

THE BLACK SASH

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TEN YEARS OF MISRULE

BY the time of the General Election the Nationalists will have been in power in South Africa for nearly ten years, and it is natural to make some sort of attempt at stock-taking. That the country, year after year over this period, has been thrown into political turmoil is a historic fact, and not a matter for argument. Since Union the country has been through many political crises, but at no other stage in its growth has it been subjected to such intense and unremitting stress as over the past ten years.

What have been the ingredients of this witches' brew? We can point to ten major blots on our Statute Book during the past decade—a dismaying average of one a year. This is the count:

(1) The Population Registration Act, which has subjected the nation to the humiliation of racial docketing for all (Europeans included), and has brought personal tragedy to thousands of non-European families;

(2) The Group Areas Act, which seeks to reshuffle our population in accordance with a Master Plan that is as cruel as it is unworkable;

(3) The costly farce of the High Court of Parliament, which made even the most ardent Nationalist supporters blush for shame;

(4) The Public Safety Act, which is the blueprint for a complete military dictatorship;

TIEN JAAR VAN WANBESTUUR

WANNEER die Algemene Verkiesing plaasvind sal die Nasionaliste byna tien jaar aan bewind gewees het, en dis nou 'n geleë tyd om hul doen en late in oënskou te neem. Dat ons land hom alhoemeer gedurende hierdie tydperk in 'n politieke warboel bevind het, is 'n historiese feit en nie 'n strydpunt nie. Sedert Unie het ons land etlike politieke krisisse beleef, maar dit is op geen ander stadium aan sulke hewige en onophoudelike spanning onderwerp as gedurende die afgelope tien jaar nie.

Wat was nou die mylpale op hierdie skandelijke pad? Ons kan veral op tien kladder op ons Wetboek wys—'n skrikwekkende gemiddelde van een per jaar. Hier volg hulle:

(1) Die Bevolkingsregister, wat die hele volk (blankes inklus) aan die vernedering van rasseindeling blootgestel het, en wat vir duisende nie-blanke families tragiese gevolge gehad het;

(2) Die Wet op Groepsgebiede, wat trag om ons bevolking te herskommel om met 'n plan in te skakel wat wreed en onprakties is;

(3) Die duur klug van die Hoë Hof van die Parlement, wat selfs die vurigste Nasionalis laat bloos het;

(4) Die Wet op Openbare Veiligheid, wat die voorganger van 'n militêre diktatorskap is;

(5) Die skandelijke Senaatswet, wat die verbond van Unie geskend het;

(5) The disgraceful Senate Act, which tore up the pact of Union;

(6) The Prohibition of Interdicts Act, which makes South Africa the only country in the free world to deny a section of its subjects, by statute, access to the courts;

(7) The amendment to the Industrial Conciliation Act, admitted by the Government to be unworkable, but containing a threat to the livelihood of tens of thousands of workers of all races;

(8) The Native Laws Amendment Act, which, among other things, shames our nation with the notorious "church clause";

(9) The Universities Bill, which makes us an object of pity to the whole academic world; and

(10) The Nursing Act, which brings racial fear and hatred even into the presence of sickness and suffering.

That is not the whole tally, but surely it is enough to record against one government?

The extent of the disastrous effect of these hammer blows on our country cannot be estimated at this stage. Many people think that a great deal of the damage done is irreparable and that South Africa will never be the same again. That is for future history to tell us. What is certain now is that, as a nation, we have suffered an immense set-back of which we are all of us, of all races, only too disturbingly conscious. Incalculable damage has been done in three main fields:

(a) There has been a steady deterioration in relations between White and Black. Pessimists say openly that this Government has pushed us beyond "the point of no return", and that it has succeeded in its evil purpose of smashing what bridges there were between Black and White. That may not be true, but at least there is no dispute among sane people about the desperate urgency of saving and restoring the bridges.

(b) The Nationalists, with their segregation in the European schools, and their bitter attacks on every link with Britain, have split the two White races more profoundly than ever before. Mistrust between Boer and Briton is worse now than it was at the beginning of the century and infinitely worse than at Union. And finally:

(c) This Government has made the name of South Africa stink—there is no suitable euphe-

(6) Die Wet op die Verbod van Interdikte, wat meebring dat Suid-Afrika die enigste land in die vrye wêreld is wat 'n deel van sy bevolking d.m.v. wetgewing die reg op toegang tot die howe ontsê;

(7) Die wysiging van die Nywerheidsversoeningswet—die regering gee toe dat dit onprakties is, maar dit bedreig die bestaan van tienduizende werknemers van alle rasse;

(8) Die Wysigingswet op Naturellewette, wat onder andere die berugte „kerkklausule” bevat;

(9) Die Wet op Universiteite, wat ons voor die ganse akademiese wêreld verneder;

(10) Die Wet op Verpleegsters, wat rassevrees en -haat selfs te midde van siekte en lyding laat ontstaan.

Hierdie lys is nie volledig nie, maar is dit tog nie genoeg om enige regering te verdoem nie?

Die omvang van die nadelige gevolge van hierdie aanrandings op ons volk kan nog nie met sekerheid vasgestel word nie. Sommige mense meen dat die skade wat aangebring is, nooit vergoed kan word nie, en dat Suid-Afrika nooit sal herstel nie. Slegs die geskiedenis kan beslis of hierdie bewering waar is. Wat egter onweerlegbaar is, is die feit dat alle dele van die bevolking 'n geweldige terugslag gely het. Op drie vername gebiede is onberekenbare skade berokken:

(a) Die verhouding tussen blankes en nie-blankes het gaandeweg verswak. Pessimiste verklaar ondubbelsinnig dat die regering in sy duiwelse poging geslaag het om alle brûe tussen wit en swart te verwoes. Dit is dalk 'n vergroting, maar regdenkendes is dit eens dat dit dringend nodig is om die brûe te behou en herstel.

(b) Met hul apartheid in blanke skole en hul bitsige aanvalle op elke skakel met Brittanje het die Nasionaliste 'n tragiese skeuring tussen die twee blanke rasse veroorsaak. Die gebrek aan vertrouwe tussen Boer en Brit is groter as aan die begin van die eeu, en oneindig groter as ten tye van Unie. En laastens;

(c) Hierdie regering het Suid-Afrika se naam voor die hele beskaafde wêreld verlaag. Van Sjina tot Peru word ons gehaat; in die V.V.O. word ons skaars verdra; ons lidmaatskap van die Gemenebes behou ons slegs deur die geduld en verdraagsaamheid van die ander lede. Sonder Brittanje se vriendskap—wat spoedig

Ten Years of Misrule

(concluded)

mism—in the nostrils of the free, civilised world. We are hated from China to Peru, barely tolerated at the United Nations, and still in the Commonwealth merely by grace of the patience and long-suffering of the other member nations. Except for the friendship of Britain—fast being alienated by this Government—we would be completely isolated in an increasingly dangerous world.

An ugly record? It is the ugliest chapter in our history. Have we the power to fight free of it and turn the page?

Free of party affiliation and concerned only with the future happiness and prosperity of South Africa, the Black Sash can afford to stand apart from sectional pressure and view the picture as a whole. The present picture of our country is terrifying in many respects and it needs courage and a steady head to look it fairly in the face. But there is hope if we can only save what is left of the wreck and build for the future. That must be the duty of the Black Sash during the coming months and for a long time after.

Tien Jaar van Wanbestuur

(afgesluit)

deur hierdie regering vervreem word—sou ons geïsoleer gewees het in 'n wêreld wat alhoemeer gevaarlik word.

'n Veragtelike vertoning? Dis die veragtelikste hoofstuk in ons geskiedenis. Is ons daartoe instaat om ons boeie kwyt te raak en 'n nuwe begin te maak?

Onbelemmerd deur party-lojaliteit en met geen doelwit behalwe die toekomstige geluk en voorspoed van Suid-Afrika nie, kan die Swart Serp 'n onpartydige blik op huidige toestande werp. Ons nasie verkeer in doodsgevaar en dit verg moed en kalmte om feite in die gesig te staar. Daar bestaan egter nog hoop as ons maar net uit die verlede iets kan behou waarop ons in die toekoms kan voortbou. Om dit te doen is die vernaamste taak van die Swart Serp in die maande wat voorlê en vir 'n geruime tyd daarna.

The Black Sash, January, 1958

THREADS FROM THE SASH

From **Tarkastad** comes this personal little report of a rewarding experience. "As I stood on vigil one day outside the Post Office, I was conscious of the click of a camera. The vigil over, I walked away, when I realised I was being addressed by a pleasantly-spoken elderly gentleman—a complete stranger. He said: "You South African women feel very deeply about the problems of your country. I admire your courage. I took a photograph of you all as you stood on vigil, because I want to show it to my friends in Canada. Good luck!"

* * *

One of our most regular readers in **Ladysmith, Natal**, points out that, if this Government is as prosperous as it maintains, it should not be necessary to grab another Savings Levy off people of her age (eighty-three). She has not received the last one back and has little hope of living to get this second one.

* * *

The wide-awake **Knysna Branch** has just shown itself to be both enterprising and kindly. At a recent meeting all present subscribed to cover the cost of a copy of the Black Sash Book, which, at the suggestion of Mrs. Sharples, has been sent to Miss de Blank, sister of the new Archbishop of Cape Town. In an accompanying letter, the Chairman of the Branch welcomed Miss de Blank to South Africa and wished her a happy sojourn here. Miss de Blank has acknowledged the book with warm thanks and said she would be most interested to read the history of the Black Sash.

* * *

The members of the **Johannesburg Region** showed themselves to be women of many parts when they held a Morning Market at Mrs. D. Hill's home early in December. An almost bewildering variety of Christmas fare was on sale and one wondered where members had found time to make the many beautiful articles for sale on the needle-work, novelty and children's stalls. The total amount raised by this venture was over £730!

* * *

Black Sash members in many parts of the country took part, as right-thinking individuals, in the World Day of Protest Against Apartheid in South Africa on December 10th. The response was not entirely satisfactory in some centres, although excellent in others, but Mr. Eric Louw ensured that the protest received the maximum publicity by his ill-advised statement on the subject. One newspaper has called him the best Public Relations Officer the Civil Rights Committee could have had.

* * *

One of the most effective demonstrations to be staged against the job reservation plans of the Government was that held in **Port Elizabeth**. Members stood on the islands leading up the Cape Road during the peak traffic period on November 13th, where their presence could not be ignored and their large posters could be clearly read from passing cars.

Farmers and the Government

To the Editor, **The Black Sash.**

I read the article, "Farmers and the Government" with interest and appreciation and hope it will lead to a great deal of discussion in your columns, especially if the Black Sash is to fulfill its educational aims.

Undoubtedly F.A.W.L. is prompted by the highest motives in the aim "the fight to end poverty is one for us all to join in," and I for one hope the day is near when we can direct our activities in this direction. But the immensity of this problem calls for clear thinking, sound judgment and accurate statements (which I hope will be forthcoming from an abler pen than mine). I would, however, like to point out that at the outset we must have a clear conception of the meaning of the word "poverty". As an instance, I quote a phrase in the creed of Lanka Mahila Gamiti Women's Institutes of Ceylon: "Let us, remembering that idleness and not poverty is a case for shame, value the dignity of work."

If the United Party should win the coming election and is able to carry out the proclaimed programme of prosperity and the raising of incomes, there will be ample scope for Black Sash and other organisations to see that the lower and all income groups are wisely educated, especially in nutrition and the dignity of labour.

E.L.S., Karg's Post.

To the Editor, **The Black Sash.**

In commenting on the article, "Farmers and the Government," it is somewhat difficult to know where to start. I have, therefore, dealt with it paragraph by paragraph.

The article, to my mind, is full of mistakes; many quite justifiable ones. There are also omissions, which in some cases cause the arguments to fall away. The claim that the statements are true is rather far-fetched.

The second paragraph referring to pressure groups can in general be accepted. It could be described as the political Stock Market where votes are bought and sold. Unfortunately, the farmer's hobby is not an effective one, owing to lack of cohesion—splinter parties. The so-called "favours" obtained are resented by a very large number of farmers. By no stretch of the imagination can they be described as being at the expense of consumers or taxpayers. The mistake here is that F.A.W.L. has forgotten that the days when an industrial or commercial country could buy food at very low prices from agricultural ones, are over.

In the third paragraph (referring to the power of the farmers' lobby in the U.S.A. during the last World War and the consequent high prices and overstocking) it could be suggested that the object of the U.S.A. Government in boosting high production by

increasing guaranteed prices was two-fold—to buy the Land Votes and to have a large store of food products with which they hoped to purchase control of Western Europe and the East. It failed mainly because too many and obvious strings were attached.

Paragraph Four. (The depression of the thirties and the setting up of control boards by the Government under pressure from the farmers). The depression at this time resulted in land going out of cultivation. There was no question of remunerative prices. It was a case of sell at any price obtainable. It was to avoid a complete collapse of all farming activities with a mass of unemployment, that the Control Boards were set up. This was accepted by the farming community as a last resort. Prices were raised to a bare minimum with the hope that it would avoid a wholesale exodus to the towns, which were in no position to cope with an influx.

It is possible that F.A.W.L.'s figure of eighty per cent. (farmers' representation on the Control Boards) is correct, if you delete the word "farmers" and substitute "large landowners"—rich men who were living in the country.

Prices had to rise to avoid a complete collapse of the land. Whether the Government and Control Boards adopted the right policy is certainly open to doubt. The alternative, if prices and production had been allowed to drift and adjust themselves (as F.A.W.L. suggests) would have been some form of nationalisation. The whole business resulted in a desperate disease, which required desperate measures. The origin of the disease can be traced back to the business collapse which occurred in the early twenties; it did not originate on the land.

The example given in Paragraph Six (compulsory export of maize by the Maize Board to produce the scarcity which would ensure a price of 8s. a bag) is only a part of the desperate remedies which had to be applied to try to maintain the land at all and avoid mass unemployment and nationalisation.

The paragraph which deals with the relation between the price of maize and price of land, falls away completely if allowance is made for the purchasing power of the £1. Thirty-two shillings in 1955 was the equivalent of eight shillings in 1938. The same applies to land which has not risen in price. Agricultural land prices today are not based on what the land can produce, but on the fear of a buyer that the pieces of paper money that he offered in exchange may be worth nothing in the foreseeable future.

Paragraph Eight. (Referring to the decision of the Maize Board to ensure a net profit of not less than 10s. a bag of maize). If the Board ever tried to arrive at such a profit figure, they were attempting the impossible. Costs vary on every acre of land and climatic conditions also affect them, over which neither the Board or farmer has any control.

From Our Postbag-Cont.

Control Boards, guaranteed prices, subsidies and monopolies, etc., are all evils, but under present world conditions they have to be endured until some better system can take their place.

F.A.W.L.'s suggestion that all should join in the fight to end poverty will be readily accepted by most people. To do this, the natural wealth of a country has to be increased—there are three ways to do this. First, war and plunder—as adopted by Rome, Spain and England and many others. This is no more than robbery. Secondly, by commercial means: novices playing with professional card players—cheating—although the game may be fairly played. Thirdly, by agricultural development, wherein man receives a real increase from seed thrown on the ground in a kind of continual miracle wrought by the hand of God.

COUNTRY MEMBER, Kokstad.

To the Editor, **The Black Sash.**

Your correspondent, F.A.W.L. displays such a lack of acquaintance with the facts in his article, "Farmers and the Government," that it is almost impossible to reply concisely. F.A.W.L. needs educating in all matters pertaining to agricultural administration and economics. This might take a considerable time.

Here, however, are a few comments I offer on the paragraphs listed in the article:

(2) The balance of power of the electorate is in the hands of the consumer, and obviously no government, wishing to remain in power, could afford to antagonise the consumer. With the drift of the population from the rural to the urban areas, no government needs the farmers' vote to get into power, so there is no point in showering such favours upon the farmers.

(3) Economics, in times of war, do not subscribe to the usual influences of supply and demand. No price structure, therefore, can be considered a true reflection of any particular economic tendency.

(4) Control boards were created for the purpose of stabilising the price to the producer as far as possible, and safeguarding the consumer against exploitation in time of shortages.

In fact, for the past sixteen years, the control boards have operated more in the consumer's favour than the producer's.

For instance, all through the war and post-war period, the **world** price of maize, hides, skins, meat any many other essential commodities, was in most cases two or three times the price of the controlled South African price, and because the farmers in South Africa were denied these world markets by the control boards, farmers actually subsidised the consumer to the extent of millions of pounds: a fact that has never been appreciated by the consumer.

Farmers **do not** have an eighty per cent. majority on control boards. For example, the Dairy Industry Control Board, where the farmers do not have even a majority.

Paragraph (5) is answered by (4). F.A.W.L.'s argument would be correct if it were set out conversely.

Paragraph (6) is incorrect. The Maize Board only exports maize which cannot be absorbed in this country. If the producer is expected to produce maize at a loss, then, of course, he will stop producing. Maize would then have to be imported at an approximate present price of 60s. per bag, against the 29s. which the producer receives at the moment, and the 35s. which the consumer pays.

Paragraph (7). The price of fertilizer in 1938 was £4 per ton and in 1957 £12 per ton for the same grade. A plough in 1938 cost £12 and in 1957 approximately £60 is asked for the same type.

The farmer's cost of production is based on the cost of his farming requirements. If the cost of these requirements is put back to the 1938 level, the farmer will willingly accept 8s. per bag for his mealies.

Paragraph (8). The Board exported maize at a profit for many years during the post-war period. Now that world prices are falling, the Boards are unable to protect the producer against declining prices, in spite of the fact that the purchase price of farmers' requisites is still increasing or remains static. In these circumstances it would have been more profitable for the farmer to have had no boards and sold at uncontrolled prices at the expense of the consumer. By now, the farmer would have had sufficient capital to invest and retire.

Paragraph (9). South African farmers are the only farmers in the western world who are not subsidised by their Government. In America, Australia, New Zealand, Great Britain, etc., the producers of food receive subsidies from their governments, but the retail price to the consumer is not affected by this subsidy. Naturally, therefore, the consumer's price will often be lower than that received by the producer.

Paragraph (10) is answered by (9). Paragraph (11). Your correspondent should realise that the agricultural industry plays a vital part in the nation's economy.

There are undoubtedly many problems and difficulties and only by proper co-operation and understanding between the producers of the nation's food and the consumers of this food can there ever be stability and security, good health and prosperity for all.

This approach, as opposed to the inaccurate approach of your correspondent, is the only means of creating an atmosphere in which a proper balance between the needs of the producer and the needs of the consumer can be found.

FARMER'S WIFE.

"The greatest understandings doubt most, are readiest to learn, and least pleased with themselves. For though they stand on higher ground, and so see farther than their neighbours, they are yet humbled by their prospect, since it shows them something much higher and above their reach."

—William Penn.

Unscrambling The Egg

AN outstanding example of the high costs and shocking disruption which could be caused by the proposed Group Areas plans, was given when the Western Cape Committee of the Group Areas Board met recently in Paarl. The Committee held a three-day public hearing on certain advertised proposals and were told of the non-European staff difficulties which would result at the largest canning factory in Paarl; of the effects that the racial grouping proposals would have on farmers and others and of the huge financial outlay that would be necessary to move big sections of the population from one part of the town to another.

The factory manager of the large canning factory said that already the quality of the factory's products was deteriorating, because of the disruptive effect on the staff of having to travel 10 miles to and from work, in addition to working a 14-hour day in the season. This had already led to a 15 per cent. absenteeism rate. The factory employed 2,500 to 3,500 Coloured Workers and by 1962 expected to employ between 4,000 and 5,000 workers. It was essential, pointed out the manager, that these employees should be allowed to return to Suider Paarl, where they had previously lived and where they were as near as possible to the factory. The Coloured workers were spending about two and a half hours a day waiting for and travelling on buses.

A European living in Langvlei, which is to be proclaimed a Coloured area, protested that he and his neighbours would not know where to go and pointed out that the value of his property had probably already deteriorated and made it impossible for him to get a fair return if he did sell.

A farmer said that, if the main area marked for Coloured occupation, on the east side of the Berg River, was proclaimed as such, it would include seven-eighths of his farm. He would have to relinquish his farm, because the small piece left to him outside the Coloured area could not be farmed on a profitable basis. He knew several farmers who were similarly affected.

The Paarl town planner and surveyor produced figures to show that there was ample space within the present municipal boundaries to house with comfort the development and additional population of the area for the foreseeable future and pointed out that it would be uneconomic to develop areas outside the municipal boundary, where extra services would have to be provided at tremendous expense. The Paarl Town Council's consulting engineer had estimated that it would cost £1,350,000 to maintain internal and external links with existing services—excluding electricity—if the area east of the Berg River were proclaimed a Coloured area. Rates from this area would probably come to £32,000 a year and a large part of the difference would have to be found by the ratepayer.

These difficulties, aired in Paarl, are typical of the problems which are being put before committees of the Group Areas Board all over the country.

FACT AND FICTION

FICTION:

Mr. Eric Louw, Minister of External Affairs, said, *inter alia*, in a broadcast on December 12th that the "Declaration of Conscience" published by the American Committee on Africa and read at demonstrations in South Africa and abroad on December 10th, was "a campaign against the country's White population" and that "this campaign could only cause unrest among the African population and racial tension."

FACT:

The whole of Mr. Louw's outburst against the "Declaration of Conscience" is a skilfully-woven fabric of fiction and near-truths, apparently designed more as electioneering propaganda than from any hope of convincing the many world figures who sponsored the Declaration that they were wrong.

We select two of the obvious fictions. The first is that the "Declaration of Conscience" is a campaign against the country's White population. Will Mr. Louw never learn that "White population" and "supporters of the Government's Apartheid policy" are not synonymous, and that the campaign is directed against the latter only? Naturally, we know that Mr. Louw is himself only too well aware of the difference and the very bitterness of his outburst shows how concerned he is that the White population of South Africa does not to a man (and woman) support the Apartheid policy of himself and his confederates.

The second fiction put over the air by Mr. Louw is that this campaign can only cause unrest and racial tension among the African population. We put the old riddle to Mr. Louw—which came first, the chicken or the egg? Did the unrest and racial tension which we all know to exist among our African population come into existence as a result of his Government's Apartheid policy over the past ten years, or have they only just arisen as the result of the Declaration of Conscience protests on December 10th?

Our submission to Mr. Louw is firstly that he search his own conscience in the matter and secondly, that so far from the Declaration causing unrest and tension, the fact that so many of the White population of South Africa saw fit to associate themselves with the protest can only help to relieve the tension and give hope to the non-European for a happier era regime.

M.E.F.

Disruption, the breaking up of homes and enormously increased costs for public services will inevitably result from any attempt to put the Group Areas Act into effective operation. How long is it going to take the Government to find out that it is attempting the impossible—nothing less than the unscrambling of the egg?

Is The Black Sash Realistic?

IN a paper, which he wrote in 1953, Professor E. E. Harris of the University of the Witwatersrand made this statement—"What is morally wrong is never, in the long run, expedient, and what is ultimately expedient is what is morally right and that alone. Expediency is determined by what is useful for a particular purpose, but purposes themselves have to be valued by a moral criterion, and the objective to which all minor purposes are ultimately subordinate is the moral one of attaining the conditions of the good life for all persons."

That statement, as well as being morally sound, is realistic. It is morally wrong to remove rights from people or to suppress them, and it is inexpedient and unrealistic, too, because no race or individual will accept such treatment passively for an indefinite period. No nation has ever remained powerful unless it has encouraged those it was ruling to better themselves, morally and in every other way, and then to play an increasing part in the national life, as has the United States of America. For this process to develop the Government must lead its people onwards, not hold the majority back and pander to the worst elements of the minority.

If certain sections of the population are not allowed to contribute, in productive work, the best of which each is capable, the whole country suffers. In South Africa, we are short of many types of artisans, yet forbid non-Europeans to be employed in these trades. By so doing we cause the European to deteriorate because there is insufficient competition, and so even less production is achieved. Character does not grow without some form of effort.

The Black Sash stands for honest principles in government. We believe that only that which is right can be justified on moral or common-sense grounds. We want a good future for our children. Will they have it if the majority of the population is discontented and restless? To say that the South African way of life has always been based on separation is true, but to expect that that can continue for ever is unrealistic. The progress of history cannot be halted. South Africa is not a separate planet, nor is it even an island. Is it not most unrealistic to think that we, a small country in numbers, can follow a pattern that is not just different from, but is in conflict with, the spirit of the rest of the world? That spirit, be it noted, is one based on the moral principle that all mankind is entitled to certain freedoms—those of thought, speech and publication; of assembly; of movement; of association; of employment; of access to the Courts; of choice of education for their children and themselves; and, above all, of security for their families and the sanctity of home-life. Surely no one can query that all are entitled to these rights? To deny these rights to any man is morally wrong, but it is also to shut one's eyes to what must follow in the future, which is unrealistic in the extreme! A country which allows injustice to some of its people is laying itself open to injustice for an ever-increasing number of its inhabitants, for those with too much power grow greedier and also more fearful of criti-

cism. No civilised person can contemplate the thought of slavery for himself or his children or for anyone else.

Our civilisation is based on Christian principles—and is universal in its application. Can civilisation suffer through more people becoming civilised? It is the uncivilised, or those with "a little learning," who can weaken its influence. It is unrealistic, as well as un-Christian, to let one's outlook be influenced by the selfish and the fearful amongst one's neighbours, until one becomes convinced that one need not strive for what is right, as long as one is comfortable oneself, NOW. The next step downwards is to find excuses for what is wrong—and that is neither Christian nor civilised. Professor Keet says in "Whither South Africa"—"Our problem, surely, is not how to use scripture to justify our attitude, but what attitude we should adopt that will stand the searching test of the Scriptures."

It is because the Black Sash believes in civilisation, in its fullest and moral sense, that it will continue to protest against the removal of any rights from any section of our people. It will make no compromise and will modify none of its principles. Every effort towards that which is right bears some fruit, but the condonation of evil can only strengthen the powers of evil. What future can our country anticipate if Right is to be ignored? What sort of character will it have if bitterness and selfishness rule? "Unity is strength" and for unity there must be sympathy, sacrifice and co-operation from all. That is civilisation and realism.

P.B.

The Multi-Racial Conference

BLACK SASH members were prominent among those who attended the Multi-Racial Conference held recently in Johannesburg and there is no doubt but that the findings of the various commissions at this conference must influence greatly the viewpoint of all those who were present. The significance of the Conference, the first of its kind in the Union, has been dealt with extensively by the daily Press and, as one leader-writer put it, "the miracle is that such a conference has taken place at all."

The Rev. Zaccheus R. Mahabane, venerable and tolerant, presided over the plenary sessions for the three days of the Conference and among the many outstanding speakers were Professor I. D. MacCrone, the Most Rev. Denis E. Hurley, O.M.I., D.D., Catholic Archbishop of Durban, Dr. S. Cooppan, Dr. Sheila T. van der Horst, Mr. W. B. Ngakane, Mr. Alan Paton, Professor G. H. le May, Mr. G. M. Pitje and Mr. G. Mbeki. The Right Rev. Ambrose Reeves, Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, delivered the final address of the conference, an address which left all those who heard it with a sombre realisation of the difficulties ahead, but with hope in their hearts.

A Nine-and-Sixpenny Christmas

By JOHN DOIG

A nine-and-sixpenny Christmas . . . No paper hats, no tinsel, no turkey. Only a packet of fish and chips for two. That's the yuletide picture that Dr. Verwoerd painted for Petrus. That's the kind of Christmas thousands of quaint, wrinkled old men and women—the ones we are supposed to think of most in a time of cheer and "goodwill to ALL men"—spent in the crumbling, disease-beleaguered shacks which house the Native population of Bloemfontein.

Petrus, and his "over-60" fellows in murky, muddy Batho, Bochabela, and "Kafferfontein", had banked on a better Christmas—perhaps with a little third-grade beef as an extra treat.

But then Dr. Verwoerd sent some special "inspectors" down from Pretoria and the pension probe began. By the time it was over, some weeks ago, well over 1,000 meal-tickets had been whittled or withdrawn.

The routine was simple. The local "blockman"—each "block" in the locations has its own headman who acts as liaison officer between residents and authorities—called a meeting. It was attended by the old-age and disability pensioners under the supervision of the local blockman.

The pensioners were told to call at the pay office to collect their pensions on the usual day—but **not as usual**. This time they were to bring not only the small, numbered metal tag that authorises the pension, but also marriage and birth certificates (if they had any)—and any other document bearing written proof of the age of the pensioner.

Well, most of these old men and women were married by lobola. They do not have marriage certificates. Their births were not registered. So many of them merely shrugged their shrivelled shoulders and gave up hope.

The Questionnaire

But most went along to the pay office. They stood in long queues and gave their names and ages to an interpreter who paced up and down along the lines. Some were so old that they couldn't even remember their ages.

This time there was not the usual paymaster behind the counter. Instead, there were two "inspectors"—from Pretoria—who asked questions and took notes. And confiscated metal tags.

These were the questions they asked:

"Do you have children who work?"

"Do you have 'outside' income?"

"Do you own a house?"

If the answer to any of the questions was "yes", the pension was reduced—or cancelled. That was the broad principle of the "means test", as it was described by the local Native Affairs authorities.

Some of the queuers were told to have a medical examination. They were "disability" pensioners. If they passed the test—carried out by an overworked

employee of the District Surgeon's Office—the pension was taken away. Because the pensioner was announced "fit and able to work."

I met one of the pensioners who was "fit and able to work." I was introduced to him by—let's call him Father Jones, an Anglican mission worker who was, and is, a little dubious about the "means test."

When I accompanied Father Jones to the Cape Stands home of Jan, the 56-year-old disability pensioner was writhing in his bed—too ill with rheumatism and asthma to get up. But, according to the authorities, he is fit to work—and his £1 13s. 9d. a month disability pension has been taken away. Mina, his wife, has ulcerated feet. She still gets her pension.

But the 33s. 9d. must feed the couple and two small children—and pay the rent.

A Desperate Case

I also met Petrus. Petrus has two working sons. One is married and has his own family to feed. The other is a "tsotsi" ("I hardly ever see him."). Because "they should be able to support him," Petrus lost his disability pension.

But neither of Petrus' sons give him any money. His wife is too ill and frail to work. Until the "means test," 64-year-old Petrus—who has a serious liver illness, rheumatism, and is partially blind—got a disability pension of £1 13s. 9d. a month.

He has "other" income of £1 7s. 6d., from a lodger who rents one of the rooms of the smoky Batho house. Then there is the rent to pay—18s. a month.

That left Petrus and his wife 43s. 3d. to foot the household bill. Now they have 9s. 6d. a month—between them. Nine and sixpence, was all they had for food and clothes—and Christmas—last month.

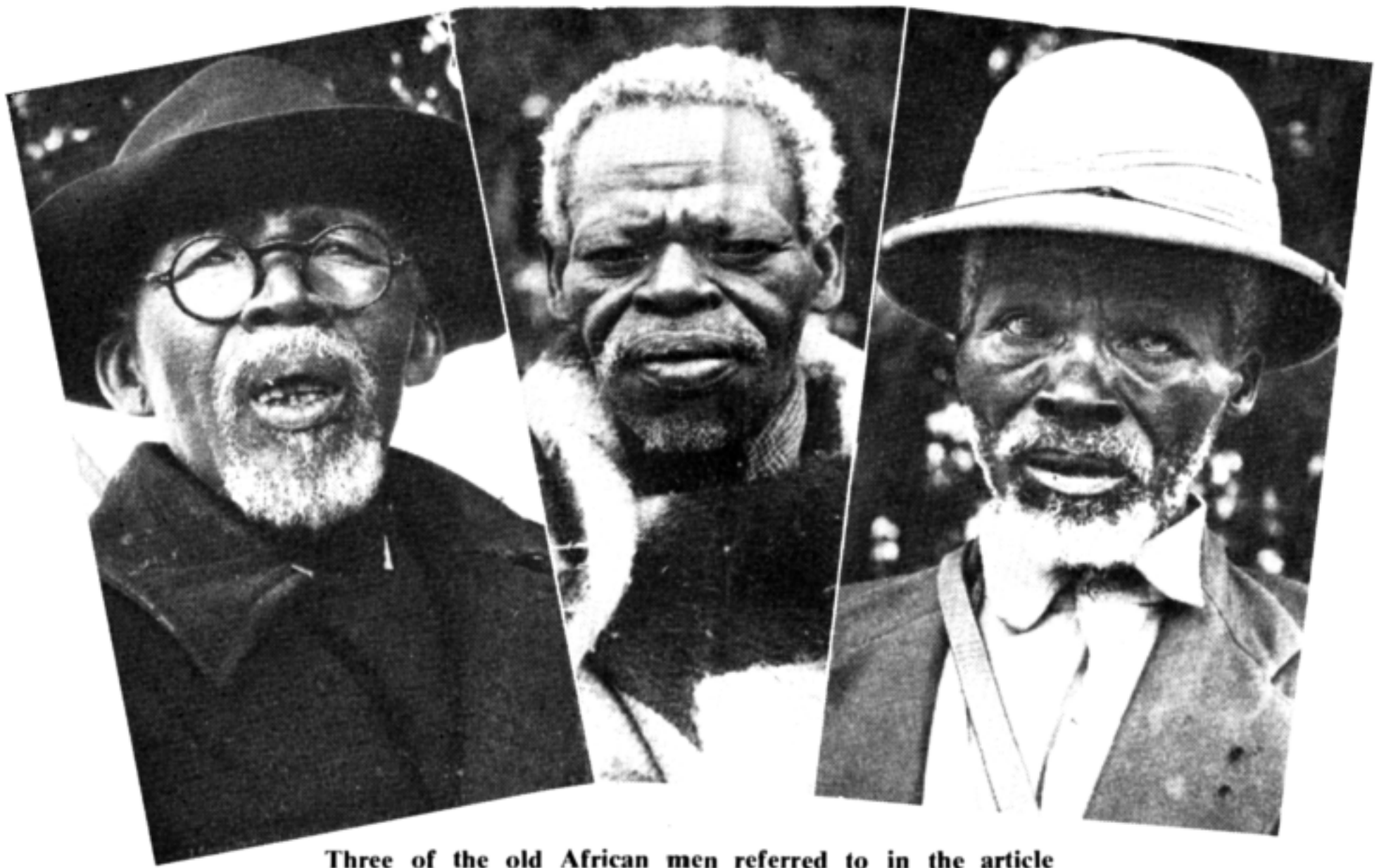
Petrus appealed to the local Native Affairs office. He was told to come back. But the pension never came back.

Of 2,400 old-age and disability pensioners who have answered Native Department questions in Bloemfontein's locations recently, 59 (29 were "old-agers") have lost their pensions altogether. More than a thousand are getting less now.

Inquiries at the local government offices in Bloemfontein, before the "means test," brought the stock answer—"The means test is just 'routine.' Native people in genuine need of pension money need have nothing to fear. There is nothing sinister about the means test."

It was the same story after the means test. With the addendum that "every case has been carefully and thoroughly investigated."

Obviously, that last assurance cannot be taken seriously. More than 2,000 pensioners were dealt with—on the basis of a simple formula. And, in fact, some of the decisions of the Pretoria "inspectors" have embarrassed the local Native Commissioner's office.



Three of the old African men referred to in the article who have either lost their pensions entirely or had them drastically reduced. None of them is really fit to work.

The Minister's Views

But more important than that is a speech made by the Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, that is still ringing in the ever-wary ears of the Church workers who spend their lives dealing out kindness and help in the locations.

Dr. Verwoerd made a speech, in answer to a question, at the Free State congress of the Nationalist Party in Bloemfontein on September 11, 1957.

The Minister said: "I am against old-age pensions for Natives. I believe that Natives should look after the financial welfare of their own people. And I hope the time will soon come when we return to the self-supporting Native community.

"I have been investigating this matter for some years now. I found that in many cases Natives were being paid pensions to which they were not entitled. In other cases the pension was too high. But you can rest assured that special inspectors I appointed when I came into office are rectifying the position.

"If there is a move to go back to the old tribal system of self-supporting Native communities I will favour it. Before I can make such a change I must build up my system of Bantu authorities properly and I am busy doing that. You must not expect that in eight years I can reform the whole world. I AM REFORMING AS MUCH AS I CAN."

Not long after that speech was made, the inspectors arrived in Bloemfontein. And if the so-called "means test" was "routine," it was nevertheless the first that had ever been held in Bloemfontein—as far as inquiries could ascertain, at any rate.

The result? Thousands of old men and women who relied on the £1 13s. 9d. a month Government "bread money" (that is what is paid on both old-age and disability tickets) are getting much less — or nothing.

For them, it is an unjust and impossible situation, financially. Morally, it is a sad and wicked situation.

The detribalised Natives of the locations have lost the custom of self-support. They became detribalised for the benefit of the European. Cutting the pensions of their old and—as Dr. Verwoerd says—"saving the country thousands," will not induce them to go back to a system of inter-dependence. It will, on the contrary, increase the hazards and holocausts of disease that have already made these locations a fly-ridden wilderness that would put most Oriental slums to shame.

I wonder if Dr. Verwoerd has realised the full implications of his pension-pilfering actions? I wonder if he has ever visited the homes of those he is strangling? I hope he thought about it over his Christmas dinner—while the announcer at his own favourite radio station was broadcasting a message of "goodwill to ALL men . . ."

"A COMMON NAME"

By M. DEKENAH

WITH a common flag and a common anthem surely the time has come when we should bestir ourselves about finding a term that will cover all white South Africans at least? At present no country in the world is so confusing to people overseas and those visiting our shores.

They want to know:

"Who are these Europeans and non-Europeans?"

"If you live in Africa surely you should all be classed as Africans?"

"Why do some of your white folk call themselves South Africans and other Afrikaners—no, I beg your pardon—that is a type of cattle is it not? I mean Afrikaners."

If we expect to take our place among the nations of the world, we'll have to adopt a common name. This, of course, at once brings into conflict the two languages and which shall have preference, but in the meantime we can make a start by eliminating the obviously unsuitable terms by which we are now known.

Most people will agree that the word "European", when applied to a person born and bred in South Africa is absurd. Fortunately, though habit dies hard, it is falling into disuse, being replaced by the word "White" and therefore "non-European" also falls away.

While someone from Australia is an Australian and someone from America is an American, for obvious reasons those of us who come from the southern part of our great continent—divided as it is among so many nations—cannot be called Africans. The term has already been affixed to a section of our native population who would prefer to be regarded as the Bantu people.

"South African", while accepted by the English-speaking people of our land, is scorned by the Afrikaans-speaking ones, mainly because the words themselves are English. Speaking with an open mind, on the other hand, is there really anything to recommend the word "Afrikaner"? Translated it means African and is therefore a misnomer.

If we are proud of belonging to our own particular part of Africa—as we undoubtedly are—then we ought to be able to devise some combination of letters from the wealth of our two official languages which will satisfy both sections of the white population. For the older people who have got into a rut and have become used to being known as an "Afrikaner" or a "South African" the matter lacks importance perhaps. But what of our children, products of marriages between Afrikaners and South Africans? How shall they be known? With feeling running as high as it is today, who knows how seriously embarrassed a child may be if he admits to being a South African rather than an Afrikaner? The two terms appear to indicate that a breach exists between the English- and Afrikaans-speaking white people of the Union of South Africa and if any unity is to be attained then they must both be scrapped and some other name substituted.

One suggestion is that, just as an Englishman, Scotsman and Irishman is commonly known as a Briton or being British, we could discard the word Africa altogether just as the Rhodesias, the Belgian Congo, Kenya, etc., have done. Another suggestion is that we prefix the letter "S" to African and become "Saficans" or, alternatively, "Safrikaners". Maybe, however, one of your readers with a flair for word-building and keeping in mind the complexities of the problem, may have a better suggestion to offer.

—By courtesy of *The Star*.

This South Africa

(Readers are invited to submit contributions to this feature. A prize of 5s. will be awarded each month to the reader submitting the first-mentioned contribution).

"For many years the fanatically religious Nationalist Party has been trying to ban displays of women's underwear from South African shop windows and advertisements. If it succeeds in that, the only effect will be that South African men will suffer from the deprivation of one of the more innocent forms of sublimation."—*New Statesman and Nation*. 5s. to Jill Martin, S. Rhodesia.

"Mr. Schoeman and his colleagues must try to get used to the idea that the opponents of apartheid regard them, not as the saviours of White civilisation, but as the men who are playing such a dangerous game that they may well destroy it."—*Rand Daily Mail*, 18/12/57.

"The Administration will clearly have to make some drastic move to save the schools. As matters now stand, the children of South Africa are all set to receive a half-baked education."—*The Forum*, December, '57.

"It (the Multi-Racial Conference) was an act of notification to the Nationalist Cabinet that peace-loving South Africans are going to work for racial harmony through the medium of multi-racial consultation, and not, as the Cabinet ordains, in the master-servant relationship."—*The Sunday Times*, 8/12/57.

"As things are developing at present, the winner in the coming election is going to be bread-and-butter, hard cash; in other words the ability of the wage-earner to keep the wolf from the door."—*The Rhodesian Herald*, 13/11/57.

"The fact that one part of the White population engages itself in historical and religious celebrations with great fervour (on the Day of the Covenant) while the other looks on uncomprehending and unmoved, is a far from ideal situation."—*Rand Daily Mail*, 17/12/57.

"Mr. Eric Louw is shaping up to be the finest public relations officer the Liberals in this country have ever had."—*The Sunday Times*, 15/12/57.

Vital Proposals for the Native Reserves That Were Rejected

By permission of the Cape Times

THE appointment of a commission often helps a government to avoid responsibility and justify delay. Few commissions in the history of this country have so generously served both purposes as the Tomlinson Commission did. It did so for more than five years.

Appointed in November, 1950, it reported in October, 1954, and its findings were first made public in March, 1956. A White Paper, issued in April, announced the Government decisions on its recommendations. A parliamentary debate followed, but

By SENATOR LESLIE RUBIN
(This is the last of two articles)

the most skilful contributions by Government spokesmen could not conceal one important fact: for the greater part of the period during which the Nationalist Party has been in power, much of the neglect and delay of the past has continued, with the cry "Wait for the Tomlinson Report" as a convenient justification.

At the 1955 session of the Transkeian Bunga, an Under-Secretary for Native Affairs expounded his Department's policy for development of the Reserves, outlined detailed plans for reclaiming land, and described work done in some areas. He admitted that while individual results were encouraging, the work being done was inadequate, and reclamation was not even keeping pace with the growing erosion. Earlier in the same year, a tour of the Transkei and Ciskei by officials of the South African Institute of Race Relations disclosed, in some areas, grave deterioration of land through soil erosion.

Release of Land

The Government had not, when the Tomlinson Report was published, even acquired all the land released in terms of the 1936 Act. An amendment to the Act, introduced during the last session, released further classes of land, but the Minister of Native Affairs, when pressed to do so, was unable to specify the location and extent of the areas falling into these new classes; nor did he indicate that steps were contemplated to ensure the acquisition of any land already released.

As to the land rights of individual Africans within released areas, the Government has (without altering the law) in practice imposed new and far-reaching restrictions. In principle, it has been stated, the Minister is opposed to the acquisition by individual Africans of land in released areas, but he will permit

its acquisition in certain cases, provided the purchaser's allegiance to a chief, or submission to the Bantu tribal authority of the area, is maintained.

Under Areas Act

Many South Africans assumed that this Government, whatever its policy for the future might be, would never tamper with freehold rights already acquired by Africans. A provision in the Group Areas Act, passed in 1950, encouraged this assumption. Although Africans are one of the three groups for whom separate areas for ownership or occupation may be established, the Act provided that no proclaimed group area could include, *inter alia*, land in a released area, or land in any area approved for residence of Africans under the Urban Areas Act. Both these limitations have since been removed by amendments to the Act.

In the debate during the last session on the amending Bill which removed the second limitation, the Minister of the Interior left little room for doubt that the object of the amendment was, *inter alia*, to enable the Group Areas Board to proclaim Lady Selborne Township near Pretoria (in which Africans have freehold title) a White or Coloured group area, giving an assurance on behalf of the Minister of Native Affairs that, if this happened, dispossessed Africans owning land on freehold tenure would be permitted to acquire freehold rights in certain Native areas. But he would not say precisely where those areas were.

The Native Resettlement Act, passed in 1954, completed the process of taking away from Africans freehold property rights actually being enjoyed by them. This law—the measure which authorized the Western Areas removals—provides that the owner of the land is entitled, in certain circumstances, to help in buying land in the Native areas, to replace land taken from him, but without any right to acquire such land on freehold tenure.

Three Proposals

The above summarized description of Government policy on the Reserves and African land rights is a record of pre-Tomlinson *apartheid* in practice. The Tomlinson Commission made three recommendations—among the most important of all the recommendations in the Report—which, by implication, criticize severely, if they do not condemn, the policy pursued by the Government since it came to power.

These recommendations must be considered against the general background of the sense of urgency which pervades the Report. "The position in the

(Continued overleaf)

Africans' Disappearing Land Rights (Cont.)

scheduled areas," the Commissioners say, "is indeed alarming. If the soil is to be saved, the necessary steps will have to be taken without delay to place the technical services in a position to plan and carry out conservation projects on a large scale."

The recommendations were:

(1) That "all land within the Bantu areas shall be immediately declared betterment areas by means of legislation."

(2) That Africans desiring it should be entitled to acquire freehold title to land, subject only to certain conditions designed to ensure the preservation of the land, and that such tenure should gradually replace all the present forms of land tenure.

(3) That the one-man-one-lot principle of land occupation should be abolished, "but care should be exercised to avoid the centralization of all the land in the hands of a few individuals, i.e., to avoid the creation of a class of land barons."

Cogent Reasons

The Commissioners advance cogent reasons for each of these recommendations.

The first is made on the strength of an exhaustive analysis of the results achieved, to date, in the spheres of stabilization (i.e., the work of arresting further deterioration of soil and vegetation) and reclamation (i.e., the work of restoring land to economic productivity). This analysis discloses that only 9.4 per cent. of the total Native areas has so far been stabilized, and that, at the present rate, it will take 245 years to stabilize the remainder. Declaring betterment areas has, since 1939, been the machinery employed by the Department to ensure the reduction of livestock and the control of farming and agricultural methods in other ways. The Commissioners, in view of the serious situation disclosed, recommend as an immediate first step, the extension of this control to the whole of the Native areas.

In recommending freehold title to land, the Commissioners, dealing with the causes of the deterioration of the Reserves, say: "Nor can there be pride of possession of land in which there is no ownership, in the full sense of the term, vested in the person who is using it."

In support of the third recommendation, the Commissioners say that the general size of the allotments made at present is such that "there is no scope for a Bantu who wishes to develop and expand his farming activities. The principle of "one-man-one-lot" accordingly reduces every Bantu to a low level of uniformity, with no prospects of expanding his activities nor of exercising his initiative.

None Accepted

Not one of these recommendations has been accepted by the Government.

The White Paper rejects the first by implication, the second and third, expressly.

The White Paper says of the recommendation relating to betterment areas that it "embraces what is

already largely accepted policy, but careful application in consultation with the Bantu authorities or Community is essential." It is clear that the Commissioners consider it essential to a sound policy of land stabilization—they call it "the first and foremost recommendation"—that the existing policy of applying the "betterment" machinery to part only of the Native areas should be abandoned in favour of its application to all the land in the Native areas, and that it should be done immediately. The evasive comment in the White Paper must be taken to mean that the Government certainly does not intend to do so immediately, and may not do so at all.

Tribal Tenure

The second recommendation is rejected summarily. "The Government is not prepared," the White Paper says, "to do away with tribal tenure of rural land and to substitute individual tenure based on purchase, nor does it propose to give preference to individual acquisition of land above tribal and Trust purchase in the released areas. It will, as in the past, allow for the possibility of individual purchase by suitable buyers and with proper safeguards in released areas." It is, presumably, of no concern to the Government that, according to the stated views of the Commissioners, this policy will perpetuate, in the Reserves, an African population lacking any "pride of possession of land."

Finally, according to the White Paper, "the Government is not prepared to agree at this stage to the acquisition for occupation of more than one economic farming unit by a single individual and thus to become responsible for the possible development of ownership of large tracts of land by some instead of the proper settlement of many." The possible development mentioned by the Government as the reason for rejecting this recommendation was present in the minds of the Commissioners, and could no doubt be avoided by providing safeguards. In this case, too, since there is no attempt to fix a stage at which the recommendation might be accepted, it is presumably of no concern to the Government that, according to the stated views of the Commission, this policy will keep the African farmer at a low level, prevent his expansion, and curb his initiative.

Intentions Clear

Considerable publicity has been given to an official announcement from Pretoria of new appointments to the Department of Native Affairs, to give effect to "the Government policy in regard to the recommendations of the Tomlinson Commission, as stated in the White Paper."

Whatever results these appointments may produce, on the two questions of rehabilitation of the Reserves, and African land rights generally, the intentions of the Government are clear.

It has decided—rejecting the advice and ignoring the warnings of its own experts—to apply half-measures to the grave problem of the Reserves, and to continue to deny to the African, even in his own areas, land rights which are essential to the development of a stable community.

(Concluded)

Why I am Anti-Nationalist and Anti-Republican

By Lieut-Colonel G. A. COLE

MY answer to the question of why "I am agin the Government" is not the conventional South African one. I am probably representative of a type—the regular British officer, who retired and settled in South Africa after the second world war. I came to South Africa because the country seemed to offer the best of many solutions available of how to live, make a living, and bring up a family. Before coming I naturally took stock of the position at that time and of the future. The possibility of the country becoming a republic and seceding from the Commonwealth was a chance I was prepared to take. If it should, then I had made a mistake in my appraisal of the situation, and I would alter my ideas to support my adopted country in the course she had chosen. To that extent I could not be held to be extreme in my views, nor unready to identify myself with whatever trends the country might follow politically. I was prepared, if necessary, to be a full-blooded South African Republican.

At this stage it might be well to consider the position and attitude towards life of the regular British officer. Until the 1914-18 war, but decreasingly thereafter, he was representative of the leisured classes with private means. Ambition, other than to live a full life, was not part of his make-up. To retire before fortune brought him senior rank, and prospects of fame was his normal expectation. The Service was not a full life-time career. He left it with many long years ahead of him, following what fortune might bring him in his particular family interest, which generally included ample scope for hunting, fishing and shooting.

All this has changed and there is now no leisured class. One of the British Government's major headaches derives from that fact. For the greater majority of officers the Services do not offer a full life-time career, and they are forced to retire in the late forties, or early fifties, still hale and hearty in body and mind. In many cases they have another thirty years of life ahead of them (possibly young children to educate), but they are qualified for no form of other work, and are too old to obtain qualifications. All they have is a pension, far below the rate of pay they have been drawing, and they are in consequence forced to adopt a standard of living below that to which they have been accustomed. To that class I belong, and to many like me the young countries, such as South Africa, seem to present the best opportunity to start life again. The solution of our personal problems overrides consideration of what course the country of our choice will follow in the wider field of politics and statecraft. We were all young in the service when South Ireland became a republic, and when Hertzog was alarming the Empire in the twenties. We have seen many British Officers settled happily in Eire since then and the Statute of Westminster create a Commonwealth. Now

we have witnessed India, where most of us spent much of our service years, become a republic within the Commonwealth—and act as if she were outside it.

Change in the Empire

We have seen the whole face of what was the British Empire change during the span of our service. We have lived to see policies, for which we were called upon to fight and risk our lives, change to the exact opposite. In consequence the vagaries of politics and statecraft leave us unmoved—or in any case far less moved than the old-timers of the country of our adoption. We come prepared to identify ourselves with whatever course that country may follow, provided always we can solve our personal problem of rebuilding our lives. But that does not mean that we lose our sense of fair dealing and justice—and because I retain that sense am I anti-republican and anti-Nationalist. The policies of the Nat. Government threaten injustice for me and for those people for whom I care most.

As I assess the political tempo of South Africa, most if not all—the disharmony and unhappiness of the country derives from two factors: (1) The attitude of a small section of Afrikaners—the Broederbond—that they are the hierarchy of a race chosen by God to rule South Africa. (2) From (1) follows naturally the concept of a republic, and, as a consequence of both, is created an equally uncompromising opposition—the British who have no part nor place in narrowly-Afrikaner South Africa. The two extremes act as magnets drawing and dividing the majority of us, whose only desire is to live in peace with each other. But the more extreme the one pole becomes, and the more active in forcing through its policies, the more sullen and determined to resist does the other become. And the more unhappy do we all become as we drift apart from those whom we could love and live with so easily.

As a post-war settler I came to South Africa, and lived my first five years in South Africa prepared to accept, and subscribe to, a republican constitution as a means of breaking down for all time the unhappiness created by the two extremes. Instead I am now forced to the only possible conclusion, that the republic is the exclusive tool of the Broederbond, and for which they are obtaining support and adherence through "FEAR" not "LOVE". Fear is the instrument of the dictator—cowards and bullies the dictator's ready henchmen. The issue is no longer whether one wishes to live under the Union Jack or the Vierkleur, but whether one is prepared to accept one's place obediently, and forego one's rightful freedom under a dictatorship. The accidents of birth and country of origin no longer matter. They are not even side issues. The issue is whether South Africa is to remain democratic or have a dic-

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tatorship—nothing more and nothing less. Those on either side who drag in side issues of flag, language, national prejudices and predilections merely fog this one real issue before us. That is all part of the Nationalist technique to bewilder its opponents, who, however, cannot now afford the luxury of being misled by these side issues, which tend to divide us, and so strengthen the Nationalist.

A Possible Course

Now the reasons for my convictions. Had the Nationalists been sincere in their desire to build a united nation out of the several factions, which compose it and thought a republican constitution the best means to that end, they would, as soon as they came to power, have put the issue before the country in a referendum. At the same time they would have stated their proposals for the creation of a fully democratic and representative constitution. Many of us would have sunk our personal feelings and prejudices if we had been convinced that such form of government was best suited to the country as a whole, and have voted for it. But what then could have been achieved through mutual understanding, compromise, fair dealing, and justice is now being achieved through fear. I, therefore can only conclude, that whatever motivates the Nationalist hierarchy does not derive from Christian virtue. This being so, what they are and what they stand for is evil and must bring evil to the country. Though they may—and probably will—destroy their enemies their own self-destruction is also assured. What will they, or we, get out of the wreckage? A ruined country. It is therefore the plain duty of all, who perceive this fact to unite in a common front and wrest power from the monsters' hands? We must leave our less important and comparatively small differences to resolve themselves in the happier climes of democratic freedom.

I have indicated Fear as the Nationalist stock-in-trade—at the moment. What reasons have they given me to come to this conclusion, other than their failure from the outset to settle the republican issue? Briefly, my main reasons are based on the fact that throughout their term of power they have followed a policy of the end justifying the means. In no circumstances can this be justified morally. It takes us right back to the day of the Inquisition.

(1) They have steadfastly shouted Republic without giving us a Constitution—implying in the ever growing tempo of their screams "God help those who resist us."

(2) They have failed to withdraw Dr. Malan's 1942 Constitution though challenged to do so. That constitution is nothing more than the theocratic autocracy of the "Broederbond" reducing all others to servility. It lacks the elements of democracy, or democratic institutions. It exposes all opponents to ruination.

(3) It can be assumed safely that the Nationalist goal is the 1942 Constitution.

(4) The means adopted to remove the coloured voters from the Common role were unconstitutional.

(5) The High Court of Parliament was an Un-constitutional fiasco.

(6) The Senate Act, however miserably clothed in the guise of legality, blatantly perverts the inten-

THE REASON WHY

With grievous thoughts we silent stand.
The gibes of ignoramus pass us by.
We fear destruction for our land,
And world's disdain. We hear its cry.

No aims for self or body politic,
No hate of race or colour of a skin.
Abhorring frauds and parliamentary trick.
Freedom we ask: the world our kin.

With lowered heads we stand and pray,
That God may halt the knavish hate,
Of racial bigots; and may stay,
More unjust laws before too late.

—By C. N. T. Jennings, "Rockcliffe," East London.

tions of the framers of the South Africa Act. No attempt was made to ascertain during the legal proceedings that followed it what those intentions were. None but bullies dependent on servile cowards could stoop as low as the Nationalists went in this bit of legislation.

(7) Western Civilisation has grown out of Christianity, yet Christian Mission schools have been forced to close, or have been severely penalised unless they toe the Nationalist line. The only hope we have of saving the Native from Communism in South Africa, and advancing Islam from the north is by making a Christian of him and offering him Christian example, has been excoriated. Admittedly some so-called Christian missionaries may still offer their ministry to the native—those who subscribe to the Un-Christlike doctrine of a "Master Race" or "Chosen People". In consequence the native in his education is thrown back on himself, and if the Nationalist fondly thinks that such schools will not be a focus of hatred of all things European he is living in a fool's paradise, the consequences of which will be hell let loose.

World Reaction

(8) The policy of "apartheid" as proclaimed from the house tops by the Nationalists is a challenge to all coloured races of the world.

Those coloured races own the oil without which South Africa cannot exist. South Africa's petroleum products cannot be found elsewhere. Why so blatantly challenge the one people who can encompass our destruction without even firing a shot? In such circumstances South Africa's only hope would be the closest possible Commonwealth associations, especially with Great Britain—with whom however the Nationalists are determined to break, and whom they never cease to decry to their children in and out of school.

(9) The Nationalist education policy for Europeans is based on dividing the Afrikaans from the British with the sole object of making them antipathetic to their fellow citizen and to maintain their miasma of a master race of chosen people. Recent occurrences at Van der Bijl School, and the forcing out of office

(Continued overleaf)

of Dr. Wassenaar on the school board issue in the Transvaal are sufficient evidence of this. Our only hope now of building a happy united nation is to forget and forgive the past on both sides, and bring all sections of our multi-racial community into the closest possible collaboration, co-operation, and friendship from earliest childhood. Segregation and separation breed suspicion and hatred, which presumably is the Nationalist's unholy policy, perverted by them as Christian Nationalism. Admittedly the Nationalists can excuse themselves on past policies of the old South African Party. Whatever the policies of the past there is only one policy for the present and the future—mutual understanding and respect leading to co-operation and equal opportunity among all races.

(10) Religious intolerance. The increasing intolerance for the Roman Catholic Church, to which I belong, is becoming more evident. The same no doubt applies to other churches, but the full force and intensity of the attack upon the Catholic Church, and the Roman danger it is held to represent neglects to take account of the immense debt South Africa owes to the Church's schools of all kinds, hospitals and other social works, which represent an immense saving to the taxpayer. The high-handed closing of the Magaliesburg Mission School in the Transvaal is an example of this intolerance.

(11) The language ordinance not only intended the sealing off of Afrikaans from all else, but had the more subtle object of making it impossible for even Catholics to attend their own schools. In this the Nationalist policy of subordinating the parent to the State is clearly evident, and is a Communist principle.

(12) The Native Laws Amendment Bill prohibits the attendance of Natives at many Churches and Church services. This has called forth the condemnation of all Christians outside the D.R.C., including those who subscribe to the same doctrine and theology as the D.R.C.

From the above few examples alone it is clear that the Nationalists intend to impose on the country a narrow sectarian dictatorship, and what we are enduring at the moment is a form of conditioning for that eventuality. Many, if not most, people are considering deeply the consequences of opposition. Fear is everywhere and increasing. All fear that the police force is becoming the instrument of tyranny, and ceasing to be the sure shield of the law, and justice, and the rightful freedoms of the individual. In the minds of many runs the thought "Better friend than enemy." Those faint of heart must be given courage by example, and be convinced that if only they will fight for their rights they can yet secure them. Fortunately we have one last election before this horrid spectre can become reality and it will be the fault of the majority if this reality takes shape. The strength of the Nationalist party is the division of the opposition, which also prevents many wavering Nationalists from joining it. **At this stage we can only afford unity—and unity can only be secured by clear and positive policies based on the Christian moral law, and not on expediency.** Unfortunately many features of the Christian moral law in their practical application are repugnant to many, who call themselves Christians,

FANTASIE EN FEIT

FANTASIE:

Mnr. Eric Louw, Minister van Buitelandse Sake, het onder andere in 'n radiotoespraak op 12 Desember beweer dat die „Gewetensverklaring” wat deur die Amerikaanse Komitee insake Afrika uitgegee is en by geleentheid van betogings in Suid-Afrika en oorsee voorgelees is, „'n veldtog teen die land se blanke bevolking” was, en dat „hierdie veldtog slegs spanning onder die nie-blanke bevolking en rassebitterheid gaande sou maak.”

FEIT:

Mnr. Louw se aanval op die „Gewetensverklaring” is 'n behendige kombinasie van onwaarhede en halwe waarhede wat blykbaar eerder verkiesingspropaganda is as 'n poging om die bekende figure wat dit onderteken het daarvan te oortuig dat hulle verkeerd is.

Graag wil ons veral op twee onwaarhede wys. Die eerste is die bewering dat die „Gewetensverklaring” 'n aanval op ons blanke bevolking is. Sal mnr. Louw dan nooit daarvan bewus word dat „die blanke bevolking” en „aanhangers van die regering se apartheidsbeleid” nie sinoniem is nie, en dat die verklaring slegs teen laasgenoemde gerig is nie? Ons weet natuurlik dat mnr. Louw in werklikheid wel deeglik van die onderskeid bewus is, en die bitsigheid van sy aanval dui aan hoe ontsteld hy daarvoor is dat 'n deel van die blanke bevolking van Suid-Afrika die apartheidsbeleid afkeur.

Die tweede onwaarheid is die bewering dat die veldtog slegs spanning en rassebitterheid onder die nie-blanke bevolking gaande sal maak. Ons stel die ou raaisel aan mnr. Louw—het die eier die kuiken voorafgegaan, of andersom? Ons is terdeë bewus van die spanning waarin ons nie-blanke bevolking verkeer. Al vraag is: het dit ontstaan deur die regering se apartheidsbeleid gedurende die afgelope tien jaar, of is dit skielik ten gevolge van die betogings van 10 Desember in die lewe geroep?

Eerstens wil ons aan mnr. Louw voorstel dat hy sy eie gewete i.v.m. hierdie saak ondersoek, en tweedens wil ons hom daarop attent maak dat die verklaring geensins spanning en bitterheid veroorsaak het nie, maar eerder—deurdadig 'n menigte blanke Suid-Afrikaners hul daarmee vereenselwig het—die spanning verminder het deur nie-blankes die hoop te laat koester dat 'n gelukkiger toekoms, sonder die huidige onderdrukking en diskriminasie, op hulle wag.

M.E.F.

but who are not prepared for the sacrifices that Christianity requires of its adherents. To retain such in the opposition to Nationalism by compromising with a moral law that permits of no compromise is fatal to unity. The test of any policy is that it should be morally correct and complete within itself.

Possible Election Policy

As I see things we have all come to such a pass in South Africa, that an election policy which will appeal to the electorate must include the following:

(Continued overleaf)

(a) Testing the Republican Issue and laying that bogey one way or another for all time.

(b) Whether as a republic or not, the framing of a constitution based on the South Africa Act, that cannot be tinkered with in future, and which enshrines all sections of the population's rights, duties and liberties.

(c) Upholding the position of the parent, especially in matters of children's education.

(d) An educational and social policy aimed at the integration of all sections of the European population.

(e) Native Policy. Similar to that of the Belgian Congo, where the native and European population live in mutual understanding and contentment. It is not Christian to educate a native to the European way of life and then ostracise him. Nor is it Christian to deny him opportunity for self-advancement and improvement.

(f) Freedom of Conscience and religion in practice as well as in theory. Calumniation and detraction of religion to be a criminal offence.

(g) Legislation which insures that the police remain the arm of the law, and cannot become the instrument of a party in power.

(h) Enshrining the testing powers of the courts with regard to the validity of all legislation in the light of the Constitution, and constitutional practice.

(i) Insuring that the Courts cannot become the tools of any political party or political expediency, and that the Courts themselves cannot become the victims of political partisanship or expediency.

(j) Introduction of electoral laws that reflect the true state of the nation's sentiments in the legislature. This can only be achieved by proportional representation. Without it, it is difficult to perceive how the country can be governed otherwise than by a Nationalist minority—soon to turn into a Nationalist oligarchy. Both the major political parties, the Nationalists and the U.P. oppose proportional representation as it would deprive both of the opportunity of full political power—though this is much more likely to be true of the Nationalists, than of the U.P. In this the U.P. fall into one of the errors of the Nationalists, that none of us are or should be ruled by parties, but by the wish and will of the electorate as a whole—and absolute political power too often means tyranny over those it does not represent, and not infrequently of those also that it does. Surely Nationalist tyranny of the past years must make us all think a bit bigger, and a little less selfishly if we are to avoid what the future otherwise has in store for us.

In conclusion, to summarise views as a post war settler, I came to South Africa never contemplating that the Nationalist Opposition of those days would depart from constitutional democratic practice, of which I then regarded republicanism as a possible manifestation. I have been disillusioned by the Nationalists themselves, and I am convinced that their conception of republicanism means slavery to me and the vast majority of this country. Both the Nationalists and their conception of a republic must be resisted by all possible means.

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- C. Mrs. A. Pirie, 68 Westview Drive, Port Elizabeth.
S. Mrs. R. Pearse, 49 Bird Street, Port Elizabeth.

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