



THE BLACK SASH

DIE SWART SERP

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A NEW VENTURE

THE conference of Black Sash delegates from all parts of the country, which was held in Johannesburg during the second week in June, reached an important decision on policy that will inaugurate a new phase in the history of the movement. Profiting from the lessons of the past, the Black Sash will now turn its face towards the future and work more constructively for the new South Africa which must surely emerge from the present period of stress and turmoil.

The details of the decisions reached at the conference appear elsewhere in this issue, together with an outline of plans for the future. Briefly it was agreed by the delegates that the Black Sash must recognise the fact that the Constitution of 1910 is dead, killed by the Nationalists and buried beyond hope of resurrection. That is the plain truth of the situation and realism demands that it should be faced squarely. Even if the Nationalists vanished from the scene to-morrow, it is doubtful whether any government taking over at this stage could restore the broken pieces of the 1910 Constitution, assuming that it wished to do so. Probably the country, without consciously realising it, has advanced beyond that stage.

That being the position, the Black Sash now sets itself the task of working for a new constitution which will safeguard the civil liberties of all sections of the population, irrespective of colour, race or language. A large part of this work will consist of propaganda in its widest

'n NUWE ONDERNEMING

DIE samesprekings wat Swart Serp-afgevaardigdes uit alle dele van die land gedurende die tweede week in Junie gehou het, het 'n belangrike beleidsbeslissing opgelewer wat 'n nuwe fase in die geskiedenis van die beweging sal inlei. Die Swart Serp het voordeel uit die lesse van die verlede getrek en sal nou sy aandag op die toekoms vestig met die doel om op meer konstruktiewe wyse te werk vir die totstandkoming van die nuwe Suid-Afrika wat tog seker uit die huidige spanning en onrustigheid gebore sal word.

Besonderhede i.v.m. die beslissings van die kongres word elders in hierdie uitgawe saam met 'n skets van toekomsplanne aangegee. Die afgevaardigdes was dit eens dat die Grondwet van 1910 deur die Nasionaliste vermoor is en dat daar geen hoop op herlewing bestaan nie. Hierdie feit moet aanvaar word. Al sou die Nasionaliste môre van die toneel verdwyn is dit twyfelagtig of 'n nuwe regering daarin sou slaag om die 1910 Grondwet in ere te herstel. Dit het waarskynlik onmoontlik geword deur 'n verloop van sake waarvan die land nie behoorlik bewus was nie.

Die Swart Serp beoog nou die skepping van 'n nuwe grondwet wat die vryheid van alle dele van die bevolking — aan watter kleur — ras- of taalgroep hul ookal mag behoort — sal beveilig 'n Groot deel van die werk wat verrig moet word sal uit propaganda in sy breedste en mees gunstige sin bestaan — die skepping van 'n houding wat hierdie nuwe idee goedgesind sal wees. D.m.v. lesings, rolprentvertonings, ver-

and best sense—the creation of a public opinion favourable to a New Deal in our political life. By lectures, films, meetings and other methods still to be worked out the Black Sash will go about the job of making South Africans aware that they are now without a constitution of any kind and are thus completely at the mercy of a Nationalist dictatorship using the cloak of Parliamentary Democracy—the familiar figure of the wolf in sheep's clothing. When that fact has been brought home to the public, then will come the immense task of attempting to frame a new constitution which can safeguard the liberties of all sections.

This will be pioneering. It is not generally realised that the two major political parties in the Union — the only two parties now represented in Parliament — are both completely out of date in their thinking and show little signs of any intellectual revival. The Nationalists are not even stationary. They are a party dedicated to the process of putting the clock back, and the recent attempt by S.A.B.R.A. to look forward has been sharply and promptly repudiated by the Nationalist hierarchy. The United Party is also stuck in a rut. The brilliant, but highly involved plan for a reformed Senate produced by Mr. Harry Oppenheimer was a genuine instance of constructive thought, but it was buried as soon as it was born, and during the election campaign it was scarcely mentioned, except when the Nationalists wanted to use it as a weapon against the United Party. Since the election the United Party has so far shown no stirrings of intellectual effort. So the field is clear for the Black Sash. We can expect opposition, criticism and abuse, but in the field of constructive thinking we need fear no competition from either of the old-established parties.

In setting out on this new course the Black Sash is not abandoning a single one of the principles for which it has fought in the past. What we sought to save in the 1910 Constitution was its safeguards for the rights of minorities, and those rights will be the first concern of any new constitution that may be framed. What we have fought for in the past was, above all, a standard of political morality which would make such betrayals as the Senate Act impossible, and that is what we shall continue to fight for in the future. We shall also fight

gaderings en ander bedrywighede wat nog beplan moet word, sal die Swart Serp vir Suid-Afrikaners daarvan bewus maak dat hul sonder 'n grondwet sit en gevolglik aan 'n Nasionale Party-diktatorskap blootgestel is, hoewel die wolf natuurlik in die skaapsgewaad van demokrasie sal optree. Wanneer die volk hiervan bewus geword het, moet die nuwe grondwet op so'n wyse opgestel word dat die vryheid van alle bevolkingsgroepe veilig sal wees. Dit sal voorwaar 'n veeleisende taak wees.

Baanbrekerswerk moet verrig word, want in die algemeen besef mense nie dat die denkwyse van die Unie se twee grootste politieke partye—al twee wat tans in die Volksraad verteenwoordig is—verouderd is, en dat geeneen van hierdie partye tekens van intellektuele herlewing toon nie. Die Nasionaliste se optrede getuig trouens van agteruitgang, en S.A.B.R.A. se onlangse poging om vordering te bewerkstellig is deur die partybase skerp gerepudiër. Die Verenigde Party staan stil. Mnr. Harry Oppenheimer se knap maar ingewikkelde plan vir die hervorming van die Senaat was 'n voorbeeld van vooruitstrewendheid, maar dit was so te sê doodgebore en is slegs gedurende die verkiesingstyd vermeld in gevalle waar die Nasionaliste politieke munt daaruit wou slaan. Sedert die verkiesing het die Verenigde Party ook geensins vooruitgegaan nie. Die Swart Serp het dus 'n oop veld voor. Teenstand, kritiek en beledigings kan ons verwag, maar wat konstruktiewe denke aanbetref hoef ons nie te vrees dat enigeen van die ou gevestigde partye mededinging sal bied nie.

Deur hierdie nuwe koers in te slaan gee die Swart Serp geen enkele beginsel waarvoor hy in die verlede gestry het, prys nie. Wat ons veral in die 1910 Grondwet wou handhaaf was die beskerming wat dit aan die regte van minderheidsgroepe verleen het, en die beveiliging van hierdie regte sal die vernaamste doel wees van enige nuwe grondwet wat opgestel mag word. Ons vernaamste strewe in die verlede was die handhawing van 'n politieke sedelikeheidspeil wat verskynsels soos die Senaatswet sou uitskakel, en dit sal ook ons strewe bly. Tirannie en onderdrukking sal ons nog steeds beveg waar ons die ookal mag teëkom, hetsy in ons wetgewing of in die optrede van die regering. Enige stappe wat nie met politieke eerlikheid en regverdigheid ooreenstem nie, sal met vasberadenheid bestry word.

OH! OH! This Terrible Future!

EVERY newspaper every week has something spine-chilling to offer its readers about the future. If we are not asked to contemplate humanity standing on its own heads packed from coast to coast "because we breed so quickly, and new discoveries in medicine combined with fewer wars and no epidemic diseases make it a certainty that the world will be over-populated in X number of years," we are asked to contemplate the shrinking food and fuel resources available to us in—again sinister word!—**future** centuries!

In South Africa the obsession with the future has reached preposterous heights. The Bantu will increase the Bantu will menace, the Bantu will grab—we bite our nails in agony of mind and shake and shiver with dread—of the future.

The Jews will take—the English will undermine—the Communists will destroy—the Liberals will rage—oh! oh! this terrible future!

Let us control for a moment this hysteria of dread and try to consider the matter rationally, as though we had been restored for a blessed interval to sanity. We, you and I, are the inheritors of the past. We occupy, in time, the **future** of past ages, and we can see, if we desire, how far the citizens of past ages were justified of **their** fears of the future. Let us start with the liberation of the slaves in 1834. Those who opposed this measure were convinced that it would mean the destruction of a civilised way of life. In 1956 can we rightly claim that these fears were justified?

Let us go on to the three Reform Bills of the nineteenth century in England, which extended the franchise to all adult males. These were bitterly opposed by the gentlefolk of the time on the grounds that this could only mean anarchy and ruin to the country. We, the inheritors of great prosperity in the Commonwealth, can hardly agree!

There was opposition to free education — the country would be ruined. We, the inheritors of that victory, can only say "thank you" to those who fought.

The franchise was finally extended to women. Oh, what an outcry! "We shall be undone by a lot of unreasoning females," was the protest. To-day, we are the only group which takes its vote and its civic responsibilities seriously. Again, the fear of the future has been unjustified.

There is nothing more **EVIL** than this consistent preoccupation with what does not concern us. If we concentrated all the efforts we now waste in idle and terrified speculation about remote possibilities, on the **present**, we should not need to fear any future.

If **to-day** we govern honourably.

If **to-day** we administer justice, and not only laws.

If **to-day** we are Christian and civilised.

If **to-day** we are concerned with to-day's evil.

Our future can safely be left in the hands of God.

"Take therefore no thought of the morrow; For the morrow shall take thought for the things of itself; Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof!"

These words were not a call to sloth and laziness as some suppose, they were **the statement of an unalterable LAW**, and if that LAW be broken by us, we shall be broken by it. —D.R.

EDITORIAL—Continued.

tyranny and oppression wherever we find it, either in legislation or in the executive acts of the government and always we shall continue to be the watchdogs of political honesty and straight dealing.

So after three years the Black Sash sets out on a new venture, three years older, three years wiser, but with as much enthusiasm as at the start. Indeed, there may well be more enthusiasm and a wider appeal for recruits. The Black Sash will still be a movement of protest, when protest is necessary, but it will now also be a movement of creation. In addition to the task of attacking existing injustices and others that may be perpetrated, the Black Sash will now have the creative work of blazing the trail towards a fresh objective and perhaps setting the country on a new road. Somebody has got to lead South Africa out of the present mire of frustration and futility in our public life. Let it be the Black Sash.

REDAKSIONEEL—Vervolg.

Na drie jaar slaan die Swart Serp dus 'n nuwe koers in, drie jaar ouer, drie jaar meer ervaar, maar met onverminderde geesdrif. Trouens die nuwe rigting kan dalk nog meer geesdrif en nog meer ondersteuning tot gevolg hê. Die Swart Serp sal as 'n protesbeweging voortgaan, waar protesbetuigings nodig is, maar dit sal nou tegelykertyd 'n meer kreatiewe beweging word. Onregverdigheid sal nog steeds met mening aangeval word maar die beweging het nou 'n addisionele doelwit, die aanwysing van 'n nuwe en gesonder koers vir ons volk. Die volk moet uit die moeras van ondoeltreffendheid gelei word. Mag die Swart Serp die nodige leiding verskaf.

The Challenge, and Our Response

ARNOLD TOYNBEE'S "Study of History" formulates the theory that the history of civilisation is to be explained by the way in which different groups of people met the difficulties with which they were faced. His thesis is that a challenge has always been a spur to creation. It always requires a radical change in the manner of life and thinking, an adaption to changing environment.

Our challenge is the building of civilization in Southern Africa, a task begun here in 1655 and earlier on the Zambesi, and it is one in which the forefathers of many of us have participated—the kind of civilization that is rooted in Christianity, which was itself rooted in the Hebrew and Hellenic traditions—and most of us are quite sure that that is the kind of civilization we want. Our particular problem is the existence in Africa of people of different racial stocks and cultural traditions. The problem is particularly acute for us in the Union—because each racial group is substantial and permanent.

Those of us who consider our problems are almost overwhelmed by them, and inclined to think how comfortable it must be to live where there is a homogeneous population. Startling and comforting though, is the comment of a New Zealander—a distinguished historian:

"South Africa is so interesting, and presents such a challenge to everyone, especially to the Church. New Zealand seems rather dull by comparison; we've only got to build the kind of society that has been built already."

What do I mean by Christian civilization? One of the marks of it is respect for the individual and his protection by the law. The sense of individual worth is explicit in the Gospels: "Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? and one of them shall not fall to the ground without your Father. But the very hairs of your head are all numbered."

And the history of Western Law is characterized by treating a man or woman as an individual in his or her own right, not just a member of a group—"the movement from status to contract." In the traditional societies of Africa, as of Anglo-Saxon England, groups rather than individuals mattered and were held responsible for misdeeds.

Now the liberties of the individual which it took many centuries to secure are protected by the law, and are bound up with the constitution. It is no accident that the breach of the Constitution has involved a reduction of individual liberties—those of Europeans as well as those of non-Europeans. The constitutional change made in order to exclude non-Europeans from the common vote has made it possible for a minority of the Europeans to dominate not only non-Europeans but **also the majority of Europeans**; therefore their liberties are bound up with one another. If African freeholders can be dispossessed and moved to suit group area plans (as they have been from Sophiatown), then so can Europeans. If an African can be moved out of an urban area without ever appearing before a Court, even though

he has to join and his papers are in order—and that is what is implied in the Interdicts Bill—then it is a very little step to suggesting that in certain circumstances, it would be expedient that certain Europeans should be moved about also, before ever appearing in Court. Already Europeans who are not South African by birth have been ordered to leave the country without being given a chance to defend themselves, or without being told what the evidence is against them.

As I see it, the freedom of private schools for Europeans is directly bound up with the freedom of private schools for Africans. If those for Africans may be summarily closed—and one has been already—then so may schools for Europeans. Presently it will be un-South African to teach in any private school at all, or send a child to one.

European liberties are constantly being circumscribed because we live in a multi-racial society, and criticism of the Government is treated as "incitement" of non-Europeans. Who are refused passports save non-Europeans, and those who criticise the non-European policy of the country? People are becoming more and more afraid of saying what they believe to be true. In the long run **you cannot establish a totalitarian state for one section of the population and leave the rest free.**

Many people in the country—probably most of us Europeans—would like to maintain the status quo; and that is what people always want when an uncomfortable challenge comes. But this we cannot do. The population of the country has more than doubled since 1911, and an economic revolution has drawn a large section of non-Europeans into industry.

Meantime the Government is pressing on with its **restrictive** legislation. During the last session we had the Industrial Conciliation Bill, giving power to bureaucrats to split trade unions and limit employment to particular racial groups; the Bantu Education Bill which allowed the Minister of Native Affairs to cancel the registration of any Native school. The Native Authorities Bill gives Dr. Verwoerd, as Supreme Chief in the Cape, powers which no chief ever had, for a Chief's powers were limited by the fact that men were scarcer than land, and if he was tyrannical his following melted away. This "Supreme Chief" is a modern dictator disguised in a blanket. The Interdicts Bill prevents an African from asking the protection of the Courts, though the action of the authority may be illegal, and the damage to his interests irreparable.

I reject the policy of domination for three reasons. My first is moral. I find it totally incompatible with Christianity. My second is that in seeking to secure permanent domination, the Government is circumscribing further and further the liberties of Europeans as well as of Africans. My third is that it cannot succeed for any length of time. We Europeans are in a minority of one to four in the Union, while on our frontiers the proportion is very much less, and world opinion rejects it as a policy. For Dr. Ver-

woerd to pretend it is acceptable to the non-Europeans is rubbish.

Domination might conceivably succeed in our lifetime, but I'm quite sure it cannot last through our children's lifetime.

The only possible alternative is **one** society built up by people of different races, and the challenge is to make it civilised. Colour is unimportant compared with religion and way of life.

The immediate response is to understand the problem, with the onus on the intellectual to make the choices clear. Secondly there is the active participation in democratic duties. Thirdly there must be resistance to each limitation of freedom. Fourthly we have got to formulate more clearly the kind of society we are out to build, and to speed up the civilization of non-Europeans and integrate them into our society. The immediate need is an extension of

school education and technical training, and above all an attempt to provide houses for those working in towns, and to encourage them to bring their families and stay put. Fifthly we have got to fight the brutality with which existing law is applied. Sixthly we can work in the welfare organizations for the amelioration of present suffering which brings us into contact with non-Europeans who most of us never meet except as an employee, and if people never meet they always appear to each other as strangers and dangerous. Finally there is prayer, which many of us believe to be the most powerful force of all.

Some of you may not agree with what I have said but I have spent many years pondering the problems of race; it has been my job as well as my vocation, and I see no other way that is either morally tolerable or practical other than one society with political rights for **civilized men**.

Speech by Mrs. Foley at the National Conference of the Black Sash. June, 1958

THIS Special Conference has been called by the Central Executive, and with the approval of the Regional Committees, to discuss policy. It is some months since we realised that the governing body of our organisation would have to be called together as soon as possible after the General Election.

It was clear that whatever the results might be, we would have to review, and if necessary revise, our policy for the future. It is more than a year since our last National Conference which was held in the shadow of the approaching elections, and during the year the normal activities of the Sash have been reduced to a minimum for two reasons: firstly: to leave the field clear to the political parties; secondly, to enable our members to take part in election work.

What a magnificent job of work was carried out by our members wherever their services were available! It was an object lesson to see routine jobs done so willingly and efficiently. It is a lesson which I hope has destroyed for ever the idea that membership of the Black Sash takes workers away from political parties.

It is a proof of the value of this movement that it survived so great a disruption. And we have derived one unforeseen advantage from this break: though we found the many duties we undertook time-absorbing, they were not nearly so exacting as Black Sash work, and we have, therefore, had a rest which we all needed! We come back with fresh vigour to the task of the next few days. It is to examine the political situation and decide what part the Black Sash can play in it.

The prospect ahead of South Africa is that of a government entrenched in power for the foreseeable future. I will spare you details of the mechanics of this situation and its history, although both are relevant to our discussions and both are also necessary knowledge for all Black Sash women. I know the melancholy facts are etched deeply in the minds of all who are here today.

The future is a grim prospect for all who have opposed this government's policies. But for the Black Sash this future was not unforeseen. Nor has the prospect really been altered by the election results. It is only that S.A. has now moved an appreciable step nearer to its inevitable tragic end—

There are many lessons which S.A. could learn at present, and mistakes stand out of the past with greater clarity. Yet it is difficult, even now, to know which was the decisive fatal step. Who can say **where** timely intervention might have changed the bitter end which now seems unavoidable? Who can say where timely intervention might have changed the whole course of our history? Who can say, if even now, we have reached the point of no return? We could say, in bitterness, that the compact of Union was not a proper foundation for a democratic state; we certainly know it did not provide proper safeguards, but South Africa has moved further and further away from the concept of Union, and there must have been many times when determined action and resolute insistence upon the principles of democratic government might have saved us from the present crisis. What comes upon us with the apparent swiftness of a thunderclap, is usually the end result of years of carelessness and

stupid thinking! Some of us may think it is already too late to do anything, but that is said out of discouragement and disillusion. When we speak of "mutual trust and forbearance," of "sanctity of word," of "courage for the future and peace and justice for all persons and all people," our voices seem to be crying in the wilderness; yet who can tell whether that spirit is growing here and now, and may prove, after all, a stronger force than the forces of reaction which have a stranglehold on this Nation? Whatever the cause, whatever the chances of eventual salvation, all South Africans must to-day face the consequences of their past actions.

We have in power a government which it is virtually impossible to remove by constitutional means. This is a dangerous situation for any country, and is particularly dangerous for South Africa. To the well-known danger of absolute power in the hands of a group we have the additional danger of "polarisation of sentiment" which may, in the end, drive non-Europeans to extremes.

Leaders of this movement have always borne a heavy burden of responsibility and I know that all who are here to-day are deeply conscious that, as the situation deteriorates, so, correspondingly, do responsibilities grow heavier. These responsibilities are lightened by the knowledge that the will to fight on is as robust today, amongst our members, as it was on the day we started.

Courage, it has been said, "Consists in equality to the problem before us." What do we need to be equal to the problem? We need a clear objective. We need cool appraisal of the force mustered against us; we must match them with our own abilities. Thirdly, we need staying power.

It is clear, from the resolutions on the agenda, that the Black Sash will go on, and that the belief that it must go on has grown out of a critical analysis of what we have so far done, what we have achieved, what are our aims, and what our resources. Self-examination is never an easy nor a pleasant task, but we shall work out a way in which we can be of continued and increasing service to South Africa.

One of the aims of our movement, as stated in its constitution, is to conduct propaganda and enlist support and aid for the observance of the moral pledges and constitutional safeguards of the compact of Union. Our first great objective was to defend our South African Constitution. The passing of the Senate Act clearly consigned both the moral pledges and the Constitutional safeguards of the South Africa Act to the limbo. This Conference must decide whether the Black Sash should continue to defend a Constitution which did not stand the test of time, and whose safeguards did not hold.

Our two other aims are — to preserve civil rights and liberties, and to promote political education.

We confined ourselves to protest against legislation passed by this government, and against its implementation. We showed that there is strong and valid opposition to such measures. We tried to bring

about a conversion in the thinking of the electorate of this country. We tried to show just where and why such legislation is unacceptable to us, and to all other people of good will. We took as our yard stick the question "Are these laws fair and just, and do they give to every man security under the law—which alone makes life worth living?" The Apartheid laws passed by this government are unacceptable to the Sash. They deprive men of basic freedom; they restrict and deny; they drive men to hate. The Sash leaders, in organising protests against bills while they were still tabled, have been unable frequently to explain the complicated Bills to their many members in time for them to realise the hidden threat in what appeared to be an excellent measure; and a feeling grew up that they were "going too fast and too far." But I believe there is a "wind of the spirit" blowing in the minds and thoughts of all of us, which we cannot deny. When the issues are put clearly before us, we cannot refuse to face them.

There is only one basis for the rejection of Nationalist ideologies. The foundation stone of good government must be **political morality**. I maintain that whatever else the Black Sash may decide to do it **must** continue to draw people back to moral principles, to the Christian teaching that insists on the value of the individual. South Africans must reaffirm those Christian beliefs, which form the basis of our Western Civilisation, and on whose broad truths our forefathers built our way of life.

Candid Comments

An Industrialist

While one section of the community cries "morally wrong and intellectually indefensible" and the other says firmly "our **true** National interests" to all the apartheid legislation that has been passed, the business man overseas says quietly "disastrous" and takes his business elsewhere.

A Consumer's Representative

In the past five years the Government has made a profit of nearly three million pounds as the sole importer of rice in the Union. This import comes from the pockets of all classes, but mainly from the poorer sections for whom rice is one of the staple foodstuffs.

An Official

Every law that comes forward shows more and more of the whip and the heel. The new bilingual ordinance in the Transvaal is frightening. How can we give an administrator such wide powers? He can dismiss a town clerk, and deprive him of pension. He can dissolve a town council. He can forbid any of its members seeking re-election. He can take away the right of a sports club to use municipal ground. He can stop promotion of any person to a clerical, professional or administrative post in any local authority. All must be completely bilingual **OR**—and **who then is to judge** the degree of competency?

Rasseverhoudinge In Die Verenigde State Van Amerika

Deur F. J. VAN WYK
(Assistent-direkteur, S.A. Instituut vir

Rasseverhoudings)

DEEL III (SLOT)

IN hierdie laaste artikel wil ek graag 'n paar van die faktore noem wat in die afgelope tien jaar bygedra het tot die merkbare verbetering van verhoudinge tussen Negers en blankes in die V.S.A.

Gerieflikheidshalwe kan hierdie faktore, wat hulle oorsprong betref, in twee dele verdeel word, nl. (i) die aandeel van die blanke Amerikaners en (ii) die aandeel van die Negers, in die verbetering van die rasseverhoudinge.

Eerstens wat die blankes betref: tydens die jongste wêreldoorlog het die besef tot baie blanke Amerikaners deurgedring dat hulle nie eintlik op eerlike wyse rassediskriminasie en „herrenvolkisme” in ander lande kan beveg terwyl hierdie dinge nog in hulle eie land bestaan nie. Sedert die oorlog het baie Amerikaners, asook die Federale Regering van die V.S.A. hulle dus doelbewus daarop toegespits om alle rassediskriminasie in hulle eie land te beveg. Daar bestaan vandag in die V.S.A., afgesien van die Christelike kerke, 'n massa organisasies wie se enigste doel die beëindiging van alle vorme van rassediskriminasie is. En wat die Federale Regering betref, speel die uitvoerende gesag veral ook 'n groot rol in hierdie stryd. 'n Mens dink bv. aan die President se bevel in verband met werkgewing in alle federale ondernemings waar daar nie langer op grond van kleur gediskrimineer mag word nie, die sogenaamde „Fair Employment Practices”. Wat die Amerikaanse leër, lugmag en seemag betref, word alle vorme van diskriminasie ook baie vinnig beëindig.

Ook dink 'n mens aan die jongste uitsprake van die Amerikaanse Hooggeregshof in sake waar dit die belange van die Negers as volle burgers van die V.S.A. raak. Hierdie uitsprake weerspieël deurgaans die Hooggeregshof se vasberadenheid om die Amerikaanse Konstitusie, asook die welbekende „Bill of Rights”, in all onsigte te laat geld. Die bekendste uitspraak is miskien dié van Mei 1954 wat beveel het dat alle Amerikaanse skole „met onsetlike spoed” („with deliberate speed”) moet desegregeer, om sodoende 'n einde te maak aan 'n ander uitspraak wat in 1896 gegee is, nl. dat skole gesegregeer mag wees solank as wat hulle in alle opsigte gelyk is (die welbekende „separate but equal”—uitspraak). Ofskoon daar nog baie gesegregeerde skole in die V.S.A. bestaan, veral in die Suide, het daar sedert 1954 'n drastiese verandering in dié opsig plaasgevind. Aan die begin van die 1956-57-skoolkwartaal het reeds 650 skool-distrikte uit 'n moontlike 3.000 skooldesegregasie óf

voltooi óf 'n aanvang daarmee gemaak. Terselfdertyd is baie van die staatsuniversiteite in die Suide besig om hulle deure vir albei rassegroepe oop te stel.

In my vorige artikel het ek melding gemaak van die bestaande woonbuurtskeiding in die meeste gebiede van die V.S.A.. Ook in dié verband word daar geweldig veel gedoen om die ou patroon te verander. Ons het persoonlik besoek afgelê by plekke waar woongebiede opsetlik oopgestel is vir alle rassegroepe. In sommige gevalle, bv. Trumbull Park in Chicago, is daar skerp teenkanting aan die kant van die blankes, maar in ander gevalle, byv. Lake Meadows binne Chicago, asook in San Jose in California, verloop behuisingsintegrasie sonder enige moeilikheid of spanning.

Wat die blanke kerke betref, het hulle, op nasionale vlak, sonder uitsondering stelling ingeneem teen segregasie en geleidelik raak ook die kerke van die V.S.A. „gedesegregeer”.

Die Negers self speel in die hele proses 'n baie groot rol. Hulle grootste nasionale organisasie, „The National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People”, kortliks bekend as „NAACP”, is baie goed ge-organiseer en spits hom veral daarop toe om sake wat die burgerregte van die Negers raak na die Hooggeregshof te neem. Opvallend, wat die Negers betref, is ook die wyse waarop hulle sedert die vrygestelde slaaf, Booker T. Washington, hulle daartoe aangespoor het, gebruik gemaak het van alle geleenthede wat vir hulle oopgestel is, bv. onderwys, werk, die godsdienste, e.d.m. Op dié wyse het die Neger self veel bygedra tot die redelike hoë peil van beskawing en kultuur wat hy bereik het, asook sy huidige gunstige ekonomiese posisie. Hierdie dinge dra op hulle beurt by tot die verbetering van rasseverhoudinge. In my vorige artikel het ek reeds melding gemaak van die feit dat die Negers veral gebruik maak van lydelike verzet („passive resistance”) om diskriminasie teen hulle te beveg. Hulle hanteer hierdie tegniek op besondere bekwame wyse en dit moet miskien gedeeltelik toegeskryf word aan die feit dat hulle byna sonder uitsondering toegewyde Christene is.

Opsommend moet dit natuurlik baie duidelik gestel word dat die Verenigde State as land besluit het dat segregasie en diskriminasie op grond van kleur of ras verkeerd is, dat segregasie in sigself op morele en godsdienstige gronde nie verdedigbaar is nie en dat dit in elk geval 'n aaklige sielkundige uitwerking het, nie net op hulle teen wie gediskrimineer word nie, maar ook—en veral— op hulle wat die diskriminasie be-oefen.

THE GROUP AREAS ACT

The Group Areas Act has been completely unintelligible to a large number of citizens. We welcome the writer's clear exposition, while not necessarily agreeing with him.

PART I

An Expression of Opinion by Bill Bond

LIKE so much other Nationalist legislation, the Group Areas Act is an attempt to achieve by legislation what English-speaking South Africans and responsible Afrikaans-speaking South Africans have always achieved by social sanctions.

Ever since the early days of the Transvaal, property owners in general, and township owners in particular, have restricted occupation or ownership of their land to particular races. This restriction, once introduced, was enforced in perpetuity by Registrars of Deeds as far as land ownership was concerned, but enforcement was more difficult when it came to occupation. Some years ago an Asiatic brothel was established in Saxonwold in Johannesburg—a purely European suburb with restrictions in its title deeds against Non-European ownership or occupation. The organisers of the establishment were prosecuted for running a brothel, but they had committed no extra crime in doing so in a European area. All they had done was to lay themselves open to a civil claim for an interdict and/or for damages—the sort of claim that the ordinary householder or township owner is reluctant to press.

The Saxonwold case was an unusual exception to the general rule that social sanctions are normally sufficient to preserve segregation. Exceptions are more usually caused by economic considerations. A property owner may get a higher rent from an Indian shopkeeper than he could from a European; a European householder may welcome an Indian shop in his neighbourhood. A poor European may find that the only accommodation he can afford is in a "mixed" township. A wealthy Asiatic may find it impossible to get the accommodation he wants in Asiatic areas, and moves into a European area—usually paying heavily for the privilege.

The Europeans chiefly affected by these economic pressures were the very ones least able to apply social sanctions—the plattelanders who have drifted into the towns in large numbers during the last twenty years and have often been unable to apply their social values to their new environment. After all, most farmers are accustomed to living close to their native labourers, so a farmer's son coming to the city at first doesn't mind at all living in, say, White Vrededorp a block from Non-European Pageview.

Later on he does object, particularly when he finds that many Non-Europeans achieve more

material success than he in city conditions. By the time his social standards have become adjusted he will not or cannot move away; he is committed to living in a mixed area, and is resentful about it.

And so in 1950 the Group Areas Act was introduced. It made useful political capital out of the resentment of people living in mixed areas, and was both necessary and desirable in some areas where population trends were at variance with title deed conditions. The burgeoning Indian population of Johannesburg, for instance, could only own land in a very few old townships, and the Group Areas Act, properly applied, could have been a godsend to them by opening up new areas for them to expand into.

The key words are "properly applied." The Act has been the subject of so much propaganda and agitation, so much confused thinking and deliberate misrepresentation, that it will be a miracle if it is ever properly applied.

Consider how much better a city like Johannesburg would have been if far-sighted townplanners, armed with something like the Group Areas Act, had been able to control the growth of the city from, say, 1895 onwards. They could have used the line of mines running from east to west as a natural buffer. To the north of the buffer there could have been in succession a strip of industries, a strip of office blocks, a strip of shops, a strip of flats and boarding houses, and then the residential suburbs. South of the buffer there could have been segments of a semicircle—one for natives (subdivided into ethnic groups), one for Asiatics, and one for coloureds. Each of these could have had its own business area, its own recreation facilities. Workers from each could meet their European co-workers in the industries and businesses north of the buffer. The main roads to Vereeniging and Heidelberg could have run through broad buffer strips separating the segments.

That is an idealised and over-simplified picture of what could have been done. Something rather like it could still be done. For instance, Ophirton, Booyens and Robertsham could be made native townships, Turffontein and Rosettenville Asiatic and The Hill and Regent's Park coloured, with the other townships of the southern suburbs divided among those races. Simultaneously all the townships north of the mines could be proclaimed exclusively white.

No South African Cabinet would dare attempt such an upheaval, but would it not be better than proclaiming Pageview as white and leaving neighbouring Fordsburg as mixed, as has been done recently? Than causing a major upheaval among Non-Europeans and leaving Europeans untouched?

(To be continued)

THE A.B.C. OF TOTALITARIANISM

Excerpts from an article by B. I. Phillips by kind permission of the Editor of The Forum.

IN a recent book entitled "Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy," Carl J. Friedrich and Z. K. Brzezinski have drawn together many of the lessons that the past history of totalitarian states can teach. They point out that totalitarian states are basically alike, even when there are particular differences as between Nazi Germany and Communist Russia. They differ from democracies and old-fashioned despotisms in that they display a "syndrome" of six main characteristics all of which must be present together to indicate the presence of the totalitarian disease.

These six characteristics are: (1) a total ideology; (2) a single party led by a single leader; (3) a terroristic police system; (4) a monopoly of communications especially press and radio; (5) a monopoly of weapons; (6) a centrally directed economy.

The existence in a state of one, or even several, of these characteristics does not demonstrate the existence of totalitarianism, or even of totalitarian tendencies. Thus, every modern state, including democracies, possesses a monopoly of arms, and controls more or less a centrally directed economy. All the characteristics need to be present to prove totalitarianism—always bearing in mind that where some were actual and the remainder dangerously potential this would indicate potential totalitarianism.

An Ideology

An ideology may be defined (in the words of Friedrich and Brzezinski—page 74) as "a reasonably coherent body of ideas concerning practical means of how to change and reform a society, based upon a more or less elaborate criticism of what is wrong with the existing or antecedent society." This definition fits democratic or Christian ideologies. Totalitarian ideologies are distinguished by their considerable element of totality, involving destruction of the status quo and radical rather than piecemeal reconstruction in accordance with an all-embracing blueprint divinely given or laid down by the sovereign "laws of history" or "race." To shape society to the blueprint, some significant degree of violence or force is "necessitated." This violence of force is "justified" on several grounds: "being cruel to be kind"; "giving people (or keeping them in) their rightful place, and therefore creating the maximum happiness"; forcing people to be virtuous, and thus preventing their sinning knowingly or unknowingly"—and similar sophistical arguments.

All totalitarian ideologies, as well as looking feverishly forward, look back nostalgically to a myth-like Golden Past when society was not yet corrupted—especially by modern materialism. This is so even of Communism which gazes nostalgically back on the golden day when "Adam delved and Eve span, and who was then the gentleman?" Lot's wife was only the first on record who met an awful fate, because she insisted on looking back.

Ideology, intensified by myths and symbols, endows the totalitarian mind with the wish, the will-power, the ruthlessness, the dynamic impetus and the inhumanity to take over the state-power if necessary by force, and, having taken it over, to engage upon the arduous and dangerous task of reclaiming society for the pure and virtuous life.

The party, with its autocratic leader and gradations in the hierarchy, is an important weapon in the struggle. And the nature of the struggle endows the party with certain traits. It is secretive, because its aim is the revolutionary overthrow of the *status quo* by violence, and because it has not a majority of opinion behind it, or an insufficiently large one. It is secretive, because it is so concerned with purity and therefore needs its priesthood, and because it is "fighting the good fight" and therefore needs a quasi-military organisation. It is loyal to the nth degree, because it has the fortress-under siege mentality, and because those who disagree or dispute policy or decisions are traitors to the cause. It sees the community as divided into "insiders" and "outsiders," those who belong and those who don't. Those who do not belong are to be liquidated, or to serve as helots, hewers of wood and drawers of water, like the sons of Ham. They are inferior, not of the elect, beyond redemption.

Deadliest Sin

"Outsiders," since they are predestined to be beyond the pale, do not rouse so much hate as those insiders who refuse to see the light or slip back from righteousness. Betraying the class or the race is the deadliest of the cardinal sins.

To militate against the outside enemies and to maintain all "insiders" in the state of grace is the work of the propaganda machine. Hence the necessity for the monopoly of the means of communication. It is heresy to disagree. Not only does it weaken the state in the face of its internal and external enemies, it also is not in the true interests of the individual's purity. In the words of Orwell's 1984, hate *is* love.

Hence, also, the *raison d'être* of the police terror. This is the reverse side of the coin of the propaganda machine. It must root out ruthlessly the impure before they become irredeemable or corrupt others. It is the modern Inquisition, and must, in the interests of the class, the revolution, the race, be permitted to see even into the soul of every person. Since there is little or no belief in a hell in an after-life, it must create hell on earth to keep the flock loving in the proper way.

The monopoly of military weapons, which every modern state possesses, assists. Once every citizen could carry arms when swords and shotguns were the main armaments. But to-day, what citizen can carry a tank, a jet-bomber, or even a bazooka? What colossal power this monopoly of weapons gives to the totalitarian state, or to the government wishing to become totalitarian, is demonstrated by the stark fact that no revolt against a totalitarian government

since 1917 has been successful. Hungary is only the most tragic example of this. Even those totalitarian states which have fallen—Italy and Germany—were overthrown by superior armed forces from outside. Modern history offers no hope of success to the domestic revolt against the totalitarian state—once totalitarianism is in power.

Terrible Paraphernalia

Once it is in power. This is all the more reason for democrats not to wait on the sidelines and see whether the worst will happen. It is a mistake to see a revolution like the one the Nazis brought about in Germany as coming to pass in the twinkling of the January days of 1933. The whole terrible paraphernalia of Nazism took years to erect, before 1933 and after 1933; and the picture of Nazi Germany that sears the mind derives much more from the later years, especially after 1939. The same is true (changing the things that have to be changed) of Fascist Italy and Communist Russia; in both countries, oddly enough, the critical years were between 1928 and 1938. "Freedom" and "tyranny" are words which sum up the insertion of a number of thin edges of wedges which by continual pressure split the obstacles they assault. The technique of the thin edge of the wedge has always been a favourite of the tyrant. It is peculiarly effective for him, because where blatant presentation of the wedge would alarm, its measured gradual insertion can pass to all events and purposes unnoticed, particularly with the people who have forgotten the trite but

true dictum that the price of liberty is eternal vigilance. Liberty is rarely ravished, but often seduced.

In South Africa there is evidence that the process of this seduction of liberty is taking place—at least among the extreme Nationalists. Already, there is a total ideology rampant in the land. There is a party of the elect which bears alarming resemblances to the totalitarian parties. There are the monopoly of weapons and the centrally directed economy which every modern state must have.

There is, as yet, not much terror, relatively to that which reigned in Italy and Germany and still reigns in Soviet Russia, though it is important to remember that a colour bar does operate in the sphere of force and violence. As important, it should not be forgotten that extreme Nationalists openly justify the use of force and violence in the interests of "the Truth." And from this to terror is not a very long or difficult step.

The Press still remains comparatively free—freer than radio. But recent Nationalist attacks on the English-speaking press are an alarming portent of things to come. It is no exaggeration to say that a free Press is one of the last lines of defence of freedom. Once this is gone, at best only guerilla warfare is practicable. Therefore, it is imperative for all who care for democracy to guard strenuously and vigilantly against any weakening of this strategic dyke. The floods are rising. And it is already five minutes to midnight.

THREADS FROM THE SASH

LOWVELD is delighted that the "Why I shall Vote" competition organised by the "Star" was won by Mrs. Elaine Wilson. Mrs. Wilson was a member of the Lowveld Regional Executive until she left White River and moved to Elands Valley, where she joined the Branch Committee. She represented the Lowveld as a Council Member at the National Conference in Pietermaritzburg last year. Lowveld feels that there could be no more suitable winner for this competition. Congratulations to Elaine Wilson.

The Lowveld Regional Executive wrote to Mrs. Elaine Wilson congratulating her on winning the "Why I shall vote" competition organised by the "Star." The following is an extract from her reply:

"It was a great thrill winning the competition. However, if the truth were told, the credit should go to the Black Sash. All I did was to tabulate and abbreviate the facts which have appeared in our literature, or have cropped up at meetings on many occasions."

With reference to I. Calder's Review (March) on "No Further Trek" there is tremendous interest here in London in the book. S.A. House C.N.A. has it in stock.

Overheard on a bus:—

"You see, it's like this: if an English boy marries an Afrikaans girl their child naturally speaks Afrikaans, and that's moedertaal education!"

* * *

There are five women councillors on the Pietermaritzburg Town Council. All of them belong to the Black Sash.

* * *

Overheard at a branch meeting: "No, I don't think I'll stay in the Sash. It's too political!"

* * *

Mrs. Floss Jenner, the oldest member of the Orange Grove Branch—she is 82 this year—came out to South Africa as a bride in 1909. Widowed at a very early age she managed to bring up her son and daughter and is now fully rewarded by being a Granny five times over.

Mrs. Jenner is a most hard-working and interested member of the Black Sash and attends all meetings if possible.

During the 1939-45 war Mrs. Jenner belonged to the Navy League and did a record amount of knitting for the Comforts Funds.

PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY and the SASH

WHEN we first came into being, most of us were very new to political activity and even more to independent, concise and clear political thinking. We have had to do a great deal of thinking since 1955; we all know and trust each other much more now; and the time has come for us to agree that when we use any political term, we mean roughly the same thing.

I wish here to draw your attention to the words "parliamentary democracy." South Africa has, if you consider it as a country of 2½ million whites, a parliamentary democracy. It is not an entirely fair democracy because due to the loading and unloading of constituencies, and the special concessions made to S.W.A. there are fairly big inequalities in the value of the votes, but taken by and large, for whites it can be called a parliamentary democracy.

The problem that faces every South African and particularly every Black Sash woman is this. Do you see South Africa as one governmental whole, with 4 or 5 provinces, and with one Central Government, or do you accept that it ought to be divided up into Black and White, Indian and Coloured states, loosely Federated. If you think it should be divided do you honestly believe that this can be achieved purely voluntarily? There is no one in South Africa who has ever suggested that this could ever be done. A very powerful fairy-wand might do it, but we have not got one.

We are then wasting our time by talking about "voluntary apartheid," partial or total without enforcement. We are left then with the position that we are so ardently in favour of this separation into different governmental units, that we must **enforce it, by legislation.** That is the Nationalist policy and if we agree with them, we should be honest enough to join their party and try to achieve it with the least possible hardship to all. But unjust and harsh legislation **must** result and **will have to be** carried out by **force.** It will be useless to protest against such laws; the desirable end will justify the means, even if it leads to bloodshed (as it has done in Zeerust), where passes for women, a necessity in an apartheid scheme, had to be enforced.

But those of us who want to see South Africa go on as one governmental whole must face the fact that the status quo simply cannot be upheld. Of course it suits every white South African who has a standard of living far beyond what he would have anywhere else, but it cannot go on much longer and the sooner we realise it the better. It is suicidal to pretend that 11 million people who are fast developing and on whom the whole economic life of the mines, commerce and industry depend, will go on accepting the rule of 1½ million whites plus a few thousand deep-thinking rock-and-roll teenagers!

What then do we intend to do as an alternative? We have been protesting against oppressive, unjust legislation. The average Nationalist voter is not by nature and upbringing a monster of oppression and injustice, just for the love of it. He is trying to

enforce apartheid, because he cannot face the alternative and therefore the injustice follows. He is trying to ensure white baasskap or white supremacy forever, and the injustice must follow as the night follows day.

Are you, as a Black Sash woman, for or against the injustice necessary to enforce supremacy? Each one of us must make up her mind and if we decide that enforced apartheid is wrong, an alternative must be found, and that alternative must allow for gradual extension of parliamentary democracy to the whole of South Africa. We must help to see that that extension is brought about gradually, peacefully and intelligently, if we want to give our children some security in this country.

It is useless for us to mouth the phrase, "Parliamentary Democracy," without first finding out whether the majority of us do attach the same meaning to it—an object to be aimed at and worked for with all our might. The rate at which we move towards that object can and must be the theme for argument and deep thinking and discussion, and it can vary according to events over which we have no control (such as the development of emotional upsurges among the non-white peoples) and the happenings in the rest of Africa and the world. The Sash must clarify the meaning it gives to the phrase "Parliamentary Democracy." Is it to be democracy for a few or is it to be democracy for all South Africans?

N. GREEN.

QUOTATIONS

The very essence of a free government consists in considering offices as public trusts, bestowed for the good of the country, and not for the benefit of an individual or a party.—J. C. CALHOUN.

The good of the people is the highest law.—CICERO.

Sir, I would rather be right than be a President.—HENRY CLAY.

Your every voter, as surely as your chief magistrate, exercises a public trust.—S. G. CLEVELAND.

Say that the struggle nought availeth
The labour and the wounds are vain.—A. H. CLOUGH.

I have found some of the best reasons I ever had for remaining at the bottom. Simply by looking at the men on top.—F. M. COLBY.

There is no right to strike against the public safety by anybody anywhere, any time.—CALVIN COOLIDGE.

A university should be a place of light, of liberty, and of learning.—BENJAMIN DISRAELI.

FACT AND FICTION

FICTION:

Dr. Jonker (Nat., Cape Town Gardens), speaking in the debate on the Native Laws Amendment Bill: "Every church and every mission society always had the right **and still has the right and freedom** to bring the civilising influence of Christianity to the heathens, wherever those heathens might be.

FACT:

I quote from "The Watchman," May, 1958:

The order issued by the authorities forbidding access to the reserves in the Zeerust area to the Rev. C. Hooper and his wife has very grave consequences both for them and for the Church. As far as they are concerned, their right of working among our people has been withdrawn without their being afforded any opportunity of being heard in this matter. Neither they nor we know what the allegations are on which the Minister acted nor have they been given any opportunity of controverting or meeting these allegations. Further, no attempt was made by the authorities to consult church leaders in the diocese about their proposed action, or even to inform them of their intention. As far as we have been able to ascertain, Fr. Hooper has only been guilty of succouring some of those who have been seriously assaulted, trying to secure that some of those who have been arrested were able to provide bail and an adequate defence, and in general exercising the kind of ministry which ought to be expected from any minister of the Gospel who is faithful to his calling.

What has happened underlines once again the grave danger in which citizens may find themselves when those in authority act in such a way that there is no appeal to the courts of the land. Further, the Church is now faced with the sorry spectacle of many hundreds of Anglicans being partially deprived of the ministry of the Word and Sacraments. This is a grievous thing, for while we are confident that our Anglican people will remain loyal to the Church, their present lot is indeed heavy for them to bear. All that we can do is to pray constantly that they may know that God's grace is still abundant enough to embrace them in this bitter experience, and that God will give them strength to endure to the end.

FANTASIE EN FEIT

FANTASIE:

Toe die Wysigingswetsontwerp op Naturellewette onder bespreking was, het Dr. Jonker, destyds die Nasionale lid vir Tuine, hom as volg uitgelaat: „Elke Kerk en elke sendingvereniging het nog altyd die reg gehad, en behou nog steeds die reg, om die beskawende invloed van die Christendom by die heidene te laat geld, waar daardie heidene ookal mag wees.”

The Black Sash, June/July, '58

FEIT:

Ons haal uit die Mei 1958-uitgawe van „The Watchman” aan:—

„Die bevel wat die owerhede uitgereik het om ds. en mev. C. Hooper toegang tot die reserwes in Zeerust-gebied te weier, het ernstige gevolge nie alleen vir hulle nie, maar ook vir die Kerk. Wat ds. en mev. Hooper aanbetref is hul reg om ons mense te bearbei teruggetrek sonder dat hul die geleentheid gegun is om hul standpunt te stel. Nóg hulle nóg ons weet wat die aantygings is op grond waaraan die Minister opgetree het nie, en hul is geen geleentheid gebied om op die aantygings te antwoord nie. Geen poging is deur die owerhede aangewend om die saak met die kerkleiers in die bisdom te bespreek nie. of selfs om hul van die voorgenome optrede te verwittig nie. Sover ons kon vasstel was ds. Hooper slegs daaraan skuldig dat hy hulp aan persone wat ernstig aangerand is verleen het, dat hy borg en voldoende verteenwoordiging vir seker gearresterde probeer reël het, en dat hy in die algemeen gehandel het soos verwag kan word van enige leraar wat sy roeping waardig is.

„Hierdie voorval beklemtoon weereens die gevaar waarin burgers hul bevind wanneer die owerhede sò handel dat daar geen appel aan ons howe gerig kan word nie. Die Kerk het ook nou met die betreurenswaardige verskynsel te kampe dat honderde Anglikane deels van die bediening van die Woord en die Sakramente beroof is. Dit is 'n ernstige saak, want hoewel ons daarvan oortuig is dat hul aan die Kerk getrou sal bly, verkeer hul tans in 'n uiters onbenydenswaardige posisie. Al wat ons kan doen is om gedurigdeur te bid dat hul sal besef dat Gods genade nog oorvloedig genoeg is om hul in hierdie bittere ondervinding te omhels, en dat God vir hulle die krag sal gee om dit tot die einde toe te verduur.”

POOR PIET

Here lies the body of Apartheid Pete,
Sawdust at the head; quicksand at the feet.

Imagine the poor soul's indignation
When he found Heaven hadn't heard of Segregation!

With shudders of revulsion he cried aloud
"I demand 'Slegs vir Blankes' on my cloud!"

St. Peter was summoned. His glance stayed level,
"If you like it not here, pray dwell with the Devil."

Apartheid Piet shares a modern brimstone cell
With a coal black sinner and a coloured thief as well.

—With apologies.

FROM OUR POSTBAG

WHOLESOME HATE

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

Blessings on you for the continued interest which your magazine brings to me. Here in London, so far from the struggle, I look forward to the magazine more than ever. I want to say I couldn't agree more with V. Tunbridge in her reply to Marie Deelman's article. May I add this: the only "hate" which has touched my children is the **wholesome hate** for those forces which are destroying their beloved country. They, brought up in South Africa, and moving in both language groups, are going to use this hate constructively to further the task they love. This is the task of building up sound values in our country and destroying that "poor white attitude of mind" which D.R. deals with so well in her article. My children see the task before them in this light because it is quite possible to bring up a child in South Africa with liberal views and respecting Christian values such as "loving your neighbour" no matter what any government may try to do to prevent it. People living in England may be able to criticise our failings in South Africa very fairly, but not having grown up with the complexity of the problem they will never be able to make a practical contribution towards solving it. That contribution must and will come from South Africa's sons and daughters who have not trekked away from the problem—Ons bou 'n nasie—ons vir jou Suid-Afrika.

Totsiens.

ANNA MARAIS.

* * *

TEACHING CITIZENSHIP

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

I have thought a lot about Edna Young's letter in the March issue and I write to express my agreement with her suggested plan for attempting to influence the future generation of voters by teaching citizenship to our schoolchildren.

I think there is a crying need for such action, and I would be very happy to know that my four children would have the benefit of a course in citizenship and the knowledge of a democratic form of government, to fit them for their future responsibilities as voters.

The Black Sash, June/July, '58

Here the Black Sash needs to work on parallel lines—ourselves and the children in High Schools. We ourselves are in great need of more and more informed and open-minded women in our ranks. I think we should press for the inclusion of citizenship instruction as a subject in every High School curriculum, but if that is not feasible at this stage then I think there is real value in Mrs. Young's suggestion that the Black Sash instigate such a course—extra-murally, I presume.

Our Country desperately needs citizens with enquiring and open minds, and the courage to persevere in the face of great odds. I expect the Black Sash to produce women with these qualities. They can do much to influence their children and their husbands. Let us do everything we can to make an opportunity for a saner way of thinking in those whose minds are eager to absorb new ideas!

MARJORIE BLAINE.

* * *

NOT ALWAYS POVERTY

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

The article on Poverty and Crime by Mr. Isacowitz is interesting and some of his points are excellent.

He is quite right in saying that our Government is too taken up with politics to take much interest in anything else. But I consider that he is wrong in saying that in **every** case poverty is the cause of crime.

Certainly as far as duckboys are concerned, they have too much money in their hands. What is wrong there is lack of decent upbringing, and that again is due to indifference of parents and non-teaching of religion. Too many parents make no effort to provide any happy and pleasant home lives for their children.

When I was young—I am an octogenarian—we loved our home and our parents and we never sought excitement in the streets. And as for attacking and annoying other people, we would never have dreamed of it. We were taught to respect other people and other people's property.

As regards the Natives, I consider the present Government—à la Vervoerd—has done little but set

From Our Postbag—Cont.

them against the Whites. They now consider that all White men are their enemies and they want their revenge. And the behaviour of the police in so many cases only aggravates matters.

MRS. N. BUDGE.
Harrismith.

* * *

A SANER FRANCHISE

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

World affairs now loom so threateningly for Africa that it is difficult to consider Union politics as having a detached importance of their own. Nevertheless we cannot but help being alarmed at what is happening here.

We now have to expect a Republic with a President "responsible to God alone." Will that mean the banning of all the Political Parties opposed to the Nationalists?—and shall we see an alignment of Nationalist Party versus the rest of South Africa?

To be continuously under a steamroller in Parliament, as the Opposition is at present, can hardly be an alluring prospect.

If, in course of time, a President were recognised by all except extremists to be endangering our country, would it not be possible (all Party rivalries and sentiment having been banished), for the great bulk of the White South Africans to combine to deprive him of his authority?

If they then decided to revert to Parliamentary government, they might agree on a saner franchise than the existing one which you, I think very justly, condemn. An improvement might be to impose a standard qualification for White and Non-White. Plural voting sounds attractive, but it is difficult to estimate a man's character by his circumstances, and the further difficulty would be "Quis custodiet? etc."—Who will estimate the estimators?

E. REEVE.
Port Shepstone.

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NOT JINGOES

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

Re the article "Ignorant South Africans" in your May issue: there is a great need for parents to see that their children are given books to read at home

which deal with all that the English-speaking peoples have done, and get them to discuss them at home and with one another. By English-speaking people I do not mean **only** the pioneers and early settlers. They could not have done what they did, had they not brought with them British traditions of justice, truth and courage, and our children must be taught those traditions and principles which enabled their forefathers to contribute in every sphere of life in South Africa. There is no need to be called a Jingo, for wanting this for one's children!

It is not in the nature of those of British stock to advertise what to them is only their duty, which accounts for the lack of evidence of all they have done and are doing, but it is quite time that the people of South Africa should remember and appreciate the names and deeds of those men and women of whom they can be justly proud.

J. MARTIN.
East London.

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OF VITAL INTEREST

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

The outlook in South Africa at the present time is extremely bleak. We have had grave trouble in the Zeerust district because a Chief refused to try to force African women to carry identity cards, which, in the case of Africans, are simply passes.

This chief was deposed and another more amenable to the government's influence appointed with appalling consequences. As Zeerust is now behind an iron curtain it is difficult to get all particulars, but from first-hand evidence it is clear that the situation is grave.

These things should be kept firmly in mind, and the position carefully watched, but in this letter I want to deal with some thing nearer home. In September 1957 riots which resulted in considerable loss of life took place in the vicinity of Dube Hostel in the South West Native townships. The non-European Housing Committee of the City Council, realising the grave nature of the riots, asked the Minister of Native Affairs for a judicial enquiry. This the Minister refused, for reasons which are impossible for any reasonable person to understand.

THE AIM OF ARGUMENT, OR OF DISCUSSION, SHOULD NOT BE VICTORY, BUT PROGRESS.

—Joubert.

From Our Postbag—Cont.

It was then decided that the Council should appoint at its own expense, an independent Commission of Enquiry, to probe into the immediate and root causes of the riots, and what remedial measures should be taken to prevent similar happenings in the future.

The commission consisted of three distinguished retired Judges. Mr. Justice St. Livres, former Chief Justice, Mr. Justice Greenberg, former Judge of the Appeal Court, and Mr. Justice Roper. The report which they have issued is a most outstanding and illuminating one.

The Secretary of Native Affairs was asked if his department would be prepared to co-operate with the commission of enquiry. The same request was made to the Commissioner of Police, but both refused to do so, for reasons which seem at least peculiar. The Council's Commission had not the power of a Government commission to subpoena witnesses, and they were therefore unable to get evidence from either of these bodies.

I am not going to try to give a precis of the commission's report, which is most judicial and of great practical value, but I am both amazed and horrified at the lack of interest shown in the commission's findings. Copies of the report can be obtained from the Town Clerk, and one would have expected a queue of intelligent members of the public waiting to get it, but, alas, this does not seem to be the case. I therefore make an appeal for all Black Sash members who have not read this report to do so.

The report does indeed deal with many matters which were root causes of these riots. For instance ethnic grouping, which is the anathema of every intelligent African. It is a rather striking fact that no tribal fighting had ever taken place in this district before ethnic grouping was started!

Among other root causes of the riots the Commission found:—

1. Inadequate earnings of fathers of families.
2. Insufficiency of schooling facilities.
3. Inadequate recreational facilities, and facilities for vocational training.
4. The feeling (that exists strongly among Natives) that contravention of many laws specially applying to them is not morally wrong.

The commission's report recommends that all these things should be dealt with and there should be better police protection, and alleged offenders should be

treated in a humane manner. But, as I said before, I am not trying to make a summary of the commission's report. I just beg every thinking person to get a copy, read it, and fight for its recommendations.

It is useless for a commission to spend an immense amount of time and trouble on a matter of vital interest to everyone, if that report is simply to be pigeon-holed and forgotten.

C. R. LUCAS.

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NOT POSSIBLE

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

"D.R.'s" suggestions for a Women's Bloc bring to mind the powerful "League of Women Voters of the United States," which is very much the kind of organisation she envisages.

If my recollection is correct, this League has over two million members, who make it their business to be thoroughly well-informed on all proposed legislation and on the way existing laws are administered. So far as I know, it does not confine itself to "D.R.'s" Three Spheres, though no doubt these are of particular concern to its members. It produces a mass of factual literature, runs information booths where this material is available to the public, gets good Press publicity and conducts energetic campaigns in support of its objects. The political parties are far from indifferent to its views and it exerts considerable influence.

The League is non-party, and in a number of ways is not dissimilar to the Black Sash, though it is more fortunate in not being regarded with dislike and suspicion by the political parties and is, on the contrary, wooed by the politicians.

But could a similar Women's League have any influence or value in South Africa? Not, I am convinced, as things are with us to-day. So long as a large section of our women are conditioned from childhood to think "with their blood" and not with their brains, so long as they will support such legislation as the Transvaal Education Ordinance and tolerate the indoctrination of school-children with race-hatred and grossly distorted facts, so long as they refuse to raise their voices or use their influence for fear of victimisation (a fear which is only too well founded) or because they put loyalty to a group or political party first, no such association of South African women would get the inter-party support that alone could give it strength and validity.

B.H.T.

OBITUARY

GLADYS KUHLMAN

Brakpan's most ardent worker in the Black Sash Movement, died on the 16th January, 1958.

Although she did not enjoy good health, she was the first volunteer to take part in vigils in Pretoria, haunts and the delivery of pamphlets.

She sold more magazines than any other member in that area and contributed generously to the Black Sash.

During her long 15 months in hospital she was very anxious to hear news of the Black Sash Movement and its activities. A more valuable member we have yet to find.

MRS. E. G. MACKENZIE

Born in Newcastle, daughter of Senator Greaves, she lived in Maritzburg where she was a member of the Black Sash and a keen worker for the United Party.

She worked at the United Party rooms daily during the pre-election period until within a few weeks of her death.

She died on May 19 at the home of her daughter, Mrs. M. Pollock, who is the Regional Border Secretary.

All who knew her loved her for her gentleness and strength of character, and she is greatly missed.

MRS. "DODIE" ARTON

We regret to announce the death of Mrs. "Dodie" Arton, younger daughter of Sir Thomas Smart, who was one of the signatories to the Act of Union.

She was one of the original members of the Stellenbosch Branch and was highly valued for her steadfastness and intelligent interest. Her death is a loss to Stellenbosch as well as to the Sash, for she was respected by all—White and non-Whites alike.
sdFas

REGIONAL CHAIRS AND SECRETARIES

BORDER.

- C. Mrs. D. Curry, 3 Carisbrooke Road, Stirling Ext., East London.
- S. Mrs. M. G. Pollock, 106 Devereux Avenue, Vincent, East London.

CAPE EASTERN.

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

CAPE MIDLANDS.

- C. Mrs. Conroy, Watergift, Box 53, Beaufort West.
- S. Miss Conroy, Watergift, Box 53, Beaufort West

CAPE NORTHERN.

- Chair: Mrs. M. Owens, 7 Howie Road, West End, Kimberley.
- S. Mrs. B. Buck, 3 Poole Street, Kimberley.

CAPE WESTERN.

- C. Mrs. M. Petersen, Beacon House, Klaassens Road, Wynberg, Cape.
- S. Mrs. P. M. Hodgson, 1 Kildare Road, Claremont.

LOWVELD.

- C. Mrs. Sandenbergh, Eastry, Plaston, Tvl.
- S. Mrs. B. Tracey, Pleasant Hill, Box 17, White River.

NATAL COASTAL REGION.

- C. Mrs. M. Scott, 16 Chelmsford Road, Durban
- S. Mrs. J. F. Hill, 27 Meyrich Avenue, Durban.

NATAL MIDLANDS.

- C. Mrs. M. Corrigan, 306 Alexandra Road, Pietermaritzburg.
- S. Miss D. Anderson, Box 293, Pietermaritzburg.

NORTHERN TRANSVAAL.

- C. Mrs. A. Findlay, 296 Mears Street, Pretoria.

ORANGE FREE STATE.

- C. Mrs. H. O'Connor, P.O. Box 245, Bloemfontein.
- S. Mrs. R. Kruger, 4 Van Heyningen Street, Bloemfontein.

SOUTH-EASTERN TRANSVAAL.

- C. Mrs. M. Fourie, Box 222, Springs.
- S. Mrs. E. Gouldie, Marievale Mine, P.O. Marie shaft, Transvaal.

SOUTHERN TRANSVAAL.

- C. Mrs. M. Tugman, The Rectory, St. George's Church, Parktown
- S. Mrs. D. Grant, 21 Victoria Avenue, Sandringham, Johannesburg.