

**THE
BLACK SASH**

**DIE
SWART SERP**

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**"THE FLAME
OF
FREEDOM"**



Dedication . . .

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

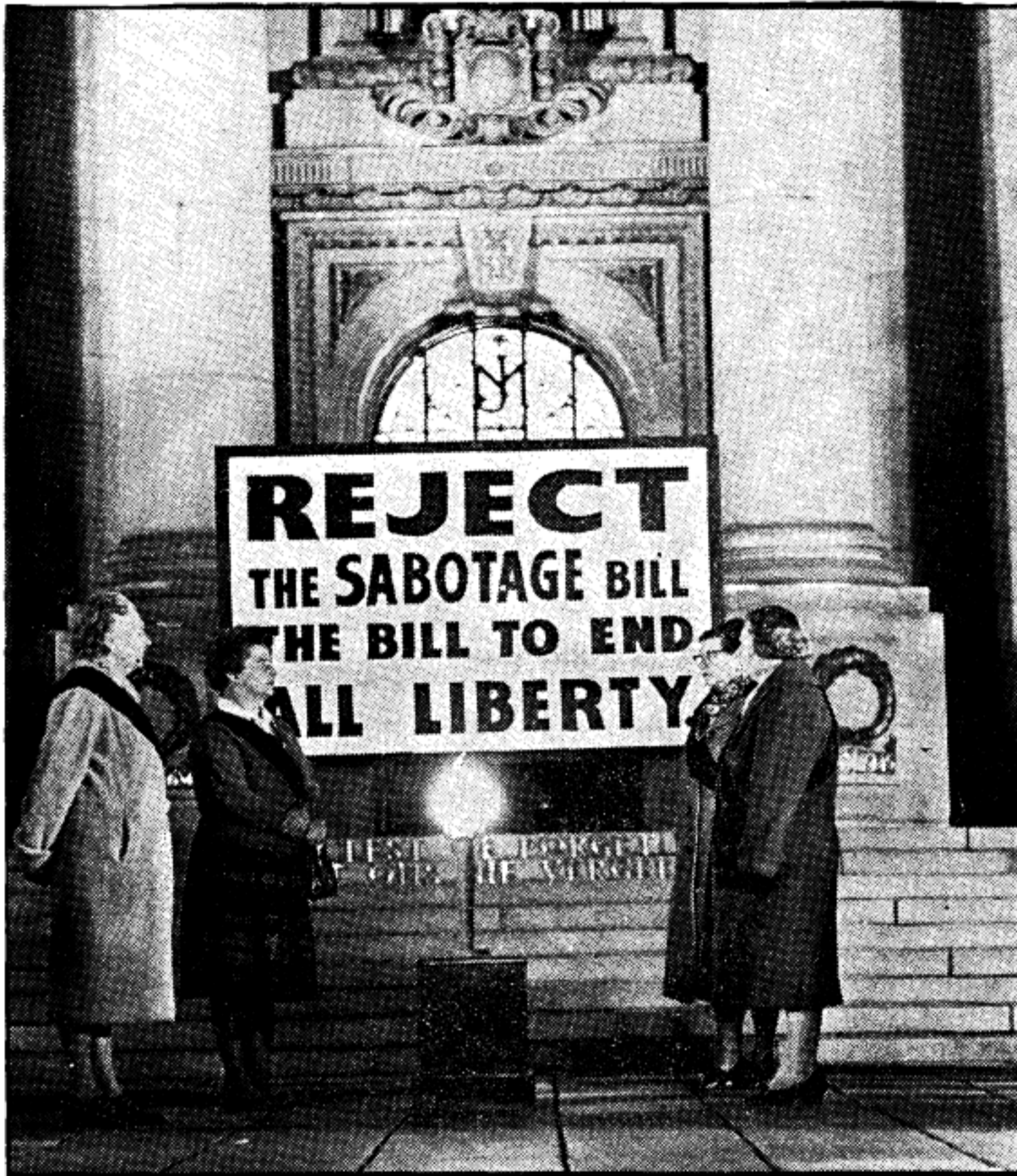
So help us God, in Whose strength we trust.

Toewydingsrede . . .

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

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

The Flame of Freedom



IN PROTEST against the General Law Amendment Bill the Black Sash has kept vigil round this flame which has been to us the symbol of threatened democratic freedom in our land. The Bill will become law, the threat will be reality. This symbolic flame may be put out, but it is our belief that nothing can quench the flame of freedom in the hearts and minds of freedom-loving people.

The Black Sash — Die Swart Serp

Seven Years After

SEVEN years ago, in May, 1955, 2,500 women marched silently through the streets of Johannesburg. They marched because they were filled with anger—and, as they marched, they realised that the thousands who lined the streets were angry too. In the weeks that followed, they found that over 100,000 women all over South Africa were angry enough to organize and sign a mass petition.

Those who marched, and those who watched; those who signed, and those who could not (since only women were eligible), were incensed at the Government's disgraceful proposal to violate the spirit and intention of the Constitution by "packing" the Senate, in order to remove a few thousand Coloured voters from the common Voters' Roll. This was the last and most shocking of a series of attempts to circumvent the entrenched clauses of the Constitution.

Every woman who could leave her home went to Pretoria to present the petition to the Prime Minister's deputy at the Union Buildings, and, as a protest against the Government's refusal of their just demands, they spent the two coldest nights of the winter in the grounds of Union Buildings. While they were there they learned, many of them for the first time, what the background to the Senate Bill was. They began to see that the Senate Bill was only a part of an appalling pattern, the pattern of enforced apartheid.

And so the Black Sash came into being, originally to uphold the South African Constitution as embodied in the Act of Union, but subsequently, when the enactment of the Senate Bill had destroyed the spirit of the Constitution, to uphold the principles of Parliamentary democracy and civil rights and liberties in South Africa. Inherent in this policy was opposition to enforced apartheid, with its denial of rights, and discrimination against individuals, on grounds of race and colour.

A rigid policy of colour "apartheid" enforced by law was enunciated by the Nationalist government immediately after they came to power in 1948. For many years, no definition of their policy could be obtained from them, the nearest approach being "separate development." This was vaguely understood as being total territorial separation of the races, a "moral" justification for progressively depriving non-Whites of rights and amenities in "White" areas on the understanding that they would in time enjoy full rights in their own areas.

Na Sewe Jaar

SEWE jaar gelede, in Mei 1955, het 2,500 vroue in stilte deur die strate van Johannesburg geloop. Hulle het geloop omdat hulle kwaad was — en terwyl hulle geloop het, het hulle besef dat duisende wat langs die strate gestaan het, ook kwaad was. In die daarop volgende weke het dit geblyk dat meer dan 100,000 vroue dwarsdeur Suid-Afrika kwaad genoeg was om 'n massa petisie te organiseer en te teken.

Diegene wat geloop het; diegene wat toeskouers was; diegene wat geteken het, en dié wat nie kon teken nie (want net vroue was gevra) was kwaad oor die Regering se skandelige voorstel om die gees en bedoeling van die Grondwet te verkrag deur die Senaat te „pak" en sodoende 'n paar duisend kleurling kiesers van die algemene Kieserslys te verwyder. Dit was die laaste en mees skokkende van 'n reeks pogings om die verskanste klousules van die Grondwet te omseil.

Elke vrou wat haar huis kon verlaat, het oorgegaan na Pretoria om die petisie aan die gemagtigde verteenwoordiger van die Eerste Minister in die Unie Geboue voor te lê, en, as protes teen die Regering se weiering van hulle regmatige versoeke, het hulle die twee koudste nagte van die winter in die gronde van die Unie Geboue deurgebring. Terwyl hulle daar was het hulle geleer, baie vir die eerste keer, wat die agtergrond van die Senaatwet was. Hulle het besef dat dit 'n deel was van 'n ontstellende patroon van gedwonge apartheid.

Op dié manier het die Swart Serp tot stand gekom, oorspronklik om die Suid-Afrikaanse Grondwet, soos dit in die Uniegrondwet vasgelê was, te verdedig, maar later, na die Senaatwet die gees van die Grondwet vernietig het, om die prinsipe van Parlementêre demokrasie en burger regte en vryhede in Suid-Afrika te handhaaf. Inherent in die beleid was opposisie teen gedwonge apartheid, met sy ontkenning van regte aan, en diskriminasie teen individue op grond van ras en kleur.

'n Onbuigsame beleid wat kleur „apartheid" deur wetgewing dwing, is onmiddelik na die Nasionale Party in 1948 aan bewind gekom het, verklaar. Vir baie jare het hulle geen definisie van hulle beleid gegee nie, en was „aparte ontwikkeling" die beste beskrywing. Hierdeur is meer of min verstaan totale territoriale skeiding van die rasse, 'n „morele" verdediging vir die toenemende neiging om inbreuk te maak op nie-Blanke regte en fasiliteite in die „Blanke" wyke,

Seven years passed, and, in the same year which saw the introduction of the Senate Bill and the birth of the Black Sash, came the report of the Tomlinson Commission, which had been appointed by the Government to inquire into the possibility of developing the Native Reserves to provide "homelands" for the Africans.

A further seven years has passed, and very little has been done to implement the recommendations of the commission. "Positive" apartheid—that is, the settlement of Africans in their own "ethnic homelands"—has moved very slowly; the borders of these areas are still undefined, and the "sacrifices" which the Whites, it is said, will have to make towards the attainment of the ideal, are still unspecified. It is true that this year, with a great fanfare of trumpets, a very limited form of self-government has been granted to the Transkei, the largest of the Reserves, an "independence" that will not be real independence for many generations to come. Yet, even in this area, nothing like the recommended expenditure has been laid out on development; and whilst economists point out that the territory is incapable of supporting even the present population, day by day thousands of Africans are being "endorsed out" of the urban areas and "repatriated" to the Transkei.

At the same time, the African population in the White urban areas has increased tremendously, and more and more housing has had to be provided for them; but they are to be regarded forever as "temporary sojourners" in the White areas, with civil rights and liberties only in their various "homelands", which most of them will probably never see.

On the other hand, those seven years have seen an acceleration of what is, ironically enough, called "petty" apartheid, the innumerable penalties, frustrations and humiliations heaped on non-Whites by means of the Pass Laws, the Group Areas Act, Race Classification, etc. Coloureds and Indians are not regarded by the Government as part of the South African nation—that is one of the many privileges reserved "for Whites only"; no "positive" apartheid provisions have been made for them, yet they, too, suffer the indignities and inhumanities of "petty" apartheid.

These inhumanities in the implementation of apartheid have drawn upon South Africa the censure of the world, yet in the face of mounting criticism at home and abroad, the Government have persisted in and intensified their policies. They alone have all the wisdom; they alone know all the answers. Criticism from within is called disloyalty; criticism from without is put down to ignorance of "the traditional South African way of life."

One restrictive law after another has been passed to ensure that there shall be no mixing across the colour line; stronger and stronger

Continued overleaf

met die verstandhouding dat hulle mettertyd volle regte in hulle eie gebiede sou geniet.

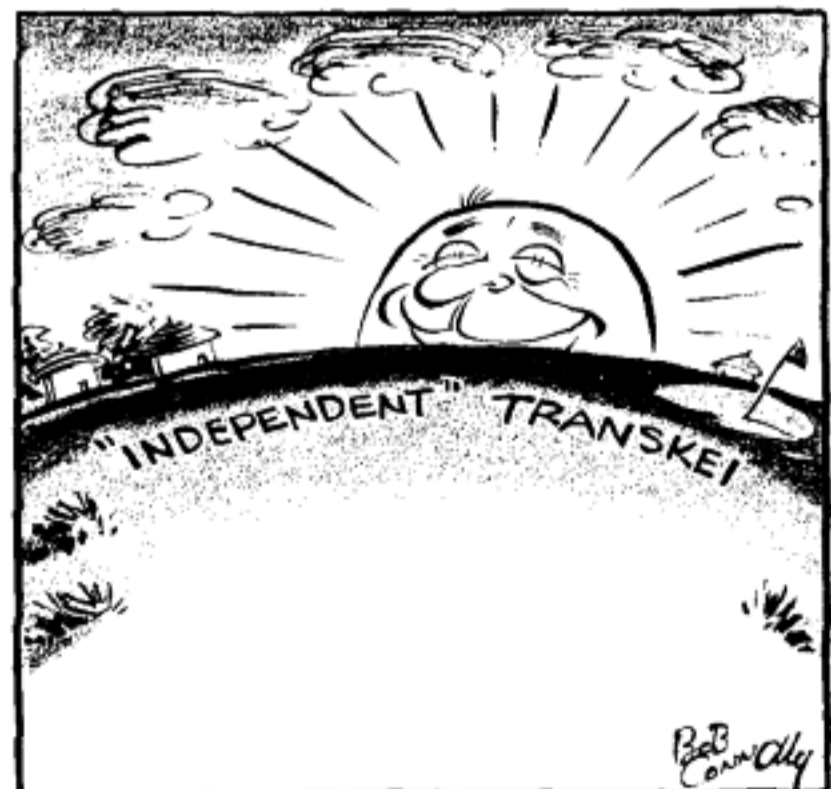
Sewe jaar het verby gegaan, en in dieselfde jaar wat die indiening van die Senaatwet en die totstandkoming van die Swart Serp geskied het, het die verslag van die Tomlinson Kommissie, wat deur die Regering aangestel is om 'n ondersoek in te stel oor die moontlikhede van die ontwikkeling van die Naturelle Reserwes die „tuislande" vir die Bantoe, ook verskyn.

In 'n verdere sewe jaar is baie min gedoen om uitvoering te gee aan die aanbevelings van die Kommissie. „Positiewe apartheid," d.w.s. die medersetting van Bantoes in hulle „etniese tuislande" het maar baie stadig beweeg; die grense van die gebiede is nog nie vasgelê nie, en die „opofferings" wat die blankes sou moes maak om die ideaal te bereik, is nog nie omskryf nie.

Dit is waar dat in hierdie jaar, met groot trompet geskal, 'n baie beperkte vorm van selfregering vir die Transkei, die grootste van die Reserwes, ingevoer is, 'n onafhanklikheid wat vir baie geslagte geen werklike onafhanklikheid sal wees nie. Maar selfs in die gebied is die aanbevole geldelike uitgawes vir die nodige ontwikkeling daarvan, nog verreweg nie bereik nie, en terwyl ekonomiste daarop wys dat die gebied nie eens in staat is om sy huidige bevolking te dra nie, word daar daagliks duisende Bantoes uit die stedelike wyke teruggevoer na die Transkei.

Terselfdertyd was die Bantoe bevolking in die Bantoe stedelike gebiede geweldig aan, en meer en meer huise moet vir hulle aangebou word, maar hulle word al die tyd beskou as „tydelike besoekers" in die Blanke gebiede, met burger regte en vryhede alleen in hulle eie „tuisland", wat meeste van hulle waarskynlik nooit sal sien nie.

Vervolg ommes



"The glow of a new day's dawn".

SEVEN YEARS AFTER— (Contd.)

measures have been resorted to to stifle all opposition. Restrictions on the freedom of the individual have led inevitably to restrictions on the freedoms of all, culminating in the General Laws Amendment Bill which is now before Parliament, and which has brought the Black Sash once more into the forefront of the battle for civil rights and liberties in South Africa.

For seven years, the Black Sash has protested against laws which have curtailed the liberties of South Africans, often while purporting to extend them, for example, the Extension of University Education Act, which deprived non-Whites of the right to attend the "open" universities and the universities of the right to admit them; the Abolition of Passes and Consolidation of Documents Act, which actually intensified the Pass system, and extended it to include women. For the past weeks the women of the Black Sash have stood in protest against the General Laws Amendment Bill, undaunted by insult and abuse. This Bill has been called the Sabotage Bill, which is misleading, since only one of its twenty-one clauses deals with sabotage. Under the guise of a measure designed to deal with this abhorrent crime, it appears to threaten many of our democratic freedoms. If this Bill does not, in fact, seek "to end all liberty" as the Black Sash poster says, it places sufficient arbitrary power in the hands of the Minister to enable him to do so, should he so desire.

The "seven-year" pattern is remarkable. In May, 1948, the Nationalist Party scraped into power, a fact which filled many South Africans who were aware of their reactionary policies with foreboding. In May, 1955, after one constitutional crisis after another, the Senate Bill raised



Transkei Totem.

NA SEWE JAAR— (Verv.)

Terselfdertyd het die sewe jaar 'n vermeerdering gesien van wat, ironies genoeg, „klein apartheid” genoem word: die ontelbare strawwe, dwarsboming en vernederings wat die nie-Blankes bywyse van die Paswette, Groepewet en Rasseklassifikasie te beurt val. Kleurlinge en Indiërs word nie deur die Regering as deel van die Suid-Afrikaanse nasie beskou nie — dis een van die vele voorregte wat „slegs vir Blankes” voorbehou is. Geen „positiewe” apartheid-reëlins is nog vir hulle getref nie, en tog ly hulle ook onder die vernederings en onmenslikhede van „klein” apartheid.

Hierdie onmenslikhede in die uitvoering van apartheid het vir Suid-Afrika die sensuur van die wêreld op die hals gehaal, maar tenspyte van die stygende kritiek in ons eie land en oorsee, hou die Regering vol met sy beleid, en brei dit selfs uit. Net hulle het alle wysheid in pag — net aan hulle is al die antwoorde bekend. Kritiek van binne word as verraad bestempel; kritiek van buite word toegeskryf aan gebrek aan kennis van die „tradisionele Suid-Afrikaanse lewenswyse”.

Beperkende wette word die een na die ander aangeneem om te verhoed dat daar mengery oor die kleurlyn geskeid. Kragdadiger en steeds kragdadiger stappe word geneem om alle opposisie te onderdruk. Beperkings op die vryheid van die individu lei onvermydelik tot beperkings op die vryhede van almal, en in die Algemene Regswysigingswetsontwerp, wat nou voor die Parlement is, bereik dit sy hoogtepunt, en het dit weereens die Swart Serp in die voorgrond van die stryd vir burger regte en vryhede in Suid-Afrika gebring.

Vir sewe jaar het die Swart Serp protes aange-teken teen wette wat vryhede van Suid-Afrikaners inkort, baie maal onder die voorwensel dat die wette uitbreiding regte is: b.v., die wet oor Uitbreiding van Universiteitsopvoeding wat nie-Blankes die reg om die „oop” Universiteite by te woon ontsê het, en die Universiteite die reg om hulle aan te neem beneem het; die wette oor die Afskaffing van Passe en Konsolidasie van Dokumente het in werklikheid die paswette uitgebrei deur vroue ook in te sluit. Gedurende die afgelope weke het die Swart Serp vroue geprotesteer teen die Algemene Regswysigingswetsontwerp, sonder om afgeskrik te word deur beleidigings en skeldtaal. Die wetsontwerp word die „Sabotasie” wetsontwerp genoem, 'n misleidende titel, aangesien net een van sy een-en-twintig klousules oor sabotasie handel. Onder die dekmantel dat die maatregel teen 'n veragtelike misdaad gemik is, syn dit asof baie van ons demokratiese vryhede daarin bedreig word. As die wetsontwerp nie in werklikheid mik om 'n end te maak aan „alle vryhede” nie, soos ons plakkaat sê nie, plaas dit heeltemaal genoeg mag in die hande van die Minister om dit te doen as hy wil.

Die sewe jaar patroon is treffend. In Mei 1948, het die Nasionale Party naëlskraap aan die bewind gekom, iets wat baie Suid-Afrikaners, wat bewus was van hulle reaksionele beleiderigting, beswaar het. In Mei 1955, na 'n reeks konstitusionele krisiese, het die Senaatsontwerp 'n storm van

storms of protest throughout the country, which continued until the Senate Act was finally declared valid by the Supreme Court. And now, in May, 1962, the "Sabotage" Bill has again thrown the whole country into a turmoil. How will it end? What will the next seven years bring forth?

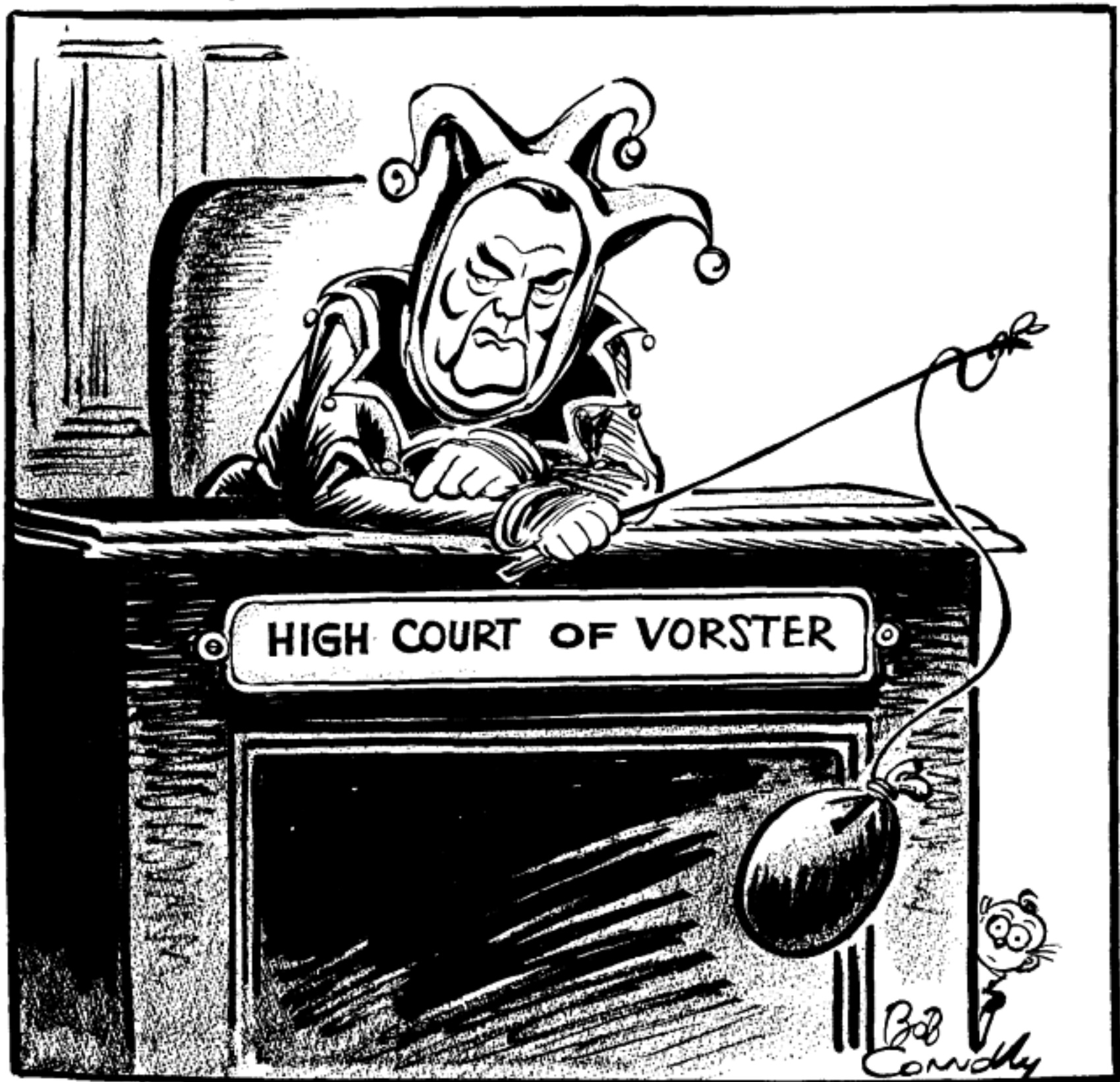
Events in Africa, and in the world, are moving rapidly. Can they pass us by? In the midst of change, can South Africa, even in the isolation she has brought upon herself, remain unchanged? We are groping in the semi-dark, and the "flame of freedom" is flickering. God grant that it be not extinguished utterly, that we may guard it bravely, until we emerge once more into the light!

protes deur die land verwek — 'n protes wat aangehou het tot die Senaatswet eindelijk deur die Hoëgeregshof bekragtig is. En nou in Mei 1962, het die „Sabotasie" wetsontwerp die hele land in rep en roer gebring. Hoe gaan dit eindig? Wat sal die volgende sewe jaar voortbring?

Gebeurtenisse in Afrika en in die wêreld volg vinnig opmekaar. Sal ons onaangeraak bly daardeur? Te midde van veranderings, kon Suid-Afrika, self in die toestand van isolasie wat sy op sal bewaar tot ons weer in die lig staan! haarsel gehaal het, onveranderd bly?

Ons tas in die donker — die „vlam van vryheid" brand laag. Mag God gee dat dit nie heeltemal geblus word nie — dat ons dit moedig sal bewaar tot ons weer in die lig staan!

No Jesting



Consequences may be shattering

THE SABOTAGE BILL

TAKES SOUTH AFRICA OUT OF WESTERN BLOC

By Tom Hopkinson

(Reprinted from the Rand Daily Mail)

THE "Death for Sabotage" Bill has already aroused a storm of protest. But no protest has so far been directed towards what will be the Bill's most disastrous consequences if it becomes law.

Those unfortunates who will be arrested under its virtually all-embracing provisions will be victims of the Bill—but the chief victim will be the Republic of South Africa.

This Bill and the related "Censorship" Bill (the Publications and Entertainments Bill in its newest form) will have an effect far beyond the boundaries of this country. Their consequences in world politics will be shattering, since at one blow—or rather two — they take the Republic out of the influence of the Western world and thrust it towards the Eastern or Communist half.

DANGEROUS

This is a consequence so full of danger for South Africa, and presumably so unexpected by the Government, that it is important to trace accurately the steps by which it must inevitably come about.

The conflict between East and West—the "cold war", as we call it, trusting it will never become "hot"—is not simply a dispute between Russia and America as to who shall rule the world. It is a conflict of ideologies, of beliefs. And the crucial difference—the point of conflict from which all other differences derive—is over the relationship between individual and State.

The Western world believes that the individual has certain inalienable rights or freedoms, which must be upheld if a country is not to lapse into a state of tyranny. We use the words "Fascism" and "Communism" to describe the forms of tyranny familiar to us in our own lifetimes: both, in essence, are the same evil—absolute power vested in the State, against which the individual is rendered impotent by a series of oppressive laws.

The safeguards against tyranny which the Western world has developed centre round two institutions—an independent legal system and a free Press.

They include the principles

- that all laws require the consent of the majority of those affected by them;
- that justice must be impartial between individual and State, as well as between man and man;
- that every man has the right to work for changes in the government, the law, or the social system by all peaceful means;

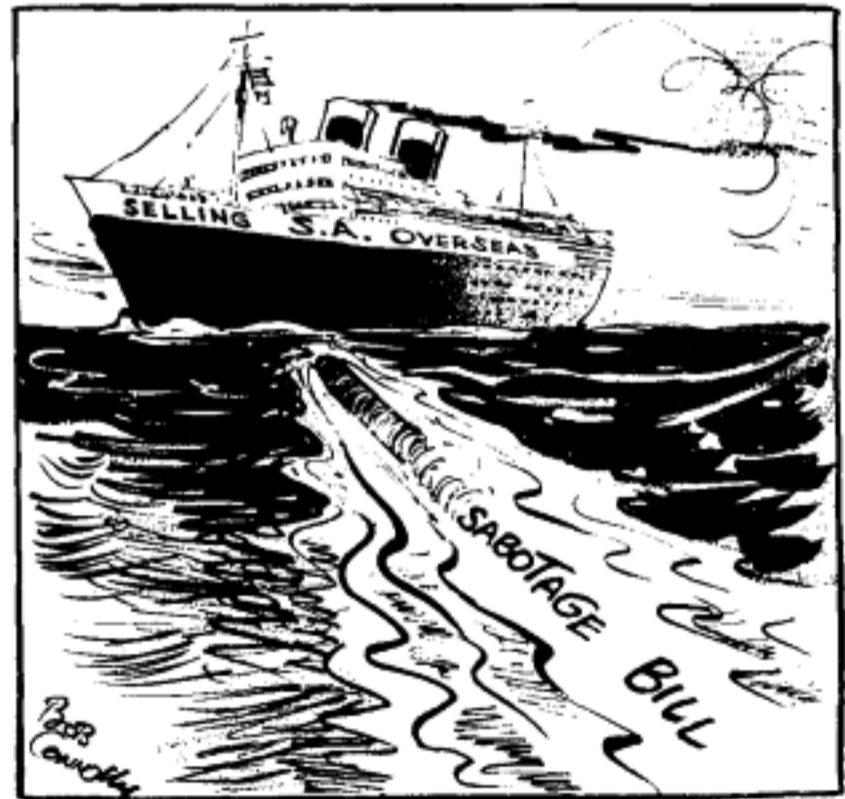
- that every man is innocent until he has been proved guilty;
- that an independent Press is an essential part of any effective working democracy; and
- that man, as man, has a right to freedom of thought, freedom of speech, freedom of religion and freedom of education.

DEGRADED

When the independence of law and the Press are tampered with, justice is degraded from an impartial inquiry into right and wrong to a legalistic veneer smeared over every official act or ruling.

Judges then cease to become the repositories of legal wisdom and experience and are regarded as the State's punitive arm, handing out sentences already prescribed to victims who, if they were ever acquitted, would be immediately re-arrested and brought before some less scrupulous tribunal.

A similar process is applied to the Press through the passing of "Press control" or "censorship" laws. Under these, newspapers and journals cease to be sources of independent judgment and comment, holding the actions of governments and their officials up to scrutiny. They are reduced to servile mouthpieces whose only task is to "explain" the government's actions to any who may doubt its wisdom, and to threaten any who may dream of opposition.



Torpedo

This is precisely what has happened in the Eastern, Communist-directed, half of the world. The basic belief of Communism is that the State and its security are paramount; the rights of the individual in comparison do not exist. Moreover, the State and the Government are both perfect as they are so that all proposals for change or improvement become "treason," and all opposition to their rulings becomes "sabotage."

OWN JUDGE

The only judge as to whether the State's security is or is not threatened by any action or opinion is the State itself. It arrests, prosecutes, passes sentence and administers punishment—all in its own case.

So follow the destruction of all those freedoms which the West holds to be basic, and the assertion of the principle that every man the Government accuses must be found guilty unless he can establish his innocence.

From this there follows again, with absolute certainty, officially organized spying to find out whether people are contravening the law by what they say or think; agents provocateurs to entrap the suspected; banishments and, since men can escape from unsupervised banishment or house arrest, concentration camps to accommodate those who have been convicted of failing to establish their own innocence.

TRAGIC

It is tragic for South Africa at this moment that so few members and supporters of the

Government travel sufficiently to be aware of the temper and feeling in the outside world.

If this legislation goes through the efforts of this country's few remaining overseas friends will be paralysed, and before long abandoned. The hands of all those working to impose boycotts and sanctions will be enormously strengthened and the task of the ill-starred South African Foundation rendered ludicrous.

The Republic of South Africa will not merely have become expendable to the Western world, it will have become abhorrent to it, and we must expect this abhorrence to be expressed before long in both word and action.

UNACCEPTABLE

It will be impossible, on political as well as grounds of principle, for the Western world to accept as part of itself a State in which the basic freedoms have not merely—as in some newly formed African or Asian states—failed to be fully implemented, but in which they have been deliberately rejected and systematically destroyed.

No amount of protestation will obscure the fact that in the great ideological battle of our time this Republic, under the guise and pretext of "anti-Communism," will have planted itself firmly on the side of Communist totalitarianism, and against the freedom of the individual.

The consequences of so frightful a miscalculation will be limitless, and they must affect every section of the community.

"SELLING SOUTH AFRICA OVERSEAS"

IT is not the speeches made in the House of Assembly by members of the Opposition which give South Africa bad publicity in the foreign Press; it is the laws enacted by this Government and all the administrative pin-pricks which accompany the implementation of the policy of small apartheid; it is the extravagances of Government members themselves with regard to matters of colour.

WHERE I have come across representatives of South Africa abroad, I have repeatedly heard the bitter complaint from them that the good work they do to-day is broken down tomorrow by a speech by a member of the Government, or by speeches made by Members of Parliament on the Government side — not speeches made by the Opposition.

THERE is a host of things one could mention that harm South Africa and which are unnecessary and which the Government could eliminate from the public life of South Africa. There are such things as married people being brought before the Court under the Immorality Act; there are the colour crises in connection with sport. . . . There is the refusal of visas, the banishments, the race classification, etc.

I HAVE here a book entitled "South African Rule of Law" (by the International Commission of Jurists). If ever there was a document which is harmful to South Africa, this is it. . . . It is a purely factual reproduction of the race legislation that we have in South Africa to-day. This is what foreigners consult when they want to get a picture of what is happening in South Africa. If ever there was a deadly charge against South Africa, it is this document . . . which is based entirely on the actions, the administration, the legislation and the regulations of the Government.

IT is a good thing for South Africa for the outside world to know that nearly 50 per cent. of the Whites of South Africa do not support the administration and the policy of this Government . . . that half the White voters of this country want to bring about a change of government.

The time has come . . . when the Government should stop regarding itself as South Africa. Every time an attack is made on the Government we are told that it is an attack on South Africa.

Mr. J. D. du P. Basson, Hansard 4181/2. 18/4/62.

"THE FLAME OF FREEDOM"

THE BLACK SASH PROTEST AGAINST THE GENERAL LAW AMENDMENT BILL

(Pictures on Pages 16 and 17)

THE BLACK SASH demonstration against the General Law Amendment Bill commenced at dusk on Wednesday, the 16th May, with the ceremonial lighting of the "Flame of Freedom" on the steps of the Johannesburg City Hall, and the reading of the Black Sash Dedication. Relays of Black Sash women guarded the flame night and day, and a poster was displayed, reading: "Reject the Sabotage Bill — the Bill to End All Liberty".

The first night of our vigil passed without incident, except that at midnight two schoolboys ran up to the poster, pelted it with eggs and tomatoes, and then fled. The next day, too, was fairly uneventful — our demonstration was received with the usual mild interest, or the usual dull uncomprehending stare; evoked the occasional word of praise, or the occasional jeer.

During a citizens' mass protest meeting held in the City Hall on the Thursday night, there was a good deal of heckling and shouting by a pro-Government section of the crowd. Scuffles followed and stink-bombs were thrown, and finally a group of White youths erupted from the meeting, converged upon the Black Sash and extinguished the flame, which was promptly re-lighted. That was our last night of comparative peace. The hooligans had found us — a group of citizens who were daring to stage a lawful protest against a Government measure.



"It could be worse. Our daughter might be married to an egg and tomato pelter."

Throughout the next three days and nights, tension mounted as organized gangs of White thugs surrounded our demonstrators, screaming abuse and obscenities, pelting them with eggs, tomatoes, potatoes, small sandbags, fruit, and, lastly — and most disgusting of all! — with raw fish. Our women stood firm, composed and silent, offering no response and no resistance. The days were not bad — the thugs were not so much in evidence, except at "peak" hours, and at those times there were a good many law-abiding citizens around as well — but the nights were full of strain. Police protection was inadequate, to say the least, although individual police officers did their best in a difficult situation. From time to time one of the ring-leaders of the mob was removed in the police van, only to re-appear a short time afterwards, armed with fresh "ammunition".

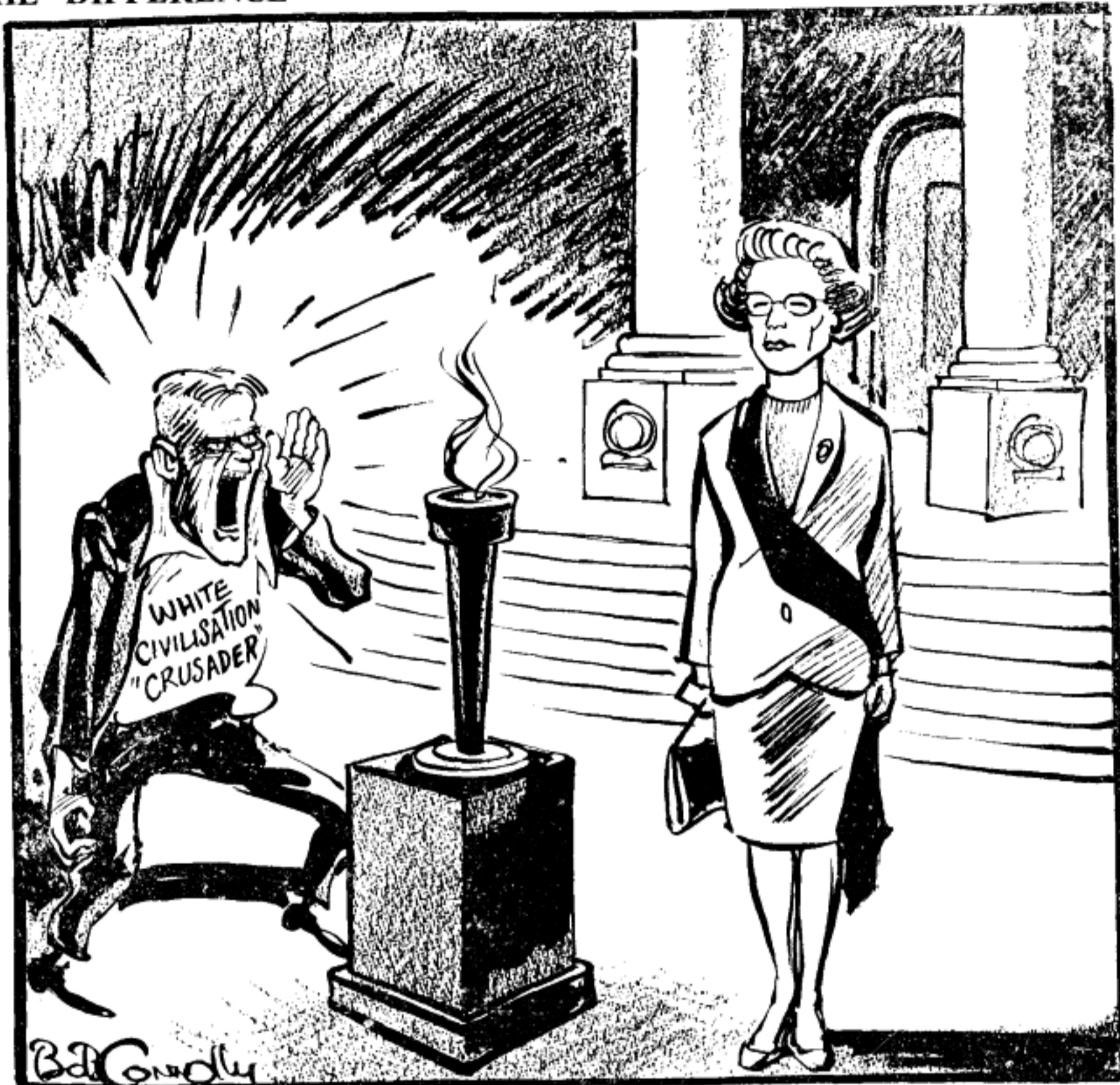
On the Saturday night, matters reached a climax. After hours of baiting and pelting, a group of hooligans rushed the Black Sash women — knocking some of them to the ground — put out the flame, and destroyed the poster. The police were summoned, and order was restored. The flame of freedom was relit, and the vigil went on. There was further trouble on the Sunday night, which was speedily controlled by decisive action on the part of one police officer.

The next day, there was some unpleasantness, especially at the lunch hour, and towards evening an ominous-looking crowd began to assemble. Just as the Black Sash "night shift" came on duty, the Chairman of the Management Committee of the City Council appealed to Mrs. Sinclair, National President of the Black Sash, to withdraw her women for the night, for their own protection.

She agreed, after consultation with other members, and the flame was carried proudly away, to the great disappointment of the assembled thugs, who complained that they had been done out of an evening's fun.

And so, after five days and nights, the Johannesburg vigil was interrupted, but, to our great joy, our Cape Town members commenced their round-the-clock vigil that same evening, to mark the beginning of the Second Reading debate in the House of Assembly. As the *Rand Daily Mail* said, "a flame died, but another flared." The Cape Town Black Sash lit their flame of freedom outside the gates of Parliament, and their posters read, "Vorster's Bill Stifles Legitimate Opposition." Up to the time of writing, no full reports have reached us, but we understand that during the week their vigil lasted they came in for some attention from local hooligans, but nothing like that experienced in Johannesburg. Presumably the milder political climate Cape Town is said to enjoy extends even to the hooligans!

THE DIFFERENCE



For the next two days, the Johannesburg vigil was held from 7 a.m. to 5 p.m. each day. Cheated of their evening sport, the hooligans, who seemed to be non-workers, now turned their attention to us during the daylight hours, particularly lunch-hour, when the presence of large numbers of onlookers gave rise to ugly incidents.

A large contingent of police arrived and kept order on the Tuesday, but on Wednesday, when another organization lined up below the Black Sash women in a multi-racial demonstration against the Bill, shocking scenes of violence ensued, and for some time the police seemed unable to control the crowd of some hundreds. The Black Sash women retreated with their flame towards the back of the steps, where they resumed their vigil, the target for a shower of

eggs, fish and fruit flung at them over the heads of the crowd. (The hooligans had passed a hat around for contributions to buy fish and eggs.) Order was restored, and for the rest of the afternoon crowds of jeering men stood in front of the women, hurling filthy abuse at them.

After this, it was felt that it would be irresponsible to continue to hold the vigil on the City Hall steps. Apart from concern about the safety of our women, our experience after last year's march had shown us that it was the innocent bystander, particularly the African, who was likely to be hurt in any disturbances that might take place. It was agreed that the vigil should cease at the City Hall at 11 a.m. the following day, but continue at various unspecified

Continued overleaf

THE FLAME OF FREEDOM— (Contd.)

points in the city. At 11 a.m. the next day, therefore, a large group of Black Sash women surrounded the flame of freedom and as the last chimes of the Post Office clock died away, the flame was carried ceremoniously off the City Hall steps by Mrs. Sinclair.

The women then dispersed, and many of them took part later in the day in the mass Citizens' Protest March from the Scottish War Memorial to the Cenotaph. The numbers taking part in this march have been variously estimated, but as all reports agree that the column extended for about half a mile and the marchers walked seven or eight abreast, 5,000 seems a very conservative estimate.

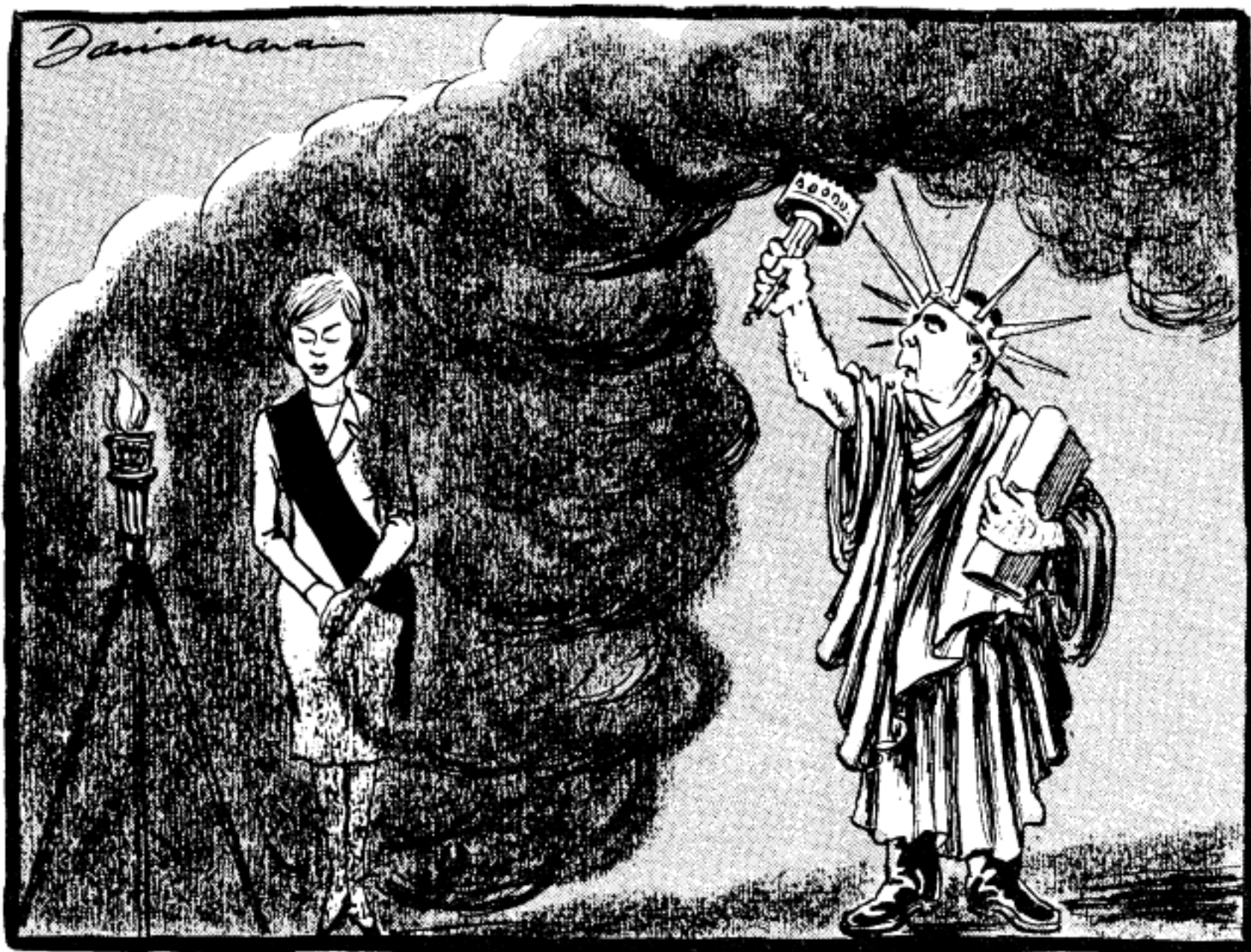
Disappointed, no doubt, at the non-appearance of the Black Sash on the City Hall steps, groups of our hooligan tormentors, armed with eggs and other produce, lined the route of the march, which had been widely advertised, and bespattered the marchers. Even at the Cenotaph, while a Minister of the Church was offering up a prayer for the Government and people of South Africa, these privileged White citizens of a Christian country continued to shout obscenities and hurl their missiles, even at the Minister himself. Sadder still was the spectacle of a

group of young office workers, obviously not of the hooligan class, who stood on the roof of a nearby building, posturing, jeering and cat-calling during the service, and while the National Anthem was being sung.

On Monday, 28th May, following the passing of the second reading of the Sabotage Bill and its virtual acceptance in principle, our Cape Town members doused their flame and ended their week-long vigil. In Johannesburg, where vigils had been held as arranged at different points in the city, our regular demonstrations came to an end at the Jan Smuts Airport on the Tuesday.

During our long vigil on the City Hall steps, we were greatly encouraged by the many kindnesses shown us. Nearby cafes sent us refreshments, passers-by offered assistance and protection. On the whole, we felt it advisable to persuade our husbands and male supporters to keep away, lest their presence precipitate trouble with the young thugs, but one young man constituted himself our bodyguard, and insisted on staying with us through all five nights, helping us tend the flame, plying us with coffee.

A great many non-Black Sash women begged to be allowed to stand with us, and proudly donned the Black Sash. A young woman news-



Vorster: "I keep telling you — I'll take over now!"

THE FLAME OF FREEDOM (Contd.)

paper reporter took her turn to guard the flame, and afterwards wrote about "the experience she would never forget". Although the vigil was for women only, many men stood beside us, silently registering their protest against the Bill, and signifying their support of the Black Sash.

Many were the comments we overheard, some irritating, some amusing, some touching. Perhaps the most telling, the most uplifting, was the remark one man made to his little son: "Stand closer, my boy, and have a good look — for this is history!"

Overheard

"Ag, pleeez, deddy, won't you take us to the Vigil? We want to chuck tomatoes at the Bleck Sesh girls!"

* * *

"Constable, arrest that man behind the lamp-post—he's got an egg in his hand!"

"I can't arrest a man because he has an egg in his hand—it might be his lunch!"

* * *

"Don't give up until you're Vorster, ladies!"

* * *

"The only sign of decency they've shown is to use fresh eggs!"

* * *

SUNDAY NIGHT

Young man, having used all his ammunition:

"Come on, chaps! We've got to go to Church now!"

Cigarette Lighter



Why We Have Protested

ON the 12th May, the General Laws Amendment Bill, commonly known as the "Sabotage" Bill, was published, and for a day or two the country considered the implications of its drastic and far-reaching provisions. Then the protests began. In the weeks that have followed, protests have swelled; newspapermen, politicians, businessmen, churchmen, lawyers and laymen—all have combined to condemn the wide terms and definitions and the harsh penalties of this Bill, and have pointed out the dangers of placing comprehensive and arbitrary powers in the hands of one Minister and his unknown successors.

The Minister of Justice has claimed that this is a measure to preserve democracy, and that the principle of the Bill is to combat sabotage and curb Communism; and he has asked the country to accept his assurance that it will be used only against those who are guilty of these offences. Lawyers have pointed out, however, that many of the clauses of the Bill violate the Rule of Law, and that the definition of sabotage is so wide as to endanger persons who are anything but saboteurs in the real sense of the word. Also, the fact that the Suppression of Communism Act has already been used against declared anti-Communists, and the manner in which the Minister himself replied to the Second Reading debate on this Bill by decrying many of his critics and opponents as Communists or Communist-inspired, must detract from his assurance in this respect.

The Black Sash has repeatedly declared its opposition to the creed of Communism, and, as a law-abiding organization, it accepts that it is the duty of a responsible government to deal severely with any person proved guilty of sabotage or violence. Nevertheless, in our opinion this Bill constitutes a threat to fundamental democratic freedoms and principles, including one of the basic principles of parliamentary democracy: that all citizens have the right to oppose and criticize government policy, and to work for a change of government.

For these reasons, Black Sash Headquarters in Johannesburg decided to hold a continuous vigil to demonstrate total rejection of this Bill, and Regions and Branches in other parts of the country followed suit.

"I'll be judge, I'll be jury",
Said cunning old Fury,
"I'll try the whole case
And condemn you to death!"

LEWIS CARROLL—"Alice in Wonderland"

THE MAN BEHIND THE "SABOTAGE" BILL

(From an article by Donald Wood, Cape Times,
24/5/62)

I ASKED Mr. Vorster if he was satisfied with the way things were going in South Africa. Would he ever be prepared to serve on a multi-racial cabinet? "I am satisfied with the way things are going. I have not had one sleepless night over South Africa's future. A multi-racial government would never work, and I am absolutely and resolutely opposed to the idea. I am sure that we can and that we are, achieving unity in this country," he declared.

So there is the man behind the dreaded "Sabotage Bill." He is not the Frankenstein monster some of his opponents make him out to be. Neither is he intentionally a would-be dictator, bent on using the "Sabotage" Bill to persecute milkmen who go on strike or innocent trespassers found in a dynamited post office. He is not this kind of political ogre at all.

What he is is something far more dangerous than that. He is the classic Nationalist and the embodiment of the essential spirit of Nationalism today. This spirit is compounded of deep sincerity, unwavering conviction, and a tragic lack of capacity to understand an opponent's point of view. Where his opponent's point of view is based on democracy in its fullest and best sense, this lack of understanding becomes doubly tragic—for who can explain democracy to a spirit that cannot comprehend it? To those who believe in democracy, no explanation is necessary. To those who do not, no explanation is possible.

For the real danger of the Nationalist is that he actually believes he is a democrat, that he is doing this country a favour, and that he can take "constructive" criticism. Yet let any opponent give full vent to convictions as deeply held as his and he dismisses the thought as "irresponsible." Thus only tame, quiet, and conservative criticism is acknowledged as "constructive". How can this ever be reconciled with the spirit of democracy?

And how can anybody hope to expect tolerance from men who, like the Communists, only interpret its meaning in relation to their own philosophy?

The answer to these questions is the key to the real menace of Nationalism, and it is the reason why Mr. Vorster, with his Bill, constitutes a danger to political freedom of expression in South Africa.

After talking these matters over with Mr. Vorster, one wonders how long it would take to persuade him that there are many thousands of South Africans who would gladly undergo all the persecution he has undergone, suffer twice as much as he has suffered,* and spend many more years in the political wilderness than he—to wrest this country from the control of men such as himself, his colleagues, his leader, and the spirit behind the amazing Bill he is sponsoring in the Assembly this week.

*In Koffiefontein Internment Camp during the last war.

Points From The Press

Salutations to the Black Sash.

WARMEST salutations to the women of the Black Sash who stood up so fearlessly and with such dignity when they were at the mercy of South African storm-trooping scum in Johannesburg last week.

It is no easy matter to appear in public particularly if one is normally a woman unaccustomed to drawing attention to oneself.

Molly Reinhardt, Sunday Times, 3/6/62.

Thank you, Molly!

Silence Gives Consent.

HOW low can the Nationalists sink? On the supposition that silence gives consent one can only conclude that the behaviour of the oafs on the City Hall steps has the approval of the Government, since no word of repudiation has come from any spokesman of theirs.

It is not too late for the Prime Minister to repudiate these monstrous allies, in the Press of both languages, and on Radio South Africa.

From Letters to the Editor, Rand Daily Mail, 25/5/62.

For Hoodlums Only.

THE ruffians who are attacking the Sash women at the Johannesburg City Hall are doing the whole protest against the Sabotage Bill a great service. They are demonstrating that the Sash—the most pacific movement in all the history of resistance—is a significant challenge to the conscience of Nationalism.

The one body in the country to whom the hooligans are doing no credit is the Government. We are not suggesting that the Government instigated them. But it is more than probable that the mobs are inflamed with the Government's twisted philosophies, and the Government can now see where those philosophies lead: to knocking down dignified, often elderly and always totally passive White women.

From Sub-leader, The Star, 21/5/62.

Ugly Episode.

THE cowardly attack on the Black Sash women . . . in the small hours of Sunday morning is typical of the kind of thing which is bound to occur when a government takes the lead in creating an hysterical state of mind among its supporters. For a long time now the Nationalists have been playing on the emotions of their followers. Their speeches have been shot through with violent imagery, and it is no wonder that young and irresponsible Nationalists catch an infection from this heady talk, thinking of themselves as engaged in a kind of holy crusade which can be made to justify almost anything.

From leading article, Rand Daily Mail, 21/5/62.

The limit where freedom begins and ends, where its rights and duties come together, is called law, and the State itself must bow to the law.

Albert Camus.

EDUCATION

"The Education of Johannesburg's Children"

A MULTI-RACIAL FORUM

(Photograph on Page 20)

THE Multi-Racial Forum organized by Mrs. Jeannette Davidoff on behalf of the Black Sash, and held in the Rheinallt Jones Memorial Hall on the 26th May, was the second part of the one held last year in the same hall, "Johannesburg, a Multi-Racial City." On that occasion, we attempted to show members of the different racial groups how the other sections lived; this time, we examined the educational opportunities open to our children.

As Mrs. Davidoff explained during the course of the discussion, it was not the intention of the Black Sash to place the people of Johannesburg in separate racial compartments, but the programme took the form it did because education is provided in South Africa along racial lines, and we wished to show up the differences.

Again this year all groups learned a good deal about their fellow citizens and their lives and problems, and again the White people were appalled at the disparity between the opportunities enjoyed by the Whites and those open to Non-Whites. The bitterness of the Non-Whites, especially the Africans, came through again and again, as they gave details of their struggle to obtain an education of any sort, and the travesty of education that is offered to them.

The speakers were the **Rev. B. L. E. Sigamoney**, formerly a school principal in Natal and the Transvaal, who spoke for the Indian community; **Mr. B. L. Leshoai**, formerly headmaster of Lady Selborne School, Pretoria, who gave the African point of view; **Mrs. C. Alexander**, who read a paper prepared by **Mr. D. Mateman**, a former schoolteacher, on Coloured education, as Mr. Mateman was unable to attend the Forum; and **Mr. R. Tunmer**, Senior Lecturer in Education at the University of the Witwatersrand, who spoke on White education. **Mrs. Sylvia Nell**, a prominent educationist, summed up. **Mrs. Dora Hill**, Transvaal Regional Chairman of the Black Sash, was in the Chair, and **Mrs. Jean Sinclair**, the National President, opened the Forum.

Opening Address by Mrs. Sinclair

Mrs. Sinclair said that the purpose of this gathering was for the citizens of Johannesburg to get to know each other, for only by getting together could we obtain a better understanding of the different problems which confront us all day by day.

Education was a matter which was the concern of all citizens, as a nation which was ill-educated could not succeed in the present world. It was a matter for concern that different types of education were provided for the different racial groups—we were all one society, all part of the

same economy, and should have the same educational opportunities. The White standards of education were very low indeed—as a mother of South Africa she had hung her head in shame during the events of the past two weeks to see some of the people we have bred over the last generation.

Father Sigamoney—Education for the Indian Community.

Father Sigamoney opened his address by telling us something about himself. He commenced teaching in Durban in 1903, and retired from active teaching in 1948. In 1922 he went to England to study for the Church, and returned to South Africa in 1927 inspired by the English educational system, which he considers one of the best in the world. After visiting the Indian Government School in Newtown, Johannesburg, he persuaded the Education Department to change the medium of instruction from Gujarati to English. He also pointed out that the standard of training of many Indian and Coloured teachers was too low, and the Government opened an Indian Teachers' Training College. The raising of the salaries of Indian teachers was another matter that occupied his attention — teachers' salaries, he says, are regulated according to the colour of their skin.

At present, there are six primary schools for Indian and Coloured children in Johannesburg with approximately 6,045 pupils and 126 teachers. There are two high schools and an Indian Girls' School. The syllabus and the books used are the same as those in White schools. Education and books are free, but there are no playgrounds, no sports facilities, no libraries, no clinics, as provided for the White children.

Father Sigamoney considered that there should be **equality of opportunity for all races in education, and compulsory education for all.** It was quite wrong that education should be considered in terms of race and colour, but the educational system was interwoven with the whole racial situation in South Africa. He blamed the White people for this, and especially the English-speaking, who had enjoyed political power for many years and had done nothing about it. **He hoped that the present discussions would not be a matter merely of talking and doing nothing.**

In the discussion that followed, some excellent speakers from the floor added to the information given. One stressed the fact that overcrowding in the schools had led to the double-session system, whereby half the pupils attended in the morning and half in the afternoon, a most unsatisfactory system. Another deplored the fact that not only was there no compulsory education for Indians but there was actual discouragement

Continued overleaf

EDUCATION

MULTI-RACIAL FORUM— (Contd.)

of the use of the facilities provided in Johannesburg, in an effort to force the Indians to go to Lenasia. The Indian High School was in the process of being closed down, and the old Booyens School which had briefly been made available to Indian students, had been closed again. The only response to the plea that it be re-opened had been the provision of bus fares to Lenasia.

Miss M. McLarty, M.P.C., explained that the reason for the inadequacy of accommodation and the non-provision of recreational facilities for Indian and Coloured children was that the terms of the Group Areas Act made it impossible to find suitable permanent building sites. The education of White, Coloured and Indian children in the Transvaal came under the control of the Provincial Council. Education was compulsory up to the age of 16 for White children only, but exactly the same education, in terms of syllabus, books and examinations, was provided free for each of the three groups.

Mr. B. L. Leshoi—Education for the African Community.

Mr. Leshoi said that he could never speak of the education of Africans without acute pain, because he knew that only education could liberate the minds of men no matter what their colour. After expressing his deep gratitude to the many White people who had unselfishly sacrificed much time and labour in efforts to provide education for the Africans, and condemning those who sought to halt it, he said that Africans wanted real education. Only education that developed the mental, spiritual and physical powers of man would be acceptable, education that would make them leaders of their people, and they rejected the education that would make them cheap labourers. "After that brief outline of the educational aspirations of the African," said Mr. Leshoi, "let us see how those aspirations have been provided for."

The African population in the 32 townships surrounding Johannesburg is nearly 600,000 — more than half the total population of the city. For the hundreds of pre-school children left at home when their mothers go to work there are 35 nursery schools and creches, mostly belonging to the African Women's Self-Help Association. Two belong to the Johannesburg City Council. These are poorly staffed by almost untrained teachers. There are 52 lower primary schools, 13 higher primary schools, 20 "combined" schools, with a total of 54,700 pupils and 2,000 teachers; and 6 high and secondary schools accommodating 3,600 pupils, with 97 teachers. There are no European teachers.

The poor matric. results are not surprising—they are due to bad teaching. The best teachers are going to Ghana, Nigeria and the Protectorates, drawn by better salaries, freedom from fear and overwork, and from having to teach against conscience.

Africans are no longer admitted to Witwatersrand University, and the African "University colleges" are run on ethnic lines—Fort Hare now admits only Xosas, Ngwenya only Zulus and Swazis, and Turfloop, Basuto. There is not a single teachers training college in Johannesburg, and teachers in training have to travel long distances at considerable cost. (Teachers qualify with a Standard VI certificate plus three years' training.)

There is one technical college in Johannesburg, and four adult night schools. All such schools are now registered and controlled by the Bantu Education Department. There are certain typewriting and dressmaking schools with bad reputations, but although the people know the training is inadequate, their desire for education and training for professions drives them there.

Sports facilities are paid for from the proceeds of the 25 beerhalls run by the City Council, a fact which Mr. Leshoi commented upon with some bitterness. There are two cultural centres which provide training in music and the arts, a nurses training centre for young girls, one big hospital which trains 500 nurses, and one centre for the training of midwives.

There is a great deal of overcrowding in the schools, especially in the lower primary schools, where there are classes of 100 children taught in two sessions by the same teacher. Education in these circumstances must be poor.

From lower primary school upwards students have to pay for their education in school fees and books. In the high schools the fees are £2 per year. A child who fails Standard 2 is given one more chance. If he fails again, no more education! Hence hundreds of children run wild and become tsotsis. Two certificates are issued in the primary schools—a first grade certificate which enables the child to proceed to High school, and a third grade, which permits him to leave school and seek work—it is no entry to any higher education centre. As children pass Standard VI at a very early age, no employer has work for them, and again they run the streets.

In regard to curriculum, more emphasis is laid on tree-planting, soil conservation, etc., than on academic subjects. In the lower primary schools, all instruction is in the vernacular, but in the higher schools some English and Afrikaans is used. There is a move to allow matriculation students, who at present write the normal Joint Board examinations, to write in the vernacular.

Speaking from the floor, Mrs. Sylvia Nell commented on the use of the vernacular, pointing out that it provided no gateway to higher education. She also commented on the absurd importance attached to tree-planting, for children who would live their lives in congested urban areas. This activity was carried to such great lengths, she said, that trees were planted, dug up again and replanted.

EDUCATION

Asked what the masses of the people thought about **Bantu Education**, Mr. Leshoai said that they did not accept it, but were glad to have the children off the streets. The Bantu Education Act was the worst ever piece of legislation. Syllabuses were censored, especially history, in case the African got the "wrong" ideas; "civics" was information about reference books. The children had to be taught that they were citizens, but could not vote because they were black. In defence of African teachers, Mr. Leshoai said that many of them stuck to their posts, although they did not agree with the system, as they felt the children must be given some sort of education.

Mrs. C. Alexander—Education for the Coloured Community.

On behalf of Mr. Mateman, Mrs. Alexander read a paper prepared by him. Mr. Mateman defines education as being the training and development of the mind and personality of the child to equip him for his place in the community. What is the place of the Coloured child in the community? Here, again, the bitterness comes through—the place of an inferior and second-class citizen, says Mr. Mateman. The education of the Coloured child is kept separate and segregated from that of the White and African child, as if there was a different kind of knowledge for each racial group.

Starting from the top, there is in Johannesburg a college for the training of Coloured teachers, with about 150 teachers in training. The entrance requirement for men is Standard X Certificate, and for women Standard VIII or IX Certificate, a lower standard than that required for White women students. The staff is entirely White, but presumably in time Coloureds will be allowed to staff their own college.

At present, the only University in the Transvaal at which Coloureds can be trained for such positions is the Witwatersrand University, and a limited number of non-Whites are admitted by the Minister of Education. Few Coloureds can afford the cost of University training, however, and of those who do manage it, some elect to train for other professions, and thus there are few trained educationists. In the near future, a special "Coloured" University will probably be established, and Witwatersrand University will be completely closed to non-Whites.

There are two **High schools** for Coloureds, with a total of nearly 1,000 pupils. Accommodation is inadequate, consisting mostly of pre-fab. buildings, and the schools are scantily staffed, partly by semi-qualified teachers. There are a number of **Primary schools**, but again accommodation is quite inadequate. There is overcrowding and again the unsatisfactory system of double sessions, in this case with a different teacher for each session. There is one **Junior school**, so sorely in need of accommodation that a great many children were turned away at the beginning

of the year. It must be borne in mind that education for the Coloured community is not compulsory, and hundreds of Coloured children are deprived of all education. There are no preparatory or nursery schools.

At present, as pointed out by previous speakers, there is no difference in the syllabus for Coloured and White children, but there is a proposal to transfer the control of Coloured Education from the Provincial Councils to a Government Department of Coloured Affairs, and, Mr. Mateman says, there is a real fear that children will be indoctrinated to believe that they are inferior.

Like the two previous speakers, Mr. Mateman ended his address with a plea for the ending of separate systems of education based on race, and the establishment of a general system of education for all children, with minimum compulsory standards.

Speakers from the floor commented on the tremendous disparity between the salaries paid to Coloured teachers and those earned by Whites.

Dr. Ellen Hellman gave some illuminating figures in regard to expenditure on education for Africans and other racial groups. African education comes under the control of the central Government, and since 1955, when the amount was "frozen," the Government has spent £6½ million per year on Bantu Education for the whole country, as compared with £17½ million voted by Transvaal province alone for White, Coloured and Indian education. The balance of the money required for Bantu education is found by direct taxation on Africans.

Mr. R. Tunmer—Education for the White Community.

To illustrate the kind of education that is offered to White children, Mr. Tunmer quoted some interesting figures from the Transvaal Education Department's Report for 1959—the latest, said Mr. Tunmer with some asperity.

In the Transvaal, there are 100 registered nursery schools, although attendance at nursery schools is not compulsory. There are 675 primary schools, 131 high schools, 6 agricultural schools, and 15 special schools for handicapped and backward children, making a total of **between 800 and 900 schools for 308,000 pupils, with about 11,500 teachers.** Education is compulsory and free in Government schools.

There are **four teachers' training colleges**, with about 4,000 teachers in training.

Analysed on a language basis, these figures give a ratio of 2 Afrikaans schools to 1 English-speaking, 2½ Afrikaans-speaking pupils to 1 English-speaking, while the ratio of teachers and also teachers in training is 4 to 1. This indicates quite clearly that **the English-speaking community is simply not providing enough teachers for its own children.**

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EDUCATION

MULTI-RACIAL FORUM— (Contd.)

Figures indicate that there are not enough teachers with higher University degrees to cope with post-Matric. training to prepare pupils for the Universities. It is difficult for a teacher to improve his academic qualifications. The emphasis in all countries in the 20th Century is on secondary and higher education, and in other countries teachers are encouraged to take terms off on full pay to enable them to improve their qualifications.

The majority of our women teachers are married, and, being married, are temporary and ineligible for permanent appointment.

Compared with non-White schools, figures indicate that classes in the White primary schools average 30 pupils per teacher, in the secondary schools, 21 per teacher.

There are large numbers of adaptation classes for children who have not quite made the grade in primary schools.

Results have shown that compulsory education up to the age of 16 can produce a demand from the pupils themselves that they stay on at school after the period of compulsory education is over. This has particularly been the case with Afrikaans-speaking children.

The cost of educating one White child for a year was £45 to £50 in the primary schools and £67 to £70 in the high schools, compared with £31 per year spent on each Indian or Coloured child at school. There were 24,000 places in hostels provided for White children, half of these subsidized by the Province. Library facilities are provided for almost every White school in the Transvaal.

In conclusion, Mr. Tunmer said, "If we were a uni-racial White community, we could be extremely proud of many of the things we have offered to the White children. We have poured money into their education. It is when we compare what is in fact a very rosy picture with what we have been hearing for the rest of the day, that we cannot help feeling just a little ashamed."

But it was not only in statistics that one could see how an educational system was working, he said. The events in Johannesburg for the last two weeks suggested that the education system had failed. In some of the free books provided for the White children there were statements of a kind to produce a rigidity of mind that made it difficult for a teacher to develop the children as he or she would like to do, which probably accounted for the drain on bad eggs in the last few days. "But because there are hooligans in every country no matter how good or bad the education system is, we cannot condemn the Transvaal education system

because a few people are rather proud of their not-too-accurate egg-throwing aim. No, the education system has failed because there have been sufficient people in this country to back the legislation, not only that introduced this session, but that introduced in the last twelve years and possibly even further back than that."

Asked from the floor to account for the disparity between the numbers of English- and Afrikaans-speaking people entering the teaching profession, Mr. Tunmer said that it had been suggested that people who are attracted to the teaching profession in any generation are usually climbing the status scale. He offered this suggestion without snobbery.

There was a shortage of teachers in every country, but we were trying to run a country of 16,000,000 people on the abilities of 3,000,000, he said. When compulsory education came for all South Africans, teachers would have to be found for the Africans from among the White community.

In reply to a question as to what could be done to raise the status of the profession in the eyes of the community, Mr. Tunmer said that we must start from the beginning and try to persuade people that education is important.

Summing-up by Mrs. Sylvia Nell.

Mrs. Nell opened her remarks by quoting the words of Disraeli spoken one hundred years ago: "Upon the education of the children of this nation depends the future of this nation."

She said we had all sustained such an assault upon our minds and consciences that she, for one, felt somewhat baffled and beaten. However, certain points had emerged unmistakably.

Mrs. Nell said that we were all wedded to the proposition of free compulsory education for all South African children. There must be equality of educational opportunity, and every child should be educated to his full maximum potential. Education was the transmission of the body of accumulated knowledge from one generation to another, not purely mechanical transmission, but translation through the deepest-held values of the people.

We held dear the principle of freedom of conscience a basic part of our thinking, the main difference between the path of education of Western countries and that of totalitarian countries. We must educate people to think for themselves, to find freely their own answers to their problems; not ask them to accept the ready-made answers of Government officials.

We had heard how unequally education in South Africa was financed, how unequal were the salaries paid to the teachers and the amenities provided. A great deal of concern had been expressed about the content of education. The different groups were being divided and educated differently to fit a master plan, and the Africans were being sub-divided again into ethnic groups.

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"We reject this utterly," said Mrs. Nell, "because we believe we are members each of the other, and although we are a diversity of peoples, we believe that South Africans should at least share the things they have in common. This, I think, is political wisdom, and if we do not accept it in South Africa, we are doomed."

Speakers had stressed the narrowness and rigidity of the syllabuses. Vernacular education had been rejected, "the mystique of the mother tongue." To a child, said Mrs. Nell, it was child's play to learn another language.

Education for women had been touched upon. "If you educate a man," said Mrs. Nell, "you educate an individual; educate a woman, and you educate a family." African women in particular would have an increasingly important part to play in family, social and political life.

Teachers in all groups were not being paid salaries commensurate with the importance of the work they were doing. Teachers were the main architects of our society, and unless we could attract to the teaching profession a substantial proportion of the best brains and the best characters in the country, there would be a lowering of our social life.

Mrs. Nell said that she deeply regretted Mr. Leshoai's pain, but asked him to accept that prejudice exists everywhere, not only in South Africa. We must fight it and try to give our children better opportunities than we had had, so that they could see their fellow human beings not through the colour of their skins, but through their hearts and the quality of their characters. The profoundest education a child received was in his home, from his father and mother.

Mrs. Nell spoke of the reasons for the calling together of this forum, the need the organizers had felt for the people of Johannesburg, and of South Africa, to get to know one another. She quoted the words of Dr. Van der Ross, when she had asked him how we could build bridges between our children. "The bridges are there," he had said, "Cross them."

So, concluded Mrs. Nell, "Let us have the courage and goodwill to cross these bridges, us from our side, and you from yours. Let us start with our children. Let us try to teach them the way of goodwill, the way of self-knowledge, the way of self-respect and mutual respect, the way of friendship."

A State which is incompetent to satisfy different races condemns itself.

Lord Acton.

INTERVIEW WITH SELECT COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION ADVISORY COUNCIL BILL

THE Select Committee of Parliament on the Union Education Advisory Council Bill invited the Black Sash to give evidence before it in support of the memorandum it had submitted; so on February 14 the delegates presented themselves at the Committee Room in the Houses of Parliament. There were three of us—Mrs. W. F. Grant, wife of an ex-Professor of Education at the University of Cape Town, and herself sub-Convener of the Education Committee of the Cape Town branch of the National Council of Women; Miss N. Henshilwood, for thirteen years Principal of the Cape Town Teachers' Training College; and Mrs. L. Marquard, ex-University lecturer.

We were most courteously received by the Chairman, Mr. Mostert, and introduced to the rest of the Committee, who then questioned us on the views expressed in the Memorandum. As we agreed afterwards, it was a satisfactory interview in that the questions fairly enabled us to make and support our main arguments. We were told that ours was, until then, the only memorandum that totally rejected the proposed Council; all the others had suggested modification of various kinds.

The reasons we gave for emphatically rejecting the Bill were the following:

- (1) First and foremost there were no statutory limits set to the powers of the Minister in the Bill, and in a field so vaguely defined as "the basic principles of education", which could control the entire life of teacher and pupil, he was given virtually dictatorial powers. While most Acts of Parliament set statutory limits to the powers they confer, this Bill sets none.
- (2) The members of the Council were all, directly or indirectly, to be appointed by the Minister himself, and even then there was no guarantee that their advice would carry any weight, although the Minister might, before introducing legislation, consult with "any other interested Minister of State."
- (3) There was no guarantee that any member of the Council would be an educationist in any sense of the term, except that in each province one person was to be appointed, recommended by the Administrator concerned, "who has special knowledge of education matters in that province" — a definition that suggests administrative rather than educational knowledge.

Continued overleaf

EDUCATION

EDUCATION ADVISORY COUNCIL BILL

(Contd.)

- (4) Since the Council was to consist of full-time members, Directors and Superintendents-General of Education and school inspectors — people in actual touch with education — would automatically be excluded.
- (5) The wide and inadequately defined powers given to any specially appointed committee to carry out investigations at any school, with access to all documents and unlimited right of questioning "in connection with any matter affecting the basic principles of education" give opportunities for "witch-hunting" that can do untold harm to education.

The delegates were asked whether, if a guarantee were incorporated in the Bill that recognised educationists would be appointed to the Council, it would be acceptable to the Black Sash. We replied that we should still oppose it on the above grounds and because we considered both that there was no need for such a Council and that it would be harmful to education. It went over the heads of the Provincial authorities, and its effect would be entirely to centralise and so to standardise education, instead of allowing it that elasticity and diversity that all sound theory (and practice) recognised as vital to education. Under the present system it was possible for the various provinces to try out different methods and compare the results of experiments.

The need for consultation and co-operation at a Provincial level had been recognised by various education commissions in South Africa and provided for, and Mrs. Grant spoke of the findings and recommendations of the De Villiers Commission. The machinery exists for such consultation, and the Matriculation Board provides a guarantee that standards shall be maintained in the different provinces. The Bill ignores the whole

of the present provincial system, and overrides the authority of director, inspector, school boards and committees, and principals of schools.

Moreover, we said that even assuming that a truly advisory Union-wide body were desirable, the whole tenor of the Bill showed that the present time was entirely unfavourable to its setting up. Quoting the clauses that give unlimited powers of investigation into any school, Miss Henshilwood spoke of what she had herself seen of the effects of the fear of political "witch-hunts" on teachers and their pupils and on the recruitment of teachers. This hazard prevented many young people from entering the teaching profession.

Finally, we were questioned about our objection to the clause which limited the work of the Council to "matters affecting the education of White persons." We replied that while we were opposed to the setting up of the Council, we objected to the assumption that there was such a thing as specifically "White education", while in fact, there was only education. To separate the departments of education was to provide something called "Bantu" or "Coloured" education, which must in the nature of things be inferior in quality. The amount of education provided should be as much as the individual student was capable of absorbing, regardless of his colour.

One member of the Committee said: "So the Black Sash wants to have children of all colours under the same roof?" We replied that what we asked for was for all education to be under the same authorities, and that they should be in charge of *education*, not of Bantu or Coloured Departments. On integrated schools the Black Sash had no policy and had expressed no opinion. Whatever opinions the three of us might hold were purely personal and unofficial, and might be contrary to those of many of our other members.

This ended our interview, in which we had met with every consideration and courtesy. About a week later we were sent a transcript of our evidence for approval.

THE EDUCATION OF JOHANNESBURG'S CHILDREN



Speakers at the Black Sash Forum on Education (left to right): Rev. B. L. E. Sigamoney; Mrs. C. Alexander; Mr. B. L. Leshoai; Mrs. J. Sinclair, National President of the Black Sash; Mr. R. Tunmer.

EDUCATION

Mrs. Doreen Rankin, Chairman of the Transvaal Education Vigilance Committee,
comments on

EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

EVERY child in Europe goes to primary school. Education is compulsory, free, and based on the three Rs, geography, history, one other language (sometimes three or four!) and, of course, physical training.

Every child in Europe and in Russia-in-Europe goes to school as a right.

In awakening Africa, millions of pounds are being spent, plans are being devised, and millions more will be spent to lift the people out of centuries-old illiteracy and ignorance, and pave the way to education of the people.

Only in Christian, civilized South Africa is education made free and compulsory for the richest, but not for the poorest, of the community.

Take one country in Europe—Rumania. Rumania has fifteen national minorities within her borders, and might offer some constructive suggestions to South Africa, which also has a multi-racial community.

In Rumania education is compulsory and free for all children from the ages of seven to fourteen. There are over 100,000 teachers. There are 34,000 evening classes for illiterate adults and late adolescents. Rumania has a population of 17,500,000 people and is not rich.

Compare this record with that of the Republic of South Africa, with a population of 16,000,000 people. Three million of her people enjoy compulsory free education in schools increasingly segregated on a basis of difference in language. The children in these schools are separated from nursery school right up to the University. If the Afrikaans proverb „onbekend maak onbemind” is true, the White ruling caste in South Africa is steadily destroying itself.

The Coloured community of about a million and a half is not compelled to send its children to school, except in Natal and four towns in the Cape. Education, after the pattern of White education, is free; but in the Transvaal, for instance, Asiatic and Coloured education is lumped together, and as the communities have no representation on bodies such as the School Boards, facilities are very poor. In Natal, which has the largest Indian community, education is compulsory only for Whites and Coloureds—a strange state of affairs! Free instruction is available for Coloureds, Indians and Whites up to Standard 10; for Africans only up to Standard 7.

The African population of nearly 11,000,000, separated rigidly from the rest, are now enjoy-

ing the fruits of Bantu Education, a form of education considered fitting for their role in the community. Certain mission schools and thousands of dedicated teachers who were bringing the “wrong” sort of education to the African have been eliminated, and in their place half-trained African teachers, earning the wages of unskilled labourers, supervise classes of 60 to 100 children.

Farm schools are allowed if the farmer permits it. “Bantu mothers . . . can erect walls . . . and the department will provide windows, door and roof . . .”

The reversal of the late J. H. Hofmeyr’s Education Act of 1945, which made African education for the first time a claim on the common purse, has revived the iniquity of taxing the poorest people directly for education, and making them suffer the lack of educational facilities because of extreme poverty.

No one is allowed to teach, except those acceptable to the new order. One retired African teacher of 60 was fined R150 or seven months’ imprisonment for taking a number of children off the streets and *teaching them*. The Magistrate said, “You are a learned and respected man in the community, and yet you keep on defying the law.”

What are we doing? While Europe, and particularly Russia, has lifted whole populations from the mists of illiteracy and ignorance, and every effort is being made to educate all children and to help adults to overcome defects in learning and training, we alone are bringing about a debasement of all education.

Wherever there is lost the consciousness that every man is an object of concern for us just because he is a man, civilization and morals are shaken, and the advance to fully developed inhumanity is only a question of time.

Albert Schweizer.

All our rational investigation and rational planning of the economic and political and social spheres is without meaning unless it is the means to one end—the living of the personal life of the community in joy and freedom.

John Macmurray.

The South African Marketing Act

By "LAISSEZ FAIRE"

WOMEN everywhere are interested in food. Its production, its distribution, the way it is handled, and its ultimate consumption, are matters which are peculiarly the concern of women. How many women, however, know anything about the laws which govern these things?

History has shown that agriculture has always been the slowest part of the national economy to recover from any catastrophe. This was seen after the first world war, when farmers everywhere received ruinous prices for the food they produced. Food was destroyed in many countries in an endeavour to keep prices at a reasonable level. Then, when the position became desperate, efforts were made to prevent collapse by instituting varying types of legislation.

The South African Marketing Act of 1937

In 1937, a Bill was drafted to protect agriculture in South Africa, where continuing surpluses and low agricultural prices were being experienced. During the debate on this Bill, which was ultimately accepted by both sides of the House, it was said that its object was "to give stability to farmers and to reduce the gap between producer and consumer prices".

At that time, in spite of these laudable aims, orthodox economists and consumer organizations feared that what was virtually an attempt to prevent the operation of the natural law of supply and demand could only, in the long run, result in higher prices to the consumers.

The Consumers' Advisory Committee

During the passage of the Bill through the House of Assembly, these consumer interests approached the Minister of the day, pointing out that the Bill made no provision for consumer opinion to be heard on the proposed Boards which were to be set up under the Marketing Act. As a result of these protests the Marketing Act allowed for a Consumers' Advisory Committee, and for one member representing consumers to serve on each Board.

The Consumers' Committee was purely advisory, and in the early days of the Marketing Act its members were drawn from commercial, industrial and mining interests and trade unions, and the Municipal Executives appointed two members, while town and country housewives were also given two members. The Act was amended in 1948, and the membership was increased to 16 members, eight of whom are appointed by the Minister, two by the united Municipal Executives, and six from nominations sent in to the Minister by various consumer organizations.

Control Boards

Boards were set up to control the various agricultural commodities, notably dairy produce, meat, maize and wheat, and later, eggs and oil seeds. An attempt to control fresh milk was defeated in the Courts in 1939, and this commodity did not come under the Marketing Act until 1962.

The Act laid down that on every Board producers should have a majority. Provision was made for Government representation and, where the product was subject to processing, the manufacturing industry was represented. The single consumer representative originally provided for in 1937 was later increased to two on some Boards and three on others. These consumer members are nominated by the Consumers' Advisory Committee and appointed by the Minister, and in order to maintain a link with this Committee the Amended Act lays down that one consumer member on every Board shall be appointed from the members of the Consumers' Committee.

The Control Boards fall into two categories: those controlling commodities for which the main market is domestic, and those responsible for products like citrus and deciduous fruit, which are largely sold on the export market.

Amongst the first group, certain Boards have power to control their particular product from the farm to the consumer, although in some cases this was found impracticable. The Meat Board, for instance, has not been able to fix prices for all grades of meat, and the consumer is once again in the hands of the retailer.

The Control Boards are to be congratulated in so far as they have attempted, not always successfully, to improve the standard of agricultural products in South Africa. However, it is disappointing to notice from reports that, in spite of very greatly increased agricultural prices over the last twenty years, there has been little improvement in the yield per acre of our cereal crops and, in the case of dairying, scarcely any increase in the yield of milk.

The Second World War

In considering the Marketing Act at the present time, it is essential to understand that it was originally designed to handle and find a solution for recurring surpluses which had resulted in very low prices to the producer. This was the position in 1937 when the Act was promulgated. Before the value of this kind of legislation to cope with this particular set of circumstances could be tried out, the world was plunged into war for the second time. This changed agricultural conditions everywhere. Instead of the prevailing surplus of foodstuffs—surplus, of course,

to economic demand and not to nutritional needs—shortages began to appear, and rationing of foodstuffs had to be resorted to in many countries.

In South Africa, the organization which had been set up under the Marketing Act was invaluable in these circumstances, and the machinery which had been geared to handle "too much food" was now used more or less to ration what was available, and to prevent prices rising inordinately as they had done in the previous world war. The most severe critics of the Marketing Act under its original design are prepared to admit that, within limits, it proved a valuable asset under war conditions.

Post-war Conditions

The shortages continued during the period of reorganization after the war was over. All available foodstuffs were needed, and only in the last few years has South Africa, in common with other producing countries, once again found itself in the position of having "surplus" food.

For some years the situation was met by "dumping" on the overseas markets, and the resulting average between the export price and the effective demand price obtained in the local market, still showed a good return to the farmer. However, world-wide over-production, and particular pressures facing South Africa, have now created a position where "dumping" is no longer to any great extent possible. The Marketing Act is now again facing the position for the alleviation of which it was originally placed on the Statute book. It may well be that the original critics of controlled marketing, who maintained that this kind of interference with the natural law of supply and demand would fail, will be proved right.

Present-day Problems

Dairy products pose the greatest problem at this time. Efforts to coerce local consumers to buy more butter by drastically reducing the price have proved disappointing. This is largely due to the competition of vegetable fats and oils, allied to the world-wide propaganda against the over-use of animal fats. The vast unexploited market amongst the coloured people of this country is now being taken seriously, and efforts in the direction of subsidized distribution have been initiated in the urban townships surrounding the large towns. This new market, however, must inevitably show slow progress and cannot immediately absorb the surplus, so that the industry faces the situation where there are likely to be large surpluses of butter for which there is virtually no market.

Other products, for other reasons, are likely to run into difficulties. Experts in the field of economics were always of the opinion that any attempt to control perishables would meet with failure. From time to time requests have come from vegetable growers for some form of control,

but however optimistic the protagonists of control have been, this has never been attempted. Even the Potato Control Board, where the product is not so perishable, has not been an outstanding success. The control of bananas is causing a great deal of concern and controversy. Recently bananas were destroyed to keep up the retail price, while the producer was compensated to some degree.

Within weeks of the "withdrawal from the market" of these bananas, there was a "scarcity" of this fruit, and the price to the consumer rose again.

The two export fruit boards, citrus and deciduous, have their own type of problem. The overseas price of citrus collapsed recently and, although there is an improvement this season, high prices experienced in the past are not likely to occur again. However, with faster forms of transport and improved refrigerator conditions, it may be possible to find markets for this fruit further afield.

Over all, the Marketing Act is faced with a variety of problems, and some of these may prove to be unsurmountable. There is, of course, the point of view that consumers have a choice of two alternatives—either to accept some form of control under Statute, where there is at least some consumer representation, or to return to the "normal" market, where control of some sort, implicit or explicit, was imposed in almost every field of distribution.

What is required is a form of marketing where the producers are at least able to obtain a fair reward for their services to the community, and the consumers are able to enjoy the fruits of the soil on which they live. It would require a Solomon to provide a solution to the problems of distribution, and studies are being made throughout the world in an endeavour to overcome the real problem of poverty in the midst of plenty.

The guiding principle, that a policy of freedom for the individual is the only truly progressive policy, remains as true to-day as it was in the nineteenth century.

—*"The Road to Serfdom."*

F. A. Hayek

* * *

Justice is done to peoples only when their rights are recognized, and there is no right without expression of that right.

Albert Camus.

The Case Against Poverty

By Margaret Roberts

(A member of the Cape Western Regional Council of the Black Sash and of the Archbishop's Conference Committee)



IN BRITAIN'S bad old pre-Welfare-State days—and they were bad compared with now, for the vast majority of the population, whatever they were for some of our well-heeled friends or relations—tired reformers would seem to be conceding diehards a point when they acknowledged, "Oh yes, it's the same law for the rich and the poor. . . ." They would so seem until they added: "Yes—the rich aren't allowed to sleep in doorways, either!"

Their argument was, of course, that freedom in a completely unreformed, unfettered capitalist society is really only potential freedom—you are as free as you can afford to be. For instance: if, for this reason and that, including your being neither clever nor lucky (however hard-working), and the way the economy is ordered, your children's bread depends *absolutely* on the whim of a reactionary employer, you are *not* in practice, free to make radical speeches in public.

How much more desperate is the plight of the poor in South Africa's unjust society. Here we not only take little or no effective State action to temper private exploitation of the masses, but public policy actually facilitates and ensures it. This economy is not merely "the free fox in the free hen roost": it is the free fox, given a daily dose of legislative and administrative vitamins, among hens that have had their legs and wings broken, or been tied to their roosts by Government action.

The result is a murderous poverty among four-fifths of our population, which is a sin in the soul of all of us who knowingly let it be so.

Such at least was the idea behind part of the Dedication drawn up by the Archbishop's Conference Continuation Committee for Union Day, 1960, when many thousands of South Africans solemnly dedicated themselves, in English, Afrikaans and Xhosa, to the task of "ridding our country of the scourge of poverty."

There were two other parts to that vow—one concerned with securing a just Constitution, and the other with the protection of civil rights and liberties; but it soon became clear that in these

fields we would to a large extent be duplicating the work of other bodies—even, in some instances, using the same personnel. So the sub-committee on Poverty and Wages, set up under the chairmanship of Dr. Oscar Wollheim, soon came to represent the main "continuation" work.

This was concerned largely with helping certain non-White trade unions in their unequal struggle to help their members keep their families in decency and health.

Then we decided on this Seminar on "The Case Against Poverty." As you see from the invitation inset, four speakers presented the "evidence" in their fields—social work, nutrition, industry, and African Trade Unionism—with plenty of discussion from the floor in between; and at the end an advocate of the Supreme Court summed up the "indictment."

Our main object was to try and influence those sections of opinion, both public and private, which may in turn be able to affect Government action. We feel that **public policy lags badly behind** the enlightened industrialist, a generation behind the best medical advice on nutrition. . . . We did not want to say to industrialists, "Play the game you cads and pay higher wages": we know that the good employer, if unskilled wages are a big proportion of his wage bill, does nothing so surely, by raising wages in isolation, as put himself out of business and leave a clear field to the bad employer. Indeed, South Africa is alone in the modern world in having employers who have abandoned their traditional role of resisting wage-rises, and taken on what should be the Government job of combating "sweating" of workers to whom the law forbids effective bargaining power.

DR. WOLLHEIM told us that about a third of the Coloured families in Cape Town have an income far below the poverty datum line—a weekly £5 15s. 4d. for a family of five—and that about 80 per cent. of the African families fall below that level. Yet this income is just enough to keep a family *alive*. "But people tell me," said Dr. Wollheim "that these workers and their families do in fact keep alive. My answer is partly that they don't—look at their infant mortality figures, the life expectation of a non-White worker compared with a White, etc.—and partly that when they do, it is a sub-life existence usually bought at the cost of a working mother, neglected children, juvenile delinquency, disease, crime . . ."

THE ARCHBISHOP'S CONFERENCE COMMITTEE

(Chairman — The Hon. A. v. d. S. Centlivres)

"THE CASE AGAINST POVERTY"

You are cordially invited to attend a Seminar at St. Saviour's Parish Church Hall, Claremont, on Saturday, March 31, at 9.30 a.m.

Speakers:

- 9.30 a.m. His Grace the Archbishop of Cape Town — Opening.
9.45 a.m. Dr. O. D. Wollheim — 'Trying to Live Below the Breadline.'
11.15 a.m. Prof. J. F. Brock — 'The Effects of Poverty on Health—the Cost to the Nation.'
2.15 p.m. Mr. W. R. Skeeles — 'Cheap Labour Is Not Cheap.'
3.45 p.m. Mr. T. Ngwenya — 'The Tragedy of the Unskilled Worker.'
4.30 p.m. Adv. D. B. Molteno, Q.C. — Summing up.

Teas and a light lunch will be available at a low cost.

PROFESSOR BROCK gave us the the devastating figures, in terms both of human suffering and economic stupidity, of preventable disease and death, particularly among pre-school children. Do you know, for instance, that 10,000 children die annually in our eight main urban centres alone, from gastro-enteritis, and that doctors are unanimous in indicting protein-deficiency as overwhelmingly the main cause of these deaths? And Dr. Brock was beautifully forthright in dismissing "fecklessness," "ignorance," etc., as comparable with poverty in causing this starvation.

- Do you know that skim milk provides all necessary protein?
- That Dr. Mitchell of the Cape Divisional Council went on record years ago with the fact, at once hopeful and horrifying, that a daily tablespoon of skim-milk powder per child would virtually wipe out gastro-enteritis, even leaving housing and hygiene untouched?
- And do you know that the Government is quite desperately *embarrassed* by milk surpluses?
- That in the first 12 months after Bremer bread—containing skim-milk powder—was discontinued, about three years ago, 370,000 gallons of skim-milk went down the drain on the Rand alone?
- That even allowing the abundance of a daily pint per child, this would have kept over 8,000 children, killed that year by malnutrition, in full health?
- That to cure one case of *kwasiorkor*—the main protein-deficiency killer, which hospitalises many thousands annually—costs the State about R150?

MR. W. R. SKEELES showed us unanswerably how costly to us all, in terms of productive efficiency, and of miserably inadequate home-market demand, is our "cheap" labour; and how astonishingly Government lags behind employers in their attempts to have the Wage Act amended to combat this stupidity.

MR. THOMAS NGWENYA gave us a devastating picture of what it is like on the inside of that "home market," where, **because civil liberties ensuring freedom of movement, effective bargaining power, etc., etc., are by law denied to our African workers**, "real" wages have been falling for a generation, and are still falling. Unemployment is rising.

MR. DONALD MOLTENO'S masterly summing-up gave *proof* of four propositions—that the most desperate poverty prevails among the vast majority of our people; that this poverty is deepening, alarmingly; that Government policies on the whole tend to aggravate rather than alleviate this poverty; and finally—and most important of all—that **"in terms of productive potential, poverty in South Africa is totally unnecessary, and could immediately be alleviated and shortly be abolished if the will were there to adopt the appropriate measures."**

For the first three, he depended largely on analyses of speakers' evidence. He supported fully, on the third, those speakers who showed that, in essence, colour-bar legislation (such as the pass laws) which is as destructive of national prosperity as it is restrictive of personal liberty, substantially pre-dated this Government, although this Government made it worse. And in the field of nutrition he, like Professor Brock, made the

Continued overleaf

THE CASE AGAINST POVERTY—

(Contd.)

same charge of *inaction* against previous governments. Both, for instance, quoted the 20-year-old work of that distinguished nutritionist, the late Dr. T. W. B. Osborn, M.P., and its failure to evoke official response.

On the fourth proposition, I feel it imperative to quote Mr. Molteno directly—I wish very much that it could be in full:

“It is my final proposition that this poverty is totally unnecessary. I wish first to debunk a fallacious approach often repeated—that the Government, or the privileged White class, “does so much” for the non-White people, the main victims of poverty. . . . Even if this were true, and I dispute it, I believe it to be a total fallacy to imagine that poverty can be abolished by any form of bounty. . . . The only way in which poverty can be alleviated . . . is by an increase in the national income, which, in turn, is dependent upon the co-operative efforts of all classes of the community directed to the best use of material resources. The role of governments, therefore, is . . . to promote the conditions for increasing productivity.

“On the physical side the evidence is clear that South Africa is materially well endowed. Twenty years ago, the Van Eck Commission presented irrefutable evidence of this. . . .” Mr. Molteno then quoted extensively from the Report (very exciting to hear, “for this evidence has never been contradicted”) and its recommendations (very depressing to hear, “because never acted on”).

“The country therefore possesses the human and material resources to enable it to overcome poverty. The problem thus is one of organization: to mobilise those resources and direct their use to the alleviation and ultimate abolition of poverty.

“And that task pre-eminently is the function, I suggest to you, of Government, and should be one of any government’s two principal functions—the other is the promotion of personal freedom. The two must go together, they are complementary: the one is impossible without the other.”

And, after detailed advocacy of the economic measures, like anti-cyclical budgeting, necessary to the conquest of poverty, Mr. Molteno warned: “Although Parliament is the only organ that can take or authorize the measures that I have suggested to you are required, I do not think it is likely to do so, so long as it is exclusively composed of the privileged class in this country. . . . I know of no historical case where an organ exclusively composed of the privileged has made the radical reforms needed to alleviate the condition of the masses of the people. . . .”

The Black Sash, throughout the length and breadth of the Republic, must surely respond to these sentiments with a very solemn AMEN—and act accordingly.

A BRILLIANT and telling exhibition was arranged for the Seminar by Aileen Moodie, the Research Social Worker in the Nutrition Unit of the University of Cape Town, in kiosks around the hall, giving facts and figures of malnutrition in diagram form.

Dr. O. Wollheim also set out on a table the actual food which could be bought from the average weekly wage of an unskilled worker.

Posbus

A. J. Marais, Johannesburg, skryf:

Die Radio se Plig

EK stem saam met die inhoud van u inleiding in die Maart/April 1962 uitgawe. Ek wil graag die gevaarlike rigting onderstreep deur te herinner aan 'n praatjie wat geruime tyd gelede uitgesaai is oor die Afrikaanse sender. Dit was in die reeks „Uit ons Aarde”, 6.45 vm. In die besondere praatjie word die volk gewaarsku dat hulle nie kan beskik oor alle feite nie en dus maar „die oogklappe moet dra” en vertrou op die oordeel van die leiers.

Die Radio het 'n dure plig om opvoedkundig op te tree en die volk aan te moedig om so wakker te loop as moontlik voordat hy by die stembus sy oordeel uitspreek. Dit is betreurenswaardig dat in die genoemde geval mense aangemoedig word om blindelings te volg.

Freedom is not a gift from a State or leader, but a possession to be won every day by the effort of each and the unity of all.

Albert Camus.

"THY LAND MY LAND"

THE WORK OF THE ATHLONE ADVICE OFFICE

(Now run jointly by the Black Sash and the S.A. Institute of Race Relations)

By Barbara Wilks

(A member of Cape Western Region of the Black Sash)

SINCE January, 1959, twenty-six thousand Africans (26,000) have been "endorsed out" of the Western Cape under the Bantu Urban Areas Act—that is, an endorsement has been stamped in their Reference Books stating that they have no permit to remain in the area.

In 1958, in an effort to give advice and assistance to some of these unfortunate people, the Black Sash established the Athlone Advice Office, which was originally opened for three days a week, and is now kept open every day. Since the office was first opened, there has never been a working day when there was no African waiting to be seen; its value, therefore, cannot be questioned. During March and April this year, well over 500 "cases" were interviewed. Of these 151 men and 92 women, with their children, were "endorsed out."

Pitiful Victims

Every day there are from ten to thirty Africans waiting to be seen by three or four voluntary workers. The work of the interviewer is hard, and usually depressing and heart-breaking, for there is so little that can be done to help these pitiful victims of the pitiless and inhuman Pass Laws. Each is closely questioned:—"When did you first come to the Cape?"; "Who is your present employer?"; "When were you last in the Transkei?" Gradually the story is unravelled.

The men are mostly migrant labourers. All too often they have lost their jobs, do not qualify to remain in the area, and have been endorsed out to remote villages in the Transkei where they swear—and who should know better?—that there is no work. They have no money for the fare of about R14—where can they get the money from? The Black Sash has no funds for this and the Bantu Administration officials at Langa and Nyanga East tell them that they can go back the way they came. There is nothing the Black Sash can do but offer them the empty advice and cold comfort that they must obey the laws of the land.

The women's stories are always tragic. So many of them come down from the Transkei to be with their husbands for a few months to try to become pregnant. Living apart for so long makes it difficult for them to conceive—too often their permits expire before they can achieve this. A medical certificate from Somerset or Groote Schuur Hospital can extend their permits perhaps for another two months; then they must go back. Questioned closely, the B.A.D. officials at Langa have admitted that this is *not* their idea of marriage, but they, too, are seemingly helpless before the juggernaut of the Government's restrictive legislation.

Little can be done in more than half the cases investigated. The only comfort gained by the helpers is that the Africans *still* keep on coming back to the Advice Office as a last desperate resort. Sometimes, however, something is achieved, and then the feeling of joy and relief is almost overwhelming.

George

For example, there was the case of George. George, who came to the Cape in 1942 and married a Cape-born African woman in 1945, returned to the Transkei on his doctor's advice, to recuperate from an illness and resultant chest trouble. During his absence, his wife, Emily, supported their five children and sent him money for food. She also saved up for his return fare. In 1959 he returned to the Cape, ascertained that his old job was still open to him, and applied to the authorities for permission to return to it. This was refused on the grounds that he had been away for more than 12 months, and thus no longer "qualified" to reside in the Cape. He was "endorsed" out, arrested for not obeying the endorsement, and served a two-month sentence.

On release from gaol he begged the Bantu Administration Department to be allowed to return to his job, and was rearrested on the spot and escorted to his home in the Transkei. His wife only learned what had happened to him when she received a letter from him from the Transkei. A few months later, Emily sent him more money and begged him to return as his youngest child was dying. This he did, only to find that the child was already dead. He was naturally afraid to ask the authorities for permission to remain in the area, so he hid by day and returned to his lawfully married wife, home and children by night.

Emily eventually went to the Athlone Advice Office, and after three months of hard work, permission was obtained for him to remain in the Cape and take up employment.

Walter

Then there was the case of Walter. Walter also came to the Cape in 1942 and worked in the Municipal Council area. In 1958 he took a job in Phillipi, which comes under the Divisional Council. He was dismissed early in 1962, and was endorsed out. He refused to leave the area, as he felt he was qualified to remain in the Cape owing to length of residence, and was arrested. Fortunately, through the Advice Office, he obtained the services of a good lawyer, and in April of this year his case was dismissed, the Magistrate ruling that by law he could remain in the Cape.

Continued overleaf

"THY LAND MY LAND"—(Contd.)

His troubles were not yet over, however. He had been offered his old job in Phillipi, but the authorities in Nyanga East, who deal with Africans working in the Divisional Council area, refused to stamp his book, until he had been "cleared" by Langa, which deals with Africans working in the Municipal Council area. The authorities at Langa at first refused flatly to have anything to do with him—he was a Nyanga East responsibility.

At length, a reasonably minded official "cleared" him, at the same time advising the Black Sash worker who had accompanied him to go with him to Nyanga East in case there was any difficulty. There was. The authority at Nyanga East at first refused to give him permission to take up work, in spite of the Court's decision; but after some argument (and protected by the very fine lawyer's letter), Walter was allowed to take up his job. He has been warned, however, that the minute he loses it he will be endorsed out, on the grounds that when an African transfers from the Municipal to the Divisional Council area his previous years of residence no longer obtain.

(As the law stands to-day, an African can "qualify" to be in the Cape only if he was born there and has lived there continuously ever since, or if he has had ten years' continuous service with one employer, or 15 years' continuous lawful residence in the Cape.)

Angelina

There is also Angelina. An unmarried African woman, she maintains that she came to live in Kraaifontein in the Municipal Council area, "the year after the sun went down," i.e., in 1942. She obtained her passbook when they were first issued, in 1955. Now she has lost it, and her job. When she reported for a new book, she was handed a temporary pink permit, and endorsed out, although she had with her an offer of new employment—this time with an employer who lives in the Divisional Council area.

The case was referred to the authorities at Nyanga East, who told her to go to Langa to obtain proof that she had been in the Cape since 1942, when her permanent residence might be considered. When Langa was telephoned, the officials maintained that it was the duty of the officials at Nyanga East to check for proof of her statement—they would do nothing for her. The mild reproof that Africans were batted between the two offices, which are about ten miles apart, like tennis balls, and with about as much consideration, was dismissed with the all-too-familiar remark, "That's none of my business!"

The outcome of Angelina's case, at the time of writing, is still in the balance. The officials at Nyanga East have been informed of the ruling at Langa, but the lack of co-operation between the two offices adds to the difficulties of Africans in their hopeless trudge from office to office, from hospital to hospital, in their endless quest

for official proof that what they say is indeed true.

Sympathy and Help

These, of course, represent only a fraction of the cases dealt with. Only by patience, persistence and politeness to the authorities, who, in their turn, are in the main courteous and helpful to the workers, has a small measure of success been achieved. Those fortunate few "clients" who have won their cases would never have done so without the help of the Advice Office. For it is there, as they have so often trustingly said, that they know they will be listened to sympathetically and patiently, helped, and advised how best to present their case to the authorities.

"I am a Man"

Long after one has left the office, the imagination is haunted by the memory of the wives trudging back to their leaky pondoks, which they have been told to leave; of the men in their broken shoes and torn jackets, saying, "I am a man. I must support my wife and children. How can I do that when we are sent back to the Transkei where there are no jobs?" But however much a morning at the Advice Office may sear the heart and destroy peace of the mind, there is always consolation in the actual presence of the patient Africans waiting there every morning. *They need the office—no more can be said.*

Mrs. Malindi

No account of the Advice Office can be given without paying a tribute to Mrs. Malindi, the Black Sash paid interpreter, who has worked there since its inception. Blessed with an invigorating command of English, indomitable courage, a deep and possibly unique knowledge of the Bantu Urban Areas Act, an active and serpentine brain, and an unconquerable sense of humour, Mrs. Malindi has guided, advised and helped every one of the workers of the office.

PENSIONS FOR AFRICANS

IN reply to a question from Mr. G. N. Oldfield, M.P. for Durban-Umbilo, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Development gave the following figures in respect of the monthly maximum amounts paid to Africans for old age, war veterans', blind persons' and disability benefits:

In respect of all schemes, with effect from April 1st, 1962,

(a) City areas	R3.52½
(b) Town areas	R3.02½
(c) Rural areas	R2.52½

Hansard 4099, 17/4/62.

NEWS FROM REGIONS AND BRANCHES

DURING these last weeks of May, the energies of the Black Sash have been concentrated on the protest against the General Laws Amendment Bill now before Parliament. Although no detailed reports have so far reached Headquarters, it is known that demonstrations have been held in Cape Town, Pietermaritzburg and other centres, and, of course, Johannesburg, where the attentions of the "egg and tomato pelters" have focused country-wide attention on our protest.

In Johannesburg, the response of the women of the Black Sash has been amazing—hundreds have come forward to take their turn to guard the "flame of freedom." The most heart-warming feature of this response is that it has come not only from Johannesburg — members have travelled from all over the Reef to be with us, from Krugersdorp and Springs, from Vereeniging and Pretoria. Many of our old members who had drifted away, who had become discouraged, have returned to keep vigil with us on the City Hall steps. And our staunch little Witbank branch, who find it impossible to come to Johannesburg very often because of transport difficulties, held their own vigil in front of the post office in Witbank last week.

Headquarters Region

Until the "Sabotage" Bill was published, the normal activities of the Headquarters Region were being pursued, but it seems so much more than two weeks ago that it is hard to believe that the Report which follows is up-to-date.

National Press Statements. The National Statement on **Government Defence Policy**, the text of which was given in the March/April magazine, was published in full in the *Rand Daily Mail*. A statement on the lack of principle shown in **Race Classification** developments was published in full by the *Star*. The text of this statement is given in this issue of the magazine. In response to a special request from Natal Midlands Region, space was bought in the *Star* and the *Rand Daily Mail* and an advertisement inserted protesting against the **Publications and Entertainments Bill**. It had not been our intention to make a statement on this Bill for the time being, as we hoped that Cape Western would be granted an interview by the Select Committee appointed by Parliament, to speak to the two memoranda submitted by Cape Western and Headquarters Regions. But as the Select Committee has now put forward a new version of the Bill, we must assume that no interviews will be granted.

The National Advisory Council on Education. We have now received a report of the interview accorded the Black Sash deputation in Cape Town by the Select Committee. We are most

grateful to the three members who represented us, and congratulate them on the way they acquitted themselves. Their report is published elsewhere in the magazine.

South African Foundation. As Headquarters felt that the Black Sash knew very little about the aims and work of this organization, we wrote to the Foundation and asked them to send a speaker to address an evening meeting. On the 15th May, the meeting was duly held in St. George's Hall, Parktown, and Mr. Louis Gerber, of the South African Foundation, addressed an audience of about 60 Black Sash members and their husbands. Some significant questions were put to Mr. Gerber, and a full report of his speech and replies has been prepared, and will be circulated to Regions in due course.

Border Region

The Region reports that the new subscription rate was accepted by members as a reasonable and practical step; only four resignations were received from inactive members.

During the recent election, the majority of East London members worked for their respective parties, which caused the usual drain on Black Sash work. However, things are now back to normal.

A roster has been formed to sit fortnightly at the **Bantu Commissioner's Court**. The first "sitting" reports that nothing much could be done, as the proceedings followed the usual pattern of arrests for pass offences, which were not unkindly dealt with by the officials within the limits of the law. Border hope to establish some contact with Africans concerned, and may perhaps be able to assist by arranging for the care of children who suffer through the custody of their parents.

Influx Control. Border members feel that they have been instrumental in assisting an African youth from the East London area to obtain a permit to attend the Port Elizabeth Technical School, the only such school in the Ciskei. The student had the required scholastic qualifications, the necessary fees were available, and private accommodation had been arranged with an uncle, but the permit was refused without explanation. After investigation by the Black Sash, the local Bantu Authorities explained that the permit had been refused because there was no accommodation in the hostel, and also that it was policy to give no reasons. The permit was subsequently granted, and Border have received a letter of thanks from the boy's uncle. The letter made a request for further assistance, in obtaining work for the boy during the school holidays, in order to help with his school fees and clothing, and "to keep him off the streets." This request has been referred to Cape Eastern Region, who have been standing by throughout.

The April Monthly Meeting was addressed by a local Indian businessman, who spoke about a recent visit to India, undertaken to arrange for

Continued overleaf

NEWS FROM REGIONS— (Contd.)

his children's higher education as it had become quite plain that this was not to be had in South Africa. The speaker's talk dealt mainly with the Universities in India, which he described as comparable with any in the world.

Kei Road Branch. This Branch reports a slight drop in membership owing to enforced inactivity and a feeling of being out of touch. The Branch has re-organized itself: there is to be no formal Committee and political discussion groups will take its place.

Cape Eastern Region

The attention of this Region was recently drawn to a report about the severe beating of an African schoolboy, aged 16, for **non-possession of a Reference Book**. Regional Council members made extensive enquiries, and sent a report to Mrs. Helen Suzman, who asked questions in the House. The reply of the Minister of Justice was that the report was exaggerated. Cape Eastern wrote to the Commissioner of Police asking several questions about the circumstances of the beating; they were referred to the Chief Commissioner, and are still awaiting his reply to their letter. Letters have been written to the Press deploring the punishment and the harsh treatment meted out to a minor and a first offender.

Anti - Coloured - Education - Transfer Meeting. Three members attended the open meeting of this Committee, of which they are members. Papers were read by Mr. Vogel (in the absence through banning of Dennis Brutus) and by a graduate of Fort Hare. The first paper deplored the proposed take-over, and pointed out what it would mean to the Coloured people; the second was an interesting exposé of how the African has suffered through Bantu Education mostly because of the absurd insistence on the vernacular in all subjects. Mrs. Landman felt that the whole situation was political rather than educational, as it appeared that the children were to be conditioned to believe that they were different, that Afrikaans was their "moeder-taal," and that they should accept their status of so-called inferiority. All the changes had more or less been effected already, but the Bill would ratify them. A great deal of emphasis in both Bantu and Coloured Education was placed on handwork, crop cultivation, etc., to the detriment of academic studies. Mr. Beard, of Rhodes University, said that all was not well with White education, and he referred to censorship applied to school libraries in the Transvaal.

Curfew Regulations. A member of the Region found out by chance that an African had been arrested at 9.45 one night, the curfew having been, unofficially, 10 p.m. for months. He was fined R4 and released. Our member wrote to the Chief Magistrate saying that the fine was out of proportion, and received a reply to the effect that although curfew regulations were a Municipal affair, it was his rule to impose fines uniformly throughout his area. This he had done, and the fines were now R1 for early pick-up, and R2. for late.

The Influx Control regulations are very strictly applied in the area, and cause a great deal of hardship. The Region is constantly having requests for help from people out of work, people about to be "endorsed out," people in trouble with reference books, etc., and members are doing what they can to assist, which is, of course, very little.

Death of Miss May Trollip. It is with the greatest regret that the Region has to report the death in October, 1961, of this faithful and interested member. Miss Trollip was a foundation member of the Black Sash, was well over eighty years of age at the time of her death, and in spite of indifferent health remained a stalwart and loyal supporter of Black Sash aims and principles. Her knowledge of politics and the affairs of her country were outstanding, and her letters were a continual inspiration to the Eastern Cape Region, who accepted and acted upon her many suggestions. Her example of fortitude and helpfulness will always be an inspiration.

Cape Western Region

Anti-Transfer Action Committee. The Committee has met regularly since its inception, but there are no activities to report at present.

Group Areas Amendment Bill.—A stand in protest against this Bill was held in Adderley Street on April 18th, during the lunch hour. Posters in both languages read: **Group Areas Amendment Bill—Repeal Group Areas, do not Amend.** There was a good deal of publicity in the Press about Group Areas at the time as the second reading was then being debated in the Senate. At the request of the Regional Council, Advocate Molteno drew up a petition requesting the Mayor to convene a meeting of voters "for the purpose of discussing a matter affecting the interests of the Municipality, namely, the threat to the autonomy of the same and to the Municipal franchise rights of many of its inhabitants." Over thirty signatures were collected, and the petition was presented to the Mayor, who agreed to call the meeting. A Committee headed by ex-Chief Justice Centlivres will arrange details of the publicity and the speakers for the meeting.

The South African Foundation. The Regional Council was worried about the various statements being made by overseas visitors brought out to the country by the South African Foundation, and when details of forthcoming visits by editors of British papers and members of the British House of Commons were published in the Press, letters were written to them inviting them to visit the Athlone Advice Office while they were in Cape Town. As a result of this Mrs. Stott, Mrs. Petersen and Mrs. Robb had an interview with four Editors and one of the M.P.'s, and were able to provide them with information. Unfortunately, there was no time for them to visit the advice office.

The Regional Council also wrote to the local Chairman of the Foundation, requesting an interview with him and his Committee.

Letters to the Press. A letter on the Job

NEWS FROM REGIONS— (Contd.)

Reservation of Bus Drivers was written to the Press and published in full. A letter regarding the State President's address at a South African Foundation dinner was published in part.

The Archbishop's Conference Committee. The Committee held a Seminar on "The Case Against Poverty" on March 31st. A full report appears elsewhere in the Magazine.

Mrs. D. Berman. Members of Cape Western Region were very sorry to say good-bye to Mrs. Berman, former Editor of the Magazine, when she sailed for England in the middle of April. Her parting gift to the Region was a full issue of every magazine ever published, beautifully bound, and inscribed, "With love and great admiration for the work of the Sash."

Natal Coastal Region

The Courtesy Campaign is still continuing, and reports are encouraging. The Region is still very modest about it, and reluctant to believe that the success of the campaign is due solely to its own efforts.

Removals from Kwa Mashu Township. The Region has been waging an active campaign, to ensure that an amount of R8.48, voted by the City Council towards rent remissions for infirm and indigent Africans removed to the township from Cato Manor goes through, as certain City Councillors have spoken against the grant, saying that it is no responsibility of the Council. The Black Sash has written letters to each City Councillor individually, as well as to the Deputy Mayor and Town Clerk. Prominent Durban citizens have been persuaded to write as well, and letters have also gone from such organisations as the Institute of Race Relations, the Bantu Child Welfare Association, and the National Council of Women. The Region has received replies from three Councillors, and hopes that the grant will now go through.

Speakers at Meetings. At the Region's February meeting, Mr. Mike Gardiner, of N.U.S.A.S. read an excellent paper on "Apartheid in Universities, and Tribal Colleges." Mr. Lloyd, of the Editorial Staff of the *Daily News*, addressed the April meeting, and spoke on the position of the Press in South Africa today. Mrs. Levey, Vice-Chairman of Eastern Cape Region of the Black Sash, attended the March meeting as a guest and was able to inform the Region at first hand of the work being done in the Eastern Cape.

Press Statements. The National Press Statement on Race Classification was published as a letter in the Natal morning paper. A statement on the removal of Indians from Cato Manor under the Group Areas Act was published with good headlines, "Black Sash Appeal."

Cato Manor Indians. Letters have been sent to the Mayor, Town Clerk and each individual City Councillor asking them to reconsider this matter and stand firm. A letter has also been addressed to the Regional Under-Secretary, Natal Department of Community Development, at the request of the Cato Manor Indian Ratepayers' Co-ordinating Council. Work is also being done

in **Queensborough** over the implementation of the Group Areas Act there in regard to Indians.

Transfer of Coloured Education. A sub-Committee has been formed to investigate this matter, and the Region is getting in touch with **Natal Midlands Region** to find out what is being done in this connection in Pietermaritzburg.

Women's Cultural Group. Five members of the Region attended a meeting of this Group at the home of an Indian friend, and have accepted an invitation to join the group, as one means of building a small bridge between races. Members also continue to attend meetings of the **Durban Women's Association**, a multi-racial association from which they learn a good deal.

Political Review. The Region is still producing an excellent political review, regularly compiled by Mrs. Sybil Adams. Congratulations, Mrs. Adams!

Natal Midlands Region

The Region consists now of three **Branches**, Pietermaritzburg, Mooi River and Matatiele, and four **Groups**, Kokstad, Ixopo, Howick, Underberg-Himeville. These groups have a contact member, and consist of a small group who do not want to sever their connection with the Black Sash.

Mrs. Phillips, contact member for **Kokstad**, has been busy collecting information about the overcrowding of jails in the rural areas. She has written to the Member of Parliament for that Constituency, asking him to make representations on the subject.

Pietermaritzburg Branch is very active. It holds inter-racial tea-parties each month, and this contact is much valued by the members. The April tea-party was held at the home of Dr. Miss Chetty, who trained in Glasgow and is the only Non-White dentist in Pietermaritzburg. All racial groups were represented and all spent a delightful afternoon.

The Branch is busy organising a **Brains Trust on Education** to be held at the end of May. They are also working on an inquiry concerning Passes for African women.

The Branch is represented on various Committees: The Educational Vigilance Committee, the Group Areas Resistance Committee, the Natal Convention Continuation Committee, NUSAS Committee to oppose the take-over of Coloured Education, a Committee to help the families of banished Africans, and the Human Rights Committee.

Matatiele Branch holds regular monthly meetings, where papers are read or records listened to. The Branch assisted with the collection of signatures for the S.A.B.C. petition.

Mooi River Branch. This Branch is an active one, which does valuable work. It is organizing a public meeting where the recent political changes in Africa will be discussed. They, also, hope to organize a Brains Trust on Education. As well as helping to collect signatures to the S.A.B.C. petition in Mooi River, they sent petition forms to Estcourt, Winterton, Ladysmith, Bergville and Dundee.

Continued overleaf

NEWS FROM REGIONS— (Contd.)

The Region was disappointed in the response it got to the petition. Apathy and fear are very rife in this area, and we feel that demonstrations and Press statements should increase to encourage the many who are feeling hopeless, and to show the friends we have made among the non-Whites that we are still unafraid.

Transvaal Region

The Saturday afternoon meetings with African women are being held regularly, and the group is now known as the **Saturday Club**. At the last meeting held in March, readings in Zulu of the poems of Vilakazi were given, followed by English translations by Mrs. Friedman. Early in April a meeting was held in the home of Mrs. Grant, where Mrs. Davidoff gave an interesting talk on gardening. After the talk, members "swopped" and distributed cuttings and perennials they had brought. At the following meeting, Mrs. Unterhalter gave a talk on the industrial revolution in England, and the African women commented on the parallels they noted with what is at present happening to their own people in South Africa. The meetings are regularly attended by from twenty-five to thirty women, and there are probably about fifty enthusiastic "club" members in all.

On Saturday, 26th May, a second **Multi-Racial Forum**, on the subject of the "Education of Johannesburg's Children," was convened by Mrs. Davidoff. A full report of this Forum appears elsewhere in the magazine.

Letters to the S.A.B.C. and Secretary for Information. Following a report in the Sunday Times that the Ministry of Information was now dictating the news policy of the S.A.B.C., and a denial over the air by the Secretary for Information, the Transvaal Region wrote to the Ministry for Information and the S.A.B.C., asking for comments on recent news broadcasts and commentaries. The Secretary for Information referred the Region back to the S.A.B.C., but a full and lengthy reply was received from the Corporation.

Group Areas Proclamation, Johannesburg. Following the recent proclamation of Group Areas in Johannesburg, all non-Whites will be given one year's notice to move from areas in central Johannesburg. This includes 7,000 Coloureds, for whom an insufficient number of houses, including slum dwellings, are available; and a number of Chinese, for whom no provision has been made at all. Indians will all have to go to Lenasia. The Region is making investigations to find out how these people are affected.

Transfer of Coloured Education. The Region has approached NUSAS at the University of the Witwatersrand offering assistance in any action contemplated to oppose the transfer of the control of Coloured and Indian Education to their respective Government departments.

Groups and Branches. Apart from Fund-raising, the town Branches seldom work independently, but pool their resources and work together in all Regional activities. Branches all hold their own regular monthly meetings, and if any particularly interesting talk is laid on,

Mrs. Russell's 80th Birthday

ON the 16th of June, Mrs. E. F. M. Russell, Vice-Chairman of the Natal Midlands Region of the Black Sash, will celebrate her 80th birthday. Mrs. Russell has been a stalwart member of our organization from the beginning, and has served continuously on Branch and Regional Committees.

Mrs. Russell is a former Mayor of Pietermaritzburg, and received the freedom of that city some years ago.

During her public life she has served on innumerable committees, and her extensive knowledge of politics and public affairs as well as her sanity and wisdom have been of inestimable value to the Black Sash.

With the greatest affection and respect, we offer Mrs. Russell our congratulations and good wishes.

issue an open invitation to members of other Branches.

The country Branches are obliged because of distance to work on their own, but from time to time members from Witbank, Rustenburg and Pretoria manage to attend the monthly Regional Council meeting in Johannesburg. For some years now, the Region has tried to hold one of these monthly Council meetings per year in each of these three country areas.

Rustenburg has done sterling work recently on the Group Areas Act, and has protested every step of the way against the removal of the Indian community from the urban area of Rustenburg to an unsuitable site outside the town. **Witbank** has been working on Education with the Education Vigilance Committee, and has tried to institute inter-racial consultation through the Church Women's Society, without very much success.

Our country Branches have recently suffered the loss of several of their oldest members who have died within the last six months. Witbank in particular has suffered in this respect. Mrs. Robertson and Mrs. Jenner, two foundation members of the Branch, have passed away recently, as well as Mrs. Miller and her daughter Mrs. Mavis Dancer. The death of Mrs. von Geuseu, a foundation member of Pretoria Branch, at the end of the year, was a sad blow to her Pretoria colleagues. Mrs. Rankin, of White River, one of the first members of the Black Sash in Lowveld, lost her life in the Douala air crash.

It is sad to have to record the passing of these old friends, staunch members of the Black Sash from its inception, and we offer their families and fellow Branch members our sincere sympathy.

Rustenburg has suffered a less unhappy loss. Mrs. Monica Ritchken, the founder of the Rustenburg Branch, left Rustenburg for good at the end of March, and will now be living overseas. We shall all miss her sadly, but wish her well in her new life.

RACE CLASSIFICATION

National Press Statement

BY THE BLACK SASH

THE Black Sash has always been opposed to the principle embodied in the law dealing with race classification. This law leads to untold misery among thousands of people either affected by it or who live in fear of being classified into another racial group.

The Government have told us that apartheid laws are a matter of principle. When, however, the need for expediency arises, the so-called principle, stringently observed in our country, goes by the board. The rules have been waived to placate the Japanese customer.

The case won by a South African citizen, Mr. David Song, has led to the situation where a man legally married to a woman of his own race is now presumably vulnerable under another odious racial law. Such are the ridiculous anomalies which stem from the immoral principle embodied in race classification.

Although we now have another amendment before Parliament, it would be a clever man who could draft an amendment to the Population Registration Act of 1950 to ensure that South African citizens remain in their colour-tight compartments and yet allow foreign customers to be always White.

DANGEROUS CORNERS

The Population Registration Act has been called the cornerstone of apartheid. But so many other Acts are looked upon as the cornerstone of apartheid that apartheid has many corners and most of them are dangerous corners.

Mrs. H. Suzman, Hansard 4495.

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

Cartoons in this issue by courtesy of the *Rand Daily Mail* and Bob Connolly, the *Cape Times* and David Marais. Photographs by courtesy of the *Rand Daily Mail* and *The World*.

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