so on. In 1961, the leaders of Tanganyika, Uganda and Kenya agreed that these common services should be continued, and that a Common Market should be developed. As separate entities, these countries can never be as strong economically as they could be in federation.

## Kenya

Of all the African territories, Kenya carries the greatest load of seemingly insoluble problems, chief of which is how to unite Whites, Asians, Arabs and Africans into an independent state with a plural society. Fears are rife: White fear of Black domination and economic ruin; Asian fears of the effect of change on their commercial interest; African fears of White domination and loss of land. Furthermore, the Africans are divided among themselves by tribal affiliations.

Kenya has the same problem as South Africa — to whom does the land belong? The Kikuyu have been there for some 300 years, the Arabs have traded for 3,000 years, the British came in 1895 and the Asians in 1901. And yet, the healthy, fertile Highlands have until recently been mainly in White or Asian hands, and Kikuyu have worked as low-paid labourers on the lands their forefathers owned.

What is the background to the "White Highlands" problem, the crux of Kenya's difficulties? In 1895, Kenya was declared a British Protectorate, a land thinly populated owing to disease, drought, tribal feuds and centuries of Arab-run slave trade. Since then the African population has increased four-fold as the result of peace, law and order and modern agriculture and medicine. In 1902, the railway to Uganda was opened, and in order to provide traffic on it, the British Government encouraged settlement of the almost empty Highlands — and lit the fuse which was to explode in the Mau Mau rebellion fifty years later. Even though the Carter Commission in 1932 gave back 21,000 acres, the Kikuyu still firmly believe that the land was stolen from them. That grievance, plus the Kikuyu love of intrigue and their suspicious nature, made them take the lead politically, and led to the Mau Mau campaign of atrocities, the worst in African history this century, a campaign which changed the Kenya scene

(Continued Overleaf)

# South Africa in the African Revolution (Cont.)

forever. Added to the land question was the White/Black social relationship, so akin to that of South Africa, and frustrating bans, such as being forbidden to grow the most profitable crop — coffee.

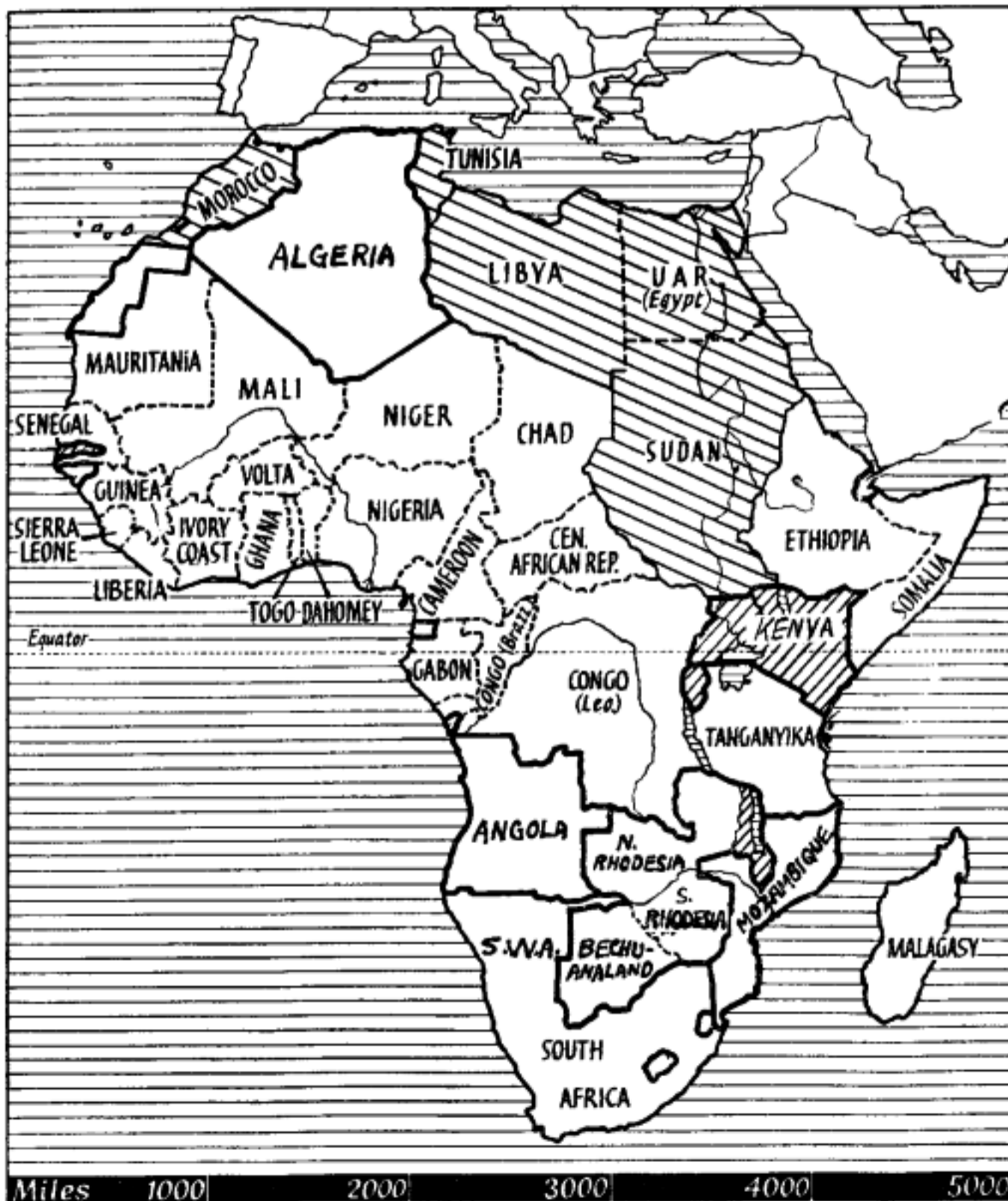
The original African movement of 1920 was revived by **Jomo Kenyatta** in 1928 with the aim of getting back the land. A split took place which was to last right through to the Mau Mau, which aimed to overthrow the Government and drive all Whites from Kenya. It took all the 60,000 White settlers, plus police, army and many loyal Kikuyu to end the Emergency, and by 1954 the whole political situation was changed. In 1956, the **Lennox Boyd Constitution** gave the Africans 8 elected members on the Legislature, but a boycott, led by **Tom Mboya**, who is a Luo, not a Kikuyu, forced an increase to 14 Africans, equal to European plus Asian members.

In February 1960, at the **Lancaster House Conference**, the objective of independence was stated for the first time, and accepted by all the delegates except the right-wing settlers, who formed the **Coalition Party** under **Cavendish-Bentinck**. Many Europeans, however, accepted the coming change and supported **Michael Blundell's** New Kenya

Party. In fact, only 4,000 settler families (or 15,000 people) of the 60,000 Europeans opposed Blundell.

Kenya would probably have had her independence by now had it not been for the recurring splits in the African parties. KANU is the strongest party, but was sadly divided in the 1961 election campaign. Their only unity is the KANU policy that **Jomo Kenyatta**, the Mau Mau leader, now freed from jail, shall be the first Chief Minister. **Tom Mboya** supports him, but there are signs that Kenyatta, now an aging man, does not hold the real political power. KADU, the more democratic party, was formed by five tribal parties who feared Kikuyu domination, and is a strong opposition to KANU.

In the February 1961 elections, KANU and KADU jointly instructed Africans to vote for Blundell and liberal independents in the 10 common roll seats reserved for European members, and similarly the 4 National seats reserved for Whites went to Liberal members. Although KANU gained 18 seats to KADU's 12, the latter was asked to form the Government with the support of some European and some nominated members. Both parties agreed to press for independence in February 1962, but this has not yet come about.



Economically, Kenya is the most advanced of the East African countries commercially, but the poorest overall, with an average annual income of less than £20 per head. As the Land Settlement Board enables more African farmers to take up farms of up to 150 acres in the Highlands, it is likely that small European farmers will have to leave, but the large tea estates and huge ranches will remain, with large African managerial staffs.

But Kenya is insolvent. In 1960, some £12 million of capital left the country, and there must be some prospect of more stable government before Western countries will invest. Added to that is a steadily increasing population and pressure for more wages, which may prove too great for a shaky economy. Even with aid from Britain or other countries, times will be difficult for Kenya for years to come, though Federation could help her. The present disquieting rumours of suppression of the freedom of the Press and of Communist influence are not likely to encourage Western investment.

## Tanganyika

This is the largest of the East African territories, with a population of 9 million. Tanganyika has achieved independence quickly and quietly, mainly because it is not a multi-racial country. Less than 1½% of the population is non-African, consisting of some European settlers and farmers, and Asians and Arabs in trade or public service. There are over 120 different African tribes, but the Swahili language is generally understood, and there are neither the tribal jealousies of Kenya nor the religious divisions of Uganda.

Added to these factors is the strong personality of **Mr. Julius Nyerere**. The year 1945 saw the first nominated African members in Legco, in 1958 came the first elections for the Legislature, and in October 1960, Tanganyika had an African Prime Minister, Mr. Nyerere. The first reason for these rapid and non-violent changes was the strength and unity of TANU, founded by Julius Nyerere in 1954. By 1958, due to his drive and leadership, it had branches in almost every village of that vast country. He himself used to go out and talk to workers on tea plantations and farms. The second reason was British policy, especially when **Sir Richard Turnbull** became Governor.

In the 1960 elections, the people voted on a common roll for 10 Europeans, 11 Asians and 50 "open seats", and TANU swept the board with 70 out of 71 seats. There are also 9 nominated members and 2 Civil Service Ministers.

Nyerere's policy is one of African Democratic Socialism, with emphasis on co-operative development plus the need for private and foreign capital investment. His "crash programme" immediately after independence, of Africanization of police and civil service, plus other drastic measures, have caused much concern abroad and damaged the image of a moderate Nyerere, but it had to be done to keep the flame of nationalism alight. Soon afterwards, Nyerere resigned the Premiership in order to re-organize TANU into an administrative, as well as a political body. He has since become president of the independent Republic of Tanganyika.

Like Kenya, Tanganyika is a poor country, with an average annual income of less than £20 per head, which means malnutrition for many. There is little employment, since the people live off the produce of their farms. The Government Development Plan emphasizes investment and agricultural education, but the main difficulty is the shortage of educated Africans. Only about 40% of the children go to school, and primary school at that, and both education and health services are retarded for lack of money, although the missionaries do valuable work in both fields.

The franchise is not "one man, one vote", but restricted, with liberal qualifications, but the greatest thing about Tanganyika is the realization that the people must work for their own development. "Freedom and Toil" is the TANU motto. It is not enough to sit back and expect miracles from the new Government.

## Ruanda-Urundi

Tucked in between Tanganyika and the Congo are the two little new sovereign states of Ruanda and Urundi, once linked with the Congo under Belgian rule. While Belgium encouraged their independence, perhaps because they were costing her £4 million a year, she has had no success in reconciling the two major tribes. The Batutsi (or Watutsi), one-fifth of the population, immensely tall and aristocratic, with a cult of sacred herds of cattle, have for generations treated the smaller, cattle-less four-fifths, the Bahutu, as serfs. By 1957, new ideas of democracy had begun to infiltrate, but the Batutsi were quite determined that independence should not mean domination by the Bahutu majority. This is not unlike Buganda's position. Equally, the Bahutu wanted to destroy the Batutsi domination before it could be entrenched in an independent authoritarian state.

Belgium, as in the Congo, moved too fast. Backing the Bahutu, she announced, after the death of the old king in 1959, plans for the independence of Ruanda-Urundi. Almost at once civil war broke out, brief but vicious. The Batutsi were outnumbered, even with the support of the Batwa pygmies with their poison darts, and many fled to Uganda and Tanganyika. Both tribes lost heavily, and the young Tutsi king retired to comfortable exile in Belgium.

In October 1960, the Belgians elevated the **Ruanda Council** into a National Government, with 35 Hutu, 12 Tutsi and 1 Twa. The Tutsis were furious, and bloodshed was forecast when independence came in July this year. So far, however, it has not happened.

In **Urundi** the tribal tension was less acute, as it was predominantly Hutu, or a mixture. The strong Tutsi opposition party may have support from Tanganyika, since Nyerere certainly foresees a union of Urundi in the South with Tanganyika, and possibly Ruanda too, though economically they are poor countries. Now they are separate little states, bound only by a Customs Union.

(To be continued.)

In previous issues, we have drawn attention to the human misery caused by the Government's "Eiselen Line" policy. This article, from a speech made at a symposium arranged by the S.A. Institute of Race Relations, deals with economic aspects of the policy.

## THE ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF THE REMOVAL OF AFRICANS FROM THE WESTERN CAPE

By LEO KATZEN — Lecturer in Economics at the University of Cape Town

**I** HAVE BEEN ASKED to deal with the economic effects of the Government's policy to remove Africans from the Western Cape. I am not of the opinion that such a policy is impossible to effect — governments have the machinery to do such things if they want. They can replace Africans with people from the Fiji Islands if they make conditions sufficiently attractive.

**The important thing, however, is that it can only be done at a cost. This cost cannot be measured precisely — all I can do is to indicate the broad effects of this policy.**

At the outset, I want to emphasize that although I, as an Economist, am particularly interested in the economic aspects of the problem, **I believe that the economic effects are of secondary importance to the human misery and degradation this policy is bringing to the African people.**

In order to get some idea of the economic effects of the removal plan, let me briefly sketch the economic role of the African in the Western Cape at present.

It is difficult to give a detailed and up-to-date picture of the position because of the poor state of our statistical services. There are also problems of definition. In defining the Western Cape, we first had the Eiselen Line. Now Mr. M. C. Botha, Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, has extended it to an area south of the Orange River and west of a line running from the magisterial district of Port Elizabeth, in the south, to Venterstad in the north — a large slice of South Africa.

The industrial census defines the Western Cape more narrowly as covering the Peninsula and its environs. When talking of the Western Cape, therefore, I will confine myself to this area, which includes the magisterial districts of Malmesbury, Ceres, Worcester, Robertson and Caledon, because it is here that we have the largest centres of population and industry.

According to the 1960 census, there are 1,200,000 people of all races in this area, including 118,000 Africans, less than 10% of the total. Of these Africans, 75,000 are in the four magisterial districts that more or less comprise Greater Cape Town, i.e., Bellville, Cape Town, Wynberg and Simonstown.

Recent figures supplied by the Municipal and Divisional authorities show that there were 48,000 Africans in registered employment in June, 1962, in this area. That is to say, 65% of Africans residing here are in employment, a very high figure. Because of this, some dispute the census figure; but the fact is that women not working and children are a small proportion. A large percentage of the African population are men either in compounds or in the bachelor quarters at Langa.

Assuming the same proportion in the rest of the Western Cape, then there are 75,000 employed.

What work do Africans do in this area? A few figures will suffice.

According to the 1956/57 industrial census — the most recently available detailed report — 30,000 were employed in private manufacture and building construction. This aggregate figure conceals the fact that some branches of industry are more dependent on African labour than others. For example, half the workers in the building industry are Africans.

Africans are also employed in a wide range of non-industrial occupations. In the Peninsula alone, there are 7,000 in commerce (shops, stores, offices), 1,500 in garages, over 1,000 in milk distribution, and nearly 5,000 in various Government departments and the S.A.R. & H. The last figure is significant in view of the Government's declared policy of replacing Africans by Coloureds where possible. **It is clearly not possible for them to do so.**

It should be clear from these figures that Africans, although a small proportion of the population (10% as I said) are a very significant force in the total labour force of the Western Cape — probably not less than 20%, although no recent figures are available. In fact, **some industries are so dependent on African labour that they simply would not survive in their present size, if at all, without this labour.** Here the distinctive characteristics of African labour, particularly in the performance of heavy unskilled work, are relevant.

This brings me to the fantastic assertion that is being made quite often these days that Africans have been taking away jobs from the Coloureds.

For instance, Mr. M. C. Botha, in a recent speech to the Institute of Administrators of Non-European Affairs in Mossel Bay, said, "The Bantu is getting an ever greater hold on the labour market in the Western Cape, and this is, of course, taking place at the expense of Coloureds." This kind of statement is being made to woo the Coloured people into thinking that the removal policy is one that will benefit them. In fact, the opposite is true.

The fallacy of Mr. Botha's argument is that he assumes that labour is a homogeneous factor of production and that the labour market is of a given size. In fact, workers are not all alike, and fall into several categories which are more often than not complementary rather than competitive. Ninety per cent of the Africans employed in the Western Cape do unskilled work — a much higher



proportion than elsewhere, where Africans do semi-skilled work as well. This has made it possible for the Coloureds in the Cape to enter the semi-skilled and skilled categories on a larger scale, and therefore earn higher wages.

The economic development of the Western Cape in the post-war period would have been impossible without the additional African labour. It has been a condition of economic growth here — Africans have created jobs for Coloureds rather than taken them away.

The statistics of unemployment alone should give the lie to the statement. At present there are about 7,000 unemployed of all races in the Peninsula area. This is a comparatively high figure for this area, but it is still low by overseas standards. A proportion of this number are unemployables and a good number of the rest are people in the process of changing jobs. To the extent that there is some genuine difficulty in finding jobs in the Peninsula at present, it is partly due to the removal policy itself, which is causing a slowing down in economic development. If Africans are removed from the area in large numbers, I am convinced that far from increasing Coloured employment it will actually diminish it. Not only will economic growth be stultified, but many firms will either have to reduce their scale of activity or close down and move elsewhere because of labour shortage and rising costs. The Coloureds remaining in employment will be obliged to take on more of the unskilled and less well-paid jobs. As a consequence, Whites in the area will also suffer a fall in employment and a loss of income. Unless the Government is prepared to subsidize economic activity in the area, the whole economy of the Western Cape will shrink.

But perhaps one should not review this policy in such drastic terms. After all, Dr. Verwoerd has promised us that the removal policy will not be pursued to the point of bankruptcy, whatever that may mean.

In practice, the policy will be carried out gradually. But the fact that the number of Africans in the Western Cape is being frozen and employers are under pressure to take on Coloureds means that employers have little freedom in taking on the workers of their choice. Because a Coloured, or even an African with the right to work in the Cape, is available for a job, it does not mean that he is the right man for the job. Again we see the fallacy of assuming that all workers are the same. This inevitably lowers efficiency and raises costs.

The effect on new investment is even more significant. Uncertainty about the future labour position is driving new investment elsewhere. Confidence is one of those intangible factors affected by policies of this sort which nevertheless has a very real effect.

As it is the Western Cape has been at an increasing relative disadvantage in the growth of manufacturing industry compared with other areas, mainly because of the distance from the main markets of the Rand. This has now been made worse by the increased rail tariff. Whereas, after the war, 16% of the total numbers employed in industry in the Union were in the Western Cape,

## THE GREATEST TYRANNY HAS THE SMALLEST BEGINNING

The danger to individual liberty in an atmosphere where constitutional safeguards can be swept aside without protest is emphasized in a passage written over 100 years ago by John Jewkes, of the University of Manchester, for the "London Times". Here it is:

**"The greatest tyranny has the smallest beginning. From precedents overlooked, from remonstrances despised, from grievances treated with ridicule, from powerless men oppressed with impunity, and overbearing men tolerated with complacency, springs the tyrannical usage which generations of wise and good men may hereafter perceive and lament and resist in vain.**

**"At present, common minds no more see a crushing tyranny in trivial unfairness or a ludicrous indignity, than the eye uninformed by reason can discern the oak in the acorn, or the utter desolation of winter in the first autumnal fall.**

**"Hence the necessity of denouncing with unwearied and even troublesome perseverance a single act of oppression. Let it alone and it stands on record. The country has allowed it and when it is at last provoked to a late indignation it finds itself gagged with the record of its own ill compulsion . . .**

**"No man is free to do just as he pleases; his actions are limited by the rights of liberty for his fellow citizens; but when do the limitations imposed on responsible citizens become tyranny?"**

(From the "Bulawayo Chronicle")

this had fallen to 12% ten years later, (1954/1955 are the most recent figures available,) and it is probably even less today. The removal policy will certainly add to the downward trend. New firms that need African labour will simply not come here unless they are guaranteed the labour. (I understand that new enterprises like the Caltex Refinery have demanded such a guarantee before investing here).

Finally, one must also consider the economic effect of this policy on the Africans removed from this area, or not allowed to come here. In fact, no alternative economic opportunities are available or likely to be available to them in the foreseeable future. The Reserves are poverty-stricken, and the most recent report of the permanent committee for the location of industry in the border areas shows very little interest on the part of industrialists in this plan so far.

To sum up, therefore, the removal of the Africans from the Western Cape is likely to lead not to immediate economic disaster, but to an insidious creeping paralysis whose cost will have to be borne not only by the people of the Cape, but the South African community as a whole.

# REPORTS ON A YEAR'S ACTIVITY

**T**HE PAST YEAR, the eighth in the history of the Black Sash, has seen continued activity in all Regions. Full reports of the year's work were given at the National Conference, and as much of the activity has been covered by reports in previous issues of the Magazine, the following accounts give a brief outline of the work of each Region, with some emphasis on certain important matters.

## HEADQUARTERS

**Special Conference.** As the General Law Amendment Act was felt to have important implications, Headquarters obtained a written opinion from Counsel and thereafter called a special Conference of Regional Chairmen in Johannesburg, on July 18th. Counsel and our solicitor attended the meeting to explain the Opinion and answer questions.

At this Conference, it was stressed that **Sabotage and violence** would be strenuously opposed by the Black Sash, and that this organization would not associate with bodies or individuals resorting to such measures.

**National Statements and Letters to the Press.** During the year, statements and letters to the Press dealt with the **Conscience Clause, Banishment without Trial, Government Defence Policy, Race Classification, the Publications and Entertainments Bill, the General Law Amendment Act, the Education Bill, the Banning of the City Hall Steps, House Arrest, the refusal of visas to overseas speakers to the Race Relations Conference.** Memoranda were prepared and sent to Parliamentary Select Committees on the **Education Bill** and the **Publications and Entertainments Bill** and a Memorandum was sent to the Johannesburg City Council on the **South African Foundation's** request for a Grant-in-Aid.



"Be fair — maybe it's only a coincidence that the Government and the S.A.B.C. put out the same propaganda!"

**The S.A.B.C. Petition** against slanted broadcasts, in which all regions participated, was duly handed in to the Prime Minister's office, with about 25,000 signatures and drew a very curt reply, as reported in October Magazine.

**General Law Amendment Bill.** All Regions responded to the Headquarters' appeal to protest against this Bill. The "Flame of Freedom" caught the imagination of the public, and this demonstration was probably one of the most successful we have ever launched. There was more genuine public support than on previous occasions. Many letters of sympathy and encouragement were received from home and abroad. Full support was given by the Press in all areas, and the demonstrations were covered by films and television, shown in England, France, Switzerland, Canada, Australia and the U.S.A.

## BORDER REGION

**B**ORDER now has branches in East London, Kei Road and Idutywa with contacts in Queens-town, and complains of feelings of despondency and frustration owing to the apathetic outlook of the public in the area. Border considers even the lack of "incidents" at Black Sash demonstrations an indication of this apathy!

In spite of this lack of interest, however, a nucleus of keen Black Sash supporters meets regularly in town and country areas for political discussion and exchange of current political literature and books. In this way, they are able to keep the spirit of the Black Sash alive.

At the beginning of the year, there was little Black Sash activity in East London, as most members were fully occupied with their political parties in the **Parliamentary by-election**, when our Border Chairman, Mrs. Daphne Curry, stood as a candidate.

At **General Meetings** held during the year talks and discussions were held on **Indian Education**, and the lack of facilities in this country for higher education for the Indian community; **Bantu Education** or "Education for Inferiority" as the speaker called it; and the difficulties experienced generally by Africans.

Border members took part in the stand against the **Education Bill**, standing in pairs with posters in the centre of the town. This culminated in a stand on the City Hall steps at the end of the week by some two dozen people, a number of them outsiders.

The Region has been able to comply with a few requests for assistance in following up the whereabouts and the financial state, etc., of Africans "endorsed out" of the Cape Western area. Border country branches are able to assist in this work. The Region was also instrumental, with the assistance of Port Elizabeth, in obtaining permission for a Border African boy to enrol at the Port Elizabeth Technical School for Africans.

Border was also able to assist one of the **banished Africans**, who had been under the wing of the Human Rights Welfare Committee. They gladly undertook to give practical assistance to this man who was "released" to his "home" in Tsomo, and were particularly pleased to do so, as his release was a direct result of intervention instigated by the Region.

Members of the Black Sash attended a meeting of the **Group Areas Board** in August, and voiced their protest against the proposals. This was reported in October issue of the Magazine, and Border tabled a full report at Conference.

A small sub-Committee was organized to sit in at the Bantu Commissioner's Courts to note prosecutions under the **Pass Laws**, but found that little could be done to alleviate hardship.

**School Feeding Scheme.** The Mayor's School Feeding Scheme, which was started for the purpose of supplementing the diet of underprivileged school children in East London, has called for assistance in raising funds to provide a quarter pint of skim milk and two nutritive biscuits per day per child at African Primary schools and one European school. The Black Sash is taking part in the canvass, and has evolved a scheme of its own whereby an income for the fund can be guaranteed through the housewives.

Border feels that the first concrete step which has been taken towards the establishment of **Border Industries** in the area will provide scope for Black Sash activities in the near future, the lack of which is the major cause of the frustration and despondency under which the Region is labouring at present.

### CAPE EASTERN REGION

**T**HIS Region has branches in **Port Elizabeth, Walmer, Salem, Sunday's River, Fish River and Cradock, Alexandria, Grahamstown, and Jansenville**, with groups at **George and Knysna**.

A quarterly newsletter is sent to all members from the Region, to help them to keep in touch with all Regional and National Black Sash activities and political developments in South Africa. The Region fully supports the Black Sash Magazine, and surplus copies are sold in the street.

**Demonstrations.** Port Elizabeth, Walmer and Sunday's River branches had an hour's stand every day for two weeks during all readings of the **Sabotage Act** in Parliament. These stands culminated in a large demonstration when the Act was passed. An hour's stand with posters was held to protest against the inhuman implementation of the Act after the first **House Arrest**. In conjunction with several other organizations, the Region held a public **Protest Meeting** against the Sabotage Bill, the speakers being **Mr. Leslie Blackwell** and **Mr. John Cope**.

**Lectures and Tape Recordings.** Tape recordings on the **Banished People**, the need for a **National Convention** and **Christian National Education** have been extensively used both in City and Country branches, and have been lent to other organizations and private individuals from time to time. In the near future, **Mrs. Noel Robb** of Cape Western Region is to address a public meeting on the **Africans "endorsed out"** from the Western Cape.

The Region holds regular **fund-raising** functions, and **Graaff-Reinet** recently raised a large sum of money and sent it to Regional Headquarters specifically "ear-marked" to help the banished people.

Cape Eastern Region is represented on various other bodies, such as the **Anti-Transfer Committee for Coloured Education**, the **National Convention Movement** and the **Institute of Race Relations**, and keeps in close touch with the work of these organizations.

As reported in the October Magazine, Cape Eastern Region made a thorough investigation into the case of **Victor Mvula**, the African schoolboy who was sentenced to six lashes for non-production of a Reference Book. Full details were sent to Mrs. Helen Suzman, M.P. and to Mr. P. Plewman, M.P., who asked questions in the House. The Region is not letting the matter drop, and is at present awaiting replies to letters of protest written to the Chief of Police in Pretoria. A full report of this matter was given to the Black Sash at the National Conference.

**Pass Laws.** Individual members of the Region regularly assist people who are in difficulties over their reference books, and try to obtain employment for these people. Although there is no official **Advice Bureau** for such people in Port Elizabeth, owing to lack of funds and personnel, the homes of certain members have become unofficial offices where advice is sought and given where possible.

**Multi-Racial Tea Parties**, preceded by lectures on various subjects, are held regularly. These parties, which are attended by women of all races, are tremendously successful, and invitations to them are eagerly sought after.

**Regional Council Meetings** are held regularly, but the Region has great difficulty in getting country branches to attend meetings in Port Elizabeth owing to the long distances to be travelled.

### CAPE WESTERN

**T**HIS Region still has a very healthy membership figure, and an impressive number of branches. Town Branches are **Claremont, False Bay, Fish Hoek, Gardens, Pinelands, Bellville/Durbanville/Milnerton, Plumstead, Rondebosch, Rosebank, Simonstown, Wynberg**. The Country Branches are **Beaufort West, Elgin, Kimberley, Somerset West, Stellenbosch, Wellington**.

During the year, the Region has fought with all the means at its command against such measures as the **National Education Advisory Council Act**, the **Group Areas Amendment Act**, the **General Law Amendment Act**, and the "endorsing" of Africans out of the Western Cape under the **"Eiselin Line"** legislation.

**General Law Amendment Bill.** A lunch-hour stand with posters was held at the beginning of the Second Reading of the Bill. After that, a continuous vigil was held outside the lower gates of the Houses of Parliament, with four women standing with the Flame of Freedom night and day, until Monday, May 26th. There were no serious disturbances, and on the whole the public were sympathetic. On the evening of the 14th June, a silent vigil was held round the "Flame" on the Parade. Tapers were distributed and lit from the Flame, which was finally put out to mark the passage of the Bill.

## A Year's Activity (Cont.)

The Sash was instrumental in forming the **Civil Rights Defence Committee**, representative of a wide range of political views, with ex-Chief Justice Centlivres as its Chairman, to fight the Bill. A number of meetings were arranged in various parts of the Peninsula, and a mass meeting, attended by about 2,000 people, was held in the Drill Hall.

**Group Areas Amendment Bill.** A stand with posters was held in Adderley Street on April 15th, during the Senate debate on the second reading of the Bill. A convoy of 14 cars with posters went through the streets on May 4th, and a meeting of voters was held on the 8th. The **Simonstown Branch** protested to the Mayor of Simonstown against the implementation of Group Areas.

**Removal of Africans from the Western Cape.** A paper prepared by Mrs. Robb (and published in the October issue of the Magazine) analyzing the sections of the **Native Urban Areas Act** under which Africans are endorsed out of the Western Cape, and drawing attention to the hardships and the break-up of family life caused, was read by invitation to the Institute of citizenship. The paper received much publicity in the Press, and aroused a great deal of interest. Thirteen other bodies have asked Mrs. Robb to address them, and Mrs. Birt has addressed five Churchwomen's meetings. A translation of the paper was read to one Afrikaans-speaking group. The Forum published the address in full, and Race Relations News published the analysis.

**The Athlone Advice Office.** This office continues to give invaluable help, and remains one of the major activities of Cape Western Region. Accounts of some of the work done were given in the June and October Magazines.

The number of Africans who come for help and advice is increasing steadily, and there is need for many more helpers to augment the work of the permanent supervisor, Mrs. Shirley Parks, the interpreter supplied by the Institute of Race Relations, and the team of Black Sash volunteers.

**Work with other Organizations.** The Region has been represented on various bodies such as the **Anti-Transfer Action Committee**, (Coloured Education); the **Archbishop's Conference Committee**, which held a Seminar in March on "The Case Against Poverty", as reported in the June Magazine; the **Civil Rights Defence Committee**, which was dissolved after the passage of the General Law Amendment Act.

**Demonstrations.** In addition to the demonstrations already mentioned, the Region attended a meeting on the Parade on December 10th, 1961, **Human Rights Day**; collected signatures in December and January for the **S.A.B.C. Petition** against slanted news; demonstrated against the **Censorship Bill**, the **Education Bill** and **House Arrest**, in May, June and October respectively. In the demonstration against House Arrest, 40 members stood in Adderley Street in pouring rain, with posters: "**House Arrest without Trial is Unjust**".

**Press Statements.** During the year, numerous letters and statements have been sent to the papers, drawing attention to various matters and protesting against many injustices.

**Rail Warrants for Africans.** In November, Mrs. Stott and Mrs. Robb, after drawing the attention of the Minister and the Chief Bantu Commissioner to the fact that no rail warrants were available to Africans who had been "endorsed out" and had no money, had an interview with the Chief Bantu Commissioner on the subject, but their request that warrants should be made generally available was refused. The Department does grant warrants in certain instances, however.

### NATAL COASTAL REGION

**T**HE Region now consists of one composite branch, based on the old Pinetown/Westville Branch, but including members from the old Durban and Highway Branches as well.

**Demonstrations.** In May, an all-day vigil with the "Flame of Freedom" was held, using posters which read: "**Reject the Sabotage Bill, the Bill to end all Liberties**". In June, the Region held a lunch-hour mass demonstration to mourn the passing of the **Sabotage Bill**, when the Flame was formally extinguished. 35 members were present. In October, a lunch-hour stand of 20 members was held to protest against **House Arrest**.

**Association with Other Organizations.** Several members of the Region have joined the **Indian Women's Cultural Group**, which is non-racial, and have been attending meetings regularly. At a tea-party with this Group, Mrs. Powell and Mrs. Ventress gave short talks and answered questions on the history and activities of the Black Sash.

The Region is also working with the **Durban Women's Association**, and the **Natal Education Vigilance Association**. A representative of the Black Sash went to the inaugural meeting of the **Courtesy Campaign** run by the **United Nations Association**.

**Meetings.** Monthly meetings have been held throughout the year and have been very well attended. Interesting talks have been given by:

**Miss Regalia Bam**, an African worker in the Y.M.C.A., who gave a talk on **Bantu Education**;

**Mr. Mike Gardiner** of NUSAS, who spoke on **Apartheid in Universities and Tribal Colleges**; **Mrs. Levey** of Cape Eastern Region, who spoke very movingly about the plight of the **banished people**.

**Mr. Lloyd** of the Editorial staff of the Natal Daily News, who spoke of the **Press Commission**.

**Mrs. Fatima Meer** of the University of Natal Department of Sociology;

**Miss J. Thorpe** of the Institute of Race Relations;

**Mr. Alan Paton.**

**Political Review.** Mrs. Pam Duncan has now become the Region's Political Officer in place of Mrs. Sybil Adams. The high standard set by Mrs. Adams has been well maintained by Mrs. Duncan, who gives a brilliant monthly summary of current events, and stimulates interest in the political scene.

**S.A.B.C. Petition.** The Region manned several tables for two weeks in December, and collected 5,000 signatures for the petition against slanted news.

**Press.** Several letters have been written to the papers, one of which appeared as a news item in a prominent position. The stand against the **Sabotage Bill** was given good publicity, and so was the stand against house arrest, in both local papers.

**City Council.** Two members of Natal Coastal Region, Mrs. Shearer and Mrs. Powell, were elected to the Durban City Council at the last elections. Members of the Region helped with canvassing, transport, etc.

**Other Activities.** The Region still provides drivers once a week for Mrs. Powell, the Prisoners' Friend.

**General.** It is encouraging to report that membership and attendance at meetings has remained fairly steady during the past year, and great interest has been shown by everyone in the monthly meetings and other activities. Active membership has been increased by several people who were transferred from other Regions, or have returned from overseas.

### NATAL MIDLANDS REGION

**NATAL MIDLANDS REGION** now has Branches in Pietermaritzburg, Mooi River, and Matatiele, and groups in Howick, Kokstad, Ixopo and Underberg.

**Educational Meetings.** At meetings held by Pietermaritzburg Branch during the year, there has been a talk on Education by Mrs. S. Burnett; "Facts and Figures of African Education" have been given by Mrs. Russell; a tape recorded talk on Race Relations by Mr. Hopkinson has been heard; and a Brains Trust on Education has been held with a multi-racial panel of "brains".

A meeting was held early in May by the Mooi River Branch, at which Mr. Juta of Natal University explained the Constitutional changes in other African countries, and how these changes are working out.

Regular meetings are held by Matatiele Branch, at which recorded talks are played, and various subjects discussed. Howick and Ixopo held meetings during the year at which the Regional Chairman brought them up to date with Black Sash affairs.

**Protest Meetings.** Together with other organizations, the Maritzburg Branch sponsored protest meetings on the Sabotage Bill in May and June. Mrs. Lund, Chairman of the Branch, spoke at both these meetings. Another co-sponsored protest meeting was held against House Arrest on October 18th.

**Stands and Demonstrations.** Only the Pietermaritzburg Branch has organized demonstrations this year, though members from other parts of the region have sometimes been able to join the demonstrations.

Demonstrations were held against the Group Areas Amendment Bill, the National Education Council Bill, and the Publications and Entertainments Bill; a vigil was held round the Flame of Freedom for 24-hours (multi-racial); a separate demonstration was held against the National Council Education Bill; a stand was held against the immoral legislation of the past session; and a stand was held against House Arrest.

### LISTENING IS BAD ENOUGH

The S.A.B.C. used to be  
A rather nice amenity  
Which handed out from year to year  
A reasonable bill of fare.  
And tired toilers, switching on,  
Could nearly always count upon  
Something to listen to at night,  
Innocuous, if rather trite.

Time marches on — today we find  
That Albert's acid little mind  
Has now decreed that we who pay  
Must do OUR listening HIS way.  
He's found the medium, devil-sent,  
Which our deluded Government  
Can most successfully abuse  
To air their quaint, retarded views.

Ruthless, reactionary, rough,  
Our Mr. Vorster plays it tough!  
The S.A.B.C., duly cowed,  
Relays his message long and loud.  
With Communistic bogeys fed,  
Depressed, we totter off to bed,  
Thus buying with our licence fee  
Alarm and/or despondency.

(A happier thought to take away —  
Imagine if we had to pay  
To see their faces every day!)

M. L. ORPEN.

(Re-printed from the Rand Daily Mail)

**Other Demonstrations.** Two members represented the Region at a wreath-laying ceremony to mourn the passing of Liberty. Other organizations took part. The Pietermaritzburg Branch joined other organizations in a poster stand against Group Areas; two members attended a reception for Mrs. Luthuli.

**S.A.B.C. Petition.** Branches and Groups collected signatures for this petition against slanted news and broadcasts

**Work with Other Organizations.** The Region is represented on the Anti-Transfer of Coloured Education Action Committee; the Human Rights Committee; the Natal Convention Continuation Committee; the Education Vigilance Committee; the Group Areas Resistance Committee.

This last Committee organized a Protest March in December, 1961, with the object of presenting a memorandum to the City Council, asking them to refuse to implement group areas in Pietermaritzburg. Permission to hold the march was cancelled after it had been given. About 200 people stood round the City Hall with posters, in protest.

The Group Areas Resistance Committee then drew up a memorandum and presented it to the City Council, but the Council remains adamant in its decision to implement Group Areas. The Black Sash was refused an interview with the Group Areas Board, and has now written its questions to the Board. Failing a satisfactory reply, a protest march is contemplated.

## A Year's Activity (Cont.)

**Other Activities.** Inter-racial Tea Parties are held regularly by Pietermaritzburg Branch, and Matatiele and Kokstad Branches have held tea-parties with coloured women in their areas.

**African Women's Passes.** It came to the notice of Pietermaritzburg Branch that African women have been refused permission to remain in the town to seek work unless they produce reference books. The Branch felt that as passes for African women were not yet compulsory, they should not be demanded, so they took the matter up first with the Municipal authorities and then with the Bantu Affairs Department. A Government official confessed that he did not know that the carrying of passes was not compulsory until February, 1963!

**Job Reservation.** Pietermaritzburg Branch is investigating a job reservation clause in tender documents issued by the Provincial Council of Natal for the Building Trade.

**Mooi River Branch** is investigating **Group Areas** in their area.

**Kokstad Group** has been investigating conditions in Kokstad gaol, and arranged for the local District Surgeon to give their Member of Parliament all available information. In the meantime, it has been announced that Kokstad is to have a new gaol.

### TRANSVAAL REGION

SOME time ago, in order to facilitate the working of the Region, Johannesburg Branches formed themselves into four large groups on geographical lines: **Northern, North Eastern, North Western and Waverley.** Because of its isolation, **Bryanston** remained a separate Branch. The Region has country branches in **Lowveld, Rustenburg and Witbank,** and small groups and scattered members in **Pretoria, Springs, Germiston and Vanderbijl Park.** A group in **Bloemfontein** with Mrs. O'Connor in command also comes under the wing of this Region. As in all other Regions, most of the activity at the end of 1961 and in January 1962 centred round the collection of signatures for the **S.A.B.C. Petition.**

**Lectures, Forums, etc.** The largest public meeting of the year was a multi-racial forum convened by Mrs. Davidoff on "**The Education of Johannesburg's Children**". This was fully reported in June Magazine. During the following month, members of the Black Sash attended an all-day symposium on the **Bantu Education Act** arranged by the **National Council of Women.** (Reported in October Magazine.)

It has been the practice during the year to have speakers at General Meetings. Outstanding among these was **Mrs. Peteni,** who spoke on **Bantu Education.** In this series we have also had **Mrs. Fisher's Political Reviews** and her talks on **African Affairs,** which are being published in the Magazine. **Mr. Scholtz,** the Legal Adviser to the City Council, gave a talk on the implications of the new **Municipal Management Committee** set-up, and **Mrs. Rankin** gave a review of Mrs. Joan Bondurant's book, "**The Conquest of Violence.**"

After the passing of the **General Law Amendment Bill,** a public meeting on this subject was addressed by **Professor G. H. le May,** and **Mr. Charles Bloomberg** of the "Sunday Times". The

meeting was preceded by a finger-supper and all those who had taken part in the demonstration against the Bill were invited.

On the 15th May, **Mr. Louis Gerber,** now the Director of the **South African Foundation** addressed a large group of Black Sash women and their husbands on the work of the Foundation. Some significant questions were put to Mr. Gerber, but few were satisfactorily answered.

On the 11th September, a film of the "**Sabotage Bill Protest and March**" kindly lent by United Press, was shown. Afterwards, extracts from the book written by Mrs. Pearce of Wellington, "**Permit to Live**", were read

**The Saturday Club** has met every alternate Saturday afternoon since the beginning of the year, and the African women and the Black Sash women who have attended have thoroughly enjoyed the talks on a variety of subjects from the Industrial Revolution to dress-making and thrifty cooking. A small library has been started.

**Defence and Aid.** Mrs. Davidoff continues to serve on this Committee.

**Sharpeville and Emergency Relief Committee.** Although this fund was launched at the time of Sharpeville under the control of a Committee independent of the Black Sash, it was initiated by our organization and members of the Management Committee were mainly Black Sash members. When **Red Cross** took over the welfare work of the Sharpeville dependants, the bulk of the money on hand was paid over to them. A small sum was retained to form the nucleus of an **Emergency Relief Fund,** and registration was applied for. The fund has remained dormant in the meantime, but a month or two ago it was able to send a substantial contribution towards **Famine Relief** to the Jane Furse Hospital.

**Attendance at Courts.** Members of the Region have been attending the Wynberg Peri-Urban Court. The opening of an **advice office,** similar to that of Cape Western, is being considered.

**Demonstrations.** The major demonstrations of the year were, of course, those directed against the "**Sabotage**" Bill, which have been fully dealt with in June and October magazines. Various demonstrations have been held with the poster "**Strive for Freedom of the Individual!**" and after the banning of gatherings on the City Hall steps, a mass demonstration was held on the Harrison Street steps of the City Hall with posters reading "**Restore the People's Forum — the City Hall Steps.**"

On the 14th September, the **S.A.B.C. "Hertzog Tower"** was opened, and the Transvaal Region held a small demonstration with posters, protesting against slanted news.

**House Arrest.** A large demonstration was mounted to protest against the principle of House Arrest on the 16th October, and several more demonstrations on the same theme have since been held. The Region intends to continue these demonstrations indefinitely, to ensure that the inhumanity of this form of punishment and the **by-passing of the Courts of Law** is not forgotten.



### Demonstration in Cape Town:

#### "The General Law Amendment Bill — Further Infringement of Personal Freedom"

have been living and working in the Cape for many years, and have lost all touch with their place of origin. Many, indeed, were born in the Cape.

The Athlone Advice Office is now being run jointly by the Black Sash and the S.A. Institute of Race Relations, and has widened its scope to provide advice for men and women who have been "endorsed out" or are in any other difficulties with the Influx Control regulations. Voluntary workers check up on their legal position, advise them of their rights, assist them to obtain permits to remain, or help them to obtain financial assistance to return to their places of birth. The Office is of inestimable help to a great many poor unfortunates who are ignorant of their rights, harried by regulations that they do not understand, deprived by unjust and inhuman laws of the basic right to sell their labour in the best market and to live peaceably with their families in the land of their birth.

### Magazine

Since January 1956, the organization has published a printed Magazine, "The Black Sash", which has been widely read in our own country and also overseas. Originally registered as a newspaper and published monthly, the magazine is now issued quarterly, and contains articles on a variety of political subjects of general interest or of special interest to the Black Sash, articles on topical and controversial matters and reports on Black Sash activities.

Special issues have been published from time to time: one devoted entirely to articles on educational matters reached a wide public, and an outstanding special issue on the implementation and effects of the Pass Laws provided a valuable aid to our campaign to draw attention to the inhumanities of these laws and the hardships that result from them.

### The "Sabotage" Act

After the first wide and enthusiastic publicity given to the Black Sash demonstrations against the Senate Act, interest in the organization here and overseas waned somewhat, but revived from time to time, when anything of particular interest occurred. For instance, the march in protest against South Africa's withdrawal from the Commonwealth, when the Black Sash was the only organization in South Africa to protest openly, received much publicity, especially in overseas newspapers. The slogan used on that occasion was, "THE CRIME — APARTHEID; THE PENALTY — ISOLATION".

In May this year, however, almost exactly seven years after the formation of the Black Sash, the protests against the General Law Amendment Bill — the "Sabotage" Bill — again focussed worldwide attention on the organization and on the Bill itself, declared by the Government to be directed against Communists and saboteurs.

As usual, the Government ignored the protests of thousands of South African citizens, including the Black Sash, and the "Sabotage Act," which drastically restricts the freedom of the individual and by-passes the Courts of Law, placing far-reaching and arbitrary powers in the hands of the Minister of Justice, was passed. The powers conferred by the Act have already been used with drastic effect. Citizens have been banned or sentenced to house arrest and organizations have been outlawed, all without being given any opportunity to prove their innocence or defend themselves in any way. At the same time, a sustained campaign by Cabinet Ministers, the Nationalist Press and the S.A.B.C. to equate liberalism with Communism augurs ill for the Black Sash and similar law-abiding organizations.



**“Sabotage” Bill Protest: Our poster is destroyed by hooligans.**

The Black Sash has continued to protest against the General Law Amendment Act by means of constant demonstrations directing public attention to the inhumanity of house arrest and the bypassing of the courts. Some of the posters used on these occasions read: “INNOCENT OR GUILTY? THE COURTS, NOT THE CABINET, MUST DECIDE”, “DETENTION WITHOUT TRIAL IS NOT JUSTICE”, and “HOUSE ARREST IS INHUMAN”.

### **Achievement**

After nearly eight years, what has the Black Sash achieved?

It is true that we can claim no spectacular success, and much of our hard work over the years seems to have come to nothing. However, we can and do claim material gain in at least two instances: our protests against the iniquitous “induced” farm labour system a few years ago resulted in the abandonment of the scheme; and the remarkable success of the Athlone Advice Office is a feather in the cap of our Cape Western Region.

If the Black Sash has achieved nothing else, this help to the helpless, little though it may be when measured against the appalling defencelessness of the Africans in general, more than justifies its existence.

But something else has been achieved. It is a remarkable fact that many of the women who started out with the Black Sash more than seven years ago are still active and still as enthusiastic and determined as ever. They may be fewer in numbers, but they are stronger in resolve and principle; they have grown in stature, and their thinking has changed with the march of events in Africa.

The Black Sash has trained these women to think objectively and honestly about the problems of their country, to try to cast aside prejudice and intolerance, to protest against injustice and to uphold their principles firmly yet without violence. They have influenced thinking in this country to an extent as yet unknown, and can consider themselves responsible for much of the liberal opinion that is now being openly expressed in our country.

**And this will never be lost — no legislation can control the minds of men,**

**“All the darkness in the world cannot put out the light of one small candle.”**





## South Africa in the African Revolution (Continued from Page 10)

Uganda, a British Protectorate since 1893, has two parallel governments: firstly, the usual British Governor, Executive Council and Legislative Council, with very slowly increasing African representation; and secondly, Buganda's own Parliament, the Great Lukiko, under the Kabaka and his Cabinet.

In 1953, the British Government, with its passion for federation, hinted at a Federation of Uganda, Kenya and Tanganyika, but King Freddie, afraid of being dominated by White Kenya, dug his toes in and said, "No!"

This gesture cost him his throne, for a while, at least. He was put on a plane and rushed to London. Sir Oliver Lyttleton tried to explain away this precipitate action, but Buganda went into mourning, the men grew beards to demonstrate their loyalty to the Kabaka, the Lukiko refused to nominate another king, and the Kabaka's sister is said to have died of grief. The King demanded independence, not only from East Africa, but from Uganda, which would have meant economic ruin for the other three provinces. Finally, after lengthy negotiations, the Kabaka was allowed to return as a constitutional monarch, on condition that Buganda remained in Uganda. King Freddie got all he wanted — no federation, full control over Buganda, the majority of seats in Legco for Africans, and three Cabinet posts for Buganda in the government of the whole country. In 1955, after two years' absence, he returned in triumph to his people. Beards were shaved, drums beat, and the people feasted for three days.

Political parties in the other three provinces, who wanted independence for Uganda, tried to infiltrate into Buganda, but with little success. In 1958, African representatives to the Legco of Uganda were directly elected in an all-Uganda election, and in March 1961 the Council became virtually democratic, 82 of 101 members being elected on a common electoral roll. The Kabaka of Buganda saw no reason to give up his ancient throne to become a shadowy political figure, his tribal chiefs objected to losing their powers as had happened in Ghana, and Buganda therefore boycotted both elections, and in 1961 declared her independence from the rest of Uganda.

However, a Constitutional Relationships Committee had drawn up a new constitution to ensure the unity of the country while allowing for a federal set-up between Buganda and the other provinces. Uganda became independent in October this year, and under this constitution the Kabaka and his tribal chiefs will probably be able to retain their traditional policy while the rest of Uganda becomes more democratic. In the absence of White settlers to oppose Black Nationalism, political parties have been slow to form and are mostly Catholic vs. Protestant vs. Muslim, instead of Black vs. White.

Economically, Uganda is the most prosperous of the East African countries. Most of her export crops of coffee and cotton are produced by peasant farmers; less than a quarter of a million are in paid employment, and these are mostly refugees from Ruandi-Urundi. There are also some industrial enterprises and a large hydro-electric station on the Nile, supplying electricity to Uganda and to Kenya.

### Consideration of East African Federation

Before going on to Kenya and Tanganyika, let us look briefly at the idea of a Federation of these territories. Julius Nyerere, Tanganyika's leader, is a champion of federation, and is supported by Tom Mboya, the "angry young man" of Kenya. Both think that Nyasaland and Ruandi-Urundi might join such a federation. The idea of federation is not new — the British suggested it in 1927, but the mere mention of it in 1953 was enough to cause Buganda to threaten to secede. Africans have always feared the domination of the White settlers of Kenya, but with African control the idea is now more acceptable. Much of the machinery for federation already exists in a Customs Union, and in the East African High Commission set up in 1949, which controls many inter-territorial services, such as Railways and Harbours, Aviation, Customs, Postal Services and so on. In 1961, the leaders of Tanganyika, Uganda and Kenya agreed that these common services should be continued, and that a Common Market should be developed. As separate entities, these countries can never be as strong economically as they could be in federation.

### Kenya

Of all the African territories, Kenya carries the greatest load of seemingly insoluble problems, chief of which is how to unite Whites, Asians, Arabs and Africans into an independent state with a plural society. Fears are rife: White fear of Black domination and economic ruin; Asian fears of the effect of change on their commercial interest; African fears of White domination and loss of land. Furthermore, the Africans are divided among themselves by tribal affiliations.

Kenya has the same problem as South Africa — to whom does the land belong? The Kikuyu have been there for some 300 years, the Arabs have traded for 3,000 years, the British came in 1895 and the Asians in 1901. And yet, the healthy, fertile Highlands have until recently been mainly in White or Asian hands, and Kikuyu have worked as low-paid labourers on the lands their forefathers owned.

What is the background to the "White Highlands" problem, the crux of Kenya's difficulties? In 1895, Kenya was declared a British Protectorate, a land thinly populated owing to disease, drought, tribal feuds and centuries of Arab-run slave trade. Since then the African population has increased four-fold as the result of peace, law and order and modern agriculture and medicine. In 1902, the railway to Uganda was opened, and in order to provide traffic on it, the British Government encouraged settlement of the almost empty Highlands — and lit the fuse which was to explode in the Mau Mau rebellion fifty years later. Even though the Carter Commission in 1932 gave back 21,000 acres, the Kikuyu still firmly believe that the land was stolen from them. That grievance, plus the Kikuyu love of intrigue and their suspicious nature, made them take the lead politically, and led to the Mau Mau campaign of atrocities, the worst in African history this century, a campaign which changed the Kenya scene

(Continued Overleaf)

# South Africa in the African Revolution (Cont.)

forever. Added to the land question was the White/Black social relationship, so akin to that of South Africa, and frustrating bans, such as being forbidden to grow the most profitable crop — coffee.

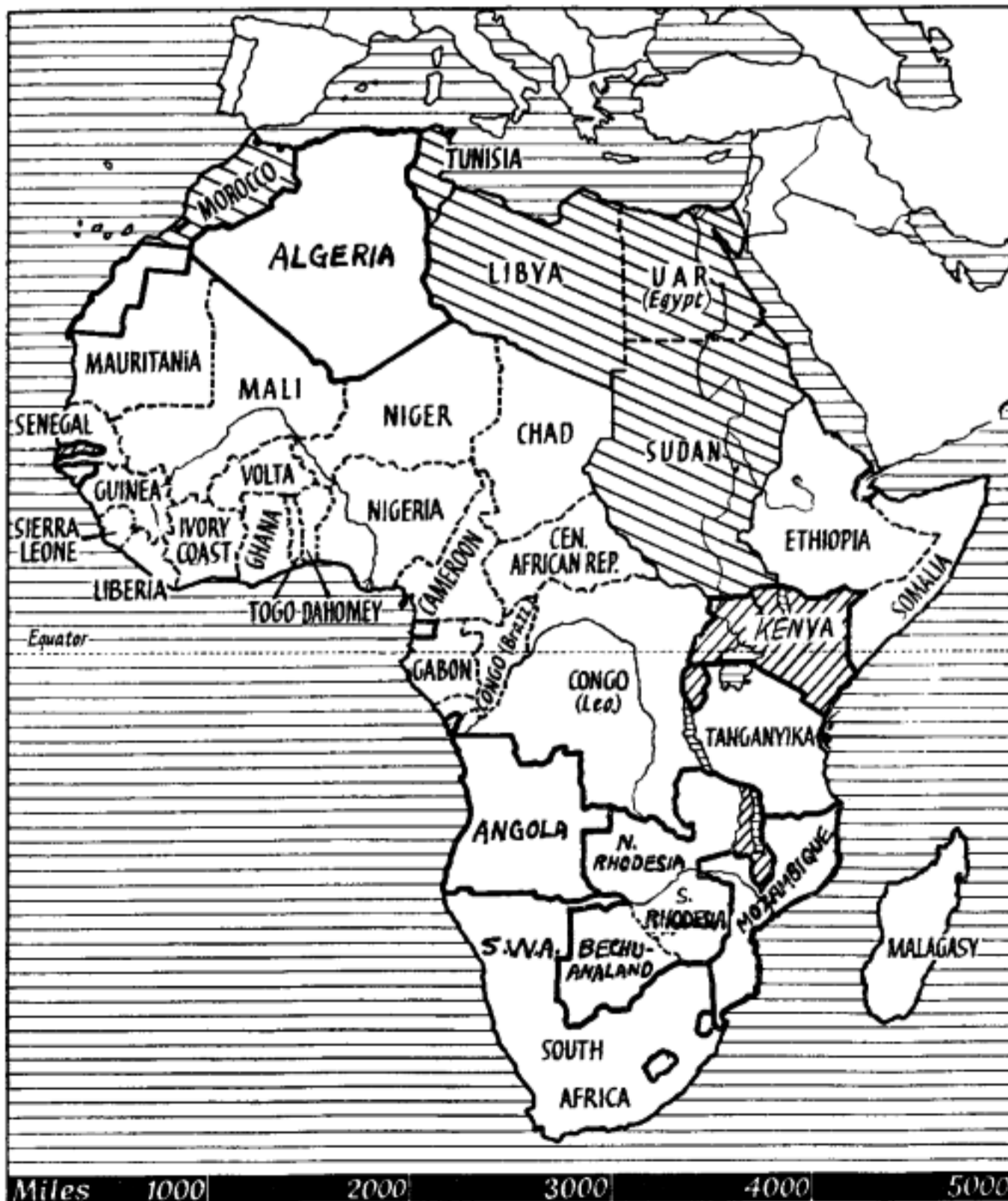
The original African movement of 1920 was revived by **Jomo Kenyatta** in 1928 with the aim of getting back the land. A split took place which was to last right through to the Mau Mau, which aimed to overthrow the Government and drive all Whites from Kenya. It took all the 60,000 White settlers, plus police, army and many loyal Kikuyu to end the Emergency, and by 1954 the whole political situation was changed. In 1956, the **Lennox Boyd Constitution** gave the Africans 8 elected members on the Legislature, but a boycott, led by **Tom Mboya**, who is a Luo, not a Kikuyu, forced an increase to 14 Africans, equal to European plus Asian members.

In February 1960, at the **Lancaster House Conference**, the objective of independence was stated for the first time, and accepted by all the delegates except the right-wing settlers, who formed the **Coalition Party** under **Cavendish-Bentinck**. Many Europeans, however, accepted the coming change and supported **Michael Blundell's** New Kenya

Party. In fact, only 4,000 settler families (or 15,000 people) of the 60,000 Europeans opposed Blundell.

Kenya would probably have had her independence by now had it not been for the recurring splits in the African parties. KANU is the strongest party, but was sadly divided in the 1961 election campaign. Their only unity is the KANU policy that **Jomo Kenyatta**, the Mau Mau leader, now freed from jail, shall be the first Chief Minister. **Tom Mboya** supports him, but there are signs that Kenyatta, now an aging man, does not hold the real political power. KADU, the more democratic party, was formed by five tribal parties who feared Kikuyu domination, and is a strong opposition to KANU.

In the February 1961 elections, KANU and KADU jointly instructed Africans to vote for Blundell and liberal independents in the 10 common roll seats reserved for European members, and similarly the 4 National seats reserved for Whites went to Liberal members. Although KANU gained 18 seats to KADU's 12, the latter was asked to form the Government with the support of some European and some nominated members. Both parties agreed to press for independence in February 1962, but this has not yet come about.



Economically, Kenya is the most advanced of the East African countries commercially, but the poorest overall, with an average annual income of less than £20 per head. As the Land Settlement Board enables more African farmers to take up farms of up to 150 acres in the Highlands, it is likely that small European farmers will have to leave, but the large tea estates and huge ranches will remain, with large African managerial staffs.

But Kenya is insolvent. In 1960, some £12 million of capital left the country, and there must be some prospect of more stable government before Western countries will invest. Added to that is a steadily increasing population and pressure for more wages, which may prove too great for a shaky economy. Even with aid from Britain or other countries, times will be difficult for Kenya for years to come, though Federation could help her. The present disquieting rumours of suppression of the freedom of the Press and of Communist influence are not likely to encourage Western investment.

## Tanganyika

This is the largest of the East African territories, with a population of 9 million. Tanganyika has achieved independence quickly and quietly, mainly because it is not a multi-racial country. Less than 1½% of the population is non-African, consisting of some European settlers and farmers, and Asians and Arabs in trade or public service. There are over 120 different African tribes, but the Swahili language is generally understood, and there are neither the tribal jealousies of Kenya nor the religious divisions of Uganda.

Added to these factors is the strong personality of **Mr. Julius Nyerere**. The year 1945 saw the first nominated African members in Legco, in 1958 came the first elections for the Legislature, and in October 1960, Tanganyika had an African Prime Minister, Mr. Nyerere. The first reason for these rapid and non-violent changes was the strength and unity of TANU, founded by Julius Nyerere in 1954. By 1958, due to his drive and leadership, it had branches in almost every village of that vast country. He himself used to go out and talk to workers on tea plantations and farms. The second reason was British policy, especially when **Sir Richard Turnbull** became Governor.

In the 1960 elections, the people voted on a common roll for 10 Europeans, 11 Asians and 50 "open seats", and TANU swept the board with 70 out of 71 seats. There are also 9 nominated members and 2 Civil Service Ministers.

Nyerere's policy is one of African Democratic Socialism, with emphasis on co-operative development plus the need for private and foreign capital investment. His "crash programme" immediately after independence, of Africanization of police and civil service, plus other drastic measures, have caused much concern abroad and damaged the image of a moderate Nyerere, but it had to be done to keep the flame of nationalism alight. Soon afterwards, Nyerere resigned the Premiership in order to re-organize TANU into an administrative, as well as a political body. He has since become president of the independent Republic of Tanganyika.

Like Kenya, Tanganyika is a poor country, with an average annual income of less than £20 per head, which means malnutrition for many. There is little employment, since the people live off the produce of their farms. The Government Development Plan emphasizes investment and agricultural education, but the main difficulty is the shortage of educated Africans. Only about 40% of the children go to school, and primary school at that, and both education and health services are retarded for lack of money, although the missionaries do valuable work in both fields.

The franchise is not "one man, one vote", but restricted, with liberal qualifications, but the greatest thing about Tanganyika is the realization that the people must work for their own development. "Freedom and Toil" is the TANU motto. It is not enough to sit back and expect miracles from the new Government.

## Ruanda-Urundi

Tucked in between Tanganyika and the Congo are the two little new sovereign states of Ruanda and Urundi, once linked with the Congo under Belgian rule. While Belgium encouraged their independence, perhaps because they were costing her £4 million a year, she has had no success in reconciling the two major tribes. The Batutsi (or Watutsi), one-fifth of the population, immensely tall and aristocratic, with a cult of sacred herds of cattle, have for generations treated the smaller, cattle-less four-fifths, the Bahutu, as serfs. By 1957, new ideas of democracy had begun to infiltrate, but the Batutsi were quite determined that independence should not mean domination by the Bahutu majority. This is not unlike Buganda's position. Equally, the Bahutu wanted to destroy the Batutsi domination before it could be entrenched in an independent authoritarian state.

Belgium, as in the Congo, moved too fast. Backing the Bahutu, she announced, after the death of the old king in 1959, plans for the independence of Ruanda-Urundi. Almost at once civil war broke out, brief but vicious. The Batutsi were outnumbered, even with the support of the Batwa pygmies with their poison darts, and many fled to Uganda and Tanganyika. Both tribes lost heavily, and the young Tutsi king retired to comfortable exile in Belgium.

In October 1960, the Belgians elevated the **Ruanda Council** into a National Government, with 35 Hutu, 12 Tutsi and 1 Twa. The Tutsis were furious, and bloodshed was forecast when independence came in July this year. So far, however, it has not happened.

In **Urundi** the tribal tension was less acute, as it was predominantly Hutu, or a mixture. The strong Tutsi opposition party may have support from Tanganyika, since Nyerere certainly foresees a union of Urundi in the South with Tanganyika, and possibly Ruanda too, though economically they are poor countries. Now they are separate little states, bound only by a Customs Union.

(To be continued.)

# REPORTS ON A YEAR'S ACTIVITY

**T**HE PAST YEAR, the eighth in the history of the Black Sash, has seen continued activity in all Regions. Full reports of the year's work were given at the National Conference, and as much of the activity has been covered by reports in previous issues of the Magazine, the following accounts give a brief outline of the work of each Region, with some emphasis on certain important matters.

## HEADQUARTERS

**Special Conference.** As the General Law Amendment Act was felt to have important implications, Headquarters obtained a written opinion from Counsel and thereafter called a special Conference of Regional Chairmen in Johannesburg, on July 18th. Counsel and our solicitor attended the meeting to explain the Opinion and answer questions.

At this Conference, it was stressed that **Sabotage and violence** would be strenuously opposed by the Black Sash, and that this organization would not associate with bodies or individuals resorting to such measures.

**National Statements and Letters to the Press.** During the year, statements and letters to the Press dealt with the **Conscience Clause, Banishment without Trial, Government Defence Policy, Race Classification, the Publications and Entertainments Bill, the General Law Amendment Act, the Education Bill, the Banning of the City Hall Steps, House Arrest, the refusal of visas to overseas speakers to the Race Relations Conference.** Memoranda were prepared and sent to Parliamentary Select Committees on the **Education Bill** and the **Publications and Entertainments Bill** and a Memorandum was sent to the Johannesburg City Council on the **South African Foundation's** request for a Grant-in-Aid.



"Be fair — maybe it's only a coincidence that the Government and the S.A.B.C. put out the same propaganda!"

**The S.A.B.C. Petition** against slanted broadcasts, in which all regions participated, was duly handed in to the Prime Minister's office, with about 25,000 signatures and drew a very curt reply, as reported in October Magazine.

**General Law Amendment Bill.** All Regions responded to the Headquarters' appeal to protest against this Bill. The "Flame of Freedom" caught the imagination of the public, and this demonstration was probably one of the most successful we have ever launched. There was more genuine public support than on previous occasions. Many letters of sympathy and encouragement were received from home and abroad. Full support was given by the Press in all areas, and the demonstrations were covered by films and television, shown in England, France, Switzerland, Canada, Australia and the U.S.A.

## BORDER REGION

**B**ORDER now has branches in East London, Kei Road and Idutywa with contacts in Queens-town, and complains of feelings of despondency and frustration owing to the apathetic outlook of the public in the area. Border considers even the lack of "incidents" at Black Sash demonstrations an indication of this apathy!

In spite of this lack of interest, however, a nucleus of keen Black Sash supporters meets regularly in town and country areas for political discussion and exchange of current political literature and books. In this way, they are able to keep the spirit of the Black Sash alive.

At the beginning of the year, there was little Black Sash activity in East London, as most members were fully occupied with their political parties in the **Parliamentary by-election**, when our Border Chairman, Mrs. Daphne Curry, stood as a candidate.

At **General Meetings** held during the year talks and discussions were held on **Indian Education**, and the lack of facilities in this country for higher education for the Indian community; **Bantu Education** or "Education for Inferiority" as the speaker called it; and the difficulties experienced generally by Africans.

Border members took part in the stand against the **Education Bill**, standing in pairs with posters in the centre of the town. This culminated in a stand on the City Hall steps at the end of the week by some two dozen people, a number of them outsiders.

The Region has been able to comply with a few requests for assistance in following up the whereabouts and the financial state, etc., of Africans "endorsed out" of the Cape Western area. Border country branches are able to assist in this work. The Region was also instrumental, with the assistance of Port Elizabeth, in obtaining permission for a Border African boy to enrol at the Port Elizabeth Technical School for Africans.

Border was also able to assist one of the **banished Africans**, who had been under the wing of the Human Rights Welfare Committee. They gladly undertook to give practical assistance to this man who was "released" to his "home" in Tsomo, and were particularly pleased to do so, as his release was a direct result of intervention instigated by the Region.

Members of the Black Sash attended a meeting of the **Group Areas Board** in August, and voiced their protest against the proposals. This was reported in October issue of the Magazine, and Border tabled a full report at Conference.

A small sub-Committee was organized to sit in at the Bantu Commissioner's Courts to note prosecutions under the **Pass Laws**, but found that little could be done to alleviate hardship.

**School Feeding Scheme.** The Mayor's School Feeding Scheme, which was started for the purpose of supplementing the diet of underprivileged school children in East London, has called for assistance in raising funds to provide a quarter pint of skim milk and two nutritive biscuits per day per child at African Primary schools and one European school. The Black Sash is taking part in the canvass, and has evolved a scheme of its own whereby an income for the fund can be guaranteed through the housewives.

Border feels that the first concrete step which has been taken towards the establishment of **Border Industries** in the area will provide scope for Black Sash activities in the near future, the lack of which is the major cause of the frustration and despondency under which the Region is labouring at present.

### CAPE EASTERN REGION

**T**HIS Region has branches in **Port Elizabeth, Walmer, Salem, Sunday's River, Fish River and Cradock, Alexandria, Grahamstown, and Jansenville**, with groups at **George and Knysna**.

A quarterly newsletter is sent to all members from the Region, to help them to keep in touch with all Regional and National Black Sash activities and political developments in South Africa. The Region fully supports the Black Sash Magazine, and surplus copies are sold in the street.

**Demonstrations.** Port Elizabeth, Walmer and Sunday's River branches had an hour's stand every day for two weeks during all readings of the **Sabotage Act** in Parliament. These stands culminated in a large demonstration when the Act was passed. An hour's stand with posters was held to protest against the inhuman implementation of the Act after the first **House Arrest**. In conjunction with several other organizations, the Region held a public **Protest Meeting** against the Sabotage Bill, the speakers being **Mr. Leslie Blackwell** and **Mr. John Cope**.

**Lectures and Tape Recordings.** Tape recordings on the **Banished People**, the need for a **National Convention** and **Christian National Education** have been extensively used both in City and Country branches, and have been lent to other organizations and private individuals from time to time. In the near future, **Mrs. Noel Robb** of Cape Western Region is to address a public meeting on the **Africans "endorsed out"** from the Western Cape.

The Region holds regular **fund-raising** functions, and **Graaff-Reinet** recently raised a large sum of money and sent it to Regional Headquarters specifically "ear-marked" to help the banished people.

Cape Eastern Region is represented on various other bodies, such as the **Anti-Transfer Committee for Coloured Education**, the **National Convention Movement** and the **Institute of Race Relations**, and keeps in close touch with the work of these organizations.

As reported in the October Magazine, Cape Eastern Region made a thorough investigation into the case of **Victor Mvula**, the African schoolboy who was sentenced to six lashes for non-production of a Reference Book. Full details were sent to Mrs. Helen Suzman, M.P. and to Mr. P. Plewman, M.P., who asked questions in the House. The Region is not letting the matter drop, and is at present awaiting replies to letters of protest written to the Chief of Police in Pretoria. A full report of this matter was given to the Black Sash at the National Conference.

**Pass Laws.** Individual members of the Region regularly assist people who are in difficulties over their reference books, and try to obtain employment for these people. Although there is no official **Advice Bureau** for such people in Port Elizabeth, owing to lack of funds and personnel, the homes of certain members have become unofficial offices where advice is sought and given where possible.

**Multi-Racial Tea Parties**, preceded by lectures on various subjects, are held regularly. These parties, which are attended by women of all races, are tremendously successful, and invitations to them are eagerly sought after.

**Regional Council Meetings** are held regularly, but the Region has great difficulty in getting country branches to attend meetings in Port Elizabeth owing to the long distances to be travelled.

### CAPE WESTERN

**T**HIS Region still has a very healthy membership figure, and an impressive number of branches. Town Branches are **Claremont, False Bay, Fish Hoek, Gardens, Pinelands, Bellville/Durbanville/Milnerton, Plumstead, Rondebosch, Rosebank, Simonstown, Wynberg**. The Country Branches are **Beaufort West, Elgin, Kimberley, Somerset West, Stellenbosch, Wellington**.

During the year, the Region has fought with all the means at its command against such measures as the **National Education Advisory Council Act**, the **Group Areas Amendment Act**, the **General Law Amendment Act**, and the "endorsing" of Africans out of the Western Cape under the "**Eiselin Line**" legislation.

**General Law Amendment Bill.** A lunch-hour stand with posters was held at the beginning of the Second Reading of the Bill. After that, a continuous vigil was held outside the lower gates of the Houses of Parliament, with four women standing with the Flame of Freedom night and day, until Monday, May 26th. There were no serious disturbances, and on the whole the public were sympathetic. On the evening of the 14th June, a silent vigil was held round the "Flame" on the Parade. Tapers were distributed and lit from the Flame, which was finally put out to mark the passage of the Bill.

# A Year's Activity (Cont.)

The Sash was instrumental in forming the **Civil Rights Defence Committee**, representative of a wide range of political views, with ex-Chief Justice Centlivres as its Chairman, to fight the Bill. A number of meetings were arranged in various parts of the Peninsula, and a mass meeting, attended by about 2,000 people, was held in the Drill Hall.

**Group Areas Amendment Bill.** A stand with posters was held in Adderley Street on April 15th, during the Senate debate on the second reading of the Bill. A convoy of 14 cars with posters went through the streets on May 4th, and a meeting of voters was held on the 8th. The **Simonstown Branch** protested to the Mayor of Simonstown against the implementation of Group Areas.

**Removal of Africans from the Western Cape.** A paper prepared by Mrs. Robb (and published in the October issue of the Magazine) analyzing the sections of the **Native Urban Areas Act** under which Africans are endorsed out of the Western Cape, and drawing attention to the hardships and the break-up of family life caused, was read by invitation to the Institute of citizenship. The paper received much publicity in the Press, and aroused a great deal of interest. Thirteen other bodies have asked Mrs. Robb to address them, and Mrs. Birt has addressed five Churchwomen's meetings. A translation of the paper was read to one Afrikaans-speaking group. The Forum published the address in full, and Race Relations News published the analysis.

**The Athlone Advice Office.** This office continues to give invaluable help, and remains one of the major activities of Cape Western Region. Accounts of some of the work done were given in the June and October Magazines.

The number of Africans who come for help and advice is increasing steadily, and there is need for many more helpers to augment the work of the permanent supervisor, Mrs. Shirley Parks, the interpreter supplied by the Institute of Race Relations, and the team of Black Sash volunteers.

**Work with other Organizations.** The Region has been represented on various bodies such as the **Anti-Transfer Action Committee**, (Coloured Education); the **Archbishop's Conference Committee**, which held a Seminar in March on "The Case Against Poverty", as reported in the June Magazine; the **Civil Rights Defence Committee**, which was dissolved after the passage of the General Law Amendment Act.

**Demonstrations.** In addition to the demonstrations already mentioned, the Region attended a meeting on the Parade on December 10th, 1961, **Human Rights Day**; collected signatures in December and January for the **S.A.B.C. Petition** against slanted news; demonstrated against the **Censorship Bill**, the **Education Bill** and **House Arrest**, in May, June and October respectively. In the demonstration against House Arrest, 40 members stood in Adderley Street in pouring rain, with posters: "**House Arrest without Trial is Unjust**".

**Press Statements.** During the year, numerous letters and statements have been sent to the papers, drawing attention to various matters and protesting against many injustices.

**Rail Warrants for Africans.** In November, Mrs. Stott and Mrs. Robb, after drawing the attention of the Minister and the Chief Bantu Commissioner to the fact that no rail warrants were available to Africans who had been "endorsed out" and had no money, had an interview with the Chief Bantu Commissioner on the subject, but their request that warrants should be made generally available was refused. The Department does grant warrants in certain instances, however.

## NATAL COASTAL REGION

**T**HE Region now consists of one composite branch, based on the old Pinetown/Westville Branch, but including members from the old Durban and Highway Branches as well.

**Demonstrations.** In May, an all-day vigil with the "Flame of Freedom" was held, using posters which read: "**Reject the Sabotage Bill, the Bill to end all Liberties**". In June, the Region held a lunch-hour mass demonstration to mourn the passing of the **Sabotage Bill**, when the Flame was formally extinguished. 35 members were present. In October, a lunch-hour stand of 20 members was held to protest against **House Arrest**.

**Association with Other Organizations.** Several members of the Region have joined the **Indian Women's Cultural Group**, which is non-racial, and have been attending meetings regularly. At a tea-party with this Group, Mrs. Powell and Mrs. Ventress gave short talks and answered questions on the history and activities of the Black Sash.

The Region is also working with the **Durban Women's Association**, and the **Natal Education Vigilance Association**. A representative of the Black Sash went to the inaugural meeting of the **Courtesy Campaign** run by the **United Nations Association**.

**Meetings.** Monthly meetings have been held throughout the year and have been very well attended. Interesting talks have been given by:

**Miss Regalia Bam**, an African worker in the Y.M.C.A., who gave a talk on **Bantu Education**;

**Mr. Mike Gardiner** of NUSAS, who spoke on **Apartheid in Universities and Tribal Colleges**;

**Mrs. Levey** of Cape Eastern Region, who spoke very movingly about the plight of the **banished people**.

**Mr. Lloyd** of the Editorial staff of the Natal Daily News, who spoke of the **Press Commission**.

**Mrs. Fatima Meer** of the University of Natal Department of Sociology;

**Miss J. Thorpe** of the Institute of Race Relations;

**Mr. Alan Paton**.

**Political Review.** Mrs. Pam Duncan has now become the Region's Political Officer in place of Mrs. Sybil Adams. The high standard set by Mrs. Adams has been well maintained by Mrs. Duncan, who gives a brilliant monthly summary of current events, and stimulates interest in the political scene.

**S.A.B.C. Petition.** The Region manned several tables for two weeks in December, and collected 5,000 signatures for the petition against slanted news.

**Press.** Several letters have been written to the papers, one of which appeared as a news item in a prominent position. The stand against the **Sabotage Bill** was given good publicity, and so was the stand against house arrest, in both local papers.

**City Council.** Two members of Natal Coastal Region, Mrs. Shearer and Mrs. Powell, were elected to the Durban City Council at the last elections. Members of the Region helped with canvassing, transport, etc.

**Other Activities.** The Region still provides drivers once a week for Mrs. Powell, the Prisoners' Friend.

**General.** It is encouraging to report that membership and attendance at meetings has remained fairly steady during the past year, and great interest has been shown by everyone in the monthly meetings and other activities. Active membership has been increased by several people who were transferred from other Regions, or have returned from overseas.

### NATAL MIDLANDS REGION

**NATAL MIDLANDS REGION** now has Branches in Pietermaritzburg, Mooi River, and Matatiele, and groups in Howick, Kokstad, Ixopo and Underberg.

**Educational Meetings.** At meetings held by Pietermaritzburg Branch during the year, there has been a talk on Education by Mrs. S. Burnett; "Facts and Figures of African Education" have been given by Mrs. Russell; a tape recorded talk on Race Relations by Mr. Hopkinson has been heard; and a Brains Trust on Education has been held with a multi-racial panel of "brains".

A meeting was held early in May by the Mooi River Branch, at which Mr. Juta of Natal University explained the Constitutional changes in other African countries, and how these changes are working out.

Regular meetings are held by Matatiele Branch, at which recorded talks are played, and various subjects discussed. Howick and Ixopo held meetings during the year at which the Regional Chairman brought them up to date with Black Sash affairs.

**Protest Meetings.** Together with other organizations, the Maritzburg Branch sponsored protest meetings on the Sabotage Bill in May and June. Mrs. Lund, Chairman of the Branch, spoke at both these meetings. Another co-sponsored protest meeting was held against House Arrest on October 18th.

**Stands and Demonstrations.** Only the Pietermaritzburg Branch has organized demonstrations this year, though members from other parts of the region have sometimes been able to join the demonstrations.

Demonstrations were held against the **Group Areas Amendment Bill**, the **National Education Council Bill**, and the **Publications and Entertainments Bill**; a vigil was held round the **Flame of Freedom** for 24-hours (multi-racial); a separate demonstration was held against the **National Council Education Bill**; a stand was held against the immoral legislation of the past session; and a stand was held against **House Arrest**.

### LISTENING IS BAD ENOUGH

The S.A.B.C. used to be  
A rather nice amenity  
Which handed out from year to year  
A reasonable bill of fare.  
And tired toilers, switching on,  
Could nearly always count upon  
Something to listen to at night,  
Innocuous, if rather trite.

Time marches on — today we find  
That Albert's acid little mind  
Has now decreed that we who pay  
Must do OUR listening HIS way.  
He's found the medium, devil-sent,  
Which our deluded Government  
Can most successfully abuse  
To air their quaint, retarded views.

Ruthless, reactionary, rough,  
Our Mr. Vorster plays it tough!  
The S.A.B.C., duly cowed,  
Relays his message long and loud.  
With Communistic bogeys fed,  
Depressed, we totter off to bed,  
Thus buying with our licence fee  
Alarm and/or despondency.

(A happier thought to take away —  
Imagine if we had to pay  
To see their faces every day!)

M. L. ORPEN.

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

**Other Demonstrations.** Two members represented the Region at a wreath-laying ceremony to mourn the passing of Liberty. Other organizations took part. The Pietermaritzburg Branch joined other organizations in a poster stand against **Group Areas**; two members attended a reception for Mrs. Luthuli.

**S.A.B.C. Petition.** Branches and Groups collected signatures for this petition against slanted news and broadcasts

**Work with Other Organizations.** The Region is represented on the **Anti-Transfer of Coloured Education Action Committee**; the **Human Rights Committee**; the **Natal Convention Continuation Committee**; the **Education Vigilance Committee**; the **Group Areas Resistance Committee**.

This last Committee organized a Protest March in December, 1961, with the object of presenting a memorandum to the City Council, asking them to refuse to implement group areas in Pietermaritzburg. Permission to hold the march was cancelled after it had been given. About 200 people stood round the City Hall with posters, in protest.

The Group Areas Resistance Committee then drew up a memorandum and presented it to the City Council, but the Council remains adamant in its decision to implement Group Areas. The Black Sash was refused an interview with the **Group Areas Board**, and has now written its questions to the Board. Failing a satisfactory reply, a protest march is contemplated.

## A Year's Activity (Cont.)

**Other Activities.** Inter-racial Tea Parties are held regularly by Pietermaritzburg Branch, and Matatiele and Kokstad Branches have held tea-parties with coloured women in their areas.

**African Women's Passes.** It came to the notice of Pietermaritzburg Branch that African women have been refused permission to remain in the town to seek work unless they produce reference books. The Branch felt that as passes for African women were not yet compulsory, they should not be demanded, so they took the matter up first with the Municipal authorities and then with the Bantu Affairs Department. A Government official confessed that he did not know that the carrying of passes was not compulsory until February, 1963!

**Job Reservation.** Pietermaritzburg Branch is investigating a job reservation clause in tender documents issued by the Provincial Council of Natal for the Building Trade.

**Mooi River Branch** is investigating **Group Areas** in their area.

**Kokstad Group** has been investigating conditions in Kokstad gaol, and arranged for the local District Surgeon to give their Member of Parliament all available information. In the meantime, it has been announced that Kokstad is to have a new gaol.

### TRANSVAAL REGION

SOME time ago, in order to facilitate the working of the Region, Johannesburg Branches formed themselves into four large groups on geographical lines: **Northern, North Eastern, North Western and Waverley.** Because of its isolation, **Bryanston** remained a separate Branch. The Region has country branches in **Lowveld, Rustenburg and Witbank,** and small groups and scattered members in **Pretoria, Springs, Germiston and Vanderbijl Park.** A group in **Bloemfontein** with Mrs. O'Connor in command also comes under the wing of this Region. As in all other Regions, most of the activity at the end of 1961 and in January 1962 centred round the collection of signatures for the **S.A.B.C. Petition.**

**Lectures, Forums, etc.** The largest public meeting of the year was a multi-racial forum convened by Mrs. Davidoff on "**The Education of Johannesburg's Children**". This was fully reported in June Magazine. During the following month, members of the Black Sash attended an all-day symposium on the **Bantu Education Act** arranged by the **National Council of Women.** (Reported in October Magazine.)

It has been the practice during the year to have speakers at General Meetings. Outstanding among these was **Mrs. Peteni,** who spoke on **Bantu Education.** In this series we have also had **Mrs. Fisher's Political Reviews** and her talks on **African Affairs,** which are being published in the Magazine. **Mr. Scholtz,** the Legal Adviser to the City Council, gave a talk on the implications of the new **Municipal Management Committee** set-up, and **Mrs. Rankin** gave a review of Mrs. Joan Bondurant's book, "**The Conquest of Violence.**"

After the passing of the **General Law Amendment Bill,** a public meeting on this subject was addressed by **Professor G. H. le May,** and **Mr. Charles Bloomberg** of the "Sunday Times". The

meeting was preceded by a finger-supper and all those who had taken part in the demonstration against the Bill were invited.

On the 15th May, **Mr. Louis Gerber,** now the Director of the **South African Foundation** addressed a large group of Black Sash women and their husbands on the work of the Foundation. Some significant questions were put to Mr. Gerber, but few were satisfactorily answered.

On the 11th September, a film of the "**Sabotage Bill Protest and March**" kindly lent by United Press, was shown. Afterwards, extracts from the book written by Mrs. Pearce of Wellington, "**Permit to Live**", were read

**The Saturday Club** has met every alternate Saturday afternoon since the beginning of the year, and the African women and the Black Sash women who have attended have thoroughly enjoyed the talks on a variety of subjects from the Industrial Revolution to dress-making and thrifty cooking. A small library has been started.

**Defence and Aid.** Mrs. Davidoff continues to serve on this Committee.

**Sharpeville and Emergency Relief Committee.** Although this fund was launched at the time of Sharpeville under the control of a Committee independent of the Black Sash, it was initiated by our organization and members of the Management Committee were mainly Black Sash members. When **Red Cross** took over the welfare work of the Sharpeville dependants, the bulk of the money on hand was paid over to them. A small sum was retained to form the nucleus of an **Emergency Relief Fund,** and registration was applied for. The fund has remained dormant in the meantime, but a month or two ago it was able to send a substantial contribution towards **Famine Relief** to the Jane Furse Hospital.

**Attendance at Courts.** Members of the Region have been attending the Wynberg Peri-Urban Court. The opening of an **advice office,** similar to that of Cape Western, is being considered.

**Demonstrations.** The major demonstrations of the year were, of course, those directed against the "**Sabotage**" Bill, which have been fully dealt with in June and October magazines. Various demonstrations have been held with the poster "**Strive for Freedom of the Individual!**" and after the banning of gatherings on the City Hall steps, a mass demonstration was held on the Harrison Street steps of the City Hall with posters reading "**Restore the People's Forum — the City Hall Steps.**"

On the 14th September, the **S.A.B.C. "Hertzog Tower"** was opened, and the Transvaal Region held a small demonstration with posters, protesting against slanted news.

**House Arrest.** A large demonstration was mounted to protest against the principle of House Arrest on the 16th October, and several more demonstrations on the same theme have since been held. The Region intends to continue these demonstrations indefinitely, to ensure that the inhumanity of this form of punishment and the **by-passing of the Courts of Law** is not forgotten.



## A DICTIONARY FOR ENGLISH-SPEAKING SOUTH AFRICANS

A correspondent signing himself "Bewildered Immigrant" recently wrote to the "Rand Daily Mail" commenting upon his experiences since his arrival in this country. A few days later, the following letter appeared in that paper:

"AS a fellow-immigrant, I feel I should do something to make your correspondent "Bewildered Immigrant" a little less bewildered. His bewilderment doubtless arises from the fact that words often mean something rather different in South Africa from the meanings they have in other lands. So here is a brief primer for English-speaking immigrants who might be tempted to feel, during their first few months in this King (sorry, **President**) of all countries, that they have landed in a cross between a Gilbert and Sullivan opera and the Last Days of Pompeii. Here goes:

**PATRIOT:** Anyone who says "We thank the Minister" three times daily before meals.

**FACT:** An unsubstantiated guess which Radio South Africa wants you to believe. The more impressively they say it, the more they want you to believe it.

(Note: Never use the word yourself. It's S.A.B.C. copyright.)

**LIBERAL:** A Communist belonging to the Liberal Party.

**COMMUNIST:** A Liberal belonging to the Communist Party.

**PROGRESSIVE:** A sinister new political party in which one M.P. does the work of the entire Opposition. (Never say that you think the Government is very progressive. You will be deported under house arrest.)

**BANTUSTAN:** A Hindustani word meaning "Shangri-La."

**SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT:** The official English translation of "apartheid."

**DEMOCRACY:** A South African word meaning: "I deserve a vote but you don't."

**SABOTAGE:** Among other things, a local sport in which somebody's grandmother plays Aunt Sally on any set of steps which are still unbanned.

**WHITE CIVILIZATION:** Everything good, including everything invented by non-Whites.

**SANCTIONS:** Somebody applying apartheid against South Africa, the cads.

**CITIZEN:** A White South African.

**SUBJECT:** A non-White South African.

**ENEMY:** The Opposition Press when it acts like the Opposition Press.

**RACIAL DISCRIMINATION:** Something practised by other countries—e.g., America, England and Sweden.

**BITS:** A metal gadget on a horse for measuring blood height.

**STABLE GOVERNMENT:** A method of ensuring that there are plenty of horses available to fit bits to.

**COMMONWEALTH:** Something South Africans are not sure they're not glad they're still not in (also see "sugar".)

**PIG-IRON:** A revolutionary South African chemical compound which changes a person's skin-colour overnight.

**SUGAR:** Never mention "sugar" and "Commonwealth" in the same breath. You will receive a dirty look.

**IMMORALITY:** Being colour-blind while being immoral.

**RACE SUICIDE:** Playing ping-pong with the garden-boy.

**THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE:** Up to mid-day tomorrow.

**ALLES SAL REG KOM:** Something which will happen after the foreseeable future. (Note: If some oaf claims that "tomorrow never comes," then you are entitled to give him a dirty look.)

**KWASHIORKOR:** Malnutrition which is is somebody else's fault.

**TRADITIONAL WAY OF LIFE:** Something which is proclaimed every now and then in the Government Gazette.

**SPECIAL BRANCH:** A wakey-wakey service thoughtfully provided by a benevolent government for early-rising Liberals.

**"RAND DAILY MAIL":** A vociferous thorn-in-the-side allegedly published by the Ghanaian Government. Sometimes known as RDM, and claimed by its readers to provide an antidote to interference on F.M.

There you are, "Bewildered Immigrant." Just commit this brief glossary to memory, and you'll soon find that this is really a delightful country to live in. You'll be able to understand a political speech if you stick at it.

L. J. CLARKE"

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

Cartoons by courtesy of Bob Connolly and the "Rand Daily Mail", David Marais and the "Cape Times", H. Winder and the "Sunday Times".

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**THE STORY  
OF  
THE BLACK SASH**



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# THE STORY OF THE BLACK SASH

## The Women's Campaign for Justice and Good Government in South Africa.

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**T**HE BLACK SASH came into being in May 1955, at a time of great political unrest in South Africa. After four years of repeated crises, caused by Government attempts to remove the Cape Coloured voters from the common Voters' Roll by unconstitutional means, the country had once again been thrown into a turmoil by the proposal to "pack" the Senate, in order to circumvent the entrenched clauses of the Constitution as embodied in the South Africa Act of 1909.

### The Background to the Senate Act.

The Nationalist Party, supported by a minority of the voters, had come to power in 1948 with a slender Parliamentary majority. The new Government lost no time in consolidating its position, and in implementing the policy of *apartheid* which had won the election. From the outset, much of the legislation passed curtailed the freedom of the individual, limited the protection of the Courts and conferred wide and arbitrary powers on Cabinet Ministers. Little regard was shown for the constitutional forms upon which our Parliamentary system was based. Public misgiving mounted, and was finally expressed in country-wide protests in 1951, when the Separate Representation of Voters Act, designed to remove the Coloured voters from the common roll, was passed with a bare majority.

The Cape Coloured people had enjoyed common roll franchise rights for nearly a hundred years. The preservation of these rights was regarded by the Cape delegates to the National Convention in 1909 as a moral obligation, and they insisted that they be entrenched in the new South African Constitution, together with the Dutch and English language rights and the voting rights of the Cape Africans. The entrenchment provided that these rights could be altered only by a two-thirds majority of both houses of Parliament in joint session.

The protests against the Separate Representation of Voters Act were therefore based on two issues, one legal, one moral — the violation of the legal provisions of the Constitution, and the breaking of a solemn pledge to the Coloured people. The Government maintained that the Statute of Westminster, in conferring sovereign status on the South African Parliament in 1931, had invalidated the entrenched clauses, and they pointed out that the Cape Africans had been removed

from the common roll in 1936. This removal had, however, been agreed to by a two-thirds majority of both houses of Parliament sitting together, as laid down in the Constitution.

In 1952, the Separate Representation of Voters Act was tested in the Supreme Court of Appeal. The Court ruled that the entrenched clauses were still binding upon Parliament and declared the Act invalid, to the great relief of many South Africans whose faith in the integrity of their courts of law was thus confirmed. The Government, however, refused to accept the ruling of the Court, and proceeded to re-establish the "sovereignty of Parliament" by passing the High Court of Parliament Act, which provided that all the members of Parliament, sitting together, should constitute a special High Court, with power to set aside judgments of the Appeal Court. In 1953, this Act, too, was declared invalid by the Supreme Court.

### The Senate Bill

In the General Election of 1953, the Nationalists were again returned to power, with an increased majority, although still with a minority of the votes cast. The Prime Minister, Dr. Malan, made no further attempt to remove the Coloured voters from the common roll, but upon his retirement from active politics at the end of 1954, he was succeeded by the strong man of the Nationalist Party, Mr. J. G. Strijdom, "the Lion of the North". Early in 1955, Mr. Strijdom announced his party's intention of taking advantage of another provision of the Constitution and reconstituting the Senate or upper house, "packing" it with nominated Nationalist Senators, in order to give the Government the two-thirds majority it could not obtain by normal means. The intention was, of course, to use the spurious two-thirds majority to remove the Coloured voters from the common roll



**Marching up the hill to the Union Buildings, Pretoria, to present the petition to the Prime Minister's Deputy.**

The people of South Africa seethed with anger and resentment at the mockery that was being made of their Constitution. Mass protest meetings were held throughout the country. The Senate Bill was attacked in and out of Parliament, in the Press, in public halls, in private homes.

It was at this stage that six women met for tea one morning in mid-May at a house in the northern suburbs of Johannesburg. Like thousands of other South Africans, they were filled with indignation, and with a sense of frustration and personal helplessness. "What can we do?" they asked. And suddenly realizing that there were thousands of other South Africans, who were asking themselves the same question, they decided that there was something they could do — they could organize a women's protest march. They telephoned their friends, who in turn telephoned their friends, and a preliminary meeting was arranged. Pamphlets were printed and distributed, the co-operation of the Press was sought, banners were prepared, and on the afternoon of the 25th May, 2,500 women assembled at the Scottish War Memorial near Joubert Park, and then marched silently through the streets of Johannesburg, led by one drummer girl, to the City Hall steps. In response to public demand, the Mayor of Johannesburg had called a citizens' meeting there, and thousands of people had assembled to listen to several speakers, including Dr. Winifred Hoernle, whose inspiring speech moved many to tears.

### **The Women's Defence of the Constitution League**

So deep was the emotion aroused in that historic march, that a meeting was called for the following week to consider further action. Fifty women attended, and a committee of twelve was elected. It was decided to launch two petitions, one to the Governor-General, asking him not to sign the Bill, and the second, to be presented in the event of his refusal, to the Prime Minister, petitioning him to repeal the Act or to resign from office. The petitions were to be signed by women only.

The Senate Bill was then being debated in Parliament, and this newly-formed Women's Defence of the Constitution League had just two weeks in which to collect the signatures. The preamble to the petition to the Governor-General, a piece of fine prose and reasoned argument, was hurriedly printed, and petitions were sent out to 290 towns in the Union, to unknown people, in the faith and belief that the women of South Africa must feel as the women of Johannesburg did. That faith was not misplaced. In spite of postal delays, difficulties of communication, amateur organization and lack of money, 100,000 signatures were collected from women in ten days.

On June 16th, the Secretary of the League flew to Cape Town with the petition forms, which were presented to the Governor-General — in vain. The Bill was signed, the Act became law, and the Parliamentary session ended.

## The Vigil at Union Buildings

The Prime Minister was then asked to meet a deputation in Pretoria, to receive the second petition. He refused, but appointed Mr. Ben Schoeman, Minister of Transport, his deputy.

On the 28th June, a bitterly cold day, women from the length and breadth of the Union gathered at the Zoo Lake in Johannesburg and drove in two motor convoys to Pretoria. Then, carrying banners which bore the name of every town and village where the petition had been signed, they marched silently up the steep hill to the Union Buildings. After a short service of dedication in the amphitheatre, a delegation of six women presented the petition to Mr. Schoeman in his office. He received them courteously, but made it quite clear that his Government had no intention of considering any request to alter the Senate Act.

The League's next move was to mount a two-day vigil in the grounds of Union Buildings, to demonstrate continued opposition to the Senate Act. More than sixty women slept in the open on that first bitter night; on the second night there were more than a hundred. The dramatic 48-hour vigil captured the imagination of the public, and when the women returned to Johannesburg on the 30th June, they received a tumultuous welcome from the thousands of people assembled outside the City Hall to meet them.

That might have been the end of the story — it was actually only the beginning. The Senate Act had been placed upon the Statute Book, the petitions had failed, the vigil was over; but the women who had come together from the four provinces of the Union to oppose the threat to their Constitution were determined to remain together to fight the Act to the bitter end.

## The Black Sash

On the 18th July, four women, representing the four provinces, began a vigil at the Union Buildings, a vigil that was to be maintained on every working day until Parliament opened in Cape Town in January. They wore black sashes across their right shoulders, bearing the words "EER-BIEDIG ONS GRONDWET" (Honour our Constitution). The following day, a Cabinet Minister returning from Europe was met at the Airport by twenty-four silent women, again wearing black sashes as a symbol of mourning.

From then onwards, Cabinet Ministers were constantly "haunted" in their comings and goings about the country by groups of "Black Sash" women, silently reproaching them for their part in dishonouring the Covenant of Union. The idea caught on, and day by day more and more women came forward to join the League, which grew and spread to towns and villages throughout the



A cheering crowd at the Johannesburg City Hall welcomes the demonstrators after their 48-hour vigil at Union Buildings.



Union. The attentions of the ubiquitous sashers appeared to discomfit the Ministers, who went to considerable lengths to avoid them.

Demonstrations were planned for all important political occasions, especially those connected with the implementation of the Senate Act. On August 10th, when Transvaal Nationalist Party Senators were nominated, Black Sash women surrounded the Raadzaal in Pretoria, where the nominations were taking place. On November 12th, after the dissolution of the old Senate, demonstrations were held in thirty-five South African cities and towns. In the larger centres, thousands of women marched through the city streets, carrying great books, symbolizing the Constitution, draped with a black sash. This symbol was later adopted by the Black Sash as its badge, designed by Bob Connolly, the *Rand Daily Mail* Cartoonist. On November 25th, the day of the election of the new Senate; demonstrations were held in four Provincial capitals, while smaller centres held silent vigils.

When Parliament was re-opened on January 13th, 1956, nation-wide demonstrations and vigils were again held. The regular vigils at the Union Buildings were discontinued, and resumed in Cape Town outside the House of Parliament, to provide a constant reminder to the Government and the public that the Constitution had been violated.

### The Convoy to Cape Town

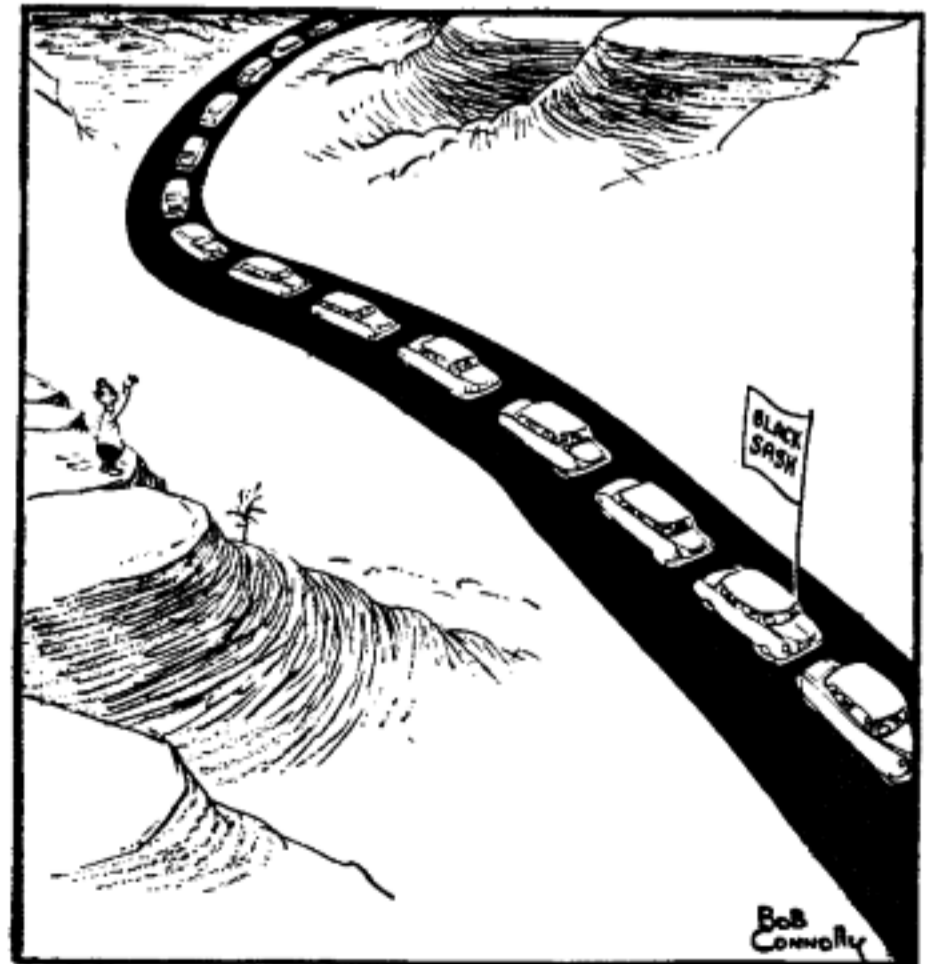
Soon after Parliament assembled, the Government introduced the South Africa Act Amendment Bill, which would enable them to remove the Coloured voters from the common roll. The Bill also took away the right of the Courts to test certain legislation. The newly constituted Senate assured the Government of the necessary two-thirds majority at a joint session of Parliament, which they had been unable to obtain through the ballot box.

To coincide with the joint sessions, the Black Sash organised a large-scale demonstration. On the evening of the 12th February, convoys of over 100 cars, carrying Black Sash women from all over the Union, converged on Stellenbosch. Some had travelled over 1,000 miles, from the Transvaal. Two days later, they were escorted by 50 cars from the Cape into Cape Town, where cheering crowds thronged the pavements as the procession of over 150 cars drove slowly up and down Adderley Street.

For the next 48 hours, relays of Black Sash women lined the railings outside Parliament in a continuous vigil, mounting guard over a large Book of the Constitution draped with a black sash. Simultaneously, demonstrations were held all over the country by members who had been unable to travel to Cape Town. During that week, mass protest meetings were organized in Cape Town, numerous Black Sash vigils were held, and the Convoy travelled throughout the Peninsula. Cape Town members of the Black Sash maintained the vigil outside Parliament until the joint session came to an end.

The Cape Town convoy was the largest and most spectacular demonstration ever staged by the Black Sash, and roused great enthusiasm throughout the country. Nothing could deflect the Government from its course, however, and the South Africa Act Amendment Act was passed at an all-night session on the 26th/27th February, with eight votes more than the necessary two-thirds majority. The devious objects of the Senate Act had been achieved, and there was nothing more to be done but await the results of the test case which the United Party proposed to bring.

Please turn to Page VIII



The Great Protest Trek.

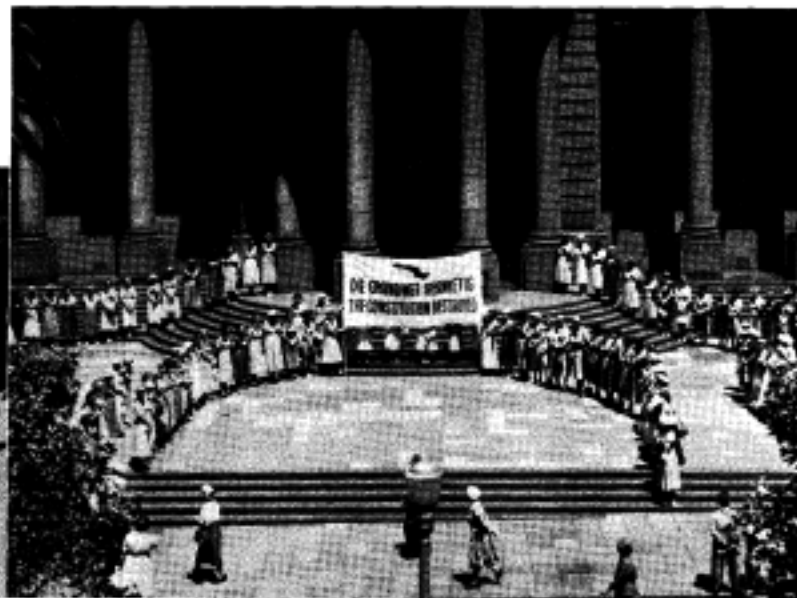
**„EERBIEDIG ONS GRONDWET”**  
**THE BLACK SASH PROTESTS AGAINST THE PACKING OF**  
**THE SENATE**



House of Assembly, Cape Town.



Outside City Hall, East London.



City Hall Steps, Johannesburg.



Dick King's Statue, Durban.



Outside Natal Provincial Buildings, Pietermaritzburg.



Mayor's Garden, Port Elizabeth.



City Hall Gardens, Bloemfontein.

In all the large centres of the Union, the Black Sash protested against the Senate Act and its implementation at every stage. The pictures show: 1. Mass protest by Cape Town members to mark the passing of the S.A. Act Amendment Act with the aid of the packed Senate. 2. Demonstration in East London to mourn the dissolution of the old Senate. 3. Demonstration by Johannesburg members to coincide with the mass protests in Cape Town by the Convoy members. 4. Vigil by the "symbolic four" women in Durban, to mark the opening of Parliament. 5. Port Elizabeth members mourn the dissolution of the old Senate, with the symbolic Book of the Constitution. 6. Pietermaritzburg members demonstrate against the Senate elections. 7. A service of mourning and dedication is held in Bloemfontein.



## Development of the Black Sash

All these demonstrations were only the outward symbol of the work of the Women's Defence of the Constitution League. All this time, the membership was steadily growing, and the organization had formed itself into a number of Regions and Branches. A National Conference had been held in Port Elizabeth in November and a Constitution drawn up, defining the aims and objects of the organization and laying down rules for the conduct of its affairs.

When the United Party lost its test case against the Senate Act, and the Courts declared the Act legal, it was expected in some quarters that the Black Sash, having served its purpose in opposing the violation of the Constitution, would be dissolved. But the organization had already embarked on a programme of action in line with its declared aims and objects, which were:

- (i) To conduct propaganda and enlist support and aid for the observance of
  - (a) Political morality and the principles of parliamentary democracy within the Union of South Africa;
  - (b) Civil rights and liberties.
- (ii) The political education and enlightenment of citizens of South Africa and other persons.

This was obviously a long-term policy, a programme of action directed against the undemocratic trends in Government legislation of which the Senate Act had been an extreme example. Country-wide demonstrations were held when the result of the test case was known, and in every large town and in many of the smaller centres groups of Black Sash women displayed posters which read: "THE SENATE ACT — LEGAL NOW BUT IMMORAL FOREVER."

Thereafter, however, the organization, now known officially as the Black Sash, returned to its now acknowledged role as a political pressure group.

## Pressure Group

At the time of the initial two-day vigil at the Union Buildings, the members of the Women's Defence of the Constitution League were South African women from all walks of life. Although some of them were lawyers, politicians, historians and social workers, the majority had up to then taken little interest in politics as such, and had little knowledge of the historical and political background to their Constitution. Forty-eight hours of close association, however, had roused in them the desire and determination to learn more about the political affairs of their country. The immediate result was the organization of a series of public lectures on constitutional matters, for the information of themselves and others.

Soon they began to realize that the constitutional issue in South Africa was only a part of the pattern — that the real problem which the country had to face and resolve was its attitude to race relations. Apartheid legislation began to be



The Senate Act is declared legal, November, 1956.

seen for what it was — restriction on the freedoms of a section of the population which would sooner or later recoil upon all sections.

From then on, the Black Sash kept a close watch upon the policies of the Government, and legislation or its implementation which had the effect of limiting the rights of any section was vigorously opposed at every stage. For the past seven years innumerable protests and demonstrations have been launched against the Group Areas Act, the Pass Laws, Race Classification, banishment without trial, University Apartheid and the Government's Education policy, etc. Since the apartheid legislation of the Nationalist Government has borne more heavily on the non-Whites than on the Whites, a great many of these protests appear to have been made on behalf of Africans, Coloureds and Indians, but, in fact, the Black Sash early perceived that "the greatest tyranny has the smallest beginning", and its protests were based on the principle that freedom is indivisible.

## Growth of Interest and Knowledge

In pursuit of their aim of enlightening themselves and others on political matters, Black Sash groups in all parts of the country have organized lectures, forums, brains trusts and public meetings.

They have made investigations into such matters as induced farm labour, group areas, political banishment, the pass laws, the operation of the Native Commissioners' Courts, and in many cases made representations to responsible bodies. They have consulted and worked with other organizations on education, the Pass Laws, the Group Areas Act, Malnutrition, and publicized their findings.

During the Emergency after the incidents at Sharpeville and Langa, when numerous people all over the country were arrested and detained under the Emergency Regulations, Black Sash women in every centre performed an outstanding job in providing emergency aid and caring for the dependants of those arrested. In some cases, they actually initiated and administered emergency funds; in others they worked with other organizations. In all cases, the bulk of the work done behind the scenes was performed by Black Sash women, who have won a well-deserved reputation throughout the country for hard work, integrity and dependability.

### The Pass Laws

These laws, which have been called "the greatest single cause of African unrest", are the mainstay of the apartheid system. They apply only to Africans, and under their provisions an African male over the age of 16 must carry a Pass, or Reference Book, at all times. From the 1st February, 1963, African women, too, will be obliged to carry passes. Failure to produce a pass on demand by any policeman or official may result in summary arrest, followed by imprisonment and/or fines. In reply to a question from Mrs. Helen Suzman, M.P., the Minister of Justice said recently in Parliament that more than 3,500,000 Africans had been convicted of pass law offences between 1951 and 1960. These are merely statutory offences, but the offenders are treated as criminals. The influx control regulations which control the entry of Africans into certain prescribed urban areas depend upon the Pass laws, and restrict the free movement of the African and his right to seek work and reside where he chooses.

"The overall result of the system," says a report issued some time ago by the S.A. Institute of Race Relations, "is that the vast majority of Union Africans have no right to be anywhere where they can earn a living. The Reserve Africans are nearly all dependent on outside employment. Yet they have no right to seek it. The farm Africans have no right to remain where they are nor to go elsewhere. They can be expelled by the White landowner yet prevented from settling in an urban area or a Reserve. The urban Africans are likewise liable to be expelled from their homes by the local authority, yet prevented from settling in another town or in a Reserve."

For years, the Black Sash has waged constant war on these laws, mounting innumerable demonstrations to draw attention to the hardships caused to Africans, the break-up of African family life, the constant harassment by the police, the drain

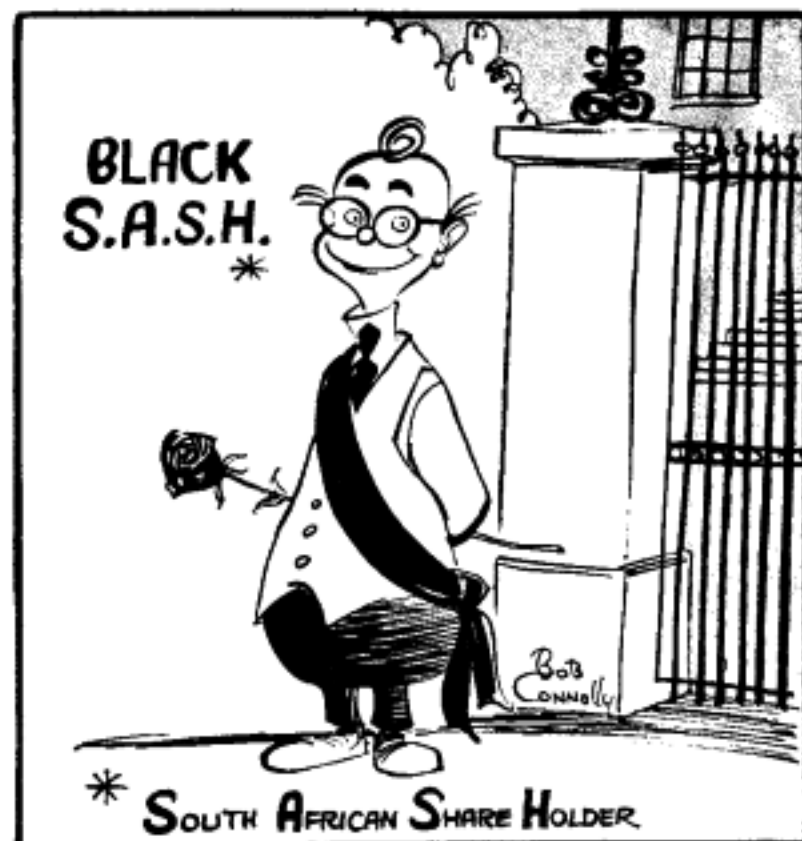
on the African's pitiful economic resources caused by fines and imprisonment, with consequent loss of earnings. "MONEY FOR FOOD BECOMES MONEY FOR FINES" was one of the slogans used. We have written articles, issued numerous pamphlets and leaflets, held meetings and symposiums, in an effort to awaken the public to the evil effects of these laws, and their cost in human suffering as well as their cost to the country in cash and manpower.

### The Farm Labour Scheme

One of the by-products of the Pass Laws was the "voluntary" farm labour scheme, which occupied the attention of our Transvaal Region for many months some years ago.

The attention of the Black Sash was drawn to this scheme by one of our members, whose African gardener's young son "disappeared". Our member made extensive inquiries, and the boy was eventually traced to a farm in the Eastern Transvaal, where he was serving a "sentence" of farm labour for non-production of a Reference Book. He was not yet of pass-bearing age. A writ of "habeas corpus" was obtained through a lawyer, and Moses was brought back to Johannesburg, when the whole iniquitous business was brought to light.

It appeared that a semi-official arrangement existed between certain farmers on the one hand and the police and Bantu Affairs Department officials on the other, whereby Africans on the Witwatersrand arrested for pass offences were given the option of appearing in court or serving a "sentence" of several months' farm labour. It was one way of easing the congestion in the prisons and at the same time providing the farmers with much-needed labour, at a very low cost. The conditions under which these prisoners laboured on the farms was found upon investigation to be deplorable in many cases, and in some cases they were treated with the utmost cruelty.



The system seemed to have been in operation for some time, as the Africans knew of it, and referred to the process as being "sold" to the farmers. Although they were supposed to be given the option of "volunteering" for this labour in lieu of an appearance in court, most of them obviously did not understand this, and there is reason to believe that it was not always explained to them.

The Black Sash investigated the position thoroughly and publicized its findings. The Press co-operated and full publicity was given to the case of the boy Moses and to the whole system, stress being placed on the by-passing of the courts, the arbitrary nature of the "sentences", the lack of official supervision on the farms and the inhumanity of the whole scheme, whereby men could be whisked away at a moment's notice, to disappear for months, without being given the opportunity of notifying their families.

As a result of the publicity, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development ordered the immediate suspension of the scheme, and instituted a departmental inquiry. The Black Sash, among other organizations, was invited to make representations. A comprehensive memorandum was drawn up and submitted to the Commission of Inquiry, and our organization was subsequently invited to send a delegation to appear before the Commission.

The findings of the Commission were never made public, and the Black Sash was unable to obtain a report, but the Farm Labour Scheme was abandoned.

## The Athlone Advice Office

The Abolition of Passes and Consolidation of Documents Act, far from abolishing the Pass system, actually extended it to African women, in spite of long-continued protests by the Africans themselves and by many White people who understood how strongly and fiercely the Africans feared and resented any interference with their womenfolk. As a slight concession to these protests, the Government agreed to suspend the compulsory carrying of passes by women until such time as the Whites, Coloureds and Indians were compelled to carry Identity Cards. (This date has now been set for the 1st February, 1963).

In spite of this concession, however, officials in the Western Cape demanded the Reference Books, or permits to be in the area, and used the system to carry out the Government's Eiselen Line policy, under which all Africans are ultimately to be removed from the Western Cape. African women whose reference books or permits were not in order were arrested and summarily imprisoned, often leaving small children uncared for. The Athlone Advice Office was originally established in Cape Town by the Black Sash in order to provide bail for some of these women and assist them to return to their homes and children.

The removal of Africans from the area has now been speeded up, and hundreds of men and women are being summarily "endorsed out" of the area, i.e., ordered to leave and return to their "homelands," regardless of the fact that most of them



South Africa leaves the Commonwealth, 15th March, 1961.



### Demonstration in Cape Town:

#### "The General Law Amendment Bill — Further Infringement of Personal Freedom"

have been living and working in the Cape for many years, and have lost all touch with their place of origin. Many, indeed, were born in the Cape.

The Athlone Advice Office is now being run jointly by the Black Sash and the S.A. Institute of Race Relations, and has widened its scope to provide advice for men and women who have been "endorsed out" or are in any other difficulties with the Influx Control regulations. Voluntary workers check up on their legal position, advise them of their rights, assist them to obtain permits to remain, or help them to obtain financial assistance to return to their places of birth. The Office is of inestimable help to a great many poor unfortunates who are ignorant of their rights, harried by regulations that they do not understand, deprived by unjust and inhuman laws of the basic right to sell their labour in the best market and to live peaceably with their families in the land of their birth.

### Magazine

Since January 1956, the organization has published a printed Magazine, "The Black Sash", which has been widely read in our own country and also overseas. Originally registered as a newspaper and published monthly, the magazine is now issued quarterly, and contains articles on a variety of political subjects of general interest or of special interest to the Black Sash, articles on topical and controversial matters and reports on Black Sash activities.

Special issues have been published from time to time: one devoted entirely to articles on educational matters reached a wide public, and an outstanding special issue on the implementation and effects of the Pass Laws provided a valuable aid to our campaign to draw attention to the inhumanities of these laws and the hardships that result from them.

### The "Sabotage" Act

After the first wide and enthusiastic publicity given to the Black Sash demonstrations against the Senate Act, interest in the organization here and overseas waned somewhat, but revived from time to time, when anything of particular interest occurred. For instance, the march in protest against South Africa's withdrawal from the Commonwealth, when the Black Sash was the only organization in South Africa to protest openly, received much publicity, especially in overseas newspapers. The slogan used on that occasion was, "THE CRIME — APARTHEID; THE PENALTY — ISOLATION".

In May this year, however, almost exactly seven years after the formation of the Black Sash, the protests against the General Law Amendment Bill — the "Sabotage" Bill — again focussed worldwide attention on the organization and on the Bill itself, declared by the Government to be directed against Communists and saboteurs.

As usual, the Government ignored the protests of thousands of South African citizens, including the Black Sash, and the "Sabotage Act," which drastically restricts the freedom of the individual and by-passes the Courts of Law, placing far-reaching and arbitrary powers in the hands of the Minister of Justice, was passed. The powers conferred by the Act have already been used with drastic effect. Citizens have been banned or sentenced to house arrest and organizations have been outlawed, all without being given any opportunity to prove their innocence or defend themselves in any way. At the same time, a sustained campaign by Cabinet Ministers, the Nationalist Press and the S.A.B.C. to equate liberalism with Communism augurs ill for the Black Sash and similar law-abiding organizations.



**“Sabotage” Bill Protest: Our poster is destroyed by hooligans.**

The Black Sash has continued to protest against the General Law Amendment Act by means of constant demonstrations directing public attention to the inhumanity of house arrest and the bypassing of the courts. Some of the posters used on these occasions read: “INNOCENT OR GUILTY? THE COURTS, NOT THE CABINET, MUST DECIDE”, “DETENTION WITHOUT TRIAL IS NOT JUSTICE”, and “HOUSE ARREST IS INHUMAN”.

### **Achievement**

After nearly eight years, what has the Black Sash achieved?

It is true that we can claim no spectacular success, and much of our hard work over the years seems to have come to nothing. However, we can and do claim material gain in at least two instances: our protests against the iniquitous “induced” farm labour system a few years ago resulted in the abandonment of the scheme; and the remarkable success of the Athlone Advice Office is a feather in the cap of our Cape Western Region.

If the Black Sash has achieved nothing else, this help to the helpless, little though it may be when measured against the appalling defencelessness of the Africans in general, more than justifies its existence.

But something else has been achieved. It is a remarkable fact that many of the women who started out with the Black Sash more than seven years ago are still active and still as enthusiastic and determined as ever. They may be fewer in numbers, but they are stronger in resolve and principle; they have grown in stature, and their thinking has changed with the march of events in Africa.

The Black Sash has trained these women to think objectively and honestly about the problems of their country, to try to cast aside prejudice and intolerance, to protest against injustice and to uphold their principles firmly yet without violence. They have influenced thinking in this country to an extent as yet unknown, and can consider themselves responsible for much of the liberal opinion that is now being openly expressed in our country.

**And this will never be lost — no legislation can control the minds of men,**

**“All the darkness in the world cannot put out the light of one small candle.”**

