

# THE BLACK SASH



# DIE SWART SERP

Registered at the G.P.O. as a newspaper.

Vol. III, No. 14

JANUARY 1959

Price 6d.

## NEW YEAR MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

**T**HE NEW YEAR is usually welcomed with acclaim because in the hearts of most of us there lurks a hope that it will bring to us those things for which we have longed and perhaps striven in vain during the year which is past.

It is an occasion when new resolutions are made, and armed with these we go forward with new hope and enthusiasm into the unknown future.

To all the members of the Black Sash I would like to say at this juncture of the New Year: Let us go forward to whatever the new year may bring, in just such a spirit of renewed courage and hope.

What the new year holds for us must necessarily be hidden, but certain deductions can legitimately be drawn from the unfolding pattern of the past ten years. During this time we have seen a steady diminution of civil rights and liberties and a steady increase in the tendency of the Government to think and act in a totalitarian manner.

The words and actions of Dr. Verwoerd since he became Prime Minister cannot offer any hope, even to the most optimistic among us, that this slide towards totalitarianism is going to be halted.

This being so, the Sash must be prepared to have to labour harder than ever to preserve those democratic freedoms which it regards as fundamental to Western civilisation.

What is this likely to mean for the Sash?

Primarily two things. Firstly that more and more difficulties are likely to be put in the way of the work which it seeks to do, and secondly, that as things get more and more difficult, more and more people will come to realise the need for an organisation such as the Sash.

They will look to it with sympathy and respect. Signs that this is already happening are apparent in

## NUWEJAARSBOODSKAP VAN DIE PRESIDENT

**D**IE NUWE JAAR word gewoonlik met blydschap verwelkom omdat die meeste van ons diep in ons harte die hoop koester dat dit vir ons die goeie dinge sal bring waarna ons in die afgelope jaar verlang en miskien tevergeefs gestrewe het.

Dit is 'n tyd wanneer nuwe besluite gedoen word, en daarmee gaan ons met nuwe moed en geesdrif die onbekende toekoms in.

By geleentheid van hierdie viering van die Nuwe Jaar wil ek graag aan al die lede van die Swart Serp sê: Laat ons saam voortgaan tot wat die nuwe jaar ook al mag meebring, in juis so 'n gees van hernieude moed en hoop.

Wat die nuwe jaar vir ons inhou, is natuurlik nog duister; maar van die patroon wat oor die afgelope tien jaar ontplooi het, kan sekere gevolgtrekkings met billikheid afgelei word. In hierdie tyd het ons 'n geleidelike inkorting van burgerlike regte en vryheid deurleef, asoof 'n gelykmatige toename in die Regering se neiging tot 'n totalitariese ideologie en optrede.

Die woorde en handeling van dr. Verwoerd sedert sy aanstelling as Eerste Minister kan nie aan selfs die mees optimisties onder ons enige hoop bied dat hierdie oorgang tot 'n totalitariese toestand gestuit sal word nie.

Aangesien dit die geval is, moet die Serp bereid mees om meer ywerig as ooit tevore in te spring ten einde die demokratiese vryheid te behou wat hy as fundamenteel tot die Westerse beskawing beskou.

Wat sal dit waarskynlik vir die Serp beteken?

Hoofsaaklik twee dinge: Eerstens dat daar waarskynlik steeds meer struikelblokke geplaas sal word in die weg van die werk wat die Serp wil verrig; en tweedens dat na mate die toestand moeiliker word, die noodsaaklikheid van 'n organisasie soos die Serp gedurig deur meer mense besef sal word.

the increased newspaper publicity we have been receiving recently.

The next question that we should perhaps ask ourselves is what the increasingly difficult conditions will demand of the members of the Sash.

It would seem that the qualities of which the Sash will stand in the greatest need will be vision, courage, tolerance and wisdom.

Only if we have a clear vision of the worthwhileness of what we are doing shall we be able to find the courage to go steadily forward with the task to which we have set our hand. Only a clear appreciation of the great need to stand firm in our demand for the observance of political morality, will give us the strength to face the hard task ahead of us.

Without tolerance we shall never be able to achieve freedom from that bitterness which has so bedevilled the history of this country, and which is the basic cause of much of the bad legislation from which we are suffering to-day.

Nor without tolerance can we hope to achieve a clear objective understanding of the complicated problems of this country.

To see clearly we must be able to rid our own hearts of fear, bitterness and prejudice — a very hard task for all of us.

Lastly, without the quality of wisdom we cannot hope to see our good intentions bear fruit. The best of intentions, if clumsily pursued, are apt to defeat their own ends, but when good intentions are allied to sound knowledge of the problems to be dealt with, and a sensitive appreciation of the reactions of all sections to those problems, then skilful and helpful action become possible.

As we stand on the threshold of the new year let all of us who belong to the Sash take stock of ourselves and of the Sash.

Remembering that all organizations are made up of individuals, and that the sum total of what any organization can contribute to the welfare of the community is the sum total of the strength of its individuals, let us silently examine the contribution which we, as individuals, are making.

Let us, however, not be too depressed if we seem to fall very short of what we would like to contribute.

Rather let us look to the Sash as a whole and take heart from the realisation that it has shown that it consists of a body of women who have shown that they have the qualities of vision, courage, tolerance and wisdom.

Let us therefore go forward with faith in our future.

It is possible that things may be even more difficult this year than they have been at any time in the past three years, but as against that we are better equipped to meet difficulties.

With each problem which we have faced and overcome in the past we have gained in strength and wisdom, but, more important still, we have come to know and trust each other and to have an increased faith in the value of the work which the Sash seeks to do for South Africa.

Let us remember that the prize we work for is a South Africa of which we can be justly proud, a South Africa in which all peoples can live in peace and harmony because all peoples receive justice.

Hulle sal met meegevoel en agting na die Serp opsien. 'n Aanduiding dat dit reeds gebeur kan gesien word in die verhoogde publisiteit wat die koerante in die laaste tyd aan ons bedrywighede skenk.

Die volgende vraag wat ons miskien aan onself moet stel, is: Watter eise sal hierdie steeds moeiliker toestande op ons lede stel?

Daar is aanduidings dat vooruitsiendheid, moed, verdraagsaamheid en wysheid die hoedanighede is wat vir die Serp die noodsaaklikste sal wees.

Slegs deur duidelike voor oë te hou hoe ryklik die moeite werd hierdie taak is wat ons onderneem het, sal ons die moed kan skep om onwankelbaar daarmee voort te gaan. Slegs deur duidelik te besef hoe noodsaaklik dit vir ons is om vas te staan in ons eise vir die eerbiediging van politieke sedelikheid sal ons die nodige krag verkry vir die moeilike taak waat voorlê.

Sonder verdraagsaamheid sal ons nooit van die bitterheid vrykom wat die geskiedenis van ons land so getesister het nie, en wat die grondoorsaak is van veel van die slegte wetgewing waaronder ons vandag ly.

Ook kan ons nie hoop om sonder verdraagsaamheid tot 'n helder en onpartydige besef van die ingewikkelde probleme van hierdie land te kom nie.

Om duidelik te kan sien, moet ons in staat wees om ons eie harte van vrees, bitterheid en vooroordeel te bevry — iets wat vir ons almal besonder moeilik is.

Ten slotte kan ons sonder wysheid nie hoop om te sien dat ons goeie begeertes ooit verwesenlik sal word nie. Die beste voornemens is geneig om hul eie doel te verydel as daar dwaas te werk gegaan word; maar as goeie voornemens gepaard gaan met 'n deeglike kennis van die probleme wat behandel moet word, en met 'n gevoelige waarneming van die reaksie van alle groepe op hierdie probleme, dan word bekwame en hulpvaardige optrede moontlik.

Laat almal van ons wat Serplede is nou, terwyl ons voor 'n nuwe jaar staan, onself en die Serp ondersoek.

Laat ons, inagnemende dat alle organisasies uit individue bestaan, en dat die totaal wat enige organisasie tot die welsyn van die samelewing kan bydra beperk is tot die totale krag van dié individue, die deel ondersoek wat ons as individue bydra.

Laat ons egter nie te neerslagtig voel as ons ver kortskiet van wat ons graag sou doen nie.

Laat ons liever die Serp as geheel sien en aanmoediging trek uit ons besef dat die Serp reeds getoon het dat hy uit vroue bestaan wat die hoedanighede van vooruitsiendheid, moed, verdraagsaamheid en wysheid besit.

Laat ons dus met vertroue in ons toekoms vooruitgaan.

Daar bestaan die moontlikheid dat sake vanjaar nog moeiliker mag wees as te enige tyd in die afgelope drie jaar, maar hierteenoor is ons beter toegerus om om moeilikhede tegemoet te gaan.

Elke probleem wat ons in die verlede teëgekrom en baasgeraak het, het vir ons 'n aanwinst in sterkte en wysheid meegebring; maar wat nog meer belangrik is, is dat ons geleer het om mekaar te

**Vervolg op bladsy 16**



# OUR SOUTH AFRICA

# THE WORLD OUTSIDE

Fishermen in boats are exempted from the prohibition against non-Europeans in the sea, but not from the prohibition affecting the beach. — *Apartheid regulations for Llandudno, Cape, published in the Government Gazette, reported in the Cape Argus.*

The Nationalists can only be beaten by a large and non-racial opposition. — *Mr. Alan Paton.*

There is less trouble in South Africa under *apartheid* than in any other country ruled by the white man. — *Mr. J. J. Serfontein, Minister of Education, Arts and Science.*

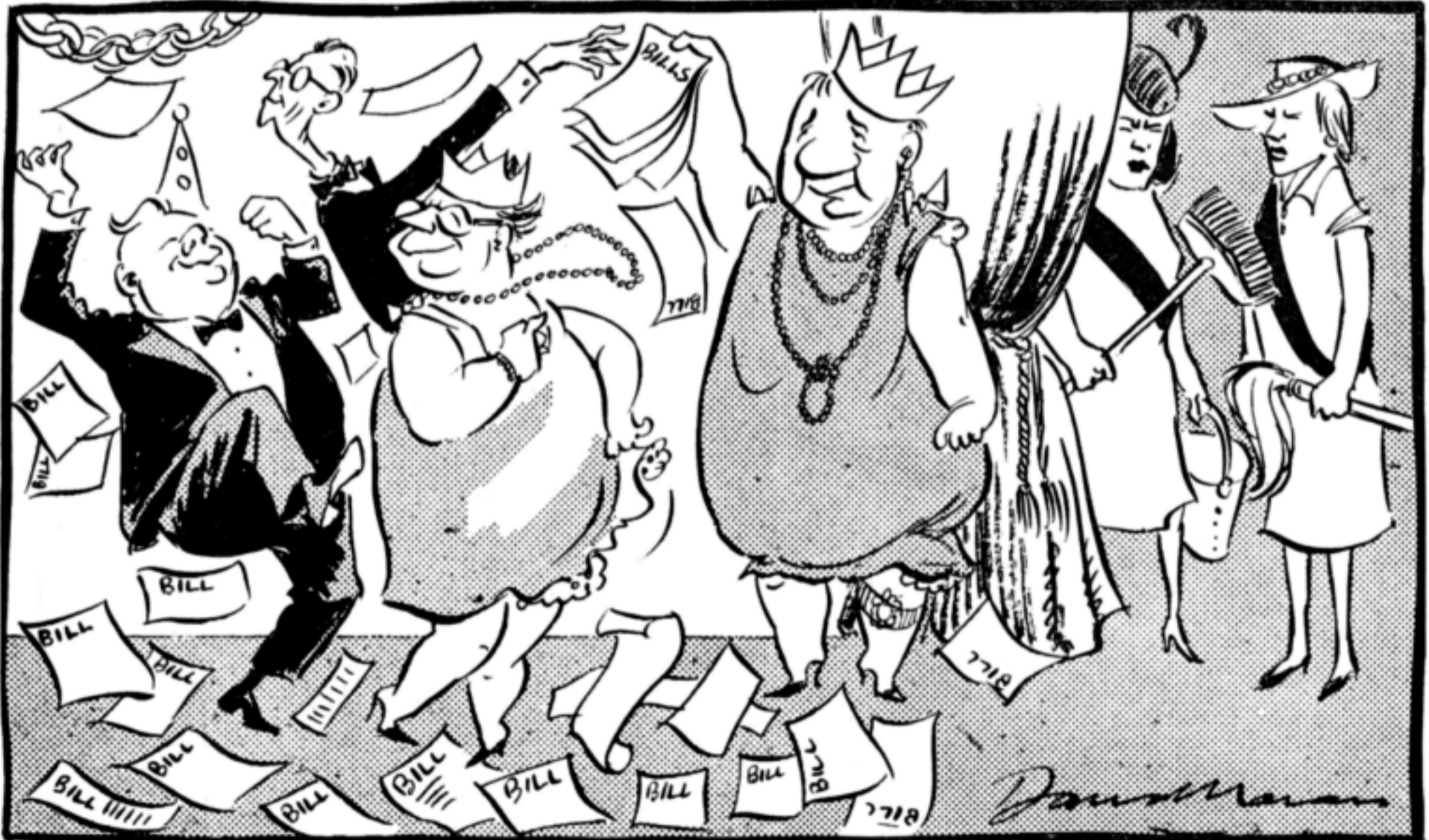
Servants are inefficient, immoral, unrefined and illiterate, say employers. Employers are inhumane, stingy and suspicious, say the servants. — *Report in the Cape Argus of the first annual meeting of the Domestic Servants Union.*

What would be regarded as a wicked and immoral act of confiscation if the victim were a European is apparently to be viewed as a justifiable and legitimate process of law if the victim is a non-European. — *The Hon. Richard Feetham on the Group Areas Act.*

"During a trip lasting six months and covering 9,000 miles in Europe, I met only one person who did not criticize our way of life. He was an Italian labourer who had spent some years in the Union as a prisoner of war, and who remembered with affection how energetically the Transvaal people upheld the white man's way of life." — *A South African newly returned from an overseas visit, writing in the "Cape Argus".*

"Everyone, irrespective of the colour of their skins, is entitled to walk through our streets in peace with their heads erect, and free from fear. That is a right which these courts will always unfailingly uphold." — *Mr. Justice Salmon, gaoling for four years nine youths who went on a "nigger-hunting" expedition in Notting Hill, London.*

"Being an extremist certainly does not mean that I stand for throwing bombs and knifing people. We are complementary, the Africans and the Europeans. What I want is simply the end of domination of one race by another." — *Dr. Hastings Banda, president-general of the Nyasaland National Congress.*



"They're at it again. Look at the mess we'll have to clean up."

# Churches and Women moving up to the Front?

by IAN WYLLIE

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**S**LOWLY, steadily the pattern of opposition has been changing in South Africa. Traditionally the political fight was left to the major political parties. The battle was pitched in Parliament.

But during the past year the scene of battle has shifted. Verwoerd Nationalism has provoked a new centre of opposition.

The Parliamentary battle is continuing. But it is being fought more in the form of a rearguard action while the forces of the new opposition gather outside Parliament for a frontal clash with racialism.

The initiative is passing from Sir De Villiers Graaff and the United Party. It is being taken by a relatively small group of churchmen, intellectuals and ordinary men and women who have grown impatient with the Parliamentary Opposition, and have come out themselves to meet directly the challenge from Dr. Verwoerd.

\* \* \*

**F**OREMOST among the churchmen is Archbishop Joost de Blank. He is forthright in his condemnation of racialism and insists that in Anglican churches there will be no discrimination.

Dr. De Blank is the pacesetter.

Typical of those who follow is a determined body of women—the Black Sash.

They have been in politics now for four years but it is only in this past year that they have emerged with a decisive policy on colour issues.

*From now on the role of the churches and political pressure groups like the Black Sash is likely to be significant.*

\* \* \*

**U**NDER pressure from the extremes of the Verwoerd-brand of racialism the churches have been forced into active campaigning against discrimination. Leaders like Dr. De Blank are no longer content with preaching tolerance and free association. They are working to bring the races together within their church communities.

And the attitude of the women in the Black Sash has undergone a similar transformation.

The Sash movement started four years ago on a wave of indignation over the introduction of the Senate Bill.

The women were affronted by the manoeuvre to evade the constitutional safeguards of the Act of Union. Most of them gave little more than a passing thought to the right of Coloured voters.

**B**UT inevitably they had to make up their minds on the race issue. And their annual conference in 1956 resolved that the Sash “stands for one and only one standard of political morality for all inhabitants of South Africa.”

It was not an easy decision—many members of Sash resigned or faded out of the organisation.

The applying of that one standard of morality was even more difficult. It became necessary for these White South African housewives to take up the cudgels for the non-Whites.

*Sash women appeared in the streets for the first time carrying banners protesting against the Group Areas Act and the Pass laws.*

\* \* \*

**B**Y May, 1957, when the next annual conference met there had been a host more resignations. The conference was adamant. Sash should take an even firmer stand against oppression and injustice.

But every woman who wavered and resigned weakened the organisation only in numbers: with the “doubtfuls” out, unity increased.

Those who remain—still a large and influential group—are working constantly to make contacts across the colour line.

Apart from their direct political activities in Sash they are joining welfare groups and other public bodies. As members of these organisations they meet non-Whites and learn to understand their problems.

So like the church leaders the Sash women have adopted a positive attitude to fostering good relations. They no longer make purely academic protests: they do their best to demonstrate their good faith by their own behaviour.

It's a new development. But I believe it is a significant one. It gives to the churches and to the Sash movement a new importance and promises hope of a gradual spread of enlightenment in place of blind prejudice.

“To say: ‘I am not interested’ is tantamount to saying: ‘As far as I am concerned, things may go on as they are now. They are not as bad as to warrant my personal participation’. It means tacitly appending one's own signature to the decree of race domination.”

— Rabbi Dr. Andre Ungar.



# PISTORIUS PLEADS FOR CHANGE OF HEART

ADDRESSING 1,500 people in the Cape Town City Hall at a meeting organized by the Civil Rights League to celebrate the 10th anniversary of the Declaration of Human Rights, Prof. P. V. Pistorius of Pretoria University pleaded for a change of heart among all South African races.

A more moderate course between the extreme nationalism of Black and White was vital, he said, because apartheid would fail and ultimately all races would have to live together.

Speaking on "Human Rights and the South African Situation," Professor Pistorius said that South Africa's problem was not peculiar to South Africa alone. Human rights was a problem which the West for centuries had been, and was still, struggling with.

The basic problem was not a problem of local politics, or of the Senate Act or the Group Areas Act — these were merely symbols.

The problem touched the status of the human being and especially the individual man. The answer was not something that had been found overnight by the Western world. The Declaration of Human Rights was a declaration that crystallised the struggle of many centuries.

## Greek Heritage

Greek philosophy and Christianity were the main basis of Western civilisation — the former gave the West its concepts of liberty and freedom, and Christianity the brotherhood of man. Christ's message to the world was a conscious removal of the barriers that separated men in racial and national groups.

Early Christianity emphasised there was no difference between Gentile and Jew, freeman and slave, and preached the individuality of the human soul and the inherent dignity of individual human existence.

The Western world was still struggling to put these ideas into practice and it was easy to say it had not succeeded. But there was no final success with these ideas. There was always room for betterment. It was easy to point out that in England there was a Notting Hill and in America a Little Rock. But these were not legalised official policy — but crimes.

They were crimes that were punished and the moderate action of the White man had brought about a moderate reaction among the non-Whites. In England the non-Whites called for a reduction in the prison sentences of those convicted, and in America three liberals were elected to the Little Rock school board.

**That was the growth of the concept of an idea. The idea only became precious to people after they had given their life's blood for that idea.**

In South Africa there was a strong White community that was the product of Western civilisation — from Christianity and Greek thought.

"I would have thought that here in South Africa if anywhere, especially in the case of the so-called chosen people who proclaimed their values in South Africa with a divine calling, that these values would have been stressed, preached and practised.

"But group and race are the deciding issues of human relations in South Africa. Every possible sphere of human life is a pattern of division where man divides from man, even into English and Afrikaans. Christianity, through Paul, said there was no Jew, Greek or Gentile. We say there is European, Indian, Coloured and Native.

"Man's value, dignity, rights and privileges and even his responsibility here must depend on that segment of the whole into which you have been partitioned by a clerk in the Population Registration office.

## Like the Tiger

"In Pretoria, just as one instance, where we tried to point out that the application of the Group Areas Act on 5,000 Indians would be taking their livelihood away from them and facing them with starvation, we could enlist no public response, either from Afrikaans- or English-speaking or Africans. These groups are so divided that one oppressed group does not get the sympathy from the others.

"We have narrowed our scope and like the tiger we are kindly only to our own. We are not bothered about the others when it does not touch our ethical world.

"The victory of the Nationalist Party in 1948 was a foregone conclusion. The seeds had been sown at the Peace of Vereeniging in 1902. If the injustices of the past perpetrated by the English on South Africa have bred so militant and hard a nationalism, so insane and morbid a separateness, what will happen from the seeds sown officially to-day?

"If apartheid fails, as even its most ardent supporters know it will fail, what have we then? Ultimately we will find that we must all live together. But what will our heritage be then?

"Fear will breed hatred and in oppressed hearts these wrongs will be cherished. That will be our heritage. I am personally not afraid of physical violence, I am afraid that our souls have been poisoned. We are a contaminated people — oppressor and oppressed alike.

"I honestly believe that White nationalism and White extremism have made it impossible for non-Whites to approach Whites in a spirit of brotherhood. The extreme reaction on the part of the Blacks has also made it impossible for the Whites to approach them in a spirit of brotherhood."

Warning his audience against the emptiness of some political slogans, he said that legislation could never bring about equality of ability, only equality of opportunity — and it should be so.

**Though the change in the pattern of life in South Africa should come about gradually, there should be a sudden removal of discrimination.**

That would be the beginning of the trend towards equality. It would depend on each individual, not on whether he was Black or White or anything else but his inherent ability.

On the one hand were the Nationalists and the United Party suffering from an excessive lack of realism, and on the other were the liberals with their excessive demands. Between the two were the wide open spaces of sanity and moderation. Salvation would come in the admission of the inherent dignity of man.

Between the two extremes of White and Black nationalism a synthesis had to be found. The need for a synthesis was not only a political need but a vital need. If it was not found, he could see no way out of South Africa's impasse, either for the oppressed or the oppressor.

**The nationalism with which the country was saddled was a great danger, but an even greater danger was the inertia of those who should be opposing this nationalism.**

In every period of crisis there was either hope

of finding a new world or a fear of breakers crashing on jagged rocks in the darkness. It could be the beginning of a new dawn of brotherhood and of progress or it could be the sinister sound of waves crashing on the rocks. There was nothing inherent in the South African situation that was hopeless.

## THE SASH INTERVIEWS PISTORIUS

Mrs. Petersen, National President of the Sash, and Mrs. Stott, Vice President, had an informal interview with Professor Pistorius after his speech at the Cape Town City Hall.

Ways of bringing about a greater general observance of the principles for which the Sash stands were discussed.

Professor Pistorius showed himself very sympathetic to the aims of the Sash and said that he was willing to help in Brains Trusts and symposiums, especially in the smaller towns.

Professor Pistorius was told that the creation of interest in inland cities and towns such as Bloemfontein, Kimberley and Beaufort West was now the first priority in Sash activities.



Professor Pistorius and Sash leaders have an informal tea party with their children at the home of Mrs. E. Stott. Standing: Mrs. Stott (fourth from left), Professor Pistorius, Mrs. M. Petersen and Mrs. Pistorius.



# THE SASH BATTLE TO BE HEARD

**T**HE SOUTHERN Transvaal Region had given considerable thought to reports of misery and suffering following in the wake of the Government's issue of Reference Books to African women in other parts of the country.

The issuing of these books in Johannesburg and the arrests of hundreds of women who wished to protest, decided the Region to take immediate action. At a General meeting on October 29th, the members present appointed a sub-committee. Under the chairmanship of Anne Welsh, Ruth Foley, Jean Sinclair, Mary Walker, Elin Morris, Jeanette Davidoff, Jeanette Carlson and Mary Tugman were asked to carry out the comprehensive plan of protest decided on by the meeting.

Deputations, both fact-finding and protesting, were elected and sought interviews with: Mr. de Wet Nel, Minister of Bantu Administration and Development; the Native Commissioner, Johannesburg; the Non-European Affairs Committee of the City Council; Mr. Koller, Acting Manager, Non-European Affairs Department, City Council; the Press; and the Witwatersrand Executive of the United Party.

## Two Snubs

The first two would not meet our representatives. The United Party executive met the deputation courteously and agreed to consider our memoranda. Mr. Koller furnished information from which it clearly emerged that the public is not fully aware of the following important facts:

- (1) It is not yet compulsory for African women to carry reference books.
- (2) The two most important differences between a European identity card and a reference book. The former carries no more information than name, number and photograph, nor can the holder be summarily arrested if not in possession of same. It is *not* a service contract, nor does one's husband/father/guardian's number appear thereon.  
An identity card, unlike a reference book, does not have to be endorsed by Government officials before the owner is able to move about in her own country to seek employment or live with her husband.
- (3) The City Council issues two kinds of permits. The first to prove that the holder does not need a permit as she is entitled to live in the area. The second is a permit to work in the area, and is issued to those whose homes are outside Johannesburg. Until very recently officials were instructing women who applied

for permits to have them stamped in their reference books.

The Non-European Affairs Committee of the Council met our deputation on November 27th. They had studied our carefully prepared memorandum and listened to our exposition of the hardships and economic upheaval which must follow from the enforced issue of reference books. They answered us that they would like to ease the situation.

At a result of our representations and pressure, and that of other bodies, they have adopted a more reasonable policy towards the issue of reference books to African women who apply for permits entitling them to be in the urban area, and they are no longer being forced to take reference books.

## Reasons not Given

In the meanwhile, the Press was frequently seen.

Finally, we planned an all-day demonstration with posters and pamphlets with a lunch-hour meeting as the peak of the protest. Members present at a meeting held on 5th November signed a requisition asking for permission to hold a meeting on the City Hall steps on Tuesday, 25th November. Mrs. M. Ballinger, M.P., and Mrs. R. Foley, agreed to speak.

**Permission to hold this meeting was withheld by the General Purposes Committee. No official reasons were given.**

Strong leading articles in the Press and the many letters published showed that the public was shocked at the ban on our meeting.

Although we could not hold the meeting we continued with the demonstration on the City Hall steps. From 8 a.m. till 2 p.m. women stood with posters reading:

**REFERENCE BOOKS FOR WOMEN ARE NOT  
YET COMPULSORY**

**FOR AFRICAN WOMEN AND THEIR FAMILIES  
REFERENCE BOOKS WILL MEAN**

**INSECURITY**

**MISERY**

**FEAR**

**AND**

**SUFFERING**

**A REFERENCE BOOK IS NOT AN IDENTITY  
CARD**

More than 20,000 pamphlets in English and Afrikaans were distributed at different places. Members of the public joined us during the lunch-hour when we held posters which read "Freedom of Speech has been denied us". The public, black and white, showed great interest and gave small unsolicited donations.

During the past weeks householders in many suburbs of Johannesburg were visited by uniformed African policemen who handed out directives from the Native Commissioner. These asked the householders to send their female domestic servants to the nearest police station to be issued with a reference book.

It was felt that we should, if possible, counteract the effect of this circular by a clear statement of the facts. Members of the Sash have, therefore, been distributing our demonstration pamphlets in the suburbs concerned.

The Southern Transvaal region will never abandon its fight for freedom of speech and of assembly. We have the right to criticize, and will use this right to uphold our principles of political morality against any body.

The Sash therefore asked permission to hold a lunch-hour meeting on the City Hall steps on December 12 to protest against the ban which prevented the protest against the issue of reference books to African women.

On December 10 a representative of *Die Vaderland* visited the Sash office, and was given all the material which had been issued to the English press. This included memoranda, pamphlet and magazine articles.

The next day he conducted an interview with the Sash lasting nearly an hour, during which the stand on freedom of speech and reference books for African women and the reasons for the protest were unequivocally given.

The City Council gave permission for the Sash meeting protesting against the curtailment of free speech. They made it clear that this meeting was not to be used to discuss reference books. (*Die Transvaler* had implied that the Sash were using "freedom of speech" as a cloak to hold a meeting on "passes for women".)

The meeting took place on December 12. Owing to the absence from Johannesburg of Mrs. Sinclair,



**PARSON JOINS PROTEST.**—The Southern Transvaal 'stand' on the steps of the Johannesburg City Hall on November 25 against the issue of reference books to African women.



Mrs. Dora Hill, acting Chair of Southern Transvaal Region, was in the chair.

The speakers were Ruth Foley and Jessie McPherson, ex-Mayor of Johannesburg. It is estimated that about 500 attended, including many uniformed police and the Security Branch under Major Spengler.

MRS. McPHERSON said that over many years she had addressed or attended dozens of meetings on the City Hall steps. Never had she seen so many police or Security Branch, the latter taking notes which might be used against them speakers in the future.

The Liberal, United, Labour and even Communist Parties, the Trade Unions, the workers, had all used the forum of the steps, sometimes two organisations at the same time. In the old days no permission was required—this was introduced to prevent overlapping, and never meant as a curb on free speech.

## *Vital Right*

Women always had more courage than men in fighting for justice—neither the Government nor the police would be able to frighten the women. She demanded the right to express her views no matter who disagreed with them. Once this right was given up, all was given up.

“During the past ten years, South Africans have seen more and more of their liberties disappear. When the citizens of Johannesburg elected the United Party to civic office they expected them to have an ideology different from the Nationalists, and expected them to respect and cherish our rights.

“We had a right to ask the Council why they had refused the Black Sash a meeting on these steps. They have not replied.

“It is bad to fight and lose, but how much worse it is to capitulate without a fight. It would seem that this is what our Council have done.”

MRS. FOLEY said that the steps were Johannesburg's recognised “forum”; the time-honoured meeting place of its citizens.

“We claim this right in the name of the citizens of Johannesburg, and in the name of the people of South Africa. It is an inescapable feature of life in a communal society that whatever affects one person affects all.

“Johannesburg's outstanding position as the largest and most prosperous city in South Africa makes the affairs of Johannesburg of tremendous importance throughout this country. It is our duty therefore to give a lead in civic pride and responsibility.

“As the Black Sash has so often told South Africans, your civil liberties are being whittled away from you one by one. Unless you realise this now, and unless you assert your rights now, you will wake up some fine morning to find yourself no longer an individual worthy and free to exercise your God-given gifts of judgment and enterprise, but a cypher in a gigantic and terrible experiment.

“All our civil liberties have been tampered with, but so far, thank heaven, freedom of speech has been left more or less intact.

“Of all civil liberties, freedom of speech is the most precious, because it is, in fact, the essence of communal life and the basic element of the parliamentary form of government.

“Without freedom of speech, freely granted and freely claimed by all citizens, parliamentary government becomes a mockery, and elected representatives usurp powers which are the very antithesis of the system they are pledged to uphold.

“Ministers of the Crown in this country have recently adopted the extraordinary, and to our mind unconstitutional, practice of refusing to meet deputations of responsible citizens. It therefore becomes even more urgent that we should speak our minds openly and for all to hear on any subject which is important to us.

“Our Government is suffering from the fallacious idea that the responsibility of government devotes upon a select few. Nothing could be further from the truth.

“The responsibility of government is vested in the people—and the people who vote. In every country this is the burden which all who are fit and able must help each other to carry; in South Africa it is a very heavy burden indeed, because, rightly or wrongly, less than two million people have assumed responsibility for about twelve millions who are voteless.

“Nothing can absolve us from this responsibility, nothing can lessen it. Whatever happens in South Africa, we sink or swim together.

## *Public Unaware*

“We do not know who is to blame for the refusal to allow the Black Sash to hold a meeting to discuss reference books for African women. We only know that this permission was refused. We were not officially informed why; but we saw from the daily press that the police had objected.

“If this is so, our City Councillors were in a difficult position, and needed, perhaps, a little more of the wisdom of Solomon than they have yet displayed.

“We only know, of ourselves, that every meeting the Black Sash has conducted has been absolutely orderly. We know, too, that we as a group have displayed the utmost sense of responsibility in all our activities. We know that our discussions have always been moderate and sensible.

“The subject of reference books for women is indeed a controversial subject. Their issue has met with strong opposition here and elsewhere in the country. We believe that no more valid reason than this could be advanced for the necessity of a full, frank and open discussion of the law which called these books into being.

“Through no fault of its own, the public in general is abysmally ignorant of the law and its implications. Few people have the faintest idea of the difference between an identity card, a residential permit and a reference book.

“Few know that it is not yet obligatory for an African woman to carry a reference book. The public

**Continued Overleaf**

# Press Acclaims Sash 'Steps Battle'

**T**HE deep impression made by the Sash's "Battle of the Steps"—the fight for the right to hold a public meeting on the steps of the Johannesburg City Hall to state the case against reference books for African women—and the importance of the issues at stake, are reflected in the editorials that the struggle has inspired in the English-language Press.

Here are some extracts:

The *Rand Daily Mail*, November 24:

**"O**NCE AGAIN the Black Sash has been refused permission to hold a public meeting on the steps of the Johannesburg City Hall. This time the circumstances are different.

"Speeches from the steps of the Johannesburg City Hall rarely draw big crowds. Most people are either too busy or too disinterested to listen. But this is not the point. That which is significant in what is said is reported by the Press and is brought before a very wide readership. Banning one of these meetings is thus a very real interference with the freedom of speech."

## Responsible Women

The *Natal Witness*, November 27:

**"W**E CANNOT HELP feeling that the Johannesburg City Council somewhat resembles the lady in the story whose powers of resistance were regrettably impaired by a certain weakness of will, and that it might have put up a stouter fight for its political virtue than it chose to do.

## Continued from preceding page

has not been told and has no way of computing the extra cost of the proposed new system, nor of imagining the many administrative difficulties involved. These, and many other aspects of the law, are matters of urgent and grave public importance.

We demand to know whether it is really necessary for the well-being of this country that freedom of movement should be so restricted as to turn the great majority of its population into little more than chattels.

"We demand the right to say that our civil liberties are our most precious possessions and that any restrictions upon these liberties are against the spirit of independence which we inherited from our forefathers; they are against the spirit of the contract of Union. We object to them, and we want no part of them.

"Above all, we demand our legitimate and rightful share in the responsibility of government. We demand fair and just treatment for all the peoples of South Africa."

"We all know the Black Sash, and we all know, whether we approve of all its views and methods or not (we ourselves do), that the Black Sash contains some of the most intelligent, responsible and public-spirited women in the country.

"We can think of no organisation in the country which is less likely to encourage, provoke, or unintentionally inspire disorder than the Black Sash. Before a meeting sponsored by such a body is banned, there should be the strongest positive reason to believe that it is in fact likely to be attended by disorders.

## Sash Courage

**"P**AST GENERATIONS of turbulent Johannesburgers would be astonished if they returned to the once-tough mining camp and observed the apathy of its present-day citizens and the timidity of their chosen representatives. They would probably come to the conclusion that in modern Johannesburg only the women still have the courage to stand up for what they believe to be right.

"The Black Sash has proved itself to be a responsible body whose meetings are always well conducted and opinions expressed with moderation.

"If racial harmony counts for anything, the subject which they wished to discuss—passes for Native women—is of urgent importance to the whole community. Why then should the meeting be banned unless members of the City Council have been so intimidated by Dr. Verwoerd that they are afraid to allow anything to be said or done which might annoy him?

"It is high time that the people themselves should take an interest in this matter. The rights of free speech and assembly are not secure privileges which can be temporarily surrendered and regained at will. They took centuries to win, but can be lost in a few careless hours. They do not exist in a Communist Russia. They did not exist in Hitler's Germany. The question is whether they will survive in Verwoerd's South Africa.

"Indeed, can they be said to survive even now, if the representatives of the most powerful city in the Union dare not allow responsible citizens to criticise in public a highly controversial point of Government policy?

"If the people of Johannesburg intend to fight for their rights, they must make their determination known to their representatives, some of whom are in evident doubt. And if there are individuals in the council lacking the courage to carry out this mandate, they should be removed at the first opportunity."

Continued on page 16



# Building the Nationalist New Order

by STANLEY UYS

**WHEN THE Malan Government came to power in 1948, one could say that the driving force of Afrikaner Nationalism had reached its political climax.**

At first the position of the Government, with an overall majority in both Houses of only a handful of members, was still very insecure.

The Nationalist Party devoted the next 10 years to the work of political consolidation. Every law passed was weighed carefully with an eye to its possible importance in a future election.

The need to increase Nationalist strength in both the Assembly and the Senate came before all other considerations.

With the Coloured Vote Act, the Senate Act and the Appeal Court Enlargement Act on the Statute Book, the scales were so heavily weighted in favour of the Nationalists that they were able to win the 1958 general election with a thumping majority which made it clear to most South Africans that it would be practically impossible to defeat them through the ballot box.

## Nats. Triumphant

Afrikaner Nationalism was triumphant, apparently invincible; but just to make sure, the first act of the Government after the 1958 election was to extend the vote to the 18-year-olds, two-thirds of whom are likely to be Nationalists.

When the next session of Parliament opens on January 23, we will see a new Cabinet in office—a new Prime Minister, eight new Cabinet Ministers and Under-Ministers, and a number of new portfolios and departments of State.

There has been a great deal of discussion in the Press about the new Cabinet appointments. Many have professed to see in them nothing more than a strengthening of Verwoerd's personal influence and power, since most of the new appointments are described as 'Verwoerd men'.

Some say the enlargement of the Cabinet from 14 to 16 and the establishment of the four deputy ministries was nothing more than the creation of jobs for pals.

There is an element of truth in this, but it is an over-simplification. The fact is, the new Cabinet is designed for the new job which faces Afrikaner Nationalism—the task of economic consolidation.

The South African political set-up consists of a number of glaring contradictions—the contradiction between Black Nationalism and White Supremacy which the Nationalists hope to solve by means of *apartheid*; the contradiction between Afrikaner poli-



**DR. DIEDERICHS**  
Afrikanerdom in industry

tical hegemony and English economic hegemony, which the Nationalists hope to solve by manipulating their political power in the interests primarily of *die volk*.

Verwoerd was chosen as the man to lead this stage of the Nationalist crusade.

He was chosen in preference to Mr. Swart, the Minister of Justice and next in seniority after Strijdom, because men like Strijdom and Swart, the political campaigners who had borne the brunt of the battle, were considered no longer equal to the new tasks which confront the Afrikaner people.

In the election for Premier, even Dr. Donges received more votes than Swart, who was eliminated after the first ballot.

**But the modern Nationalists want a modern man to lead them, and such a man is Verwoerd, the ideological leader, young, ambitious, pushful.**

He may not have fought in the Boer War, he was not even born in the country, he possesses none of the traditional qualities of the former Nationalist leaders, from Kruger to Strijdom, which have enabled them to win the love and the loyalty of their people. But he can cope, and he has convinced himself and his friends that he knows all the answers to the questions posed by this modern age.

The Afrikaner Nationalists' first demand of their leadership is that it "keeps the Kaffir in his place".



**DR. HERTZOG**  
**A hold on the unions**

Verwoerd's whole political career and reputation is based on his efforts to do just that, and so conscientious and enthusiastic has he proved himself in the role of super-location manager that his elevation to the Premiership was practically a foregone conclusion.

The Nationalists could not have chosen anyone else without repudiating the basic concept of *apartheid*.

The Afrikaner Nationalists' second demand on their leadership is that it puts the Englishman in his place — together with other unnational elements like the Jews. At present the Afrikaner controls only about 15 to 20 per cent. of the national economy, although he constitutes about 67 per cent. of the White population, and he is determined to redress the balance.

Two of the new Cabinet Ministers have been chosen deliberately with this aim in mind — Dr. Nicolaas Diederichs and Dr. Albert Hertzog.

Dr. Diederichs is considered the Nationalist Party's financial expert, and was for many years the leading light in the *Reddingsdaadbond*, the body set up to promote the penetration of Nationalist Afrikanerdom in the spheres of commerce and industry.

Dr. Hertzog is a man cast in a similar mould to Dr. Diederichs. Like him, he drew a large measure of his political inspiration from overseas universities on the Continent, and like him has made a name as one of the more sinister ideological elements in the party.

A member of the *Broederbond*, he has devoted most of his energies to the strengthening of the Nationalist hold on the European Mineworkers' Union and the trade union movement in general.

It is not without significance that Dr. Hertzog should have got his appointment soon after introducing in Parliament a motion calling for an investiga-

tion of the gold mining industry. His motion was formally rejected — but the threat remains poised over the mine magnates: "Play the Nationalist game — or else . . ."

Between them, Diederichs and Hertzog can be expected, on the one hand, to conquer a greater share of the market for the rising Afrikaner bourgeoisie, and on the other hand to provide an adequate rake-off for the Afrikaner worker — ably assisted in this task by Minister of Labour De Klerk with his job reservation machinery.

In this way, the Nationalists hope to be able to prevent class division from breaking the unity of the "volk".

"In this republican volk-state," wrote Dr. Diederichs in a book "Ons Republiek" published in 1941, "the interests of individuals and their accidental grouping must be subordinated to the interests of the volk-unity, and all individualistic and liberalistic tendencies in conflict with these must be totally banned."

Shades of "Mein Kampf"!

**The introduction of Diederichs and Hertzog into the Cabinet brings into the Government the more extreme right-wing element in the Nationalist Party.**

In comparison with them, the other new appointments are not particularly distinguished, representing for the most part the reward of long service rather than of intellect or attainment.

### Two Cabinets

The two new Ministers, Mr. Maree and Mr. Uys, and the four deputy Ministers, Messrs. Mentz, Botha, Marais Viljoen and Vorster, if one overlooks the last-named's flirtation with the *Ossewa Brandwag*, have made no particular impact on the public mind. In their new positions they will be completely under the sway of the dominating Dr. Verwoerd.

One important point about the reshuffle is the division of the Department of Native Affairs into two portfolios and the appointment of an additional Under-minister. (Mr. Maree becomes Minister of Bantu Education, and Mr. M. C. de Wet Nel becomes Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, with Mr. Mentz as his Under-minister.)

Compare this set-up with the days of Major Piet van der Byl, the U.P. Minister of Native Affairs.

Naturally today, as a result of the efforts of Dr. Verwoerd, Native Affairs requires more serious attention, but the effect of the new appointments is to create two separate Cabinets — one for Whites and one for Blacks.

One may sneer at the new bureaucracy and complain of its cost to the country. But the coming session will show we have more to fear than the financial drain.

The new men will be on their mettle, out to show what they can do. Verwoerd himself will be on trial. And the ranks of Nationalist Afrikanerdom stand in the background, waiting for the pickings. Who is going to say them nay?



# NEWS FROM REGIONS AND BRANCHES

## NATAL COASTAL:

**T**HERE has been renewed activity in the region since our four delegates returned from the National Conference in Cape Town in October.

We have all enjoyed and been stimulated by the reports our delegates brought back.

Mrs. Scott (Chair) and the secretary have paid visits to the branches in Zululand and those on the South Coast. The branch members welcomed and greatly appreciated these contacts.

Our members are encouraged to take an interest in municipal and provincial affairs, and a regional committee member attends most meetings of the Town Council to learn what is happening in Durban.

Quite frequently, other members attend and are thus becoming well informed on municipal affairs.

The Durban branch recently held a general meeting at a charming private house. Chief interest lay in two addresses on "A living wage for everyone".

The speakers each dealt with the subject from a different angle, and both were excellent.

Mr. Allen spoke of the wasteful economic consequences when wages were so low that people were forced to live below the bread line, and Mrs. Jacobs, in a most moving address, dealt with the subject from the humanitarian viewpoint.

## BORDER:

**E**AST LONDON branch has published its third issue of *Border Bulletin*, a magazine which appears every few months and which has been found to be most helpful for keeping less active members informed of Sash activities.

In addition, circulars are sent out to stimulate interest in members and to increase subscriptions to the magazine. It is intended to follow this up with a personal canvass.

A small house meeting was held recently at which the guest speaker was Mr. B. Ramjee, of Port Elizabeth, a leader of Indian opinion and an authority on the Group Areas Act.

A tape recording of a speech on Group Areas by Mr. Ramjee was unfortunately marred by technical faults. However, East London hopes to invite Mr. Ramjee again on his next visit to the town.

## CAPE WESTERN:

**S**INCE the National Conference — although some of our most experienced regional councillors have been absorbed by the Central Executive — Cape Western have been in a whirl of activity.

Our time and thoughts have been occupied with indignation and outrage at the gradual encroachment on the traditional rights of our Cape Coloured people and this has resulted in a series of protests and courses

of action that have taken much time though these have produced little in the way of results.

Our protest meeting against the application of job reservation to traffic cops, firemen and ambulance drivers, has already been reported in our magazine.

We followed this by organising a protest, signed by 131 leaders of the Cape Town community, which appeared under large headlines on the front page of the *Cape Times*.

A petition was then drawn up, signed by 25 prominent citizens of Cape Town, which was presented by Judge Centlivres to the Mayor, asking him to call a meeting to protest against the interference in civic affairs by the provincial authorities.

Permission to hold the meeting has now been granted and the meeting takes place this month.

There has been considerable "behind the scenes" work by Sash members, who were also instrumental in filling the City Hall, Cape Town, for Professor Pistorius's lecture to mark the tenth anniversary of Human Rights Day.

This meeting was called and arranged by the Civil Rights League who, in turn, called on us to do what we could to fill the hall.

The Administrator's intimation that the next inroad into civic liberties would be the removal of Coloured voters from the municipal rolls occasioned a magnificent turn out of Sash women who stood in drenching rain for half an hour outside the Provincial Administration Buildings on December 10.

More than twice the number of women who were promised for the stand turned out.

## DISTRESS AT LANGA

Cape Western women are continuing their soul-destroying work at Langa, trying to alleviate the distress caused to African women by the application of the Pass Laws, but they were considerably encouraged when their first case was won by one of the young attorneys who help us.

Applications for help are continually coming in and are being dealt with patiently and conscientiously.

Cape Western Region has now arranged Xhosa and Afrikaans lessons for members, which started in the New Year.

A fete held on December 12 and organised by our Fund Raising Committee was a huge success, bringing in more than twice the amount expected. Each of the bigger branches was responsible for one stall and the smaller branches brought gifts in kind from their members to add to the stalls.

Cape Western is continuing its policy of recording interesting talks and lectures. A recording of The Brains Trust is now available and is well worth hearing.

We wish other regions well in the New Year.

## A Tribute to Barkly East

**WE ARE** pleased to associate ourselves with this tribute to Barkly East branch, paid by a Border member :

Border Region has lost Barkly East branch, which has been disbanded. The branch had some particularly fine members.

What brought the Black Sash into being there was a spontaneous desire of like-minded women to "haunt" Dr. Donges when he visited the town for a Nationalist meeting in September, 1955.

Knowing nothing of Black Sash procedure, nor even whether they were wearing the sash properly, seven women from outlying farms joined two town members and stood outside a local hotel for two and a half hours.

The branch had their own Black Sash library,

and members read widely.

Fund-raising continued without interruption, and Barkly East's financial contributions were a great help to Border Region. More "Black Sash" books by Mirabel Rogers were bought by them than by any other branch, and some members sent extra copies to friends overseas.

Theirs has been no apathetic, half-hearted membership, and they have thoroughly discussed their unanimous decision to disband as a branch.

They are all willing to be called upon as loyal women, for a Union-wide demonstration, if some vital and urgent protest is called, such as was the breaking of the Constitution.

The Black Sash owes them a deep debt of gratitude for their unstinting help and support.



**Black Sash stand outside the Provincial Administration Building, Cape Town, on December 10 against the proposal to remove Coloured voters from the common municipal voters' rolls in the Cape.**



# FACT AND FICTION

## FICTION :

*"The fact that this Government is in power, and has been returned to power with steadily increasing majorities, shows that a freedom-loving people are convinced that everything which has been done during the past ten years has not only been done in accordance with democratic procedures, but in accordance with the spirit of democracy." — Dr. Verwoerd, Hansard 10, p. 4147.*

## FACT :

These words of the Prime Minister sound very plausible, but let us examine them more closely.

We concede him the steadily increasing majorities, but how are they obtained?

Firstly, by the infamous Senate Act, which no man or woman of conscience can condone, and which made possible the removal of the Coloured people from the Common Roll.

Secondly, by a favourable delimitation. Thirdly, by the Citizenship Act, but for which many tens of thousands of immigrants would have voted against the Government.

Added to this, the Government can count in its majorities the many voters stampeded by emotional appeals, and coerced by social ostracism and pressure from their Church, so that many of the "freedom-loving people" have voted for the Government purely out of fear of social and religious ostracism and even more important, fear of victimisation of their children. Here we must take issue with the Prime Minister. After ten years and more of political indoctrination of the young people in school, of history taught with a false bias, of separation from the young people speaking another language, of constant stress in school and from the pulpit on "land en volk en taal", naturally these children grow up to vote for this Government.

But is this in accordance with the spirit of democracy? We say emphatically No! Political indoctrination of children is the negation of the spirit of democracy, just as much as the Senate Act, with all its evil consequences, was a negation of that spirit.

We cannot accept Dr. Verwoerd's assurances regarding either democratic procedure or spirit. We see in them only a heart-chilling cynicism.

Nor, in the last event, are we impressed by majorities at elections. Mr. Krushchev and his ilk regularly achieve 99% majorities. Does that prove that Communism cherishes the true spirit of democracy? By Dr. Verwoerd's reasoning it does.

We cannot agree. We can only see in those increased majorities a once freedom-loving people ever increasingly fettered by the chains of fear, hatred, ignorance, intolerance and an authoritarian ideology hardly distinguishable from Communism.

—M.E.F.

# FEIT EN FANTASIE

## FANTASIE :

*„Die feit dat hierdie Regering aan bewind is en met steeds groter getalle aan bewind geplaas is, is 'n openbaring daarvan dat 'n vryheidsliewende volk oortuig is dat alles wat gedurende die afgelope tien jaar gedoen is, gedoen is nie net volgens die demokratiese prosedure nie, maar in die gees van die demokrasie." — Dr. Verwoerd, Hansard 10, bl. 4425.*

## FEIT :

Hierdie woorde van die Eerste Minister klink nogal goed, maar laat ons hulle van nader ondersoek. Ons gee toe dat die meerderhede steeds toeneem, maar hoe word hul verkry? Eerstens deur die skandelike Senaatswet, wat slegs vir 'n gewetelose persoon aanneemlik is en wat die verwydering van die kleurlinge van die gemeenskaplike kieserslys moontlik gemaak het. Tweedens deur 'n gunstige afbakening. Derdens deur die wet op burgerskap, wat verhinder het dat tienduizende immigrante teen die regering kon steun. Daarbenewens bestaan die meerderhede deels uit persone wat deur emosionele pleidooie, die vrees vir sosiale verbanning en die druk wat die Kerke uitoefen, beïnvloed is. Gevolglik het baie van die „vryheidliewende mense" hul stemme bloot op grond van die vrees vir sosiale of godsdienstige verbanning, en die vrees dat hul kinders sou by, uitgebring.

Die Eerste Minister het gladnie gelyk nie. Vir meer as tien jaar is skoolgangers se politieke sienswyses oneerlik beïnvloed, is ons geskiedenis op 'n partydige wyse uitgebeeld, is hul van Engelssprekendes afgekraal, en is „land en volk en taal" in die skole en vanaf die preekstoel gedurig verkondig. Geen wonder dus dat die kinders as aanhangers van die huidige regering grootwoord nie. Steun dit egter met demokrasie ooreen? Geensins nie! Om kinders se sienswyses oneerlik te beïnvloed is vir die ware demokraat net so laakbaar soos die Senaatswet met al sy duiwelse gevolge.

Ons kan dr. Verwoerd se versekerings i.v.m. demokratiese handelwyse en die demokratiese gees onmoontlik nie aanvaar nie. Ons bespeur slegs sinisme daarin.

En word ons per slot van sake deur meerderhede by verkiesings beïndruk? Mnr. Krushev en soort verkry mos gereeld 99 persent meerderhede. Bewys dit dan dat Kommunisme die ware demokratiese gees openbaar? Volgens dr. Verwoerd se redinerings wel. Ons stem egter nie saam nie. Ons bespeur in dr. Verwoerd se toenemende meerderhede slegs die treurspel van 'n volk wat sy liefde vir vryheid kwytgraak het en gevange geneem is deur vrees, haat, onkunde, onverdraagsaamheid en 'n outokratiese ideologie wat kwalik van kommunisme onderskei kan word.

—M.E.F.

## PRESS ACCLAIMS SASH BATTLE

(Continued from page 10)

The *Natal Witness*, December 15:

“**A**CCORDING to a report which we published on Saturday, the Black Sash had its meeting outside the Johannesburg City Hall on Friday after all. . . .

“The heroines of the occasion are, of course, the Black Sash. Their courage, and their pertinacity, have forced the Johannesburg City Council (it is to be presumed) into the reversal of a decision which ought never to have been made.

“This verdict stands quite independently of what may be thought of the decision to make Native women carry reference books.

### Moral Courage

“The ladies of the Black Sash, it seems to us, have almost a monopoly of moral courage in South Africa: that has been painfully clear for a long time past.

“The Black Sash, despite innumerable difficulties and problems external and internal, offers a persistent example of moral courage: and moral courage in mid-twentieth-century South Africa — perhaps in the rest of the world too — is a commodity so rare that its price is far above rubies.

“On this particular occasion, the Black Sash, it seems likely, has also scored a practical victory, the significance of which should not escape notice.

“To judge from the silence of the reports, Friday’s meeting in Johannesburg was entirely orderly.

### Fears Groundless

“But the original ban was imposed because of alleged police fears of disorder if the meeting was held. The fears have been shown to be groundless.

“No doubt the police are justified in being reasonably cautious. But it is equally obvious that anyone can profess fears that a public meeting may give rise to disorder, and that freedom of speech and freedom of assembly can be quietly whittled away if a Government-controlled police force, and a local authority rather inclined to subservience, can be easily persuaded that a projected meeting is likely to provoke a danger to the public peace.

“We cannot help suspecting that the Black Sash has called a great bluff on the part of somebody, and that Mr. Patmore and the police authorities in Johannesburg have some explaining to do.”

## NUWEJAARBOODSKAP (Vervolg van bladsy 2)

ken en te vertrou, en om 'n groter vertroue te hê in die waarde van die werk wat die Serp vir Suid-Afrika wil doen.

Laat ons onthou dat die prys waarna ons strewe 'n Suid-Afrika is waarop ons tereg trots kan wees, 'n Suid-Afrika waarin alle rasse in vrede en welwillendheid kan bestaan omdat alle rasse regverdigheid geniet.

## Errata

**I**N THE November issue it was stated that the Race Relations booklet “Thought” is obtainable from the Editor, P.O. Box 17, Johannesburg. This should have read: “P.O. Box 97, Johannesburg”.

We regret we wrongly named the author of the feature “Spotland” that appeared in the December issue. “Spotland” was written by Mrs. B. H. Tracy of the Lowveld Region.

In the December issue the list of Chairs and Secretaries Natal Coastal should have read: “Acting Chair: Mrs. P. Argo, Ernest Whitcutt Road, Cowie’s Hill; and the Secretary: Mrs. J. F. Hill, 27 Meyrick Road, Durban”.

Southern Transvaal should have read: “Chair: Mrs. J. Sinclair, 11 The Valley Road, Westcliff, Johannesburg. Secretary: Mrs. D. Grant, 21 Victoria Avenue, Sandringham, Johannesburg”.

## THE AIMS OF THE SASH

The Organisation shall be non-party political and undenominational and its objects shall be:—

- (i) To conduct propaganda, 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.
- (iii) The doing of all such things and the carrying out of all such activities as may further the objects of the Organisation.