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ON THE HOME FRONT

BIG BROTHER has spoken: steps will be taken to enforce a national education policy, since a situation in which different ideals are pursued in different parts of the Union can no longer be tolerated.

Dr. Verwoerd's announcement was followed by an angry protest, in which the Black Sash joined, based on the fear that parents will lose control over their children's education and that an alien philosophy will be imposed on them.

Nationalist Party spokesmen in Durban have since denied that the new policy has any connection with Christian National Education — on which an article appears in this issue. But this does not wholly allay our anxiety. There are too many people in influential positions who believe in C.N.E. and would like to condition the child mind into acceptance of a narrow fundamentalist religious creed and an arrogant Nationalist outlook.

It is useful to reflect for a moment on how parents control education in a free society. They do so by exercising pressure on the educational authorities through their elected representatives — members of Parliament, councillors and others — and by democratic participation in the actual conduct of schools through school committees and parents' associations. They also usually have the right to choose to which school they shall send their children.

OP DIE TUISFRONT

GROOT BROEDER het gepraat: stappe sal gedoen word om 'n nasionale onderwys-beleid af te dwing, aangesien 'n stelsel waarin verskeie ideale in verskeie dele van die Unie gevolg word, nie langer geduld kan word nie.

'n Kwaai protes, waaraan die Swart Serp deelgeneem het, het op dr. Verwoerd se aankondiging gevolg — 'n protes wat op die vrees gegrond word dat ouers beheer oor die opvoeding van hulle kinders sal verloor en dat 'n vreemde lewensaanskouing op hulle afgedwing sal word.

Woordvoerders van die Nasionale Party te Durban het sedertdien ontken dat die nuwe beleid enige verband het met die Christelike Nasionale Onderwys — waaroor daar in hierdie uitgawe 'n artikel verskyn. Maar dit verdryf nie heeltemal ons besorgdheid nie. Daar is te veel mense in invloedryke poste wat aan die C.N.O. geheg is en wat graag die kinder-verstand so wil brei dat dit 'n nougesette, fundamentalistiese godsdiensleer en 'n verwaande Nasionalistiese uitsig aanvaar.

Dit is behulpsaam om vir 'n oomblik na te dink hoe ouers in 'n vrye samelewing beheer oor onderwys uitoefen. Hulle doen dit deur druk op die onderwysowerhede uit te oefen deur bemiddeling van verteenwoordigers wat hulle verkies het — parlamentslede, raadslede en ander — en deur op demokratiese wyse deel

But in South Africa parents have been gradually losing control of the educational system. In the Transvaal, for example, children must attend the school nearest their place of residence (unless they go to a private school). Throughout South Africa there is too little choice of curricula, or of textbooks. There is also virtually no competition for ordinary teaching posts, a fact of the gravest significance, because it narrows the extent of local option.

The standard of school education is falling because the human material on which it is based is descending into the second and third

It is possible that a child can make his way through South Africa without mathematics, or Latin, or bookkeeping, but not without a thorough understanding of race relations.

— *Die Transvaler.*

rate. This is no reflection on those devoted, highly competent teachers still to be found in our schools: they would be the first to admit that the teaching profession is in decline. There are several reasons for this: one of them is economic — the authorities assume that the South African public is unwilling to be more heavily taxed in order to pay teachers more attractive salaries. Another reason is that many able people have been excluded from the teaching profession through fear of the political constraints that might be imposed on them.

THE main threat, as we see it, is not an explicit programme of indoctrination. We do not expect to see large photographs of Dr. Verwoerd appearing in every classroom. We do, indeed, fear the advent of textbooks that have the C.N.E. "slant", or distorted history teaching and racially biased "social studies". But the gravest threat lies in the transmission of attitudes that might well not be explicitly formulated. In the land of the cannibals the children are not *taught* that it is a good thing to roast their enemies: they grow up accepting the practice as natural and proper.

What are we going to do about the mounting assault on the minds of our children? The first requirement is to ensure that we, ourselves, transmit the right attitudes — and by that we mean the great Western tradition of free thought and enquiry, as opposed to the closed

te neem aan die eintlike administrasie van die skole deur skoolkomitees en ouers-verenigings. Hulle beskik ook gewoonlik oor die reg om self te besluit op die skool waarna hulle hul kinders wil stuur. Maar in Suid-Afrika het ouers geleidelik beheer oor die onderwysstelsel verloor. In die Transvaal moet kinders bv. die skool bywoon wat naaste aan hul woning is (tensy hulle 'n privaatskool bywoon). Dwarsdeur Suid-Afrika is die keuse in verband met leerplanne en skoolboeke onvoldoende. Daar bestaan ook feitlik geen mededinging ten opsigte van gewone onderwysposte nie — 'n besonder ernstige toestand, aangesien dit die omvang van plaaslike keuse inkort.

Die peil van skoolonderwys is aan die daal — omdat die menslike materiaal waarop dit rus tot 'n minderwaardige peil sak. Dit is geen beoordeling van die gewyde, hoogs bekwame onderwysers wat nog in ons skole aangesig word nie: hulle sal die eerste wees om te erken dat die onderwysberoep agteruitgaan. Daar is verskeie redes hiervoor: een is ekonomies — die owerhede neem aan dat die Suid-Afrikaanse publiek onwillig is om hoër belastinge te betaal ten einde meer aantreklike salarisse aan onderwysers aan te bied. Nog 'n rede is dat menige bekwame mense uit die onderwysberoep gehou is deur vrees oor die politieke dwang wat op hulle gelê mag word.

DIE grootste dreigement, soos ons die saak sien, is nie 'n uitdruklike program van indoktrinering nie. Ons verwag nie om groot portrette van dr. Verwoerd in elke klaskamer te sien nie. Wat ons wel vrees is die gebruik van skoolboeke wat die C.N.O.-„inslag” het, van verdraaide geskiedenis, en van „sosiale studies” wat op rassegebied bevooroordeel is. Die grootste dreigement bestaan egter in houdings wat bes moontlik nie uitdruklik geformuleer sal word nie. Onder die mensvreterers word kinders nie *geleer* dat dit iets goeds is om hul vyande in die kookpot te stop nie: hulle word groot met die gedagte dat hierdie gebruik natuurlik en reg is.

Wat gaan ons doen in verband met die toenemende aanslag op die verstand van ons kinders? Die eerste vereiste is om toe te sien dat ons, die ouers, self die regte houdings aan hulle oordra — en hierdeur bedoel ons die groot Westerse tradisie van vrye gedagte en navraag, in teenstelling met die geslote verstand;

mind, respect for the opinions of others, as opposed to blind adherence to a sectional viewpoint; racial tolerance, as opposed to racial arrogance; and acknowledgment of the rights of man, as opposed to a supreme regard for the rights of the white man. These attitudes can be transmitted — but only if we possess them ourselves.

The second requirement is vigilance against indoctrination and the exercise of that rare South African virtue — willingness to protest, to “make a fuss” when little Tommy comes home and repeats what his teacher has told him. The battle of Christian National Education may be fought in the classroom by a few noble souls, but it will be lost or won on the home front.

eerbied vir die menings van ander mense, in teenstelling met 'n blinde gekleef aan 'n seksionele oogpunt; rasse-verdraagsaamheid in teenstelling met rasse-verwaandheid; 'n erkenning van die regte van die mens, in teenstelling met 'n oorheersende respek vir die regte van die Witman. Hierdie houdings kan oorgedra word — maar alleenlik as ons dit self besit.

Die tweede vereiste is waaksaamheid teen indoktrinering, en die toepassing van daardie seldsame Suid-Afrikaanse deug — bereidwilligheid om protes aan te teken, om „'n bohaai te maak” as Jannie by die huis herhaal wat sy onderwyser aan hom vertel het. Die stryd oor C.N.O. sal miskien deur 'n paar edele mense in die klaskamer gevoer word, maar sal op die tuisfront gewen of verloor word.



“And so, as a lasting proof that Bantu education is in no way inferior to White education, I have decided to extend the system throughout my land. Sign it: ‘I have spoken’.”

—Courtesy *Cape Times*.

THIS is —

CHRISTIAN NATIONAL EDUCATION

● *Is it Christian?* ● *Is it Education?*

IN 1948 a pamphlet was issued in Afrikaans by the Institute for Christian National Education (I.C.N.O.), under the auspices of the Federation of Afrikaans Cultural Societies (F.A.K.), entitled "Christian National Education Policy." A list of the Directors of the Institute is given: Adv. G. F. de V. Hugo (Chairman), Mr. J. H. Greijbe (Vice-Chairman), Prof. Dr. J. G. Meiring, Dr. T. E. Dönges, M.P., Prof. Dr. J. Chris Coetzee, Ds. D. P. Laurie, Prof. H. P. Wolmarans, Dr. E. G. Jansen, M.P., Dr. E. Greyling and Ds. G. D. Worst. There is a preface by the Chairman of the F.A.K., J. C. van Rooy, in which the following statement appears:

"Our Afrikaans schools must not merely be mother-tongue schools; they must be places where our children will be saturated with the Christian and National spiritual cultural stuff of our nation. The dual medium struggle has opened our eyes, and there is going to be a struggle about the realisation of these ideals. We want no mixing of languages, no mixing of cultures, no mixing of religions and no mixing of races. We are winning the medium struggle. The struggle for the Christian and National school still lies before us."

Key Subject: Religion

The document itself is verbose and sometimes obscure. The following is an abridged translation of extracts from it. There are 15 articles.

Article I —

All White children should be educated according to the view of life of their parents. This means that Afrikaans-speaking children should have a Christian-Nationalist education, for the Christian and National spirit of the Afrikaner nation must be preserved and developed. By Christian, in this context, we mean according to the creeds of the three Afrikaner churches; by Nationalist we mean imbued with the love of one's own, especially one's own language, history and culture. Nationalism must be rooted in Christianity.



One of the architects

Prof. Dr.
J. G.
Meiring

Superintendent-
General of
Education

Article II —

The key subject in school should be religion (the study of the Bible and the three Afrikaner creeds); and the religious spirit should permeate all subjects and the entire school.

VERWOERD Pledges National Education Policy

THE Government will introduce legislation to enforce a national educational policy in South Africa, the Prime Minister, Dr. Verwoerd, has announced.

The Prime Minister said there should be uniformity in the sphere of education. It could not be otherwise, because the nation could maintain only one ideal in the sphere of education.

There could not be one ideal in one part of the country and another in another part. The Government would lay down in legislation that which could be expected from education in South Africa.

Nationalist institutions and provincial authorities would have to adjust themselves to that new educational ideal.

Article VI — Content of Education :

(i) . . . All God's creation and Man's work must be studied. But the spirit of all teaching must be Christian-Nationalist; in no subject may anti-Christian or non-Christian or anti-nationalist or non-nationalist propaganda be made. . . .

(iii) Bilingualism cannot be the aim of education.

(v) *Geography*: Every nation is rooted in a country allotted to it by God. Geography should aim at giving the pupil a thorough knowledge of his country . . . in such a way that he will love his country, also when compared and contrasted with others, and be ready to defend it, preserve it from poverty and improve it for posterity.

(vi) *History*: History should be seen as the fulfilment of God's plan for humanity . . . God has enjoined on each nation its individual task in the fulfilment of His purpose. Young people can only undertake the national task fruitfully if they acquire a true vision of the origin of the nation and of the direction of the national heritage. Next to the mother tongue the history of the Fatherland is the best channel for cultivating the love of one's own which is nationalism.

Article VII — Discipline :

(ii) *Discipline*: All authority in school is borrowed from God. The Christian-Nationalist end should be kept in view.

Article VIII —

(i) Lays down that there must be separate, single-medium schools for Afrikaans and English-speaking children. In each there should be the right relationship between home, school, church and state.

(iii) *The Home*: Education is the right and duty of the parents, who must decide, in collaboration with Church and State, what spirit shall animate the school. The parents in community (not as individuals) must establish, maintain and control schools which will foster their own view of life, they must appoint the teachers and keep a watch on the teaching.

(iv) *The Church*: The church must exercise the necessary discipline over the doctrine and lives of the teachers. The vigilance must be exercised through the parents. . . . In normal circumstances, the church should not erect schools, but may be compelled to do so (a) if the existing schools are unchristian and unnationalist and (b) in the heathen world.

(v) *The State*: The state must ensure a proper scientific and moral stand in education, and enforce law and right in school life. It may not, however, determine the directing spirit of education provided that, as judged by God's law, it is not harmful to the state. . . .

(vii) . . . Our ideal is the Christian-Nationalist school; but for the time being we must be content to leaven the existing public schools.

Article XII — The Teacher :

(i) Being a substitute for the parent, the teacher does the parent's work as the parent himself would

The New Education

"South Africa is possibly the only country in the world with an educational system that fosters disunity between different groups." — *Professor J. A. Lauwerys of London University, reported in Imvo Zabantsundu.*

* * *

"The chief aim in science teaching must always be the consolidation of our Western Christian civilization. In this light, the question arises whether modern biology with its evolutionist warp and woof, does not contain great danger for us." — *From an article in Die Unie, organ of the S.A. Onderwysersunie.*

* * *

"The question parents should ask themselves is how far Christian National Education conforms to the standard of 20th century teaching. To young people of the modern world, where even West African tribesmen are beginning to think in continental terms, a conception of history based on narrow nationalism and isolation would be a crippling handicap."

— *The Sunday Times.*

* * *

"The test of a good scientist would be not his work, but his private religious beliefs." — *Comment in the Evening Post on speeches at the annual congress of the Vereniging vir Christelike Hoer Onderwys.*

* * *

"Liberty of conscience and freedom of inquiry, freedom from the obligation to hold and propagate any kind of dogma, is fairly new in the West, and not everywhere safely established."

— *Dr. W. D. Terry, Rhodes University.*

do it were he able. Unless, therefore, he is a Christian, he is a deadly danger to us.

(ii) Our substitutes should be properly trained in Christianity, and in the secular subjects, especially pedagogy. Training College personnel should also be Christian and Nationalist.

Article XI — Higher Education :

(i) The basis for this is the same as for schools.

(ii) The content should be scientific, but founded on the Christian Faith. The Christian doctrine and philosophy should be taught and practised. But we desire still more: the secular sciences should be taught according to the Christian and Nationalist view of life. University teaching should be thetic rather than anti-thetic, never purely eclectic and never reconciliatory. Science should be expounded in a positively Christian light, and contrasted with non-Christian science. Universities should never give

unintegrated instruction, merely choosing here and choosing there; there should be no attempt to reconcile or abolish the fundamental oppositions; for Creator and created, man and beast, individual and community, authority and freedom remain in principle insoluble in each other. Especially in the universities do we need the right personnel; for professors and lecturers make the institution and determine its guiding spirit. It is all-important therefore that the teaching staff should be convinced Christian-Nationalist scientists.

(iii) Higher education should be so controlled that the Christian-Nationalist view of life may come into its own.

Articles XIV and XV deal summarily with Coloured and Native education, neither of which should be financed at the expense of the White. The task of the Afrikaner is to christianise the non-White, to teach him to be happy and separate, and inculcate the Boer nation's view of life.

No Freedom of Thought

THE document speaks for itself, but there are some matters that call for comment.

In the first place it is necessary to bear in mind, in reading it, the author's definition of "Christian" and that the schools envisaged are, nevertheless, not at any time church schools, but state schools, to be paid for out of public money.

All authority in school is borrowed from God, and there may be no un-Christian-Nationalist or non-Christian-Nationalist "propaganda", nor may the state have any say in the character of education. In other words, there will be Calvinist church domination, an educational theocracy of the strictest and narrowest kind, and as authority is borrowed from God, no criticism or freedom of thought will be allowed.

Theoretically, English-speaking children may go to separate schools — in fact, there is the greatest desire for separation, for not mixing with them. But in the overwhelming majority of villages and small towns the numbers of English-speaking children have not yet been sufficient to warrant separate schools, and they are taught under the same conditions, and by the same teachers, as the others. And this applies even more to the children of Afrikaans-speaking parents who are not Christian-Nationalist.

Parents are to be regarded not as individuals but only in the mass. The fate of the Van der Byl Park School, where the wishes of *all* the parents were overridden, is significant. A strict watch will be kept by parents and church over the teaching and lives of the teachers, who must be Christian-Nationalist, and not even in the universities is freedom of conscience to be allowed.

God has allotted South Africa to the Afrikaners, to carry out His allotted Nationalist purpose. What that is, apart from Christianising the heathen, is

The "Foreign" Outlook

The Administrator (of the Transvaal) said that immigrant teachers can do a lot of harm because they do not know South African conditions. Already about 30 per cent. of the staff of English-medium schools were Afrikaans-speaking. He would prefer an Afrikaans-speaking teacher to educate pupils in English-medium schools to teachers from overseas who might have foreign outlooks.

—Pretoria News.

nowhere specified. Geography and history are (rightly) regarded as most apt subjects for inculcating Christian-Nationalism. (The history book written by a Transvaal inspector of schools and another person, and recently reviewed in the Press, is the fruit of this selective approach to history.)

This is the approach to knowledge in general. Article XI (ii) is obscurely worded, but the important points that emerge are:

1. Science must be taught according to the Christian-Nationalist view of life — it must be "positively Christian";
2. Science must not be inductive and experimental;
3. There is irreconcilable opposition between man and beast — evolution is heresy (and the world presumably is 6,000 years old!);
4. Individual and community are fundamentally opposed — this is the Communist and Nazi doctrine of the state, not as a collection of individuals, but as having a being of its own, separate from and superior to the individual.
5. Authority and freedom are irreconcilable. This is absolute authoritarianism, like that of Communism and Nazism.

As there would be no freedom of conscience, and university education entirely controlled, there could be no scientific research, as the "findings" of science would be predetermined; and no freedom of thought on pain of Calvinist and fundamentalist discipline.

This document is no idle threat to education. It has the approbation of all influential Afrikaner bodies, and since the Nationalists have been in power, and earlier, it has been increasingly implemented in schools.

For more than ten years the Afrikaans-speaking youth of our country have been indoctrinated with Christian-Nationalism. The fruits of this doctrine are to be seen in many ways — in the deep division between English and Afrikaans-speaking; increasing unilingualism, especially of the Afrikaner; the contents and tone of the Afrikaans teachers' journals; and the legislation about the "open" universities, Fort Hare, and the Bantu colleges.

Nell Marquard

Cape Western Regional Council

Archbishop's Conference calls for Day of Dedication

A LARGE and representative gathering of organisations and individuals met in Cape Town on 1st August at a conference called by the Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev. Joost de Blank. More than 150 individuals and representatives of nearly 30 organisations attended the conference, which was addressed by the Archbishop, Dr. O. D. Wollheim, Mr. Justice A. van de Sandt Centlivres, Mr. D. Molteno, and Mr. L. Marquard. The conference passed the following resolution:

● This Conference recognises that over the past fifty years of the Union's history there has been important development in many fields, but considers that the Union has thus far failed to achieve social justice and a minimum standard of living consistent with the barest essentials of health and decency for the vast majority of our people, and has further, to a large extent, destroyed civil liberty.

● This Conference, therefore, records its considered view that the history of the first fifty years of Union does not warrant the observance of 31st May, 1960, as an occasion for celebration, but rather for solemn dedication to the task of improving on the Union's achievements and rectifying its mistakes, so as to render the next fifty years better and happier than the first.

● Consequently, this Conference calls upon all organisations represented here, all individuals attending, and all others who share the convictions just expressed to observe 31st May, 1960, as a day of dedication to the task of achieving the following objectives:

- (a) The ridding of our land of the scourge of poverty and the achievement for all South Africans of a minimum living wage, social security and equality of economic opportunity;
- (b) The enjoyment by all South Africans of those civil liberties that, throughout the civilised world, are regarded as inalienable human rights;
- (c) A reform of the South African Constitution, as

"Just a little idea of mine for the future . . . three-dimensional apartheid."

—Courtesy:
Cape Times.



agreed by a new National Convention, truly representative of all races of our people, which will guarantee to individuals the above-mentioned liberties and rights, will grant political representation to men and women irrespective of race, and will protect each racial community from domination; and

RESOLVES to appoint a Continuation Committee for the purpose of making recommendations on the form which the observance of fifty years of Union shall take, making the appropriate arrangements in regard thereto and planning further steps in a campaign to achieve the aforementioned objectives.

* * *

A continuation committee was elected consisting of Dr. J. de Blank, Mr. L. Marquard, Dr. O. D. Wollheim, Mr. Thomas Ngwenya, Mr. R. September, Mr. Justice A. van de Sandt Centlivres, Mr. D. Molteno, Dr. R. E. van der Ross, Mrs. E. Stott and Mrs. W. F. Grant.

All the secretarial work and arrangements for the conference were undertaken by the Black Sash (Cape Western region) at the request of the Archbishop.

An Ill Omen

African churches are springing up like mushrooms these days. These churches claim that Christianity as practised by White South Africa is bad. They say to be baptised by a European priest is an ill omen for the baptised in the next world.

—Imvo Zabantsundu.

Small Country Branch Takes a Hand in THE PASS LAW BATTLE

SASHERS
IN
ACTION

EARLY one morning Mrs. Stott phoned the Wellington Black Sash to ask if we could go to Paarl immediately to investigate the cases of six African women arrested for not having passes and refusing to leave this area.

Orchard spraying, parish appointments and the drying of hair were all abandoned, and within ten minutes three of us were on the road to Paarl, knowing practically nothing about court procedure, pass offences, gaols, or even the women we hoped to help.

We went to the Paarl gaol, and rang the clanging bell at the imposing main entrance.

We learnt that last year there had been 23 African women and 264 men in that prison simply for pass offences, but that an even greater number had paid fines for such offences in preference to imprisonment. We felt it would be interesting to know just how much money was being collected through these fines.

The wardress then took her bunch of keys and led us across a well-kept garden and unlocked the women's prison. She called our three women out, and told them in Xosa that we wanted to interview them. They were unresponsive until they were assured of our desire to help.

That afternoon we went to see the superintendent of the location. He was very reticent, as he said that he had been warned about people like us. He did, however, tell us that Mr. Sam Kahn, a Cape Town lawyer, was going to defend the women. After-



Some of the people whom the Wellington Black Sash are trying to help.

wards we discovered from Mrs. Stott that Mr. Kahn had not been approached by the Black Sash, but nevertheless she asked us to bail the three women out.

It took a whole day to do this, as we first had to get permission from the magistrate, who was a busy man. The clerks were then unable to find the women's papers. In the meantime a Paarl lawyer kindly drafted a form for relatives of the women to sign, binding them as surety and co-principal debtors to us.

We fetched the women in the afternoon, and on the way back stopped at two factories, where the relatives worked, to have the forms signed. We caused considerable interest among the workers, and we were touched by two incidents: Coloured workers passing sandwiches through the factory windows to the ex-prisoners, and an African man amongst the onlookers who said to us: "You do good things."

A Day Well Spent

It was late afternoon when we went past the rows of concrete huts where the men live on their own and on to where the women live in rusty tin shanties in a distant corner of the location. But to these women this was home. The brown rust of their shacks matched the earth from which they seemed to have grown, grouped as they were, haphazardly as mushrooms, round a central grassy patch and shady tree. There by the tree were their children with the neighbours who had looked after them while the mothers had been in prison. All had welcoming smiles and we knew that our day had been worth while.

Our next job was to arrange for the six women, and two more whom we had later bailed out, to go to Cape Town for Mr. Kahn to investigate their cases in detail.

Next we asked the superintendent of the location if we could interview all the women in his charge who were without passes. Armed with notebooks, biscuits and flasks of tea, we prepared ourselves for many hours of work, as we knew that some of the Africans spoke neither English nor Afrikaans. Our findings agreed with the evidence Mr. Kahn later put into a memorandum for Mrs. Margaret Ballinger to present to Mr. De Wet Nel (Minister of Bantu Administration). We found that most of these women had lived in the Cape for very many years. They had lost all contact with the Reserves and had made their homes here where they had brought up their families. They had no money to travel or set up new homes. Many of them had husbands working

Simonstown Black Sash Leads the Struggle AGAINST GROUP AREAS



A LONG and arduous struggle against group areas has been fought by the citizens of Simonstown. From the beginning, the Simonstown branch of the Black Sash has been at the head of the opposition.

When the proposals for the town were published, responsible citizens were horrified for, if put into practice, they would affect the lives, homes and livelihood of almost all the non-white citizens, apart from the expense of some £250,000. It was felt that since there had always been natural residential segregation in the town and there had never been any friction between the racial groups, the *status quo* should remain.

And so the Simonstown Group Areas Liaison Committee was formed under the chairmanship of Mrs. Willis, National Treasurer of the Black Sash. This was a corporate committee consisting of representa-

THE PASS LAW BATTLE — Continued.

here, or invalids in their families under treatment or in hospitals in this area. They would have to leave all these behind, and had no place in the Reserves to which they could "return". There was apparently no square inch of South African soil on which they were legally entitled to be.

Mr. De Wet Nel sent an investigator to the location. It was decided to postpone any decision about these women.

After being remanded several times, they were finally "endorsed out"—the law had run its relentless course, regardless of the heartbreak to the families involved.

But Wellington Branch, undaunted, is still continuing its effort to help these women.

tives of the Anglican, Roman Catholic and Methodist Churches, Noorul Islam Mosque Trustees, Chamber of Commerce, Glencairn Civic Society, Simonstown/Glencairn Ratepayers and Civic Association, Woodlands Ratepayers Association, Simonstown Black Sash, Simonstown Indian Association and the Group Areas Co-ordinating Committee (which represents non-Whites generally).

A public inquiry was held on 3rd August and some of the organisations and the hundreds of individuals who had sent in objections were called upon to appear before it. The Liaison Committee felt that no expense should be spared in employing the best attorneys and counsel. By forming one corporate committee it was necessary to brief only one counsel and one attorney, who were willing to appear for any individual member or any component organisation as long as they objected to any group areas being proclaimed at all. To raise the necessary money, women of all races, working side by side, organised a morning market and a house-to-house drive, and the target of £400 was reached.

A petition against the advertised proposals was signed by 1,106 people, and a further petition was signed by all the shopkeepers in the town asking to have the shopping centre left as it was.

The result of the great effort made by Simonstown will not be known for many months, but it would be heartbreaking if the hard work and the united effort of so many different racial groups were not rewarded with the success it deserves. Even if the objections are over-ruled, a great deal has still been achieved, for Simonstown has set an example to the whole of South Africa.

As Others See Us

I HEARD a talk by Stephen King-Hall last week, and he particularly praised the Black Sash movement as a method of passive resistance. . . .

The South African correspondent of the League (London) said that branches in England are very interested in any information on South African affairs, and that great respect and admiration is expressed for the Black Sash, Professor Pistorius and Mrs. Margaret Ballinger.

—Part of a letter from the Editor of the Women's International League News Sheet (London) to a member of the League in Cape Town.

Why The Black Sash Opposes THE GROUP AREAS ACT



— By —
**MARGARET
ROBERTS**

*Chair :
Cape Western*

MOST important of the aims of our movement is the securing of good government and of established rights.

The Group Areas Act is subversive of both. Indeed, of the many Nationalist measures which infringe elementary human rights, this is one of the most drastic and unjust. The right freely to acquire title to the ownership and occupation of fixed property is in truth an elementary right, and is recognised as such in the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, a great charter expressive of the fundamental values of Western Christendom.

The Group Areas Act explicitly denies that elementary right, for it prohibits a member of any ethnic group from acquiring property from a member of another, save with official permission. It also makes

drastic inroads upon the right of occupation of fixed property where the would-be occupier belongs to an ethnic group different from that of the owner, or—in cases especially determined by proclamation—of the existing occupier. The Act further empowers the Government to reserve whole areas for the ownership or occupation or both of a particular ethnic group. And the Government thus empowered is representative of only one of the groups concerned—the White group. In the exercise of this power, moreover, the Government acts on the advice of a Board comprised exclusively of White people appointed and paid by the Government, and holding office at its pleasure. Even if it were permissible to restrict individual liberty on racial lines, as this Act does, what possible prospect of achieving impartial justice between the various groups is there by an arrangement such as this, which, in effect, makes the politically dominant group the judge in its own cause?

Here in the Cape Peninsula the vicious potentialities of the application of this Act are particularly menacing. For here we have a plural society consisting of Asian and African, White and Coloured communities, which is the result of 300 years of evolution.

Now it is sought, by means of a kind of ghastly surgical operation, a grim experiment in social vivisection, to carve up the living functioning body of Cape society—men and women, together with their children, are, purely on racial grounds, to be driven away from their homes, their schools, their churches, their mosques.

We in the Sash are convinced that human societies are not susceptible to treatment of this kind save at a terrible cost in human suffering and hardship and degradation, to say nothing of the gravest injustice. That is why we have pledged ourselves to fight, by all means in our power, the implementation of this cruel legislation.

Well Bowled!

"Apart from moral considerations, how anyone can suppose that a persistent policy of suppression and the denial of basic rights to the labour force of a country can end in anything short of a most dangerous crisis in the long run, baffles understanding. All liberal opinion seemed at one in condemning what is regarded as the exploitation of the native, and such bodies as the Institute of Race Relations and The Black Sash combine with the English language newspapers to feed the public conscience on an issue of appalling breadth and complexity. . . .

"Whatever his faults, it seems to me the average African native has his full share of two virtues which condone much else in life. One is a fund of fun and humour, the other a natural sense of good manners."

The most interesting part of the above extract is its source, because, believe it or not, it is culled from a book devoted exclusively to cricket—in fact, a description of the M.C.C. Tour in South Africa in 1956/57, by E. W. Swanton. This is the first and probably the last time that the Black Sash will get a boost from a book on cricket!

Test Your Political Acumen

Your whole future may depend on your answers to these ten questions!

EACH of the following ten political terms is described in four ways, labelled from (a) to (d). Read and consider them carefully and mark only *one* in each series which you consider to be the best. After you have done that, turn to page 16.

1. TRUE SOUTH AFRICANS are —

- (a) Whites whose ancestors have been in the country for at least three generations;
- (b) All people of all races living in the country permanently;
- (c) Supporters of the present Government;
- (d) Whites who have achieved South African citizenship by birth or naturalisation.

2. DEMOCRACY is —

- (a) Government of all the people, by one fifth of the people, for those whom they favour;
- (b) Government of all the people, by the Afrikaner Nationalists by Special Appointment;
- (c) Government of all the people, by representatives of all the people, for all the people;
- (d) White domination with as much justice as suits Whites.

3. A HEALTHY ECONOMY implies —

- (a) Freedom of all labour to acquire skills and sell their labour competitively;
- (b) Division of the country into two or more economies, no matter what it costs;
- (c) Race ideology, rather than economy;
- (d) Just letting things develop with the least government interference.

4. ACADEMIC FREEDOM is —

- (a) A frustrating hindrance to Apartheid;
- (b) Out of keeping with the climate of thought in South Africa;
- (c) An unnecessary and dangerous "liberalistic" luxury;
- (d) Essential to the advancement of knowledge.

5. THE GROUP AREAS ACT denotes —

- (a) White unselfishness in giving to non-Whites the great boon of development "peculiar to themselves" (eiesoortig);
- (b) Inhuman selfishness;
- (c) Ideology gone mad;
- (d) Brotherly love which ensures that you have nothing to do with your brother.

6. BANTU AUTHORITIES mean —

- (a) Proud autonomy of Bantu chiefs in their own areas (subject to a veto by the Minister or any of his clerks);
- (b) Rule of the Reserves by paid stooges and yes-men;
- (c) Restoration of tribal authority in a genuine attempt to put the clock back to the "good old days";
- (d) A method of enforcing white supremacy under the guise of democracy.

7. THE POPULATION REGISTER is —

- (a) A laughable attempt to sort out what will never stay sorted out;
- (b) A callous labelling of people as though they were animals;
- (c) A tidy classification which is necessary for Apartheid;
- (d) An expensive, cruel, stupid way of spending taxpayers' money.

8. A PASSPORT is —

- (a) A prize for being White and harmless;
- (b) A precious key to lock you up safely in South Africa, for your own good, if you are young and non-White;
- (c) A useful instrument to suppress sporting bodies who are un-South African enough to have no colour bar;
- (d) One of several popular means of intimidation.

9. APARTHEID is —

- (a) A mystic ideal which will magically solve all our problems some day and now keeps its exponents in power;
- (b) The most hated single word in South Africa;
- (c) A genuine attempt to solve real problems by unrealistic methods;
- (d) An example of colossal arrogance on the part of its perpetrators.

10. NATIONALISM is —

- (a) A useful spur but extremely dangerous;
- (b) A disease like rabies, very catching, making victims fear the cold water of reason and apt to drive them mad;
- (c) A godsend to agitators and self-seekers;
- (d) Almost as important as religion.

Now turn to page 16.

TRUTH IS OUR ALLY

Extracts
from an
address

—By—

**Dr. EDGAR
BROOKES**

University
of Natal



IN many of our hearts, below our indignation and enthusiasm, are deep undertones of hopelessness and frustration. We seem to stand helpless before overwhelming power. That power moves like a juggernaut, heedless of appeals and crushing all who fling themselves in its way.

But are we so helpless? Truth is a great ally. In this hour of South Africa's shame we are given the joy and privilege of standing for truth. That we fought evil without fear in the dark night of our history is something of which our children will be proud.

We are not helpless, since none who stand for right are helpless. We will not be silenced. Ultimately truth cannot be silenced. And we are not afraid. Let them do their worst; we can do no other than speak out. We should betray ourselves and our country if we did not.

We are here together in our country that we may enrich one another by the fellowship of free men. That we are of different speech, descent, tradition and physical appearance is not a thing to be mourned over but a thing to thank God for. In honour and freedom we enrich one another.

When you call a man a "problem" you make him a problem. When you see him as a fellow-man, you create not a problem but a mutual opportunity.

How much more fruitful it is to hear a White man and an African or an Indian discussing botany or philosophy, literature or history, as fellow-students, than to sit in a solemn and embarrassed conclave discussing "race relations"! Even that is suspect nowadays, and the only contact really desired is between politicians and picked officials of the right

school of thought, on the one hand, and intimidated chiefs and selected leaders on the other.

To the people of colour in this country and (if I may be allowed so to particularise) to the Africans especially, the policy is one of minds in chains. By the Bantu Education Act, all influences not likely to be in harmony with State policy have been eliminated—ruthlessly and unthankfully thrown on one side. The same Department which controls the schools is now to control the tribal university colleges. An allied Department has, and exercises, the power to refuse passports to men of colour wishing to study outside the Union.

The ivory tower of exclusive Whiteness may be a bit easier, superficially even a bit pleasanter, than life as it really is, but it is no preparation for the arduous of actual living in the mid-twentieth century.

University education—and this is what our opponents will not see—is not mere instruction followed by the passing of examinations. It is the unfolding of the human spirit. It is part of *life*. When instruction is given in an atmosphere of restriction, suspicion and suppression to students who are hating it all, it is not likely to be very successful even as instruction. In these new University Colleges the State is embarking on an adventure in the impossible.

* * *

We stand in shame for our country. We have done our best to save her from this disgrace. We stand face to face with an arrogance drunk with power and with the lust for more power. In a measure it is able to break me, to break you, to break all of us who stand against it, but stand against it we will. Free speech is not yet a crime, and if it were we should still have to speak freely and bear the consequences. We are still able to warn our country.

The real crime would be silence. Truth is on our side, and we may say with hope and courage, *Magna est veritas et praevalabit*. "Great is the truth and it still prevails."

AFTER a visit of school children to the House of Assembly, a Free State girl wrote in an essay:

"When the session opens the Speaker comes in, bows to the Government, bows to the Opposition, and then prays for South Africa."

—Told by Mr. Paul Sauer
at a meeting in Stellenbosch.

Who Is My Neighbour?

Parts of a letter from an African teacher at an African Training School, sent to a Fish Hoek member of the Black Sash

Dear Mrs. —,

Thank you very much for the interesting letter you wrote to Isaac. He was so excited that he came to me breathless. I think he did not expect such an early reply. I feel I should also say how grateful I am to you for all the support you give to Isaac. . . .

We follow with very great interest the practical application of the Lord's great commandment of love as practised by that silent "Black Sash" organisation. My belief is that we can only live in harmony if we know what each other's rights are. It's very selfish of one group to dismiss the other section as if we did not have the same feelings. Of course, we know that in South Africa whoever tries to tell the truth is branded communistic and anti-social. We are not worried so much about this as we know that truth always triumphs over falsehood and charity over ego-centric ideas. What does give one concern is the fact that so many people are blind to the suffering and inhumanity which are caused by selfishness and fear.

We thank God that in such a black confusion there is an organisation that silently keeps a vigil even outside the notorious once-respected House of Parliament. We thank God we have mothers brave enough to forsake sleep and comfort in order to try to divert this wicked tide from overflowing and drowning South Africa.

I can't understand why we go to church and pray when we still persist to oppress and discriminate. We thank God for the light He sends to such organisations as the Black Sash and the many like. We thank God for such men as Dr. Livingstone, Abraham Lincoln, Alan Paton, Mrs. Margaret Ballinger and many such great heroes who speak the truth without

Soos ander ons sien

DIE Black Sash laat spr. [Mnr. M. D. C. de Wet Nel] dink aan 'n ou aasvoël wat nie meer sy prooi kan vang nie en altyd soek na iets waarop hy kan toesak.

— Die Burger.

any fear of contradiction. I do not see how we can go on unless we know that even the poor African boy in the kitchen is a human being who was made in the image of God. . . .

We should thank God who has given the Black Sash a clearer answer to the question: "Who is my neighbour?" It is meet that we should thank God, especially because He has not left us desolate. We still see brave men and women who cross the borderline of apartheid — though they be White.

An Allegory

JOHANNES SMITH, known as Joe, was a likeable fellow. Having taken a course at an Agricultural College he had, by mixed farming and modern methods, turned the wide acres inherited from his father into a valuable farm.

He was lavish in hospitality and liberal in giving. He knew his own mind and stated his views concisely when occasion offered.

Owning thousands of sheep, he regarded stock theft as the most abhorrent of crimes. Farmers, he maintained, cherished their stock like pets. Natives sometimes said that their stomachs were screaming for meat, but even that was no excuse for them to steal. He admitted, in a public speech, that most farmers agreed that £1 a month was low pay, but the workers were always free to move on.

The time came when, released from a body grown infirm, the soul of Joe mounted to the sky.

"Wait!" said an Angel, hovering before the heavenly gates.

"Why?" asked Joe, not accustomed to being kept waiting.

"You are not yet ready to leave the Earth. You must go back."

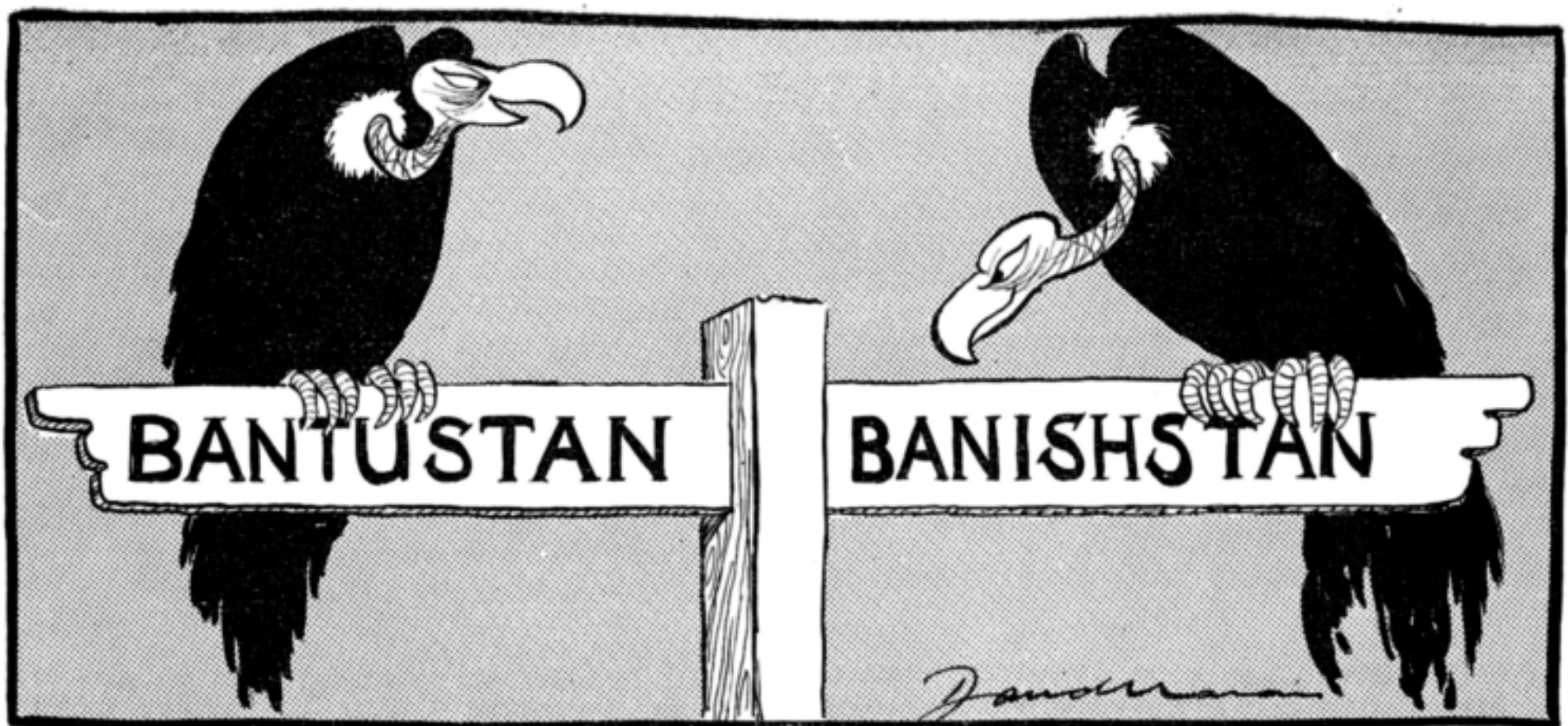
"What for?" demanded Joe.

"To learn compassion."

"But I no longer have a body," said Joe, feeling this to be conclusive, for he had left instructions that he was to be cremated.

"Provision has been made," said the Angel. "You will be accommodated in the body of the next baby to be born to a black labourer of yours. If hunger gets past endurance do not regard it as an excuse for you to steal."

The Angel paused and looked benignly upon Joe. "Bear in mind that if your family cannot manage on £1 a month they will have the freedom to move on."
— E. H.



The Sash Protests Against Banning

A PROTEST against the action of the Government in continuing to ban citizens without trial has been made by the Black Sash in a statement to the Press.

"There exists no state of emergency in the country that might be claimed to make such action necessary, and in peace time an open trial is the right of an accused and in the public interest," said the statement.

"Yet the banning of citizens continues. A large number of leaders of the African National Congress from ex-Chief Luthuli and Mr. Oliver Tambo down have been banned since the economic boycott campaign was mooted; and Mr. Ronald Segal, who recently advocated boycott, has been banned under the Suppression of Communism Act, despite the fact that he has publicly stated his opposition to Communism.

"Owing to the fact that, politically, there is little contact — and therefore less understanding — between Whites and non-Whites, the average white South African has assumed that the banning of non-White leaders was the result of some undisclosed subversive activity contemplated by them. But the spate of bannings that has overtaken so many people associated with the economic boycott campaign can obviously not be regarded as a coincidence. Whatever the arguments for and against it, an economic boycott is not illegal. The Black Sash does not support an economic boycott, but at the same time it recog-

nises that it is one of the only legal and non-violent methods of protest left to non-Whites.

"When some years ago various people predicted that this Government would suppress opposition if it looked like being effective, they were called gloomy pessimists. Does this banning of people who advocate a legal form of protest not suggest that their prophesies were justified?

"It is a fundamental principle of both Roman-Dutch and English law, in fact of civilised 'Western' law, that both sides have the right to be heard. If there is any suspicion that those who are banned have committed any crime, there should be a judicial hearing of their case. The failure to have such tried by a non-partisan court is a flagrant disregard of the rule of civilised law."

[Cartoon by courtesy of Cape Times.]

Later Than We Think

"We are gradually becoming habituated to our servitude. Our rulers have a powerful ally in the timidity, the self-seeking and the lack of moral fibre and moral conviction of too many — individuals and authorities — who are not Nationalists. We still enjoy — in the Press, for example — a good deal of freedom. But these are ominous signs, even here. It is probably later than we think."

—The Johannesburg *Sunday Times*.

NEWS FROM REGIONS AND BRANCHES

CAPE WESTERN REGION

SINCE the National Council meeting there has been a report back to our Regional Council and All Branches meeting, and ways and means will now have to be found of putting the decisions into effect.

On 3rd August, Simonstown Branch held a stand at the public enquiry of the Group Areas Board. An account of Simonstown's protest appears elsewhere.

Our Bail Fund work is going from strength to strength. An interpreter has been employed for our "case-work" office and the group of Sashers who are engaged in this field have our admiration and gratitude for the useful and rewarding work they are doing. Men, too, come for help and they are re-

ferred to the Institute of Race Relations.

Members are turning their minds now to what may become an annual fête which will be held at the end of the year. This is an event in which all branches participate, and despite the initial groans and moans, a good time is had by all in the end.

We wish to pay a tribute to our Editor for the magnificent "Pass" issue of the magazine (June/July). We are proud that the Sash has contributed to the dissemination of knowledge about the pass laws and their tragic effects.

We thank Mrs. "Essie" Oliver (Chair, Rondebosch) and her helpers for their hard work, efficiency and unflinching cheerfulness whenever they are called upon to organise catering.

Praise for the "Pass Law" Issue

MANY favourable comments have been received about the June-July issue of this magazine dealing with passes.

The daily Press devoted space to summaries of its contents and some newspapers made complimentary editorial references. The *Cape Argus*, in a sub-leader, said:

The articles on the various aspects of passes for Native women are factual and written with sincerity and, it is fair to say, with passion. That is only right, for the subject is one which arouses the deep feelings that are associated with a sense of justice, respect for the value of the individual and a deep concern for the future of the country. As for the illustrations, they have been chosen with care, and a picture of three still figures may be said to sum up the contents of the publication in a few square inches.

If the Black Sash had never done anything but produce these 24 pages, it still would have justified its existence.

"The Chiel," writing in the *Daily Despatch*, East London, commented:

The latest Black Sash magazine . . . deserves to be read carefully and completely by everybody. . . . With fact, objective report and sharp criticism a trenchantly clear picture is built up of the oppression and discrimination that pass under the title of "Natives (Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents)

Act." . . . It is an eloquent, disturbing, challenging survey. . . . Read it and see what is happening. . . . There is a great deal to think about in this valuable pamphlet.

A leading article in the *Natal Mercury*, referring to recent disturbances, speaks of the "resentment prompted by fear" among African women, and adds:

The current issue of the Black Sash magazine discusses the issue from many points of view. Much of the opinion here expressed is unashamedly tendentious; but much more of the contribution is a factual examination. The Black Sash, as becomes its tenets, has ventilated the subject fearlessly, to make a document which merits study by those who want to probe the truth of a situation that is rooted in racial unrest.

The magazine *Contact* comments:

The June/July issue of the Black Sash is a very fine effort, and anyone interested in having in one small compass, everything necessary on the pass system, should get a copy of this magazine.

From the Rt. Rev. Ambrose Reeves, Bishop of Johannesburg, comes the following tribute:

"I read the Black Sash publication every month with great interest. Having just read the last issue I feel I must send you a line to congratulate you all on this excellent number."

Add the points you have scored:

BORDER REGION

A TAPE RECORDING of Mr. Tom King's talk on the Group Areas Act and how it will affect East London has now been arranged.

CAPE EASTERN REGION

MRS. ALISON PIRIE (Regional Chair) is taking a well-earned rest for two months on doctor's orders. All hope that she will soon be in good health again.

KOKSTAD BRANCH

OUR Brains Trust was a great success. It was attended by more than 200 people, which is phenomenal for Kokstad.

I feel it has done much towards breaking down antipathy towards the Sash. People were genuinely interested and said it was not nearly long enough. It was something new for Kokstad and a different approach to politics. — Mrs. G. Phillips (Chair).

Maximum Score 30

Q.	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)
1	2	0	3	1
2	2	3	0	1
3	0	2	3	1
4	2	1	3	0
5	3	0	2	1
6	3	1	2	0
7	1	0	3	2
8	1	3	2	0
9	3	1	2	0
10	1	0	2	3

If your score is:
 Between 25 and 30 —
 You may be offered a post as assistant Cabinet Minister.
 Between 18 and 25 —
 You should be in line for a minor Government appointment.
 Between 10 and 18 —
 You are beginning to think as the world thinks and are in danger of becoming un-South African!
 Below 10 —
 You qualify for the consolation prize and may get an unexpected trip overseas at Government expense or a long holiday as a guest of the Government.

N. G.

REGIONAL CHAIRS AND SECRETARIES

Border.

- C. Mrs. D. Curry, 3 Carisbrooke Road, Stirling, East London.
- S. Mrs. C. James, 39 Roslin Road, East London.

Cape Eastern.

- C. Mrs. A. Pirie, 68 Westview Drive, Port Elizabeth.
- S. Mrs. D. Davis, 196 Main Road, Walmer, Port Elizabeth.

Cape Western.

- C. Mrs. M. Roberts, Ruallen, Moselle Road, St. James.
- S. Mrs. M. Henderson, 1 Kildare Road, Claremont.

Lowveld.

- C. Mrs. B. Tracey, P.O. Box 17, White River, E. Transvaal.
- S. Mrs. L. McHattie, P.O. Box 234, White River, E. Transvaal.

Natal Coastal Region.

- C. Mrs. A. D. Powell, 60 The Crescent, Hillary.
- S. Mrs. D. E. Brummer, 6 Glynwood Grove, Bellair.

Natal Midlands.

- C. Mrs. S. Johnson, Miller Street, Howick.
- S. Mrs. M. Dyer, 8 Christie Road, Pietermaritzburg.

Northern Transvaal.

- C. Mrs. A. Findlay, 296 Mears Street, Pretoria.
- S. Mrs. M. Brink, 1082 Pretorius Street, Hatfield, Pretoria.

Southern Transvaal.

- C. Mrs. J. Sinclair, 203 Santa Margherita, Eighth Street, Killarney, Johannesburg.
- S. Mrs. D. Grant, 55 Pembroke Street, Sydenham, Johannesburg.

Bloemfontein Branch.

- Mrs. H. O'Connor, P.O. Box 245, Bloemfontein.