

**THE  
BLACK  
SASH**

**DIE  
SWART  
SERP**



**HELP  
RIGHT  
THESE  
WRONGS**

## *Dedication . . .*

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

So help us God, in Whose strength we trust.

## *Toewydingsrede . . .*

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



## Our Role in Africa

WHEN World War II came to an end, the stage was set for the Union to play a great role of leadership in Africa. She had distinguished herself on the field of battle; her voice was listened to in the councils of the nations. Her industries had developed beyond expectation, her economy was booming, and the star of her sociological advancement stood high in the southern skies.

Other nations in Africa were anxious to obtain her products, her scientific knowledge and her technological know-how. Nobody doubted that the Union of South Africa would hold and develop the lead she had won on the sub-continent.

Yet today, after fourteen years of Nationalist rule, the dream of leadership has been rudely dispelled. South Africa stands alone, shunned and mistrusted by former friends. We are almost without an ally in Africa, and are busy building kraal walls around our borders.

Not a single move by the Nationalist government to secure pan-African co-operation has succeeded. The "Southern Nato" defensive alliance for which Mr. Erasmus strove for nearly ten years has been abandoned. The drive to win a customs union with the Federation has failed, and tariffs are raised against us. Southern Rhodesia preferred a rail route to Lourenco Marques to a link between Messina and Bulawayo. The talk in many parts of Africa is of trade boycotts against our goods. We are excluded from conferences, and even offers of scientific and technological aid are spurned. Prospects of closer association with the Federation have almost vanished, while the Prime Minister now has to admit that incorporation of the Protectorates is no longer a practical proposition.

What is it that has brought about this tragic fall from leadership to the role of the pariah? Nothing less than the official policy of White baasskap. The South African Republic, alone among the nations of the world, pursues an official policy of race-domination, and the rest of the world will have none of it. The African states refuse to join a defence pact while we exclude non-Whites from our Defence Forces; Africans north of the Limpopo decline to buy our goods while we pursue job-reservation on a race basis.

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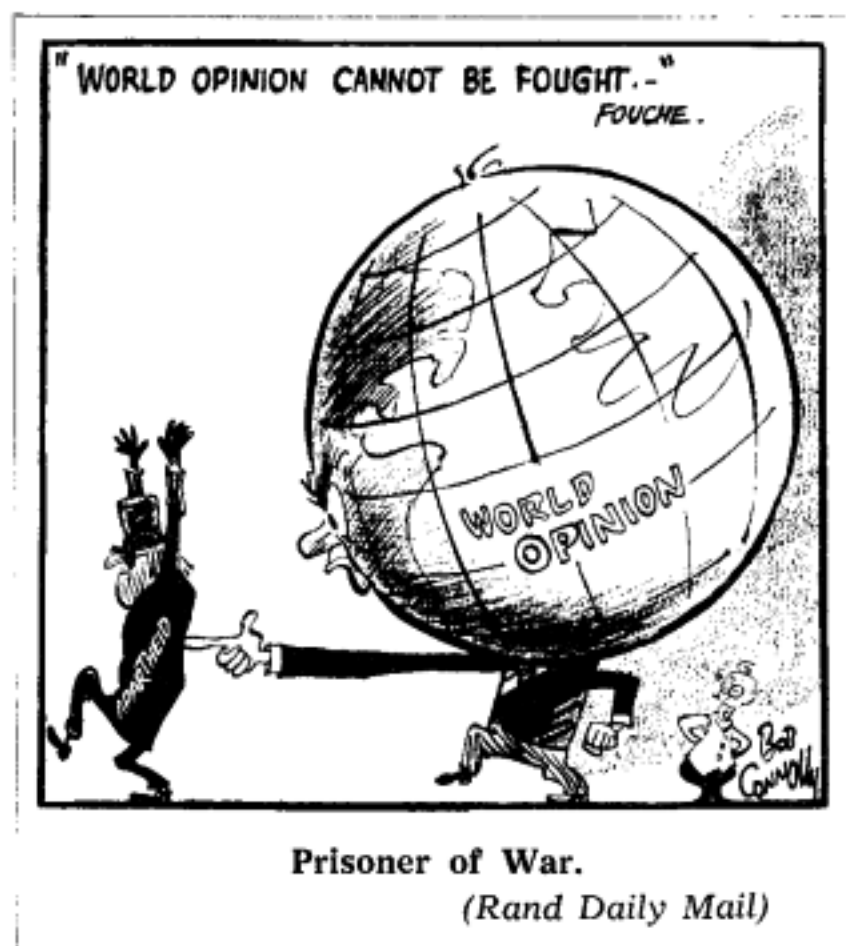
## Ons Rol in Afrika

TOE die tweede wêreld-oorlog ten einde geloop het, was die tyd ryp vir die Unie om 'n groot rol van leierskap in Afrika te speel. Sy het onderskeiding vir haarself op die oorlogsvelde behaal; in die rade van die volkere is daar geluister na haar stem. Haar industrië het bo verwagting ontwikkel, haar ekonomie het opgeleef, en haar maatskaplike vooruitgang was treffend.

Ander nasies was gretig om haar produkte, haar wetenskaplike kennis en haar tegniese vaardigheid te bekom. Niemand het daarvan getwyfel dat die Unie van Suid-Afrika haar posisie van leierskap in die suide van Afrika sou behou en versterk nie.

En tog vandag, na veertien jaar van Nasionale Party regering, is ons droom van leierskap ru verdel. Suid-Afrika staan alleen, en haar voormalige vriende vermy en wantrou haar. In Afrika het ons byna geen bondgenoot nie, en om ons grense is ons besig om kraal mure te bou.

*Vervolg onmesy*



## Ons Rol in Afrika (Verv.)

Geen enkele poging van die Nasionale Party Regering om die samewerking van die Afrika-state te verkry het geslaag nie. Die oogmerk van die „Suidelike Nato” verdedigings-verbond, waarvoor Mnr. Erasmus byna tien jaar gewerk het, is opgegee. Die poging om 'n doeane ooreenkoms met die Federasie te sluit, het gefaal, en die tariewe teen ons is verhoog. Suid-Rhodesië het voorkeur gegee aan 'n spoor roete na Lourenco Marques, bo 'n spoor verbinding tussen Messina en Bulawayo. In baie dele van Afrika word gepraat van handelsboikotte teen ons goedere. Ons word van konferensies uitgesluit, en selfs aanbiedings van wetenskaplike en tegniese hulp van die hand gewys.

Die vooruitsigte van enige nouer verbonde met die Federasie het byna verdwyn, terwyl die Eerste Minister nou moet erken dat die inlywing van die protektorate nie meer 'n praktiese moontlikheid is nie.

Wat is dit wat hierdie tragiese ommekeer van die rol van leierskap na die van die muishond teweeg-gebring het? Niks minder dan die offisiële beleid van wit baasskap nie. Onder al die nasies van die wêreld, is dit net die Suid-Afrikaanse Republiek wat 'n offisiële beleid van rasse-dominasie volg, en die res van die wêreld wil niks daarmee te doen hê nie. Die Afrika-state weier om aan te sluit by 'n verdedigingsverdrag terwyl ons nie-blankes uitsluit van ons verdedigingsmagte; nie-blankes ten noorde van die Limpopo weier om ons goedere te koop terwyl ons werksversekering toepas op grond van ras.

Die naakte waarheid is dat Suid-Afrika nooit weer 'n posisie van leierskap kan behaal nie, terwyl sy rasse diskriminasie beoefen nie. Eers na ons die leer van baasskap-apartheid prysgegee het, en elke persoon, ongeag sy ras, vry is om sy volste bydrae tot die ontwikkeling van ons volk te maak, sal dit moontlik wees vir ons om daardie rol van leierskap inneem wat ons na regte behoort te beklee.

### Stunting His Growth



(Rand Daily Mail)

## Our Role in Africa (Cont.)

The plain truth is that South Africa can never resume a position of leadership in Africa while she continues to uphold race discrimination. Only when the doctrine of baasskap apartheid has been abandoned, and every individual, regardless of race, is free to make his full contribution to the development of our nation, will it be possible for us to play the role of leadership among the emerging states of Africa that should rightly be ours.

## SOPHISTICATED COMMUNITY

The new (liquor) rights for non-Whites and the adult manner in which these have been accepted, throw an interesting light on the extent to which non-Whites in South Africa have become a sophisticated community, with a well-developed sense of social responsibility. Their contact with the Whites is a continuing education for them and it is plain that the urbanized non-White community is well on its way to copying and adopting European standards.

It is a tragedy, therefore, that the urbanized Natives of the Witwatersrand, who are proving in so many ways to be an educated, sophisticated, responsible class, should be doomed forever to go without political rights. This is the group which is surely entitled to some representation in the Central Parliament; yet the denial of this right is the greatest single weakness in the Government's apartheid policy.

“Sunday Times”

## SOUTH AFRICA'S UNIQUE POSITION

**W**HITE South Africans often complain that people in other parts of the world know very little about our country and its problems, and consequently tend to misunderstand and misjudge us. This is no doubt true, but then South Africa shares this disability with all other countries in the world. We in our turn are in general woefully ignorant of the peoples and problems of other countries, even — and especially — of other African states, and cannot see South Africa in true perspective with the rest of Africa and the world.

We are even unaware of some aspects of our own country, and know little of the conditions under which other racial groups live, and the contribution which each group makes to the well-being of the country as a whole. And, as always, ignorance breeds fear, and we fall an easy prey to racial propaganda, and readily develop the "White laager" mentality.

We learn of the establishment of new independent African governments, and, unmindful of the fact that the populations concerned are almost wholly African, we are quick to talk of "handing over to the Black man", or "selling out the White man" in Africa. We read of disturbances in these new African states, and conclude that chaos is the inevitable result of giving political rights to non-Whites. We uneasily draw parallels with conditions in our own country, where in fact no paral-

els can rightly be drawn. For South Africa is in a unique position in Africa.

South Africa has by far the largest White population in Africa: of the 5,000,000 White people on the continent, sixty per cent are settled permanently in our country. This is no transient European population such as one finds in other parts of Africa — the White people have made their home here for over 300 years. They are as truly South Africans as White citizens of the United States are Americans. The population ratio of White to non-White is 1 to 4 as against, for example, 1 to 26 in the Federation, 1 to 94 in Kenya, 1 to 124 in the Congo, 1 to 1,000 in Ghana\*. Our Whites are well-established and stable, our non-Whites more developed than anywhere else in Africa, and law-abiding and responsible. Ours is a highly developed industrial country, with vast natural resources and tremendous economic potential.

What, then, have we to fear? Nothing, it is said, but fear itself. We have a population of 16,000,000 people, all of whom are essential to the maintenance of our present degree of development. No amount of juggling with population groups can alter the fact that we are all here to stay and that we are all inter-dependent. Let us face the fact that we are all South Africans, and all entitled to a stake in our country. We have nothing to lose and everything to gain by accepting this, and trying to live together with tolerance and goodwill in this wonderful land of ours.

\* Figures given by Sir de Villiers Graaff in the House of Assembly, Hansard 3942, 13/4/62.

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### POOR MR. WARING!

**A** JOHANNESBURG morning newspaper commented that Mr. Frank Waring's main task as Minister of Information was to prove to the outside world that Apartheid was both moral and practicable.

"In effect," says one of our readers, "Mr. Waring is being asked to prove to a sceptical world that black is white, at the same time upholding his Government's dictum that 'Black is Black and White is White and never the twain shall meet'. Poor Mr. Waring!"



"What are you waiting for? Convert!"

(Cape Times)

# SOUTH AFRICA IN THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION

By MURIEL FISHER

**“WHAT DO WE KNOW OF AFRICA?** How many of us, given a blank map of Africa, could outline the borders of its many countries, and say which are independent states or moving towards independence, and which are still under colonial rule? I must confess”, says Mrs. Fisher, “that, until I began this survey of the Africa of today and our place therein, I should have failed miserably in such a test.”

This article is the first of a series in which Mrs. Fisher surveys for us the changing scene in the vast continent on which we live.

**I**N LOOKING at the exciting new Africa of the 1960's, we in South Africa must realize that we are watching history being made; but we must also realize that we are not only onlookers but participants in that history, and that for our own good we should constantly look North to the rapidly changing map of Africa, and not South to where Jan van Riebeeck first set foot on African soil. Every day our future is being affected by the restless, turbulent Africa which has come into being since the war.

This immense continent, 11½ million square miles in area, is as big as Western Europe, the U.S.A., India and China. It occupies one-fifth of the land surface of the earth, and of its over 200 million people **only 5 million are white.** The rest are Hamitic (nearest to Asia), Negro (in the West), or Bantu, a mixture of the two, speaking more than 700 languages, and the main religious groups are estimated to be 60 million Muslims, 20 million Christians and 120 million pagans.

“African” is a very wide term. Not all Africans are black, as you will notice if you compare a Nyasa with a Xhosa. Colour tends to be lighter in the South, due to the admixture of Hamitic blood with negro, which is thought to be the origin of the Bantu. Nor do Africans in general know each other, in the sense that a Frenchman knows a German. This applies particularly to West and East Africa. A Ghanaian could hardly be expected to know a Kikuyu, separated as they are by thousands of miles of forests, rivers and mountains, and with virtually no lines of communication.

It is commonly said that Africa has no real past, no ancient history. Africans certainly lived in Africa, but there is an extraordinary absence of any record of the life of past centuries. The indigenous African had no wheels, no towns, no manufactures, no clocks or calendars, and only the most primitive tools; yet there are traces of earlier civilizations in the ruins of Zimbabwe, the bronzes of Benin in Nigeria, the masks of the Congo. Ethiopia alone of Black Africa has remained an entity through the ages.



**Mrs. Fisher  
Vice-Chairman of  
the Transvaal  
Region of the  
Black Sash.**

For centuries, Africa was to the European the impenetrable Dark Continent. It was Africa's destiny to be exploited, colonized, subdued, but never very far inland. The Phoenicians dominated North Africa, and Carthage was founded about 800 B.C. In 630 B.C. the Greeks founded the city of Cyrene, now in Lybia, and three hundred years later Alexander the Great founded Alexandria. The Romans followed the Greeks, and eight centuries later the Arabs, burning with the new faith of Mohammed, conquered all North Africa from the Red Sea to the Atlantic. Christianity disappeared, except for the Copts in Egypt and in unconquered Ethiopia. But this was all North of the Sahara, the impenetrable sea of sand.

Not until the 15th century did Europe begin to discover the outline of Africa, when the Portuguese under Prince Henry the Navigator sailed round Africa and claimed large slices of the coast. Bartolomeo Diaz rounding the Cape in 1486 and Vasco da Gama reaching India in 1496 are familiar figures in our South African history. But though the Portuguese achieved these voyages they traded only on the West Coast, in ivory, gold and spices, and, later, in the most profitable trade of all — slaves. All the European nations profited from this horrible traffic in human lives, until England outlawed the trade in 1807 and America in 1865. Yet Africa remained to the outside world no more than a vast coastline. The jungles were savage and the rivers impassable, and it was not until the end of the 18th century that the first explorers entered the interior.

## South Africa in the African Revolution (Cont.)

The great explorers of the 19th century began to draw the map of Africa. Livingstone found the Zambesi and the Victoria Falls, and on his last journey reached Lake Tanganyika, which was also reached by Speke and Burton. Stanley traced the Congo River. And then, to quote from James Cameron, "after the explorers came the missionaries; after the missionaries came the traders. God followed the flag, and the merchants and miners and dealers followed God, and by and by most Africans came to equate them all as the basis of their relations with the new people. Finally, after the small traders came the big ones: the commercial companies who recognized that an immense place needed immense operators."

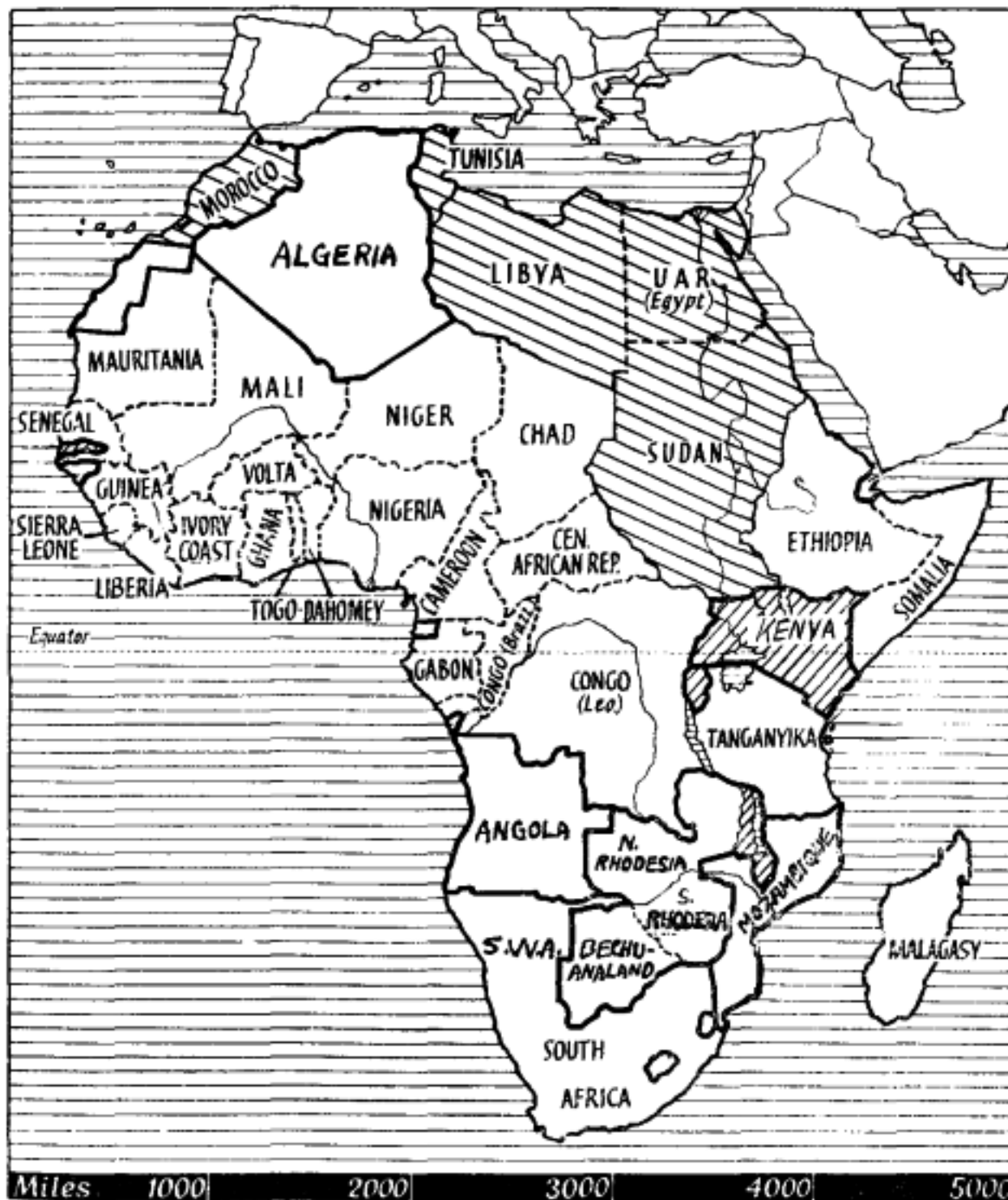
The Industrial Revolution in Europe created the need for new markets, and thus began the famous "Scramble for Africa", when the continent was parcelled out among the nations of Europe, with strife and haggling and conquest, and with no

regard for the Africans themselves. Rhodes was the Colossus of that age, and the legacy he left of commerce and wealth, of bitterness and hatred, is a potent factor in the African Revolution today.

What Africa lacks in ancient history, she is making up in the urgent present. There is no parallel in the world for the speed with which new nations are emerging out of Africa, with more or less primitive peoples demanding the responsibilities of self-government, and patterns of government wholly unknown to the old tribal societies which were among the few common factors among the peoples of Africa. The "wind of change" is blowing strongly through Africa today, and fanning to a blaze the tiny sparks of nationalism of past decades.

But we must remember that Africa is a continent, not a country. There is no one common

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## South Africa in the African Revolution (Cont.)

problem in the many African territories. The French in Algeria have a vastly different problem from that of the British on the old Gold Coast, or the Belgians in the Congo. There is, however, a common factor, and that is African nationalism: "the creative force of peoples in the sudden, explosive, contagious throes of discovering themselves for the first time." It has been called a nationalism without nations, since few of the political units in Africa were really states or nations. In the great carve-up of Africa in the 19th century, frontiers were drawn on maps to suit the European powers, often with complete disregard for racial, tribal or even geographical necessities. Ghana and Nigeria, now independent states, did not exist on the map until this century. The common factor of African nationalism, therefore, is basically the common impulse to reject the White man's domination and privilege.

The states, once formed, are growing swiftly, but the vision of some African leaders of a United States of Africa is held back by the vastness and emptiness of Africa, its lack of communications, and the average African's complete ignorance of other African peoples. It is, however, not an impossible conception, when one considers that Dr. Nkrumah's demands for independence in 1948 sounded quite fantastic — yet look at Ghana today!

### The Rise of African Nationalism

Curiously enough, the African Revolution began outside Africa, and not from within. Freed slaves were settled on the West Coast, Americans in Liberia and British in Sierra Leone. In 1909, an American, Dr. William du Bois, founded "The National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People", and in the next twenty years he organized Pan-African Congresses which greatly influenced young Africans like Jomo Kenyatta, Kwame Nkrumah and others. In 1920, Marcus Garvey from the West Indies founded a "Negro Empire" in New York, and began his call of "Wake up, Africa!" It was a preposterous project, and he ended up addressing small crowds in Hyde Park, but nevertheless his influence was felt in Africa.

The Atlantic Charter, signed by Churchill and Roosevelt in 1941, was seized upon by political leaders all over Africa, because it laid down "the rights of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live." The effects were swift and manifold. In 1943, Dr. Azikwe, (known today as "Zik"), demanded representative government immediately for Nigeria; from the French Sudan in 1946 came the **Rassemblement Democratique Africain**, the biggest national movement of Africa, led by Felix Houphouet-Boigny; a year later the **United Gold Coast Convention** was established, and on the East Coast the **Kenya African Union** held its first Congress. In 1948, Dr. Awolowo set up the **Western Nigeria Action Group** and **Northern Rhodesia** formed its **African National Congress**. It is interesting to note here that the

**African National Congress in South Africa** was formed as far back as 1912, soon after, and, indeed, as a result of, Union, so that, politically speaking, South Africa is a third of a century ahead of the other territories in endeavour, but not in achievement. As James Cameron says, "South Africa is the one country where the African Revolution has not yet come to pass."

The clamour for independence in Black Africa was loudest in the West, and, as if the little seed had germinated more quickly in the torrid, steaming West Coast climate, so the small country of **Ghana**, with fewer than 5 million people as opposed to Nigeria's 35 million, ceased in March 1957 to be the Colonial Gold Coast and emerged, or erupted, into the consciousness of Africa and the world as an independent African state. Dr. Nkrumah and Ghana hit the world's headlines — and stayed there. Ghana is still news, and the very name "Ghana" has rung across Africa as a synonym for freedom.

The process of liberation was not as sudden as it appeared to be. For twenty years it had been clear to Britain that Nigeria and the Gold Coast must become independent, and it was mainly resistance from within that had delayed the change.

### Illiteracy and Education

**A PASSION** for knowledge is sweeping through Africa. It is as if there has been a sudden realization that the greatest enemy to their progress is illiteracy and ignorance, and that the road to advancement begins at the school.

This enthusiasm for the school was impressed upon me on a visit to Western Nigeria in 1953. In the elections to their Legislative Council which had just taken place, the Action group led by their dynamic young leader, Chief Abafemi Awolowo, had won a decisive victory. I was privileged to meet the Chief and his Ministers and to discuss with them their plans for the future.

I recall asking them, "What is your priority No. 1?" There was no doubt or hesitation about the answer. With one voice they replied: "Education". They told me that they had resolved that when their five-year term of office ended they would be able to claim that there was a place at school for every child in their region of Nigeria. They proved to be as good as their word.

James Griffiths, —

"Livingstone's Africa."



## South Africa in the African Revolution (Cont.)

Black Africa has always been ruled by tribal chiefs, from important hereditary rulers like the Asantehene of Ashanti and the Kubaka of Uganda to petty chiefs all over the continent. Many of these chiefs feared and resisted the new demands for national independence, fearing either that democracy might be endangered or might endanger them. The emergent African intelligentsia, on the other hand, resents the powers of tribal chiefs, which are rapidly being superseded.

Britain's willingness to let her former colonies achieve their independence pinpoints the difference in principle between British and French colonial rule. The French, who had a far larger African colonial empire, have never been able to understand the curious British mixture of repression and paternalism, of commercialism and dedicated service, of self-interest plus education in the techniques of opposition. The French tended merely to impose their rule on primitive native societies, though their system in North Africa was different and more complex.

In recognizing that independence must come, the British government also realized the need for education in self-government. They foresaw that without careful preparation and sympathetic help independence could lead to chaos, as we were to see in the tragic story of the Belgian Congo. Long before freedom was attained, West Africa was largely being run by Africans, and, in fact, the fight for nationalism in West Africa has been much easier than Dr. Nkrumah would have us believe. His troubles came after independence.

### Ghana

The name "Ghana" was derived from that of an ancient African kingdom on the edge of the Sahara. Its choice displeased the proud people of the Ashanti province, who wished to retain British protection and who so much resented the demands of the coastal upstarts for independence that it took Nkrumah three years to break the **Ashanti Liberation Movement**.

In 1946, the Gold Coast had the first Legislative Council in Africa with a Black majority. The people of the Gold Coast were educated and prosperous, with an annual income per head of £50, compared with £10 in most other territories. There were, however, post-war difficulties, high prices, unemployment, and disease in the cocoa trees, the chief source of income. At this moment Dr. Nkrumah came back from abroad at the invitation of the United Gold Coast Convention Party, and in no time at all he was the leader, young, energetic, shrewd, charming and ruthless.

A demonstration to Government House to protest against hardships was dispersed by the police and two Africans were killed. Riots broke out and for two days there was looting and burning, and 29 more Africans lost their lives. Britain immediately appointed an all-African commission of in-

**M**R. FISHER acknowledges that two books have been of special value to her in the compiling of this survey: "Common Sense About Africa", by Anthony Sampson, former editor of "Drum" in Johannesburg; and "The African Revolution", by James Cameron.

"Mr Cameron himself says in his foreword that it would be hard to name every book on Africa from which he has derived something and probably stolen something. I plead guilty to having stolen extensively from him, even to using the title of his book as part of the name I have given to this series of articles."

quiry to examine the whole constitutional position. They proposed the British system of government, with an African Cabinet and universal suffrage. This was accepted, and a General Election called for in 1951. Dr. Nkrumah, who now had his own Convention People's Party, won 34 out of 38 seats, but he himself was in prison, serving a two-year sentence for sedition. The British Governor, Sir Charles Arden Clark, released him, installed him as the first African Prime Minister, and then for six years helped him to lead and urge and push the Gold Coast to its day of independence in March, 1957.

Perhaps success came too easily to Nkrumah, and troubles soon followed. Ghana was virtually two countries, the coast and the interior, whose chiefs, together with citizens resentful of the opulent Cadillacs of their new rulers, formed a **National Liberation Movement**. There followed arrests and deportations without trial, opposition was identified with treason, and corruption was rife.

Nkrumah defended his undemocratic actions by maintaining that while the powers of Government and the judiciary were still undecided and the Civil Service inexperienced, drastic powers were needed to prevent the collapse of the State. What did become evident, however, was that a Parliament copied to the last detail from Westminster does not necessarily spell democratic government. What Nkrumah has succeeded in doing, and which appeals to the African mind, is to develop a personality cult, with the leader's picture everywhere and a life-size statue of him in Accra. Statues usually wait until after a leader's death, but the Ghanaians love it and call him "Showboy".

Up to now, Nkrumah has had the greatest effect on the African scene. He has always been in favour of some form of West African Federation, to assist the smaller nations and to remove some unnecessary frontiers, but in this he is opposed by Nigeria, which is much greater than Ghana and may in the end prove the stronger influence. Yet Ghana has captured the African imagination. The

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## South Africa in the African Revolution (Cont.)

first real all-African conferences were held there, and their influence has been tremendous. In 1958, when a meeting of independent African states was held at Accra there were only eight states, and mostly Arab: Ghana, Egypt, Sudan, Libya, Tunisia, Liberia, Morocco and Ethiopia. When a little later the more important All-African People's Conference was held there, there were delegates from 62 African nationalist organizations from all over Africa, with Tom Mboya from Kenya as Chairman. This conference was a tremendous stimulus to the African Nationalist campaign, and its repercussions are everywhere.

### Federation of Nigeria

Though Ghana's "Showboy" Nkrumah has made his mark on Africa, there are many thoughtful eyes on Nigeria, the biggest of all the British colonial territories, with a population of 35 million people, eight times the size of Ghana, but only half as rich. Nigeria's independence in 1960 after less than 50 years as a state was a miracle of achievement, for it is not only one country but three, differing in race, religion and tribal customs, with three governments, three Prime Ministers, three sets of loyalties. A Nigerian finds it easier to think of himself as a member of his Region than as part of the greater unit of Nigeria. In 1946 a central Parliament was imposed on the three Regions, each of which has its own House of Assembly. West and North have an upper House of Chiefs as well, and North, being strongly Muslim, has never allowed votes for women.

Nearly half the population of Nigeria lives in the North, which is backward and poor, but proud and feudal under a system of Emirs. The Prime Minister is also a hereditary chief, who is afraid of his Region being dominated by the heretic Africans of the South. The North has more affinities with North Africa than with the Negro West, but it needs the outlet to the sea. The West has only 9 million people, a third of whom are Yorubas, progressive and businesslike. Their Prime Minister until 1960 was Abafemi Awolowo, a remarkable intellectual, who formed the Action Party to counteract the activities of his rival in the East, across the Niger River, Dr. Azikiwe, an Ibo. To most people unaware of the intense rivalries, "Zik" is Nigeria, and when independence came in 1960 he became the Governor-General.

The miracle of combining these three totally different territories was largely the work of the Federal Prime Minister, Dr. Abubakar Balewa, a Muslim from the North. If his work succeeds and Nigeria can progress towards real democracy, her influence on the rest of Africa could be boundless.

### Sierra Leone and Gambia

These two states make up the rest of what was British West Africa. **Sierra Leone** was created as a refuge for freed slaves, whose descendants, as in Liberia, now look down upon their primitive

fellow-countrymen. It became independent in 1961, but is too small and too poor to exist outside some larger grouping, such as a possible West African Federation. **Gambia** is a poor relation, whose chiefs cling to British protection and do not wish to become independent.

(To be continued.)

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We have disturbed the age-long seclusion of the Dark Continent and have uprooted the black African. We have torn away the security of the kraal and the shamba, and removed him from the sanctions and disciplines of tribal life. We have persuaded (or compelled) him to till our farms and work on our plantations, to work in our mines and factories, and to live in our shanty towns. We have, almost overnight, compelled him to face the painful adjustment of moving from the simplicity of his peasant life to the bewildering changes of our industrial and social revolution.

James Griffiths. —

"Livingstones's Africa"

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"Nothing but the most pitiable puerility would lead any manly heart to make their (the Africans') inferiority a theme for self-exaltation; however, that is often done, as if with the vague idea that we can by magnifying their deficiencies, demonstrate our immaculate perfection."

David Livingstone.

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Let it be admitted at the outset that European brains, capital and energy have not been, and never will be, expended in developing the resources of Africa from motives of pure philanthropy; that Europe is in Africa for the mutual benefit of her own industrial classes and of the native races in their progress to a higher plane; that the benefit can be made reciprocal, and that it is the aim and desire of civilized administration to fulfil this dual mandate.

Lord Lugard.

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"The opening up of the new country (Central Africa) is a matter for congratulation only in so far as it opens up a prospect for the elevation of all the inhabitants".

David Livingstone.

**Mrs. Noel Robb, Vice-Chairman of the Cape Western Region of the Black Sash, writes about the hardships suffered by Africans in the Cape Peninsula, when they are . .**

## **“ENDORSED OUT”**

**O**N THE 19th JULY, Mrs. R. N. Robb gave an address to the Institute of Citizenship in Cape Town on the “endorsing out” of Africans from the Western Cape under the Native Urban Areas Act. These removals form part of the Government’s Eiselen Line policy, whereby all Africans are ultimately to be moved out of that part of the Cape Province which lies west of a line drawn roughly north to south through Port Elizabeth, and replaced by Coloured people from other parts of South Africa.

Mrs. Robb modestly said that she was not a speaker, and had only accepted the Institute’s kind invitation to speak because she felt so very strongly on the subject. The previous week, Mr. F. K. Lighton, in an excellent address, had proved that the African labour force of about 53,000 in the Cape Peninsula was essential to the prosperity and even the very existence of all the people in the Cape. She felt she need say nothing more about what was patently clear to all intelligent people; she would leave commerce and industry to fight the battle from the economic angle while she fought it from the humanitarian point of view, and dwelt entirely on the effect this policy was already having on Africans who lived and worked in the Cape Western area — human beings, “not puppets to be moved about at the will of politicians, to be exchanged for so many thousand Coloured people who live in other parts of the country”.

“I am sick and tired”, said Mrs. Robb, “of hearing intelligent, kindly people say, ‘I am not against Pass Laws — they are essential — but I will agree that they should be carried out more humanely and tactfully.’ I maintain that people who say this have never read the Pass Laws, or they would not speak in this way. I am almost as sorry for the officials who have to administer these laws as I am for the Africans who suffer under them. Some of them have said to me, ‘Do you think I like telling a man with a wife and five children and another on the way, with a nice home, that he must leave the area?’ Of course he can’t like it, but it is his job to do so, and the slightest deviation in the way he administers the law could involve him in a charge under Section 11 (2) (a) of the Urban Areas Act”.

### **Athlone Advice Office**

Mrs. Robb spoke of the work of the Athlone Advice Office. This office, run by the Black Sash since 1958 entirely with voluntary workers, originally dealt only with African women who were in trouble with the Pass Laws. When women were arrested in the middle of the night, either with their babies, or leaving small children unattended at home, Black Sash members bailed them out so that they could return to their homes and children. The office now deals with a variety of problems involving African men and women, and since February of this year has been run jointly

by the Black Sash and the Institute of Race Relations. This has made it possible to employ a paid organiser in charge of the office, and African interpreters, as well as four or five voluntary workers each day.

### **Endorsed Out**

Of the 396 cases dealt with in June, 1962, 169 were those of men and women endorsed out of the Cape Peninsula, that is, forced to leave the area against their wishes; to go to a place where they have no hope of earning a living and to pay all costs of removal themselves. Each “endorsement out” usually involves the whole family — they must give up their home, sell their furniture (or more often surrender it, since it was bought on the Hire Purchase system and has not been fully paid for) and remove their children from school and take them to a place where there may be no school. Very often the endorsement out says that they must report to a place in the Transkei only 3 days later. This means that the Africans are presumably expected to leave instantly, no time being allowed to raise money for the fares, dispose of property or make arrangements for their arrival at the other end. The first job of the Advice Office is to plead for a month’s extension which gives them time to make inquiries as to what hope there is of having the endorsement out cancelled, or failing that, to help the Africans to make arrangements to go. Free rail warrants are given only to men who can be proved to be absolutely destitute or very ill, but it is sometimes possible to obtain a rail warrant for the wife and children to return to the Transkei.

Mrs. Robb went through the various clauses of the Urban Areas Act under which the endorsements out are ordered, and gave details of cases which had come to her notice under each of the clauses. She asked her audience to remember, when they read reports of 30,000 people being endorsed out, that these represented 30,000 cases of types similar to those she was about to detail.

### **Section 10 (i) (a) & (b)**

These clauses state that “no native shall remain for more than seventy-two hours in an urban

*Continued overleaf*

## “Endorsed Out” (Cont.)

area or in a proclaimed area — unless he has (a) since birth resided continuously in such area; (b) worked continuously in such area for one employer for a period of not less than ten years, or has lawfully resided continuously in such area for a period of not less than fifteen years, and has thereafter continued to reside in such area and is not employed outside such area, and has not during either period or thereafter been sentenced to a fine exceeding R100 or to imprisonment for a period exceeding six months”.

Under clause (a) if an African is born in Cape Town, or any other urban area, but leaves the area and takes up residence or works in any other part of the country, he for ever loses the right to return to Cape Town for more than 72 hours. He may, or may not, be allowed to return under a permit, for a specific purpose, but he will have lost forever the right to live anywhere. One African woman employed as a living-in maid in Cape Town received a letter from the authorities in Queenstown, where she was born, telling her that her four children could no longer live with their grandmother there, because their mother did not live and work there. She left her job and returned to Queenstown, and asked permission to work there, so that she could make a home for the children and prevent them from having to leave school. This permission was refused, because she had worked in Cape Town. She returned to Cape Town and tried to obtain a house in the township there, but this was impossible because she did not “qualify” for a house in Cape Town. When last heard of, she had returned to her job in Kenilworth, and the four children were scattered — two living on farms in the Karoo and two living, illegally, with families in other parts of the country.

“I am told”, said Mrs. Robb, “that about one-third of the African population in this country have no right to live anywhere because they were either born on a European-owned farm, which their parents have since left, or in an urban or proclaimed area, which they have left for some length of time.”

Under clause (b) a man must enter the area lawfully and remain there continuously for fifteen years with the knowledge and permission of the authorities. If he goes away, it must not be for more than a year, and while away, he must not work in another area, and he must go back to the same job when he returns. He cannot work for thirteen years in the Cape Town municipal area and then go to Stellenbosch and work for an employer there for a year, and then return to Cape Town, not even if the same farmer employs him all the time. Most officials argue that even if a man has resided in the area for 15 years, it will not have been lawfully, unless he was employed throughout that time. The officials interpret the law as they see it, which may vary in different cases, and unless a man is charged with an offence, no lawyer is asked for his opinion.

If a man qualifies by domicile or employment to remain in the area, he can still lose this right if he serves a sentence of more than six months in jail. Several men who served a sentence of 1 year after the March 1960 disturbances were immediately endorsed out on being released from jail. One of these, who led a small march to hand in passes in a small country town, was first detained for 5 months and then charged with incitement and given a sentence of 12 months. He had phoned the magistrate to ask for permission to hold the march, but the police arrested him half a mile from the location. His family lived with him in the town which he first entered in 1943, working ten years with the same firm, and qualifying to remain there. His family suffered greatly while he was in jail, and were delighted when they heard the firm were prepared to take him back. However, he was not allowed to take up this job, was endorsed out, and sent back to Encobo, where he was born 63 years ago, and which he left 61 years ago. He is still unemployed. The Government did finally pay for the transport of the family and their possessions to Encobo.

Said Mrs. Robb, “It is bad enough for any family to have to suffer as a result of the breadwinner being sent to jail, but to lose all your rights and to have to break up your home and return to your birthplace, where there is no work, seems a heavy price to pay for an offence involving a fine of £50 or six months in jail. One wonders how many Europeans would be ruined if this law were applied to them!”

It is, however, not only those who are found guilty who are endorsed out. In July last year, three of the eleven members of the ex-P.A.C. who had been charged with incitement, and, after a 13-month delay, had finally been found not guilty, were promptly endorsed out and given 72 hours in which to go. One of these, Abel Molale, had been here fourteen years, and had been 9 years with an oil firm when he was arrested. His firm would not take him back, although they admitted he had been a first-class employee in every way. All Mrs. Robb was able to do for him was to obtain a three weeks’ extension in which to dispose of his property and make arrangements to go. He was then sent back to Taungs where there was no prospect of work especially for a man of his type and education.

### Section 10 (i) (c)

Under this clause, “If a native is the wife, unmarried daughter, or son under the age at which he would become liable for payment of general tax (18 years) of any native mentioned in para. (a) or (b) of this sub-section, and ordinarily resides with that native, he may remain in the area.”

This means that no African may have his wife or children with him unless he qualifies — but when he does qualify, he is told that his wife “does not ordinarily reside with him.”

Evelyn M. was born in Durbanville and was married in the Bellville Magistrate’s Court to Morris, who came to Cape Town in February 1948. He has worked for his firm for 9 years 5 months

## “Endorsed Out” (Cont.)

and they live in their own house in Nyanga East with their six children. Now, suddenly, she has been endorsed out. She has no parents alive, but her husband's mother is still alive and living in the Transkei. The Advice Office has appealed to the authorities to reconsider this case because in another seven months he will qualify for permanent residence on two counts — he will have worked for ten years for one employer, and will have resided lawfully and continuously in the area for fifteen years.

If a man and his wife have lived in the Cape for 15 years, but sent their children home to be brought up by the grandmother, as is the African custom, these children have no right to join their parents. If the boys are over 18 and have paid tax in another area, they are not permitted to enter the Cape urban area. One man wished his son of 19 who had just left school to take over his job, which he had held for many years. The boy arrived, the firm agreed to take him, his reference book showed that he had just left school and had never worked anywhere else, but he was not permitted to remain. He was told to return to the Transkei and to apply from there for permission to take up the job, but, the official added, “he will probably not get it because we have several hundred men in our labour pool.”

### Section 10 (i) (d)

This clause deals with conditions under which Africans are permitted to remain in the area for the purpose of seeking work. Many of the Advice Office cases deal with Africans who have entered the area legally under this section to work for a specific firm, gone away on four or six months leave with a promise of re-employment by the same firm, but have returned to find that the firm has had to retrench and can no longer employ them. These men come to the office clutching a new offer of employment, armed with excellent references from the first firm, but with a reference book showing that they have been endorsed out. It is quite impossible to explain to a man who has been offered a job that by law, Section 10 (2) (a), he may not accept that job. Instead, he must return, at his own expense, to the Transkei, and apply from there for permission to take up the new job. Sometimes the officials stretch a point and allow him to accept the job, but this is exceptional. It seems that an African with a firm offer of a job has a right of appeal to the Chief Bantu Commissioner if he is endorsed out. Nobody tells

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We cannot preach the Fatherhood of God and close our doors to His children. We cannot reconcile the Sermon on the Mount with the colour bar. The very future of the Church in Africa depends on our response. If we fail to meet the challenge by deed as well as word, it will be the end of our influence in Africa.

— James Griffiths.

## MAAR GOED

Dis seker maar goed dat daar apartheid in die hemel gaan wees, anders is ons miskien te verbaas as ons daar kom en sien wie sit in die voorste rye.

(From a letter in “Die Transvaler”)

(It is a good thing that there will be apartheid in Heaven, otherwise we might be very surprised, upon arrival there, to see who is sitting in the front rows.)

him he has this right — but the Advice Office will in future!

### Section 10 (2) (b)

Now we come to one of the most common causes for endorsement out. This clause says “Where a native has been permitted to remain in any area for the purpose of seeking work, the period of validity of the permit issued to such a native shall be not LESS than 7 or MORE than 14 days, unless before the expiration of his permit such a native finds such work, in which case the permit shall remain valid until the expiration of the period during which such native remains in the service of the employer by whom he is engaged.”

M . . . had worked in Cape Town for 14½ years and the Advice Office managed to obtain from Langa a full record showing that he had been continuously employed throughout that period. He left his job because it was affecting his health. By law he had to report daily at Nyanga East where he lived — he was not allowed to look for a job himself. The Advice Office was not allowed to find him a job. He had to take his chance in the pool. After 7 days he **could** have been endorsed out under the above law, after 14 days he **should** have been endorsed out, and after 1 month he was. The official had given him as long as he dared. His wife was expecting a baby in a few weeks' time and he had only half paid for his pondokkie, furniture, etc. After one month of unemployment, he could not afford to go back to the Transkei. Neither he nor his wife could believe that they must go — another six months, and he would have qualified for permanent residence.

The most the office could do was to get one month's extension for them to wind up their affairs. No rail warrants were available, as the Bantu Affairs Department pointed out that he was physically fit and could enlist for the gold mines or sugar plantations in which case he would get free transport there.

Another man in a similar predicament decided to go back to his previous job although it was affecting his health. His firm re-engaged him, but

Continued overleaf

## “Endorsed Out” (Cont.)

he was not allowed to go back because he had already been endorsed out before the offer was made. In other words, he had been unemployed for more than fourteen days.

### Against the Stream

Amongst the 26,000 who are in the flood of being endorsed out, there is one man who is swimming against the stream. He was born in Cradock but moved to Cape Town in 1948. He has suffered from a chronic chest complaint for many years, and his doctor says he must go back to the drier climate of Cradock. He went back in 1961, but was not allowed to stay as he had worked in Cape Town since 1948. So back he was sent to Cape Town. He has not worked since March, 1961, and does not qualify to remain in Cape Town, yet cannot return to Cradock. He has a wife and four children, and the whole family are in poor health. The Advice Office has applied to the Bantu Affairs Department for assistance for him, but the only real solution would be to allow him to return to Cradock. But this would be against the law!

### The Plight of Foreign Africans

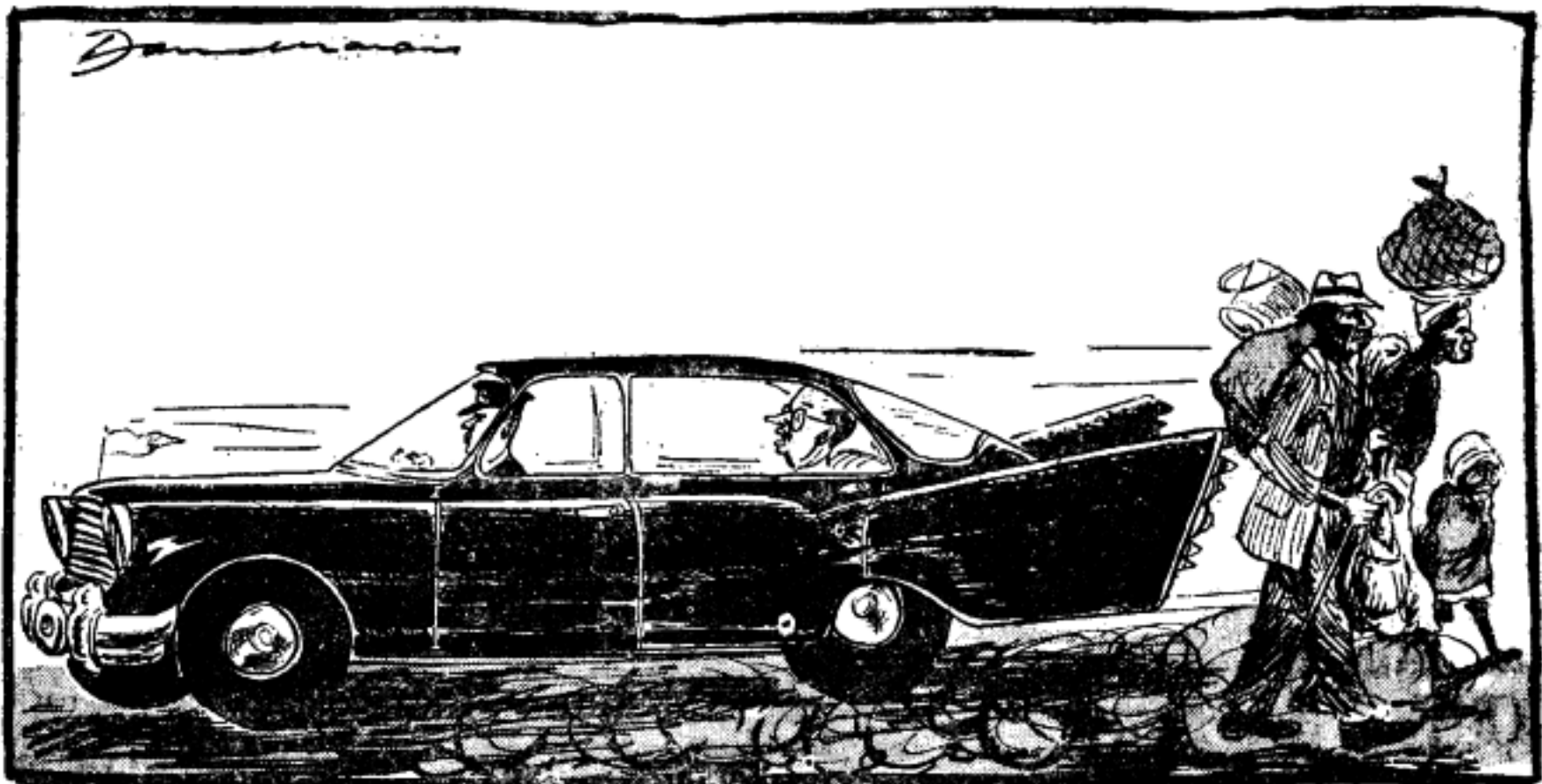
Many foreign Africans from Rhodesia, Tanganyika, etc. have been in the Cape Town area since 1946 in continuous employment, but are now being summarily endorsed out. Some were deported in November, 1961, leaving dependants who are living in quite shocking conditions on the flats. Others have not been allowed to work for months, but cannot afford the fare home for themselves,

let alone their families. These are hiding in the bushes, under unbelievable conditions, in constant fear of the police. One Elias . . . , who came to the Cape in 1946 with his wife and two children, has already served three terms of imprisonment since he was endorsed out in January, 1961, and he has no hope of ever being able to go home and support his family unless the authorities can be persuaded to repatriate him and his family at Government expense. If these men had been white, said Mrs. Robb, they would long ago have been given the chance of becoming South African citizens, and would not still be foreigners after nearly twenty years.

### The Category System

African workers are classified in different categories, which they are not permitted to change. If a man is classified as a labourer when he enters the area, he cannot improve his position as he becomes more experienced by seeking work in a superior category.

“One man came to the Advice Office”, said Mrs. Robb, “because on returning from a few months up country he was not permitted to return to his previous employer, and was endorsed out. He had been employed as a builder’s labourer when his employer was building a bakery. The official at the registration office would have it that he was a baker’s assistant, and would not permit him to return to his employer who was now building a garage. He would not listen to me until I got him to ask through an interpreter, ‘What did you do at the bakery?’, and the man answered, as I knew he would, ‘I mixed concrete.’ I could not resist



“Another political demonstration, I suppose.”

(Cape Times)

## “Endorsed Out” (Cont.)

saying, ‘Funny bread!’ Anyway, he was allowed to accept the job and his endorsement out was cancelled.”

### Onus on the African

Mrs. Robb said that these misunderstandings are due partly to language difficulties, but mostly to the fact that there is nobody at the Registration Office who has the patience, the understanding and the desire to get for the African the best treatment that the law allows.

“One official said crossly, ‘Your office ought not to be there.’ And when I enquired why, he said, ‘Because they tell you things they don’t tell us!’ And that, I think, speaks for itself,” she said.

Under Section 10 (5) **“It is presumed until the contrary is proved that such native remained in the area in question for a period longer than 72 hours.”** This means that the onus is always on the African to prove that he or she has a right to be in the area. There are many exempted Africans who do not have to carry permits, and as it is not yet compulsory for the African women to have reference books, they need not carry these either. But these people are constantly being arrested for being in the area without a permit — the onus is on them to prove that they are exempt. Unless they are bailed out and given a chance to produce evidence, they have little chance of proving their case.

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## HOUSE ARREST

### Black Sash Press Statement.

**T**HE Minister of Justice, Mr. Vorster, has stated that he will not curb the freedom of the individual, yet the conditions imposed in the first house arrest contradict this statement. The Black Sash asserts that the individual’s freedom of movement, of association, of speech and of worship have been virtually removed by the summary order of one person.

There has been no judicial inquiry, no appearance in court, no chance for the victim to defend herself.

Parliament has given to one man the right to impose this vicious punishment. It is almost impossible to imagine the mental cruelty of five years’ house arrest.

The Black Sash opposed the “Sabotage Bill” in all its stages through Parliament. It now condemns in the strongest possible terms the inhuman implementation of this Bill.

## It Could Only Happen In South Africa

**M**ARTHA, aged 74, was until recently employed by two members of Transvaal Region of the Black Sash, to do their weekly ironing. She is probably a Coloured woman, but is classified as African and lives in an African township in the Johannesburg area.

Her daughter, Mary, has been classified as Coloured. She normally works as a housemaid, and “lives in” at her place of employment.

A few weeks ago, Martha came to us in great trouble. Mary was about to have a baby, and had come home to Mother for the last weeks of her pregnancy, as she was very sick and in need of care. But the township Superintendent had ordered her to leave, as she was not an African. The father of the child could not provide a home for her, and she had nowhere to go.

We both wrote to the Superintendent, appealing to him in the name of humanity to allow Mary to remain with her mother at least until she was admitted to Baragwanath Hospital for her confinement. He wrote back to say that he was not allowed by law to give a Coloured woman a “visitor’s permit”, but had advised her to apply for re-classification as an African.

We explained this to Martha, and she said that Mary was quite willing to be re-classified, but was at present too sick to go to see the Classification Board. She would do so after the baby arrived. In the meantime, the Superintendent appeared to be turning a blind eye to her presence in the township.

We have not seen Martha since, and do not know how things turned out. But we are wondering. Will Mary manage to obtain re-classification? If she does, will future association with the child’s father, a Coloured man, be illegal? If she does not what is to happen to the baby? Will Martha be permitted to care for the Coloured grandchild while its mother goes to work, as work she must? If not, where can they go?

It could only happen in South Africa!

**“Give us more apartheid” was the theme (at the National Party Congress) — and, as we know to our cost, when apartheid enters through the door, the rights of Whites as well as Blacks fly out through the window.**  
(Charles Bloomberg — “Sunday Times”)

Mrs. Kathleen Mitchell, a former Johannesburg City Councillor, writes about the Banning of Gatherings on

## THE CITY HALL STEPS: JOHANNESBURG'S TRADITIONAL FORUM

"I do know that it started in Johannesburg over 50 years ago, and that it has been going on, at intervals, ever since. And unless we are going to betray the traditions bequeathed to us from our forebears, it will go on as long as we have mine-dumps on our horizon." In these words, Herman Charles Bosman referred to the use made by the people of Johannesburg of their own City Hall steps.

Mr. Vorster is doing his utmost to belie Bosman's words, but because he has not the same genius he knows nothing of the force of those traditions. But they will prove stronger than his transient power! Because he has no perception of the fierceness of the love of freedom that burns in the hearts of the people of Johannesburg, he believes he can destroy that love by taking away its outward symbols. Because he does not understand democracy, he does not understand that freedom of the land embraces freedom of the persons within that land, and that if you take away the one, you destroy the other.

He sees only that the City Hall steps are a threat to the narrow Nationalist political ideology.

It is significant that in his reply to Mr. Alec Goshel, M.P., he could give no details as to the number of political or non-political meetings held there; the times, dates, names of speakers, the names of the organizers, the numbers of police present, whether disturbances occurred, the extent of damage to property and whether any persons were injured, arrested, charged or convicted as a result of disturbances. But he did say that "disturbances usually take place . . . , especially at meetings of Left-Wing organizations, owing to the provocative and irresponsible speeches made."

Link this with the fact that the Nationalists in the Johannesburg City Council have for years campaigned zealously for the banning of the City Hall steps as a public forum, for the reasons that meetings were "rowdy" and endangered the peace of Johannesburg because a forum was thereby given to "linksgesinde groepe".

Last December, Councillor Cuyler, leader of the Nationalists, threatened to seek the aid of the Minister of Justice to stop the evil. The ultra-sensitive Nationalist press again and again reflected their main objection — the world's television cameras were focussed on the Steps. They argued that the occurrences on the Steps were mere "trifles" which, when presented to overseas audiences, gave a distorted picture of South Africa. In other words, these T.V. programmes were misrepresentations which (*inter alia*) caused unfair and unfavourable opinions to be formed overseas.

Apart from this, of course, there was the lesser criticism that the Steps attracted multi-racial lunch-hour audiences of persons who happened along by chance and stayed to listen because they had nothing better to do. **Such a thing could not be allowed.** So the Steps were banned.

But you cannot ban thinking. You cannot rule forever by forcing on people what they do not want, even if it is what you believe to be good for them. **You can, in the end, only rule with the consent of the people. And this is not the way to get it.**

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The demand that all other people shall resemble ourselves grows by what it feeds on. If resistance waits till life is reduced nearly to one uniform type, all deviations from that type will come to be considered impious, immoral, even monstrous and contrary to nature.

John Stuart Mill.

The Silence Act.



(Rand Daily Mail)



# THE BLACK SASH AND THE CITY HALL STEPS

(Pictures Overleaf)

**T**HE banning of gatherings on the steps of the Johannesburg City Hall by the Minister of Justice has closed a chapter in the history of the Black Sash, which may be said to have begun there over seven years ago. For it was there that the 2,500 women who had marched from the Scottish War Memorial in protest against the Senate Bill received the inspiration, from the speech of Mrs. Winifred Hoernle, that led to the formation of the Women's Defence of the Constitution League.

In the years that have followed, a good deal of our history has been played out on those steps, the traditional forum of the people of Johannesburg. We have held innumerable meetings and demonstrations there, starting with straightforward demonstrations against the Senate Bill, continuing over the years with demonstrations against numerous and various pieces of unjust and restrictive legislation, and ending on the 29th August, 1962, just one week before the imposition of the ban, with a demonstration in defence of the freedom of the individual.

When the women who had presented the petition against the Senate Act to the Prime Minister's deputy returned from Pretoria after spending two bitter nights in the grounds of Union Buildings, an enormous crowd assembled at the City Hall to welcome and cheer them. Not long after this, the vigils at Union Buildings and the "haunting" of Cabinet Ministers began, and the black sash was adopted as a symbol of mourning.

Protests against the Senate Act continued until it was finally declared valid, and many of these were held on the steps. When the old Senate was dissolved on the 4th November, 1955, a demonstration was held there; the second big march was held a week later, with the Book of the Constitution, as a symbol, and a mass meeting was afterwards held on the City Hall steps. (Similar marches were held in all the big centres of the Union at the same time.) When the new Senate was elected towards the end of the month, another demonstration was held on the steps, again using the Book. In November, 1956, almost exactly a year after the second march, the Appeal Court declared the Act legal, and on the 11th of the month 400 Black Sash women surrounded the City Hall, displaying posters which read: "The Senate Act — Legal Now, but Immoral Forever".

After this, the scope of our protests broadened to include all legislation that had the effect of depriving South Africans of their rights. Demonstrations were held at various times on the steps to protest against the Native Laws Amendment Act, the Group Areas Act, the Pass Laws, Passes for African women, increased General Taxation

for Africans, University Apartheid, centralized education, and many other harsh and restrictive laws.

Some were merely token demonstrations, and marked specific occasions, such as the opening of Parliament. Some were mounted in defence of the freedoms: freedom of movement, of speech, of worship, of association, etc. Many of the demonstrations were most spectacular, some because they were mass demonstrations involving hundreds of women, others because of the employment of some device. On the 27th April, 1957, in our protest against the Native Laws Amendment Act, we abandoned "silent" demonstration and used a deep-toned bell, tolling at intervals, to dramatise John Donne's words, "Never send to know for whom the bell tolls: it tolls for thee."

The bell was used again on two other occasions, as it proved most effective — once to protest against the use of the guillotine in Parliament to cut short debate on contentious issues, and the second time on the occasion of our withdrawal from the Commonwealth. For the "guillotine" protest, we staged a tableau depicting "the death of our Parliament" with a model of a guillotine, a tumbrel, and a life-size cut-out figure of Dr Verwoerd, supplied by Bob Connolly, as Chief Executioner.

We have not always found it easy to obtain the use of our forum: in fact, we have had to fight hard at times for the "freedom of the City Hall steps". In 1958, we were obliged to cancel three different protest meetings because permission to hold them was refused by the City Council, acting on the "advice" of the police. The reason given was that disturbances were anticipated. This was at the time when gatherings of more than 10 Africans were prohibited in the urban areas of Johannesburg. The first meeting planned was to have been to protest against the Criminal Court Amendment Bill, which was rushed through Parliament to provide special judges for the Treason Trial. The second meeting was to have been an effort to inform the people of Johannesburg of the adverse effects of increased African taxation.

When permission to hold the meeting was refused, we held a silent demonstration, handing out pamphlets explaining our protest, and subsequently held our meeting in St. Luke's Hall. The third meeting was planned as a protest against extending the vote to 18-year-olds, and when permission

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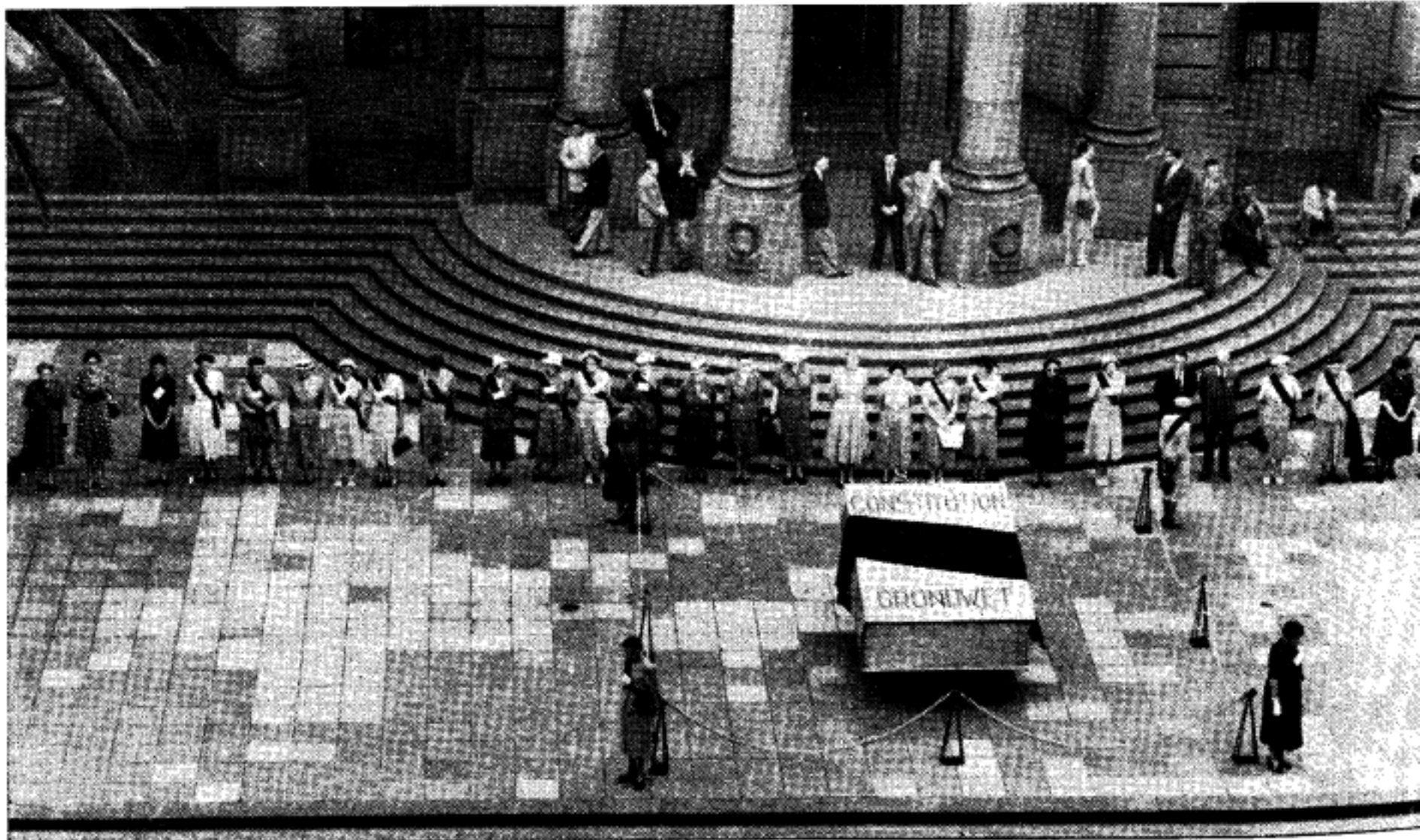
Democracy means the organization of society for the benefit and at the expense of everybody indiscriminately and not for the benefit of a privileged class.

— G. B. Shaw.

# The City Hall steps — Johannesburg's Traditional Forum



African Taxation — Our meeting cancelled, we stand in silent protest, August 1958.



The Senate Act declared legal, November 1956.



We mourn the dissolution of the old senate, November 1955.

For over seven years, the Black Sash has used the steps of the Johannesburg City Hall as a platform for its protests against unjust and undemocratic legislation. The banning of gatherings on the steps by the Minister of Justice has now brought these demonstrations to an end. The pictures show some of the many demonstrations held there over the years.



We protest against the Native Laws Amendment Act, April 1957.

## The Black Sash and the City Hall Steps (Cont.)

to hold this was refused by the Native Commissioner, we held a silent demonstration with posters reading "Verwoerd has Gagged the Citizens of Johannesburg".

We still felt that we should demonstrate against Native Taxation, however, and were reluctant to relinquish our right to use the steps, so we again approached the City Council. They decided to come out strongly in defence of freedom of speech, and at last we obtained permission to hold a meeting on the steps on the 19th September, 1958. We exultantly held our meeting, with Mr. John Wilson and Mr. Alex Hepple as our speakers, and felt we had established Johannesburg citizens' right to use their forum, but our triumph was short-lived. Less than two months later, permission to hold a meeting on passes for African women was refused, again on the grounds that there might be disturbances.

We held a silent demonstration, but persisted in our efforts to obtain permission to hold a meeting. This was finally granted, on condition that we did not speak of passes for African women! We were obliged to change the tenor of our protest, which became a "protest against the refusal to hold a meeting to protest against Reference Books for African women"! Mrs. Jessie McPherson, a former Mayor of Johannesburg, who had been prepared to speak on the first subject, now gave an address on "the freedom of the City Hall steps".

In spite of all the prophecies of disturbance, we had no trouble of any sort at any of our protests and demonstrations until last year, after our protest march against South Africa's withdrawal from the Commonwealth. On that occasion, disturbances at our meeting on the steps were caused by hooligans, who made unprovoked attacks on non-White bystanders.

The "disturbances" at our demonstrations against the "Sabotage" Act earlier this year, however, when the hooligans of Johannesburg made sustained attacks upon our women during their night and day vigils, made world news, and focussed wide attention on the Black Sash and the draconian Criminal Law Amendment Act. Perhaps that is why Mr. Vorster has now seen fit to ban the steps, and the hooligans, as the "Rand Daily Mail" says, have won the day.

When the news of the ban was published on the 7th September, we found that the north, south and east entrances to the City Hall were affected, but not the west entrance, so we promptly mounted a demonstration on the west steps in Harrison Street on the following morning. Our theme was "Strive for the Freedom of the Individual". There were no incidents.

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If all mankind minus one, were of one opinion, and only one person were of the contrary opinion, mankind would be no more justified in silencing that one person, than he, if he had the power, would be justified in silencing mankind.

— John Stuart Mill.

## VICTORY

Mr. Vorster's decision to ban public meetings on the Johannesburg City Hall steps for twelve months will be claimed as a notable victory — by hooligans.

Ever since the City Hall was built, the steps in Rissik Street have been the platform for free speech. On occasions, some of the bystanders did not agree with what was said, but rarely did any incidents develop which could not be quelled by a couple of determined policemen.

Only in recent months, during the "Sabotage" Bill vigils of the Black Sash, did the gatherings on the steps become unruly. Those who were responsible for the hooliganism acted under the pretence of provocation, and they were, for the most part, allowed to get away with it. It is tragic that their victory should now get Government approval.

"Rand Daily Mail."

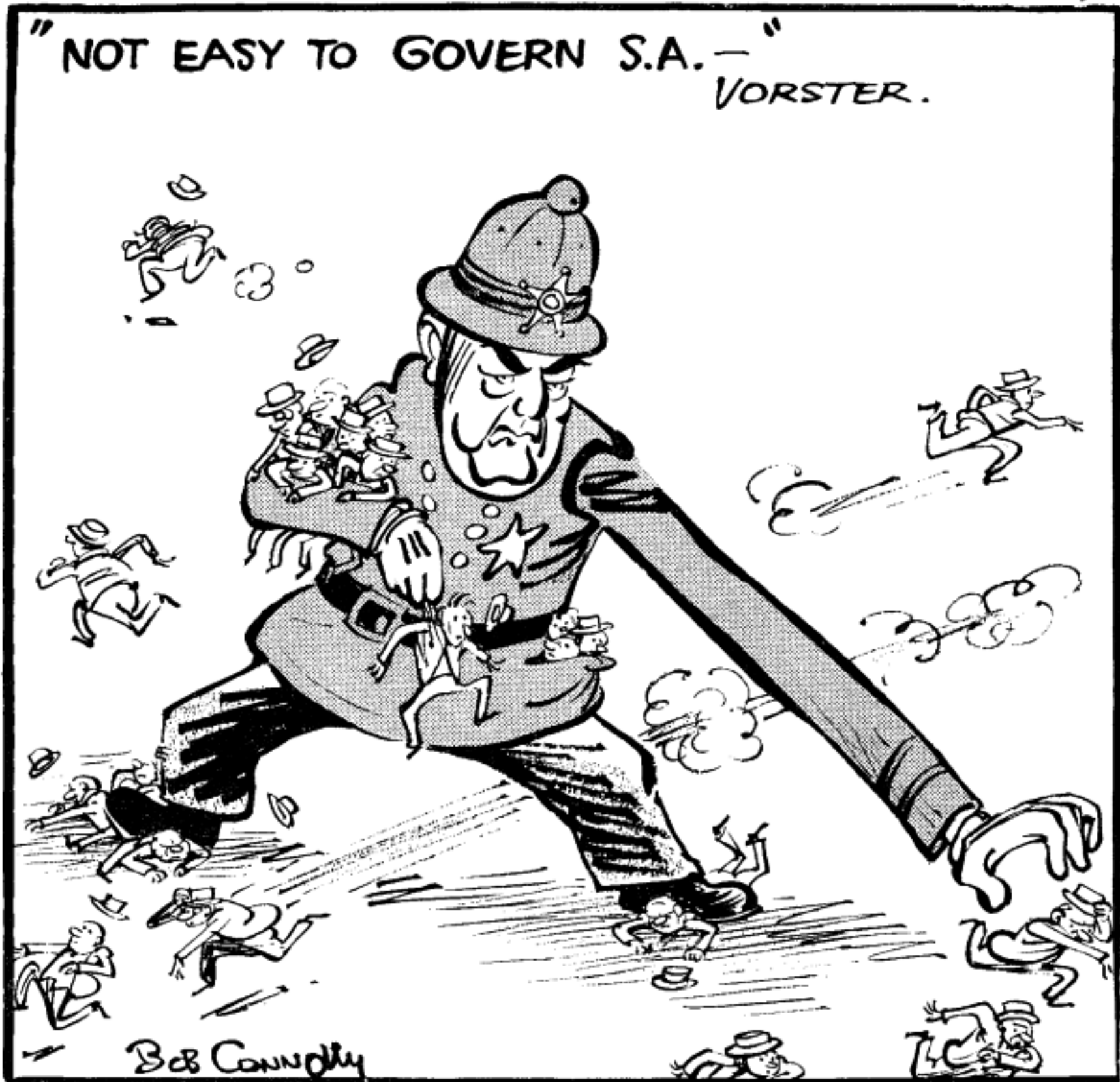
## POINTS FROM THE PRESS

### People Say . . .

THAT Mr. John Vorster should study the remark of the British M.P. who said recently that "the only freedom of speech worth having is the freedom to speak things than run wholly counter to the spirit of the times."

THAT they wonder what would have happened to Mr. Vorster if advocates were screened at the time he applied for admission to the Bar.

"Sunday Times."



## The Freedom of the Individual — Black Sash Press Statement

MUCH of the legislation passed during recent years has made encroachments on the liberty of the individual and inroads on the Rule of Law. Wide powers have been vested in Cabinet Ministers, and legitimate functions of the Courts of Law have been by-passed.

The General Law Amendment Act gives the Minister of Justice excessively wide powers, among them the right to confine an individual to his home and keep him incommunicado. The Black Sash objects on principal to the arbitrary curtailment of liberty. In any democratic system the rule of law is jealously guarded. It is fundamental that every accused person should have

the right of a proper trial, and that the burden of proof of guilt should be on the state. The democratic tradition of justice goes back to the Magna Carta, Anno 1215:-

"No freeman shall be arrested or detained in prison, or deprived of his freehold, or outlawed, or banished, or in any way molested; and we will not set forth against him, unless by the lawful judgement of his peers and by the law of the land.

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

These are the principles in which we believe. The Black Sash will continue to protest against any diminishment of these, confident that this duty is required of us.

## EDUCATION

# THE NATIONAL EDUCATION ADVISORY ACT OF 1962

By MARIE GRANT

(Vice Convenor for Education, International Council of Women, and a member of Cape Western Region of the Black Sash.)

**I**N ORDER to understand the full implications of the Act which has just been passed, it is necessary to examine its provisions in the light of the evidence given to the Select Committee appointed to report on the National Education Advisory Council Bill and to bring up an amended bill.

Memoranda were submitted by organizations interested in education, whose representatives were cross-examined by members of the Committee. The report of the Select Committee was indeed revealing, for the clear-cut voting of its members **along party lines** on the amended Bill, the National Education Council Bill, and its clauses, leads to the ineluctable conclusion that *the national education policy eventually evolved will be that of the present Government.*

### Scant Regard Paid to Views of Critics

Analysis of the evidence reveals that witnesses fell roughly into three groups: those who supported the Bill, some of whom went even further in their totalitarian demands than the Minister of Education, Arts and Science himself; those who opposed the Bill in principle, and those who were not against an advisory council, **provided it was truly advisory and had no controlling powers.** In the groups opposed to the Bill were a number of disinterested witnesses, many of them experienced teachers and educational administrators, some of whom recommended that there should be no legislation until a further investigation into the present state of education had been made. The scant regard paid to the recommendations of these critical groups in the framing of the final Bill does not augur well for the consideration likely to be given to differing views when policy is being implemented.

Examination of the main sections of the Act does not allay the anxiety of those critics who feared its authoritarian character and its politically partisan implications. It is true that certain concessions have been made. The Minister has allowed the insertion of the word 'advisory' in the title (it had been omitted in the amended Bill), and has excluded provincial budgets from those educational matters which must be referred to the Advisory Council. Nevertheless, the fundamental aim of the Act, which is to accomplish through education the acceptance of a South African national philosophy, is unchanged.

### Composition of Advisory Council

The Council is to comprise not fewer than fifteen members, all appointed by the Minister of Education, Arts and Science, with no representative element in it other than that indicated in the

section which states that "one of the members of the Council shall be a person who has special knowledge of the functions of the Department of Education, Arts and Science, and there shall in respect of each province be appointed one member recommended by the Administrator concerned, who has special knowledge of education matters in that province".

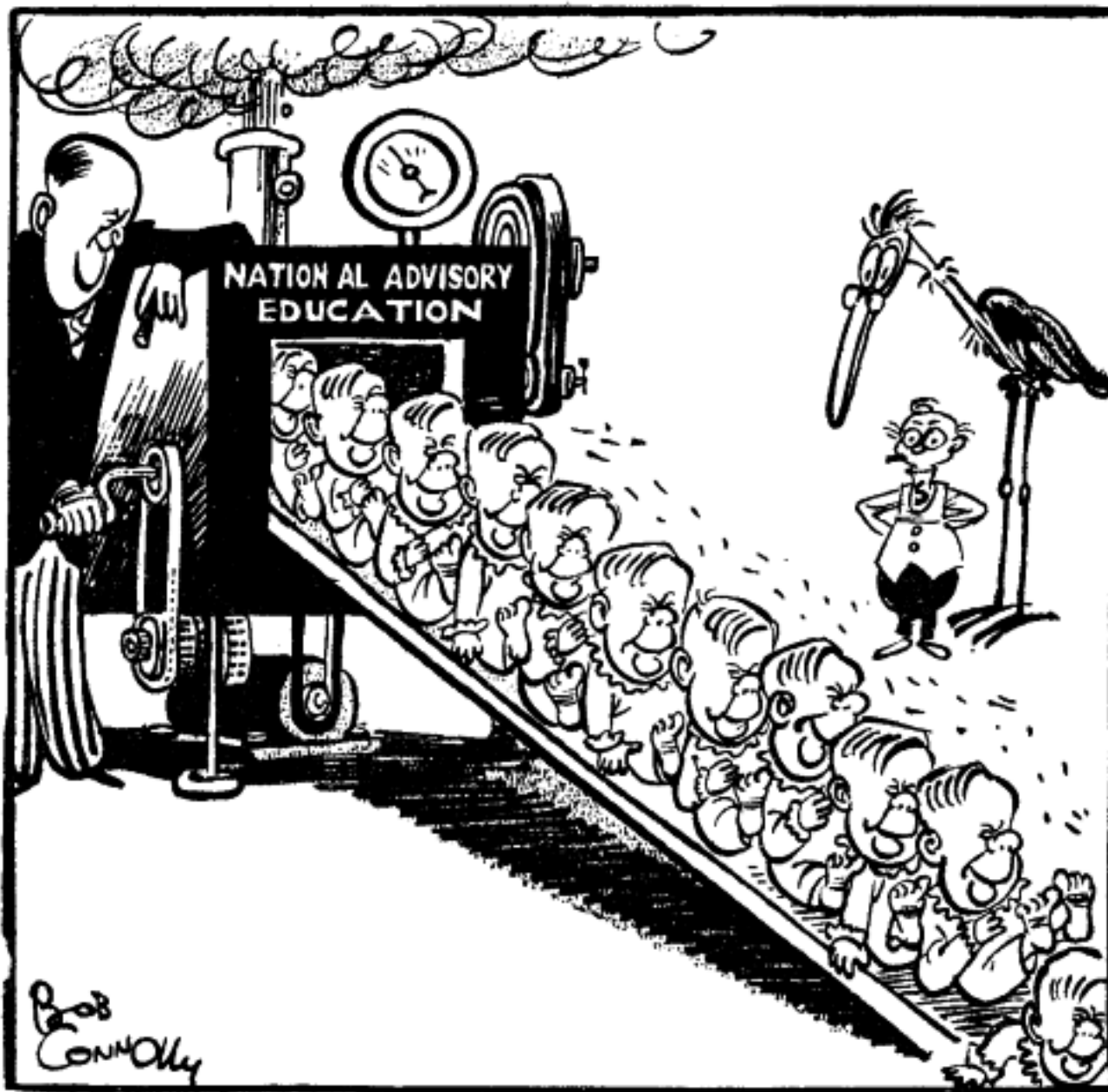
From among the members of the Council, the Minister will appoint an executive of up to five full-time officers who will apparently fall under civil service regulations as regards remuneration and conditions of service. The remaining members of the Council will be appointed for periods not exceeding five years, renewable by the Minister. Any such member will be required to vacate his office for certain specified offences or if he becomes a member of the Senate, the House of Assembly or a Provincial Council, or if in the *opinion of the Minister, after consultation with the Council, he does not properly discharge his duties as a member; provided that a member appointed on the recommendation of an Administrator may be removed from office only after the Administrator concerned has been consulted.*

### Special Investigation Committees

A section which has caused misgivings is the one which makes provision for the appointment of special committees to investigate the affairs of particular schools. These committees, under the chairmanship of a member of the council, assisted by two other persons, may, with the consent of the chief education officer of the province concerned, or with that of the Secretary for Education, Arts and Science in the case of schools not provincially controlled, obtain access to the school which is being investigated. Some educationists fear that this may lead to interference with provincial authority, and the usurpation of the powers of school inspectors.

### Limitation of the Powers of Provincial Councils

Limitation of the powers of Provincial Councils is contained in the section which states that "No proposed legislation (not being provincial ordinances relating to the appropriation of funds) relating to the education of white persons shall



## The National Education Advisory Act (Cont.)

be introduced in the Senate or the House of Assembly or in a Provincial Council, except after prior consultation between the Minister and any other interested Minister or Administrator and after the Minister has obtained the views of the council thereon."

It is significant that this section will apply to white persons only. This limitation, taken in conjunction with the arrangements already in train for the removal of the Coloured schools from the control of Provincial Councils to that of the Department of Coloured Affairs, seems to indicate that the policy-making of which the Act is an instrument will be applicable only to white persons.

### Grounds for Misgiving

Much will depend on the interpretation of this Act and on how it is administered. Its provisions,

and in some cases its lack of definition, leave room for doubts. There is doubt as to the potentialities for interference with private schools which receive assistance out of public funds, and the term "public funds" is not defined.

The Minister has given his assurance that the council will be purely advisory, will have no executive powers and no control over the existing State and provincial authorities. Its very existence, however, composed as it will be of nominees of the Minister, appointed and dismissed at his discretion, and empowered to take the initiative in investigations and recommendations, is a threat to local freedom to deviate from a rigid system of national education. The insistence by the supporters of the Bill among the witnesses before the Select Committee on just such rigid unification of educational aims, to be forced if necessary on an unwilling province, gives ground for the supposition that this purely advisory council will speedily see its advice translated into law.

## EDUCATION

### A report of the N.C.W. Conference on **BANTU EDUCATION**

By **BARBARA BROCK**

(A member of Transvaal Regional Committee of the Black Sash)

**A ONE-DAY CONFERENCE** on the Bantu Education Act was held at the University of the Witwatersrand on the 6th of July 1962, jointly sponsored by the Johannesburg Branch of the National Council of Women and the Witwatersrand Branches of the National Council of African Women. 337 persons signed the attendance register, men and women of all races; some had travelled from as far as Pietersburg and Vereeniging and very many from the Reef areas. The Chairman was Mrs. E. E. Monro; sessions were also taken by Professor Hansi Pollak, Mrs. Masekela and Mrs. W. A. D. Russell.

All the papers were made available at small cost and within a very short time after the conference, together with a report of the discussion and a transcript of Dr. Hellmann's summing up. Tape recordings may be borrowed from B.P. free of charge.

#### **Education for the Bantu in Operation**

The first speaker, MR. M. PROZESKY, Regional Director of Bantu Education, Southern Transvaal, briefly traced African education from its entirely missionary beginnings, through the stage of Provincial responsibility for syllabuses and inspection, subsidisation of salaries and equipment, to the take-over by the State in 1955. He said that Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr would probably have taken over 10 years sooner had it not been for the war.

Mr. Prozesky said that there had been a very great deal of criticism from the inception of Bantu Education, and a large part of his speech was taken up with a defence of his Department against the commoner types of criticism, which, however, he believed to be mellowing. He pointed out that no perfect system of education had yet been devised and that the present Bantu Education department is far the largest Education Department in South Africa. He stated that there is more religious instruction in schools than before; that a few churches had offered suggestions, but all the major Protestant churches had passed the syllabuses as acceptable; that almost all school boards and committees include a missionary or evangelist as a member. Schools, with the exception, for instance, of state schools, large institutions, farm schools and some mine and factory schools, are now controlled by the Bantu populace, "a revolutionary . . . project . . . which could in a short space of time prepare the Bantu for self government".

Parents, he said, now show remarkable zeal and vigour in supporting their schools; those in the Southern Transvaal region have spent R50,000 in the last year on teachers' salaries. Far from offer-

ing inferior education, the Department aims at giving all children 4 classes, up to Standard II. Enrolment has increased from 800,000 to 1,600,000 in 8 years. In many large urban areas, post-Standard II enrolment is anything from 10 to 15 per cent. higher; post-Primary schools have increased by more than 200% in the last 7 years. Special classes may be started from 1963 for those who are unable to complete Standard II.

#### **Financial Aspects of Bantu Education**

MRS. W. A. D. RUSSELL said that it was the duty of a state to make due financial provision for social services. The estimate for Bantu Education for 1961/62 was R21 million, about .8% of the national income. She queried whether this was an adequate proportion to spend on the essential basic education of, roughly, three-quarters of the population. Approximately one twenty-first of this had been spent on the **foundation and preliminary development of three tribal colleges**. About a third of the total available came from **direct taxes paid by Africans**. Equipment grants were discontinued from 1957. Parents now contribute voluntarily towards the cost of salaries and equipment in amounts ranging from 6d in the primary grades to £1 in higher secondary classes. Apparently about 400,000 children are still completely without educational facilities.

DR. HELLMANN, from the floor, pointed out that per capita expenditure in the period had decreased from R17 to R13.4. In reply to her and other questioners, Mr. Prozesky stated that African taxes had been undercollected by about R500,000; that rental is paid for church school buildings used for state schools, but not when used for community schools; that when a community raised its whole quota for a new building, the Department subsidised rand for rand, but not before; that White missionaries do not sit on school boards, and that there is not at present any allocation for the projected special schools, which are expected to start in a small way and be a charge on present funds.



## EDUCATION

### Language Medium

MR. J. C. M. MBATA of the Institute of Race Relations, said that White educational theorists appeared to think of the environment of an African child in the terms of anthropological textbooks, finding it very difficult to realise that, for example, the word "eighty" was more easily understood than its Zulu equivalent by a six year old child living in Orlando. The African realises that he needs at least one of the official languages, but Bantu language medium is now used in all classes up to Standard VI, the official languages being "timetable subjects" only. There are very few textbooks in the vernacular; the teacher has to translate and summarise from official language textbooks, the students memorising the notes; imaginative teaching is very cramped. In multi-vernacular areas, it is usually not possible to introduce more than two groups, and even within the Nguni group, a Xhosa child may find himself in unequal competition with his Zulu classmate and vice versa. Mr. Mbata concluded that "the practice of mother-tongue instruction was probably introduced too hastily, . . . changes . . . have been more revolutionary than evolutionary in their nature. Added to this is the fact that the system was imposed from above and was not everywhere received with open arms by the people. In practice, therefore, it may defeat the very ends for which it was instituted, namely to interpret the environment to the child in the most convenient terms."

### Vocational Training

MR. PAINTIN, of the Vocational Training Centre in Dube, read a paper by MR. TABOR. This school was started in 1942, as a social welfare experiment to occupy young Africans who were potential juvenile delinquents, resulting from the rush to the cities in wartime and the slum conditions that then arose. Sixty boys, irrespective of educational qualifications, were given elementary instruction in building, carpentry and agriculture. Standards of work and achievement were raised, and between 1950-1960 the average enrolment was 215 with Standard VI qualification; hundreds of building workers were trained, an important factor in the City Council's housing schemes. Character building and religious instruction is regularly given. In the last two years the quality of applicant has declined. The staff would greatly appreciate it if vocational guidance could be given in the schools from Standard V, and also extra lessons in Afrikaans, English and arithmetic. Arithmetic is a traditionally weak subject and most technical textbooks are in English. In order to bring the potential of all the people of the land into play, he also strongly advised "evening institutes and polytechnics, where part-time study is available to everyone".

### School Boards & School Committees

MR. F. S. M. MNCUBE explained that under the

Bantu Education Act local authorities are responsible for school buildings up to Standard II, school boards for those beyond Standard II. School boards have several schools under their jurisdiction, members hold office for one year; school committees are elected from parents of one school, serve for three years and advise school boards. The Native Education system had given a general education preparing a child for a white collar job; under Bantu Education the emphasis was on preparing him to serve his community — whether the community could then absorb him was another matter. Mr. Mncube said it was beyond the scope of his paper to pass judgment on the two systems, but he did regret that the African intelligentsia had dissociated itself from Bantu education, had not come forward to serve on the boards and had deprived the community of the support it should expect from them. He thought they ought to make the best they could of an awkward situation.

In answer to questions, MR. PROZESKY stated that some nominees had been disallowed for political reasons, and that he was not in agreement with the suggestion of an educational qualification for board members. Mr. Mncube agreed that school committees had existed since 1919, but that they had then been permissive, not compulsory.

### Teacher Training

MRS. S. SCHIFF, of the Kilnerton Teachers' Training College, listed the 4 categories of teachers: those with Standard VII plus two years training, J.C. plus two years, post-matric and post-graduation. The lowest category is open to women only and the starting salary is £15 per month plus cost of living. Women are occupying an increasingly important position in the teaching profession, despite a number of difficulties arising from tribal custom, the fact that they are dismissed on marriage (but usually re-engaged owing to the shortage of teachers) and the difficulties inherent in the present social conditions, which last apply to all African teachers. Students at Kilnerton are given a practical professional training, and among the subjects included is "Child Study and Principles" which "covers a study of the ethics which underlie our Western civilisation". Students, whether they join the teaching or some other profession, show great responsibility in later life.

During discussion, MR. PROZESKY said that less than 25% of African teachers in secondary and high schools have degrees; that Kilnerton has been requested to discontinue the lowest category course; that courses had been started at the tribal colleges; that the Department's bursary scheme is not operating but generous bursaries are available from other bodies. Later questioners were answered by MR. HARTSHORN, Inspector of Schools, who said that the 74% failure in the matriculation examination could not be blamed on Bantu education, because the students writing

*Continued overleaf*

## EDUCATION

### Bantu Education (Cont.)

last year must have had their basic training under the missions. (A delegate pointed out that 30% of the passes were from Catholic schools, enrolling only 6% of the children.) Mr. Hartshorn also said that the Matric pass mark had been raised from 40% to 50% but he did not agree with a speaker from the floor that the J.C. standard had been lowered, creating a serious gap.

#### Educational Aims of the African People

MR. G. M. PITJE said that there are two streams of thought in South Africa: one, that the African must remain in tune with "the glory of his past" and the other, held by most African leaders, that "the spirit, objects and general aims of African education must be identical with those of education the world over". In putting the latter viewpoint, with considerable fire and skill, he added "but I must haste to admit that the adaptation of general principles to the African may lead to differences of stress in presenting the same syllabus . . . Education must take into account genuine differences, where such exist, but it must not create them".

#### South Africa & the Education of her African People

DR. W. HUDSON, lately of the National Institute of Personnel Research, said that he personally was unfamiliar with Bantu Education as such but that he proposed to apply to it the four essential criteria of education generally: the relation of education to social change, its objectives, its effects, and the quality of its teachers. Western style education is now claimed everywhere as a right; it is substantially an alien system superimposed on traditional cultures. The ensuing social change is usually in four phases: indifference, superficial acceptance of gimmicks, nostalgia, and synthesis resulting in the emergence of a new social order. In this last stage, adaptations to local conditions are regarded with suspicion as basically inferior.

The objectives of education are to inculcate knowledge, wisdom and virtue. Knowledge can be taught but wisdom and virtue must be caught and "the teacher is the carrier". The system must anticipate social change, because it takes ten years to train a member of modern society. The teacher is the bridge between the individual and society, between the past and the future.

#### Summing-up

DR. HELLMANN, in her masterly summing-up of this really "tight packed day of first-class papers", said that the theme of the conference was well expressed by MR. TABOR when he

looked forward to the time "when the total sum of all our resources, natural and human, are harnessed to the national good", and recommended that "opportunities for study and educational advancement should be made available to the African people". With this, she thought, all present concurred. She noted that all speakers agreed that there was still a good deal of doubt and suspicion in the minds of the people about Bantu Education, but there was disagreement as to its cause. Mr. Prozesky appeared to think that it arose purely from ill-will and from agitation, but it had become apparent from the speeches of Mr. Pitje and others, that these suspicions had been aroused by the original announcement of the scheme which "made it clear that Bantu Education was to be something different from education for whites". This view had been officially repeated more recently.

In conclusion she said: "Finally, I return to Dr. Hudson's paper, where he talked of education as a fundamental human right and the necessity for a western type of education to fit people for a western industrial system; and on that there seemed to me absolute agreement, as that was the theme of Mr Pitje's address — education for a common society, education for a shared society. And I think if the N.C.W., as it intends doing, studies the papers, the valuable papers, that were presented . . . and tries to bring their contents to official notice, that will be valuable. But my own feeling is that even if nothing of this were to happen, the fact that we have got together here and shared so many of our own feelings and aspirations, got to know each other as people, has in itself been of inestimable value."

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Said one of them (Africans) to me not so long ago, "The white man came to us and he told us that we must throw off barbarism, that we must be educated, and advance. We have obeyed his words and now — because we have done so — because we have advanced — he tells us that we are a menace and a danger".

Jan Hofmeyr —

"South Africa"

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The end of government is the good of mankind; and which is best for mankind, that the people should be always exposed to the boundless will of tyranny, or that the rulers should be sometimes liable to be opposed when they grow exorbitant in the use of their power . . . ?

— John Locke.

## EDUCATION

# BRAINS TRUST ON EDUCATION

By MARIE DYER

(A member of Natal Midlands Regional Council of the Black Sash.)

ON May 21st, Pietermaritzburg Branch of the Black Sash held a Brains Trust on Education. We have at least one Brains Trust every year on topical issues; and this subject, although discussed under the shadow of the General Law Amendment Bill — in fact the Brains Trust immediately preceded our 24-hour Flame of Freedom vigil — is surely permanently topical.

The Question Master, Mr. J. McQuarrie, of Natal University, was unwilling in his introduction to attach racial labels to the speakers, but pointed out that several of them would not be classified in the Population Register as 'White'. This, he said, was a good thing — the diversity, not the Population Register —, since with a mixed population like ours the views of all sections were equally important. In effect, the questions were discussed with very little reference to particular race interests.

On the introductory question, "What should be our aim in the education of our children?", there was general agreement that the development of the capacities of each individual child was the most important thing. Any society, as Mr. A. Barrett, a University Lecturer, pointed out, was a growing and changing institution, and to try to mould people to fit it was both sterile and futile. The other speakers put in pleas for the fostering of qualities essential in any civilized community, such as tolerance, honesty, industry, and (from Mr. B. Bhengu, a lawyer) maturity, so that people can see society as something different from a game of marbles, where what one gains another must lose.

The next question — a real detonator here in Natal — was "Should the Central Government take over our schools from the Provinces?" Here the unanimity was more vehement: no one was in favour. Mr. Mainwaring, a school principal, said that in effect Government take-over meant racial streaming, which was always an educational disaster. Streaming in University education, for instance, meant that there was no University education in their home language for the Coloured people of Natal; and none at all for those unable to travel 1,000 miles to Bellville in the Western Cape. Mr. Bhengu referred to the danger of bureaucracy with over-centralization, where Education becomes only a branch of the Civil Service. This was happening already in Bantu Education, where, for example, school boards from adjoining districts could not meet together without authority from Pretoria.

A less controversially political question dealt with A- and B- ability streaming, which has recently been introduced by the Natal Education Department. The panel gave guarded approval to this principle, although Rev. A. Poodhun, a Minister of Religion, suggested that voluntary streaming in separate schools might be less open to injustices.

Question 4, asked to what extent, if any, education for various races should be different. The speakers were emphatic that there should be no difference. In South Africa, it was averred, separate education meant, for non-Europeans, inferior education. Mr. Barrett pointed out that from a teacher's viewpoint inherent racial differences in the pupils were unimportant. The significant differences were those caused by differing environments, which education should seek to minimise, not to perpetuate. Mr. Bhengu explained how the attempt to shape Bantu Education to fit a particular race was giving rise to a complex unreal myth, where, for instance, tribal traditions and attitudes were supposed to be taught in schools whose very existence is a daily denial of tribal habits.

The last question dealt directly with Bantu Education, asking for its virtues and defects in its present form. Its obvious defects were mentioned — its basically unsound principle; its appalling practical results in public examinations and the day-to-day incompetence of many of its teachers; its lavish new university colleges with hardly a dozen students, compared with the mean cheese-paring in salaries, buildings and equipment in the schools. Mr. Poodhun, with good-natured determination, searched for a single advantage to vary this chorus of derogation, and emerged with the fact that total illiteracy had been very greatly reduced since 1953. However, Mr. Barrett allowed the last word to lie with a Cabinet Minister whom he quoted as stating — with pride! — that the expenditure on each individual African schoolchild in the last financial year had actually been REDUCED!

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The passage of time does nothing to eradicate the dishonour brought to our country by the "Extension of University Education Act." It was a disgrace then; it is a disgrace now. This is the law which denies the elite of our non-European population all chance of obtaining a first-class education.

"Sunday Times."

# THE BLACK SASH AND THE S.A.B.C.

The petition against biased broadcasting by the S.A.B.C., which was organised by the Black Sash early in the year, was presented to the Prime Minister in July. As we pointed out in our leading article in the March/April magazine, we experienced great difficulty in collecting signatures as a result of public fear and apathy. Twenty-five thousand radio subscribers were, however, sufficiently concerned about the position to sign our petition.

When one reflects that only half as many citizens again, voting differently in the referendum, would have swayed the fate of South Africa, it can be seen that 25,000 people represent no inconsiderable minority. Yet the Prime Minister brushed aside the protest of these citizens in a petulant letter, signed by his Secretary:

"I am instructed to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 16th July and petition, and to state that The Government (sic), as you should readily understand, has no confidence in your organization. It cannot therefore be impressed by any petition sponsored or instigated by it."

## The Rights of Minorities

Commenting upon this unceremonious rejection of the petition, in a leading article, the "Star" says:

"By refusing to take any notice of the Black Sash petition protesting against biased broadcasting by the S.A.B.C., the Prime Minister has introduced a new and disturbing element into the conduct of public affairs. Because his Government have no confidence in the Black Sash, says Dr. Verwoerd, they "cannot be impressed by any petition sponsored or instigated by it." The implication is that the Government will only take cognisance of the views of those with whom it agrees.

"In that event, what happens to the interests of minorities? And what becomes of the well-tried principles of government by discussion? The essence of the democratic system, and the characteristic which distinguishes it from all others, is that the rights of minorities are as jealously guarded as those of the majority. This clearly goes by the board when there is a refusal even to consider the views of those who think differently.

"There is another danger in the Prime Minister's approach. When legitimate protests are brushed aside frivolously, what course is left to opponents to express their views? Petitions, age-old even if not always effective, are one of the safety-valves of government as well as a legitimate means of making known to the rulers the wishes of the ruled. What other approach does the Government expect the 25,000 people who signed the Black Sash petition to adopt? Or must they remain silent for ever and leave it to Dr. Hertzog?

"It is understandable, of course, that the Government is not anxious to encourage a debate on the conduct and policy of the S.A.B.C. Ever since the resignation of the former Director-General, Mr. Gideon Roos, the corporation has been moving steadily towards a position of partisanship and partiality which would never have been tolerated under the old regime

"Where is this to end? It is not only the Black Sash which has lost confidence in the S.A.B.C.'s handling of news and talks. Individuals have even given up their licences in protest. But the public has a right to a service for which it pays, and it has a right to keep on agitating for that service to conform to accepted forms and standards. In spite of the Prime Minister's off-handedness, therefore, the protests will go on. However inflexible they may appear, there is evidence aplenty that the Government are in fact susceptible to pressure of opinion when this is reasonable and sustained."



"Stop  
Slanting  
the News!"

(David Marais  
—"Cape Times")

# REPORTS FROM REGIONS AND BRANCHES

**A**LL REGIONS of the Black Sash participated in their different ways in the recent protests against the General Law Amendment Act. These demonstrations aroused a good deal of interest, not only in our own country, but overseas as well. Sympathetic reports of our activities appeared in various newspapers in Britain, Europe and America, often accompanied by pictures.

Although this revival of interest in the Black Sash may in part be attributed to the behaviour of the Johannesburg hooligans, we have very good reason to believe that our solitary vigils still capture the imagination of the public. A theatrical producer reported that on his way up from Durban by car, he passed through Pietermaritzburg late at night, and saw four Black Sash women standing alone in the deserted street. It was a most moving sight, he said, and he was deeply affected — the impression of those dedicated women would remain with him for a very long time.

Many requests have been received, especially from overseas, for information about our organization, and a short account of the formation and history of the Black Sash has been prepared for distribution.

## BORDER REGION

### Group Areas

A meeting of the Group Areas Board was held recently in East London, and two members of Border Region attended. They viewed the proposals made with great misgiving, and as a result the Region later forwarded an objection to the Board.

Briefly, the proposals of the Board were to divide East London's North End into different blocks for different racial groups. Streets were to form boundary lines. Parts of the adjoining White sub-economic Milner Estate were to be taken over for other race groups.

North End is the site of the early settlements of East London. When the city spread, it became something of a forgotten area, but today it is a sprawling district of houses (in various states of repair or dilapidation), shops, a large factory, and an open market. Here Coloureds, Indians, Chinese and some Whites live side by side in harmony. It is, and always has been, a mixed and crowded area, but never an area of racial conflict.

On one side lie the main shopping areas of the city, on the other the growing Coloured township of Parkside, and next door is the present African location, Duncan Village. Another border flows into White sub-economic Milner Estate, close to

the city's Frere Hospital.

East London's City Council has never been a supporter of Group Areas, and the Council's representative spoke against the proposals. His arguments were that Group Areas were unnecessary, and time and circumstance were solving any alleged problem in the area. There was also the problem of cost — the cost of re-establishing the different groups, especially the sub-economic Whites of Milner Estate, with amenities comparable with those they now enjoyed. The huge new African township of Mdantsane, on the outskirts of the city, had yet to be built.

Other speakers opposed the proposals, mostly on grounds of humanity. One speaker pointed out that separate communities bred disturbance, because separate communities meant separate ideas and opinions.

The local Nationalist Party chairman and the Skakel Komitee favoured the scheme, and expressed the opinion that although there had been no racial trouble to date, it was something to be expected in the future. They also felt that racial mixing led to a lower standard of living all round.

Coloured opinion was to some extent behind the proposals. Like most people, they queried the sense of the division, but hoped it might mean better housing for them. With a fine disregard of the Council's query, "Who will pay?", they suggested that the whole of Milner Estate could be Coloured.

To most East Londoners, the Group Areas Act had hitherto been something that affected communities far away. But as speaker after speaker outlined the hardships and suffering that could be caused by the removal of these people, for the most part poor people, from their accustomed homes, our members began to see what it could do to the people of their town, and it began more and more to take on the aspect of a vicious monster.

### Bantu Education

A meeting was held during August, at the home of Mrs. Daphne Curry, when **Mr. D. Moore** of Rhodes University gave an address on the education of the African.

Mr. Moore read extracts from the syllabuses of corresponding standards in African and European schools. These very forcibly illustrated his point that the African is receiving a definitely inferior education, fitting him only to fill subsidiary positions in the national economy. He quoted figures to show that the number of Africans who proceed to high school or university is steadily decreasing. Through insistence on mother-tongue instruction and the totally inadequate time allowed for European languages, the African is being deprived of any contact with European culture and literature. One wonders where a supply of people is to come from capable of taking responsible positions in the new Bantu homelands.

## Regional Reports (Cont.)

### CAPE EASTERN REGION

#### General Law Amendment Act

Much of this Region's time in May and June was spent in organizing demonstrations against the General Law Amendment Act. In Port Elizabeth, a daily vigil from 12 noon to 1 p.m. was held for three weeks. Posters condemning the Bill were displayed. When the Bill was finally passed, a large demonstration, in which 40 women participated, in bitterly cold weather, was held as a culminating effort. Many women who had become inactive and had not participated in any Black Sash activities for some time turned out for this demonstration.

Together with the Institute of Race Relations, Progressive and Liberal Parties, National Council of Women, and Congress Alliance Movement, the Black Sash organized a public protest meeting against the "Sabotage" Bill in Port Elizabeth City Hall. The meeting was attended by over 500 people, and the speakers were Mr. Leslie Blackwell and Mr. John Cope.

The **Addo Branch** helped reinforce Port Elizabeth members at their stand and meeting.

**Grahamstown, Salem and Alexandria Branch** members joined with the people and students of Grahamstown in a protest against the Bill, and also participated in the public protest meeting.

#### Inter-racial Tea Party

**Port Elizabeth Branch** held a very successful inter-racial tea-party which was attended by non-members, members, and members of the Coloured, Indian and African communities. The speaker on this occasion was an African Social Welfare worker, who gave a most interesting account of her experiences of juvenile delinquency and its causes. Her subject led to a lot of discussion afterwards, to which everyone contributed and which all thoroughly enjoyed.

The **Addo Branch** is now also holding regular inter-racial tea-parties which are very well attended. They usually have a demonstration of cake or scone-making, which causes much hilarity and is a wonderful way of breaking the ice initially.

#### The Caning of Victor Mvula

A thorough investigation by the Black Sash in Port Elizabeth into the caning of the African boy Victor Mvula for non-production of a Reference Book, led to numerous letters in the Press and to the Police Commissioner. The evidence we collected was sent with photographs of the boy's injuries and affidavits from a doctor and various other people to Mrs. Helen Suzman. Together with Mr. Percy Plewman, she asked some very

pertinent questions in the House, but the replies of the Minister of Justice were, to say the least of it, not very satisfactory.

#### Salem Branch

A very interesting report was given by **Mrs. S. J. Mullins**, Chairman of this Branch, at their 1962 Annual General Meeting. When the Branch was formed, over six years ago, nearly every woman in the area joined the Black Sash. Membership has dwindled over the years to a small group of stalwarts, who continue to do all they can to draw attention to the gradual whittling away of civil rights.

During the year, the attention of the Branch was drawn to the plight of the families of the men banished under the Native Administration Act, and members have been sending a small donation each month to the Regional Committee, to be used to alleviate some of the distress. The Report mentions that the **Alexandria Branch** has "adopted" a family, to which they give regular assistance.

At most of the meetings held during the year, the Salem Branch has discussed **Education**, and has had great assistance from the **Transvaal Education Vigilance Committee** through Mrs. Rankin, the Chairman, who has sent numerous pamphlets. The Branch was able to send an article to the T.E.V.C. on rural schools in Salem district.

Last year, the Branch kept a watch on the affairs of the **Farmerfield Natives**, who have since been moved to Mimosa Park, near Kingwilliamstown. Recent reports of these people were most disturbing — their crops had failed and they were starving. The school which had been promised them had not yet been registered, and as the Bantu Education Act lays down that a school must be established before the Government will pay a teacher, the children are without education. Efforts are being made by Salem Branch to collect money to assist these people, and to get the registration of the school speeded up.

### CAPE WESTERN REGION

#### Group Areas Amendment Bill

The meeting convened by the Mayor of Cape Town on the 8th May was well attended. The Black Sash organized a convoy to advertise the meeting, and large numbers of pamphlets were distributed.

#### South African Foundation

Cape Western made several unsuccessful efforts to secure an interview with the local Committee earlier in the year, but Mrs. Stott and Mrs. Petersen were able to have a talk with Sir Francis de Guingand, the Chairman of the Foundation, when he was in Cape Town in August.

## Regional Reports (Cont.)

### Letters to the Press

The Region has sent the following letters to the Press:

1. On Patrick Duncan's confinement to the Peninsula.
2. On Dr. Verwoerd's statement on the Institute of Race Relations Conference on Human Rights.
3. On Population Registration.
4. To "Die Burger" refuting the leader by them on "Reckless Campaign".
5. To the "Argus" refuting allegations made by the Government that the Black Sash is Communist-influenced.

### Protests

**General Law Amendment Bill.** The Region held the usual lunch-hour stand in Adderley Street at the beginning of the second reading, and a vigil was started outside the lower gates of the Houses of Parliament, with two women standing continuously night and day on either side of the Flame of Freedom. This was kept up until Monday, May 26th, at 4 p.m. The stand was on the whole uneventful, but all members found it a very heart-warming experience and were very glad they did it.

On the evening of the 14th June, a silent vigil round the flame was held on the Parade, opposite the City Hall. Tapers were distributed and lighted from the Flame. It had been the intention to invite the public through the Press to join in, but in view of the students' experience the night before, there was no pre-publicity.

The Black Sash was instrumental in forming what became known as the **Civil Rights Defence Committee**, an ad hoc committee representing a wide range of political views, under the Chairmanship of **ex-Chief Justice Centlivres**. This Committee was formed specifically to fight this Bill, and has now been dissolved. Meetings were arranged in various places in the Peninsula, and permission was sought to hold a march on the 30th May, culminating with a meeting on the Parade. Permission was refused by the Cape Town City Council, and all that was allowed was a meeting in the **Drill Hall**. This was attended by about 2,000 people and addressed by excellent speakers. The Committee again tried for permission to hold a march just before the final stages of the Bill, but was again refused, and a strong statement was issued to the Press. The Black Sash decided to join in the Students' march on Wednesday, 13th June, but this march was broken up by the police.

**Education Bill.** A stand was held on the Education Bill on June 18th, in Adderley Street, and a statement issued by Mrs. Robb was later published in the "Cape Times".

### Athlone Advice Office

The numbers of people coming to this office for assistance are rising steadily month by month. A total number of 417 "cases" were interviewed during August.

**Miss Shirley Parks**, a member of Pinelands Branch of the Black Sash, has been appointed part-time organizer of the office, on behalf of the Black Sash and the Institute of Race Relations, and she is doing a grand job of work.

### Africans and Liquor in Langa

At a referendum held last year in Langa, Africans voted strongly against liquor being sold in the location. The Black Sash made representations to the Mayor and the City Council, and also to the Minister, Mr. de Wet Nel, pointing out that the Black Sash did not oppose the principle of making liquor available, but they deplored the fact that the wishes of the Africans were disregarded and they had not been allowed to decide for themselves.

### Removal of Africans from Western Cape

This threat which has hung over our heads for so many years has now become a reality, and we are making various plans as to how best to fight it. We feel the greatest need is to bring home to the public the hardships and break-up of family life such action invites. The talk which Mrs. Robb gave to the Institute of Citizenship (reported elsewhere in the magazine) has roused wide interest. Two letters from the Black Sash about the removal of Africans from the Western Cape, have been published in the Press, and also a statement by Mrs. Stott replying to Mr. Maree's speech in East London that African women were free to go wherever they liked.

### OBITUARY

We are very sorry to have to report the death of **Mrs. I. Adams** of Rosebank Branch, one of our most helpful and gentle and much-loved members, who died suddenly a short while ago. She joined the Black Sash in the very early days, and has always been a most loyal and hard-working member. It would be impossible to count the number of envelopes she has addressed for us, or the many hours of work she put in at the office. She also very seldom missed any of our stands and demonstrations. Mrs. Adams will be sadly missed by all her colleagues in the Black Sash.

## Regional Reports (Cont.)

### NATAL COASTAL REGION

As in all other Regions, a demonstration was held in May against the **General Law Amendment Bill**.

July was not a very active one as far as the Region was concerned, because the schools were on holiday and most members were very busy with their families, or away on holiday themselves.

Mrs. Keen went to Johannesburg to attend the meeting of Regional Chairs, and gave an account of the discussion at the July Regional meeting.

A collection was taken for the distressed people of Sekukuneland, and a cheque was sent to the Relief Fund. It was felt that the Region should do what it could to help displaced people nearer home as well, and a letter has been written to the Rev. Hardwicke at Mtubatuba asking whether members can do anything to help the people who have lost their homes at Umfolosi.

The Region as usual produced a very interesting political review for July, compiled by Mrs. Duncan.

### NATAL MIDLANDS REGION

#### General Law Amendment Bill

Most of the recent work of this Region has been overshadowed by our protests against this Bill.

A synopsis of the Bill was sent to each Branch and Group, so that members could make themselves acquainted with its provisions.

The Pietermaritzburg Branch held a vigil around a most effective Flame of Freedom, throughout Monday night, May 24th, and all day Tuesday until 6 p.m., when the Chairman, Mrs. Lund, extinguished it in the presence of about 200 people. The Branch invited other organizations and individuals to join the vigil. The response was good and the Branch was particularly glad to welcome to the vigil many Indian and African friends. Our Indian friends in particular appreciated the invitation, and Mrs. Meer of Durban, in a public speech, thanked the Pietermaritzburg Branch for issuing the invitation. Members from Mooi River and Howick also joined the vigil.

The Pietermaritzburg Branch was one of the sponsors of a protest meeting against this Bill, held in the City Hall on Tuesday, May 22nd. The other sponsors were the Progressive Party, the Liberal Party, Natal Indian Congress, NUSAS, and some African leaders. The City Hall was packed for this very successful meeting; the speakers were Mrs. Elizabeth Lund Chairman of the Pietermaritzburg Branch of the Black Sash, who received a very warm welcome from the crowd, Dr. Motala, Mr. Alan Paton, Mr. Archie Gumede, and Mr. George Forder.

On June 5th, another protest meeting sponsored by the same organizations, was held at the Lotus Hall, a much more convenient hall for non-Europeans to reach by 5.15 p.m. This meeting was also very successful. The speakers were Mrs. Lund, Dr. Motala, Mrs. van Wyk, Mr. Gerald Walker, Mr. Archie Gumede, Mr. Peter Brown and Mr. Mike Gardner. Also present on the platform were several Church leaders.

Finally, the Branch was represented by Mrs. Corrigan and Mrs. Strauss at a wreath-laying ceremony to mark the death of freedom. Representatives of all the organizations which had sponsored the protest meetings were present, when Mr. Peter Brown placed the wreath in the gardens of the Supreme Court.

#### Other Demonstrations

Just before the General Law Amendment Bill hit us, the Pietermaritzburg Branch had arranged a demonstration for May 18th, a stand against the **Group Areas Amendment Bill**, the new **Education Bill**, and the **Publications and Entertainments Bill**. For good measure, the **General Law Amendment Bill** was added. The demonstrators stood with posters, at intervals throughout the day.

On Saturday, August 4th, the Pietermaritzburg Branch held a stand with placards against legislation passed during the recent session of Parliament. This protest was mainly to show that the General Law Amendment Bill does not prevent our demonstrations.

#### Public Meetings

On May 21st, a successful **Brains Trust on Education** was held in Pietermaritzburg. A report of this function appears elsewhere in the magazine.

Early in May, the Mooi River Branch held a public meeting with Mr. Juta of the University of Natal as speaker. The subject, "Recent Political Change in Africa," led to interesting discussion.

#### Other Activities

**Inter-racial Tea-parties.** Pietermaritzburg Branch holds these regularly each month, and finds them both pleasant and valuable. Matatiele Branch is planning a similar function with some of the Coloured community.

Mrs. Dyer represents the Pietermaritzburg Branch on the **Anti-Transfer Action Committee**. The Branch is also represented on the **Human Rights Committee**, the **Education Vigilance Committee**, the **Natal Convention Continuation Committee**, and the **Group Areas Resistance Committee**.

At a meeting held in July, this last Committee decided to send a deputation to the Housing Committee of the City Council, urging the Council not to help the Group Areas Board to implement Group Areas legislation. The City Council feels that it can implement the legislation less severely than can the Group Areas Board, but the Resistance Committee hopes to prove the fallacy of this belief, and is collecting evidence of cases of hardship to present to the City Council.

*Continued overleaf*



## Regional Reports (Cont.)

### Propaganda

Very effective paid advertisements were put into the "Natal Witness" protesting against the **Publications and Entertainments Bill** and against the **Education Bill**. The National Statement on the **Race Classification Bill** appeared in the "Natal Witness" as a letter.

### HEADQUARTERS REGION (Transvaal)

#### Petition to S.A.B.C.

As reported elsewhere in the Magazine, this petition was sent to the Prime Minister, under cover of letter, in July. There were over 25,000 signatures on the petition. A very curt reply was received, and the correspondence was handed to the "Star", who gave it front-page prominence and a leading article on "The Rights of Minorities".

#### Press Statements

An advertisement was inserted in the local morning and evening papers, protesting against the new **Education Advisory Council Bill**, and drawing the attention of parents to its dangers.

A statement of **Bannings** without trial was published almost in full by the "Rand Daily Mail", and also appeared in advertisement form in the same paper carrying the "Flame of Freedom" symbol. The text of this statement appears elsewhere in this Magazine.

A statement on the banning of gatherings on the **City Hill Steps**, and on the banning of an organization critical of the Government was published by the "Rand Daily Mail". This also appears in this issue of the magazine.

#### Meeting of Regional Chairs

A meeting of all Regional Chairs and the members of the Headquarters Executive was held in Johannesburg on the 18th July to discuss the effects on the Black Sash of the **General Law Amendment Act**. Our legal advisers were present to give their opinion.

#### Demonstrations

The "**Sabotage**" Bill. After the demonstrations on the City Hall steps ceased, stands with the Flame of Freedom were held in various parts of Johannesburg at odd times. Only on one occasion did the hooligans find us, and that was during a lunch-hour stand outside the Stock Exchange. Before they could launch an attack, however, one of the ringleaders was knocked out by a bystander, and we had no further trouble.

Demonstrations were held in Pretoria, the East and West Rand, and the Jan Smuts Airport, and once more on the City Hall steps. Just before the Bill passed through its final stages, a final ceremony was held on the steps, on the 12th June. Over 200 Black Sash women took part, and a good many supporters. We had hoped to gain the support of the general public, but refrained from giving the ceremony pre-publicity lest trouble-makers were attracted.

The ceremony was a simple one: the Black Sash dedication in Afrikaans was read by one of our members, after which the hymn, "O God of earth and altar", was sung. Mrs. Sinclair then read the following **Affirmation of Belief**:

"In protest against the General Law Amendment Bill, the Black Sash has kept vigil around 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 from it now we light these candles as a token of our belief that nothing can quench the flame of freedom in the hearts and minds of freedom-loving peoples.

"All the darkness in the world cannot put out the light of one small candle."

The women of the Black Sash then filed past the Flame of Freedom, held aloft by Mrs. Sinclair, and lit candles at the flame, returning to take up their positions again on the steps. The Dedication was then spoken in unison in English, followed by "**God bless South Africa — God seen Suid-Afrika.**"

The flame was then carried off the steps, followed by the women holding their candles.

We have been told by spectators that the ceremony was most impressive to watch — it certainly had a profound effect upon the women who took part.

**Freedom of the Individual.** On the 29th August, to illustrate the point that although the "Sabotage" Act was now law it was still legal to protest, we held a two-hour demonstration on the City Hall steps. Our theme was "**Strive for Freedom of the Individual**", and we carried posters bearing that slogan, and lit the flame of freedom once more.

That was the last Black Sash demonstration to be held on those historic steps for some time to come, for just over a week later Mr. Vorster banned gatherings there. We found, however, that the ban applied only to gatherings on the north, east and south sides, so on Saturday, 8th September, we staged a demonstration on the west steps of the City Hall, again using the "freedom of the individual" posters.

**Opening of Brixton Tower.** On the 14th September, the S.A.B.C. tower was opened, and ten members of Transvaal Region staged a demonstration on a traffic island just below the tower, displaying posters reading, "**Stop Abuse of News**"

## Regional Reports (Cont.)

and Broadcasts" and "Stop Slanting the News". It was quite like the old days of "haunting" — ten Cabinet Ministers passed us, including Dr. Verwoerd and Dr. Hertzog.

### Meetings

The Regional Annual General Meeting was held on the 13th June. Mrs. Hill was re-elected Regional Chair, with Mrs. Fisher as Vice-Chair. At the General Meeting on the 31st July, Mrs. Fisher commenced her series of talks on African Affairs, which will be published in the Magazine. She delivered the second section at the Special General Meeting held in St. George's Hall on the 12th September. At this meeting, resolutions for the National Conference, to be held in Durban in November, were discussed, and delegates elected.

### Evening Meetings

On the 25th July, a finger supper was held at St. George's Hall, and everybody who had been associated with the Black Sash demonstrations against the "Sabotage" Bill was invited. After supper, talks on the implications of the General Law Amendment Act were delivered by Professor le May and Mr. Charles Bloomberg of the "Sunday Times".

On the 11th September, a film evening was held at St. George's Hall, when a film of the "Sabotage" Bill protests and march, kindly lent by United Films, was shown. A second film entitled "Oxygen", showing how people of all races can work amicably together, was lent us by the British Information Office. After the film-showing, Mrs. Hill and Mrs. Cluver read extracts from the book written by Mrs. Pearce of Wellington. We all found the story of Kleinbooi most absorbing and very moving.

### Groups and Branches

Since the candle-lighting ceremony on the City Hall steps, all groups and branches have held their own ceremonies in an effort to pass on to those who were unable to attend the original ceremony some of the inspiration and uplift felt by those who took part. Members have kept small lamps lit from the flame of freedom burning in their homes, and these were used to pass on the flame. Our country branches were not forgotten: Witbank, Rustenburg and Springs held ceremonies, with members of the Regional Council as visitors. Several members from Rustenburg had been able to take part in the original ceremony.

All our groups and branches are finding that, contrary to expectation, the paid-up membership numbers are slowly creeping up to the original figure. They all report a revival of interest since the demonstrations.

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### Book List.

IN his recent address to the Black Sash in Johannesburg, Professor G. H. le May referred to "the vagaries of the book-banning system in South Africa." One was irresistably reminded, he said, of a list of second-hand books offered for sale by an Oxford dealer some years ago. Items were listed roughly as follows:

|                     |     |
|---------------------|-----|
| MILL on Liberty     | 3/6 |
| Ditto. on the Floss | 5/- |
| PROMETHEUS Unbound  | 2/9 |
| Ditto. in half calf | 5/6 |

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### THE CITY HALL STEPS:

#### Black Sash Press Statement

The Minister of Justice has implemented the warning given by him in Parliament, and banned gatherings on the City Hall steps.

For very many years these steps have been the recognised forum from which Johannesburg's citizens have openly expressed their opinions. This is another means of stifling legitimate criticism of Government policy. The Black Sash deplores a further arbitrary curtailment of individual liberty.

Yet another organization critical of the Government's policies has been banned. Let it be remembered that bannings under the Suppression of Communism Act allow for no appeal, nor need the Minister of Justice give any reasons. This is contrary to democratic acceptance of the rule of law.