

THE BLACK SASH

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'n Onmenslike Wetsontwerp

GESIEN van die standpunt van menslike verhoudings, is die ergste apartheidswetgewing tot dus ver, altyd met die uitsondering van die berugte groepsgebedewet, die naturellewette-wysigingswetsontwerp, wat sulke bittere debatte uitgelok het in die Volksraad. In hierdie wetsontwerp vind ons die harde kern van doktrinêre apartheid, wat mense soos vee behandel, en wat uiteindelik die ondergang van beide Blank en nie-Blank in die land sal teweegbring.

Heeltemal tereg is die grootste gedeelte van die publisiteit wat aan die wetsontwerp gewy is, gevestig op die skandelige „kerkklausule”, wat alreeds Dr. Verwoerd se naam 'n skimpnaam in die oorsese pers gemaak het. Ons sal nie hier daardie klausule behandel nie. Die kerke is volkome in staat om vir hulself te sorg, en het alreeds vir die Minister meegedeel dat hulle die klausule as ongeldig beskou.

Maar daar is baie ander punte in die wetsontwerp wat aanstootlik is, nie alleen vir die Christelike gewete nie, maar vir enige persoon wat hom beywer vir betere verhoudinge tussen Blank en nie-Blank. By voorbeeld, die Minister gee homself magte om alle skole, hospitale, klubs, vergaderings en byeenkomste vir Naturelle, of wat deur Naturelle bygewoon word, in stedelike gebiede te beheer. Natuurlik beteken die woord „beheer,” soos dit in hierdie verband gebruik word, nie net dat die Regering die verantwoordelikheid op hom neem om toe te sien dat hierdie byeenkomste ordelik verloop

An Inhuman Bill

FROM the point of view of human relations the worst piece of apartheid legislation so far, always excluding the notorious Group Areas Act, is the Native Laws Amendment Bill, so bitterly debated in Parliament. In this Bill we find the hard core of rigid doctrinaire apartheid, which treats human beings as cattle and will ultimately bring both Black and White in this country to their ruin.

The greater part of the publicity over this Bill has, quite rightly, been devoted to the infamous “Church Clause,” which has already made Dr. Verwoerd’s name a byword in the overseas press. We are not concerned with that clause on this occasion. The churches are quite capable of looking after themselves and have already told the Minister that, as far as they are concerned, his clause is null and void.

But there is much else in the Bill that is repugnant, not only to the Christian conscience, but also to anyone who is striving for a better understanding between Black and White. For instance, the Minister is taking powers to control all schools, hospitals, clubs, meetings and gatherings of Natives, or attended by Natives in urban areas. In this context, of course, the word “control” does not merely mean that the Government is taking the responsibility for seeing that these activities are conducted in an orderly manner. That would be a routine police duty which exists in any case. It means that the Government is determined

nie. Sulke beheer word deur die reeds bestaande polisieoetine gedek. Dit beteken dat die Regering vasbeslote is om toe te sien dat Blank en nie-Blank nie onder die dekmantel van hierdie organisasies bymekaar sal kom nie, tensy dit op die basis van Baas en Klaas is.

Maar die minister gaan selfs verder dan dit. Hy ken homself die reg toe om, indien hy dit verkies, samekomste tussen Blank en nie-Blank selfs in huise en woonstelle te verbied. Ons meen dat 'n wet van hierdie aard enig in die wêreld is. In die suidelike state van die Verenigde State kan 'n blanke hom die sterkste sosiale veroordeling op die hoof haal as hy 'n nie-Blanke in sy huis onthaal, maar selfs daar sou niemand dit waag om wetgewing daarvoor in te dien nie. In al ons groot dorpe is daar aansienlike getalle intelligente en ietwat bekommerde Blankes—baie meer dan wat Dr. Verwoerd graag sou wou erken—wat probeer om persoonlike kontak te maak met intelligente en insgelyks bekommerde Naturelle van die middelstand wat stadig besig is om sy ver-skyning te maak. Blank en nie-Blank kom byeen in liefdadigheidswerk, in gesondheids-werk en welvaartwerk, op godsdienstige en op-voedkundige terreine, en somtyds kom hulle bymekaar in private huise vir informele besprekings waar van beide kante getrag word om mekaar se standpunte te verstaan. 'n Huis-vrou sal haar bediende se huis in 'n lokasie besoek sodat sy die kinders kan sien en die gesin leer ken, 'n Blanke sal 'n naturel behulp-saam wees in sy strewe om 'n matrikulasie-sertifikaat te behaal. Een van die mees weer-sienwekkende aspekte van hierdie indringerige en tiepies polisiestaatwetgewing is dat dit kwaadwillige bemoeisiektes sal aanmoedig om mense te beloei en te verklik. Hoe anders kan sulke onskuldige byeenkomste van Blank en nie-Blank onder die aandag van die owerheid kom?

Afgesien van die menslike sy van die saak—wat erg genoeg is—is hierdie wetsontwerp aan-stootlik omdat dit bereken is om 'n aanval te maak op die onafhanklikheid van die munisipaliteite. Die Minister lewer in sommige klousules lippediens aan die beginsel van vryheid van optrede deur plaaslike owerhede binne hulle eie gebied. Maar in werklikheid dui die wetsontwerp duidelik aan wie die baas sal wees. Dr. Verwoerd sê self dat dit onhoudbaar sou wees vir plaaslike owerhede om, met be-

to see that Black and White cannot meet at all under the cover of any such organisations, except in their duly appointed roles of master and servant.

But the Minister goes further than that. He is taking power to prevent, if he chooses, any meeting between White and Black even in a house or flat. A law of this kind is, we believe, unique in the world. In the Deep South of the United States a White man might suffer social ostracism of the severest kind if he invited a Negro to his home, but, even there, nobody would dare to make a law about it. In all our big towns there are large numbers of intel-ligent, rather worried Europeans—far more than Dr. Verwoerd would care to admit—who try to make personal contact with intelligent, equally worried Natives of the slowly emerg-ing middle class. Black and White meet in charitable work, in health and welfare work, in the religious and educational fields and sometimes they meet for informal talks in private homes, each trying to find out the other man's point of view. A housewife will visit her servant's home in a Native township to see the children and get to know the family; a European will coach a Native student strug-gling with his matric. Dr. Verwoerd is out to stop all this. And one of the most objec-tionable aspects of this piece of prying, typic-ally "police state" legislation, is that it will encourage snooping and tale-bearing by malicious busybodies. How else could such innocent, private meetings of White and Black come to the notice of the authorities?

REASON IS NOT MEASURED BY SIZE
OR HEIGHT, BUT BY PRINCIPLE.

—Epictetus.

Apart from the human side of the question—and that is bad enough—this Bill is politic-ally obnoxious, since it constitutes a considered attack on the independence of the municipali-ties. The Minister pays lip-service in some clauses to the principle of municipal freedom of action, but in fact the Bill makes it quite clear who is to be master. Dr. Verwoerd himself has said that it is intolerable that muni-

A VOORTREKKER FANTASY

I am the Spirit of the Trek. My name
Is Freedom. Sweet that word, and dear
To peoples of high hearts and gallant minds.
Through me, some hundred years ago, a band
Of men and women left their homes and kin,
Security, and all familiar things,
And trekked into the unknown wilderness.
Courage was theirs, deep piety, and faith
That God would be their guide and comforter.
Here then they come—Salute the Voortrekkers!

The Man Speaks

I am the man. Mine was the deep concern
For precious lives that trusted all to me,
My wife and children. I their strength and shield
Against the hazards that beset our way.
'Gainst storm and flood and warrior hordes that
swept
Upon us, struck, and went again,
Leaving us there to count our dead and mourn
And find new courage still to bear us on.
I fought with stubborn Nature day by day,
For wagons overturn, and beasts may die,
And plains seem endless, reaching to the sky,
Save where great mountains rear their sombre heads.
Mighty is man, and mightier still is God,
Who led us through all perils to our goal.

The Woman Speaks

Mine was the task of tending well the lamp
Of gentleness, of love, and homely things.
So men that strove unceasingly, and fought
Their way, should never cease to be
Husbands to us, and fathers to their children.
So home, that lovely and beloved word,
Went with us, in our tented wagons, still.
And round our campfires, fearing naught of ill
To spirit, did we smile with joy to see
Our children play beneath the brilliant stars.

The Spirit of the Trek Speaks

I am the Spirit of the Trek. My name
Is Freedom, and to **you** I speak.
My torch burns low, **keep still that torch alight!**
For we are one in love for this our home,
South Africa, this great and spacious land,
Where yet are jagged rocks of bitter hate,
Where mighty problems call for mighty Faith,
And from their solving for the common good,
Will come, at last, our right to Nationhood.

M.L.S.,

Cape Town.

trekking tot Naturellesake, 'n beleid te volg
wat teenstrydig is met die van die Regering.
Gevolgtlik sal die Minister dit behartig. In die
toekoms sal geen stad of dorp enige beheer hê
oor die behandeling van sy eie Naturelle nie.
Die belastingbetalers sal dus op hierdie gebied
feitlik ontkieser wees.

Gedurende die onlangse Naturelle-busboikot
in Johannesburg en Pretoria, wat potensieël so
gevaarlik was, was dit hoogs verontrustend om
te besef dat, buiten by wyse van polisie optrede,
daar 'n totale gebrek aan voeling tussen Blanke
owerhede en verantwoordelike Naturelle was.
Die inwoners van Johannesburg het bekom-
merd gevoel oor hierdie kloof, maar dit skyn
nie asof dit vir die Regering enige sorg gebaar
het nie. Nou besef ons hoekom die Regering
so onverskillig was. Die Nasionaliste, wat aan
die roer sit, wil geen kontakte tussen Blank
en nie-Blank hê nie, as dit nie op 'n grondslag
van baasskap berus nie. Hulle doen hulle
uiterste om alle kontakte tussen die rasse, wat
op 'n basis van algemene menslikheid geskied,
te verminder en indien moontlik heeltemal stop
te sit. Dit is die beleid van fanatici, 'n beleid
van selfmoord wat ons op die ou ent almal sal
vernietig.

icipalities should be able to follow a policy in
Native affairs contrary to that of the Govern-
ment. So the Minister will take over himself.
In future no city, town or village will have
any control whatever over the treatment of
its own Natives. In this field the ratepayers
will be virtually disfranchised.

During the recent, potentially dangerous
Native bus boycott in Johannesburg and Pre-
toria, the most disturbing factor which emerged
was the complete lack of contact, except by
way of police action, between the European
authorities and responsible Natives. This gulf
worried the people of Johannesburg very much,
although it does not seem to have disturbed
the Government to any great extent. Now we
see why the Government is so indifferent. The
Nationalists who are in power now do not want
to see any contact between White and Black,
except on the basis of unquestioned baasskap.
They are doing their very best to diminish and,
if possible, stop all racial contacts which can
be made on a basis of common humanity. This
is the policy of fanatics, a suicide policy which
in the end will destroy us all.

OUR BAD NAME ABROAD—IS IT NECESSARY?

SOUTH AFRICA'S name stands very low to-day among the white and the coloured races of the world. The reason is, of course, the policy of apartheid and the measures taken, ostensibly, to apply it. Our Nationalist politicians and press assert that this is due to misrepresentation of the facts by their opponents and the English press. They say that our problems are so difficult and complex that no one who has not lived here for a lifetime can understand them. That argument was effectively answered, not by an English writer, but by a Swede, Professor Tingston, a former Professor of International Affairs and now editor-in-chief of Stockholm's leading daily newspaper, in his book, "The Problem of South Africa," written after a careful study of our problems on the spot.

What the peoples of the world do understand is injustice and what they do not accept is that a plea of self-preservation excuses it. When the Nationalists say our problems are not understood they really mean that it is not understood that their fears, which they are constantly fostering for political purposes, justify their using the power they have now acquired to bolster up the white man's privileges, without any regard for considerations of what is morally right.

The Frightened Men

It is impossible to understand what is happening in South Africa, and why the Nationalists act as they do, unless we realise they are motivated by fear. They are frightened that they will be swamped by the non-white because of their superior numbers; that they will lose their position of white domination or "baasskap"; that they will have to forgo the privileges they have, through their political control, acquired for themselves at the expense of the non-whites; that they will no longer be able to get lowpaid labourers to maintain their high standard of living; and finally that there will be a rapid and vast increase in racial intermixture. All those fears, it is claimed, justify permanently relegating the non-whites to the position of servants. As a salve to conscience it is proposed that Africans will have an opportunity, in their Reserves, to develop their capabilities to any degree they wish. That only lip service is given to this proposal is clear from the response of the Government to the suggestions of the Tomlinson Commission.

It is the injustice, in the legislation prompted by those fears, that overseas peoples condemn. There is no misunderstanding about it. It is the kind of injustice in "colonialism" which led to that system being so widely condemned.

A significant fact is that one looks in vain in Nationalist speeches, and the Nationalist press, for any attempt to meet arguments showing the injustice of what they are doing. If they are ever referred to, it is to bring up specious and trifling debating points. A good example is that of a prominent professional man, a Nationalist, who, when Professor Keet's book, "Whither South Africa?" appeared, and he was asked what he thought about it, replied: "Oh,

he's just a SAP," a term of abuse in the mouth of a Nationalist. There was no suggestion of any need to meet the devastating logic of the Professor's condemnation of apartheid on religious and moral grounds. It was enough to abuse him.

It is clear that the Nationalists have no answer to the charges that they are using their power to inflict gross injustices on the non-Europeans

A Minority Government

It cannot be too strongly and too frequently pointed out that the Government is a minority government. Through a defect in our Constitution the Nationalists, though they polled a minority of the votes, gained a large majority of the seats in Parliament. Had there been in operation the system of Proportional Representation, which was provided for in the original draft of the South Africa Act, the Nationalists would never yet have been in power here.

The present Government represents less than half the white population of the country and considerably less than one-tenth of the total population. Notwithstanding this, they ride roughshod over the interests and wishes of all non-Nationalists. That is dictatorship. It is certainly not democracy. In a true democracy, even though the majority governs, the interests of the rest of the population should be honourably and reasonably cared for.

Besides claiming to be democrats the Nationalists also claim that they are the protectors and saviours of "white" civilisation and that, as God-fearing people, they are entitled to ask us to pray for God's blessing and help in their work. The Prime Minister asked us to do that shortly before he introduced the Senate Bill!

White Domination?

As Professor Keet has pointed out, there is no such thing as "white" civilisation. All that it can mean is white domination. In fact, Mr. Strijdom has said that that is his policy. What his Government is doing is the most effective way to destroy white supremacy. Every measure that is passed to further apartheid, imposes fresh hardships on the non-whites and causes increased bitterness against the whites.

It is time we took the Nationalists up on whether their fears are justified or not. If they continue on their course of antagonising the non-whites, then they are right to be afraid and in the end the whites may well be overwhelmed. But there is another course open to us. We could make friends with the non-whites; agree to take into our ranks, politically and economically, those who have already reached standards of western civilisation and get them to raise their fellows up to those standards. On the economic side our country's natural resources are great enough to enable everyone, white or black, to make a comfortable living. There is no reason to think that, if we did that, the non-whites would be enemies. Our present methods are leading to disaster. Let us change them before it is too late.

F.A.W.L.

THREADS FROM THE SASH

RECENT activity in East London has included a vigil held last month to protest against the University Apartheid legislation. Posters were displayed, leaflets handed out and the Information Table, which has become a feature of all East London's demonstrations, was set up. Thirty of the March copies of the magazine were sold at the table and dozens of old copies given away for propaganda purposes. Some of the East London members also went to Kingwilliamstown in order to swell the numbers of the demonstrators there. Well done!

* * *

A FRIEND was telling Mrs. Nora Sephton, of the Barkly East Branch, about his wife who died two years ago. He spoke of the dead woman's great qualities, the strength of her principles, and said, "in fact, she was a Black Sash." Spoken spontaneously and from the heart, as this was, it was a most touching tribute.

* * *

ALTHOUGH the Coalville Branch is one of the smaller branches in the Transvaal, it holds the proud record of never having less than a 50 per cent. attendance at its meetings. As visits from ministers are rare, haunting has been at a standstill, but there has been great activity in other directions. All members contribute to the cake-sales, which are held monthly, and all levies to the Region are fully paid up. This record may well be the envy of some of the larger branches in the country!

* * *

THE George Branch was foiled in its attempt to "sash" the Minister of Economic Affairs, Dr. Van Rhijn, when he visited the area to open the South-Western Districts Agricultural Show recently. Learning of the Black Sash's intention to be present, the police escorted the Minister by another route to the Show Grounds. One or two members of the public did, however, salute the women, so the stand was not in vain.

* * *

JOHANNESBURG is being heartily congratulated on the success of its novel demonstration against the Native Laws Amendment Bill last month. A recording of a tolling bell drew the attention of passers-by to the demonstration, a photograph of which appears elsewhere in the magazine.

* * *

AN effective demonstration against four Bills, the Native Laws Amendment Bill, the Police Law Amendment Bill, the Motor Carrier Transportation Act Amendment Bill and the Separate Universities Bill, was carried out by Pietermaritzburg Branch last month. Escorted by ten cars bearing placards and black streamers, members of the Branch drove through the main shopping centre of the town on a Saturday morning in a lorry covered with banners denouncing the Bills. Leaflets were also handed out.

SOMERSET WEST and Durbanville members came to the support of the Stellenbosch Branch when over forty women "sashed" Dr. Verwoerd on his arrival at a public meeting convened by the Nasionale Jeugbond recently. Although the Jeugbond formed a guard of honour for the Minister, they were unable to hide all the Black Sashers and it was, on the whole, a most successful haunt. There was a very small attendance at the meeting, an unusual occurrence at a Nationalist gathering in Stellenbosch, and we greatly hope that this portends dissatisfaction with Dr. Verwoerd's declared policy.

One Woman's Reaction

WHEN our Editor asked us to send photos and potted biographies of our Committee members, we were all quite appalled!

"What a grim and horrible thought."

"Who wants to see our photos?"

"Not on your life!"

"I'd rather be put against a wall and shot!"

"I'll resign from Black Sash!" were some of the remarks, and I wholeheartedly agreed.

But every month as each issue of the Magazine is published, and a new face and a new biography is revealed, my heart swells and my pride grows and grows. What an amazing wealth of talent!

"Master of Science Degree in Pure Mathematics," "B.A. Honours in Fine Arts and Gold Medallist," "Personal Assistant to the Chief of the General Staff," "Read History at Oxford, trained as a teacher at Queen's College, Belfast," "Taught in U.S.A." "Was an active member of the Suffragette movement," "Commandant of the Nursing Detachment of the British Red Cross," "Diploma in Librarianship," "Ex-Mayor," "Awarded O.B.E.," "Dr. of Medicine," "City Councillor," "Studied Art in London, Brussels and Port Elizabeth," "National Art Teachers' Certificate with Distinctions in painting, modelling and design." Need I go on?

Our movement against the Government's IMMORAL LEGISLATION, has roused the indignation and the fury of the intelligent, talented woman of South Africa. She is the one who knows that Evil will NOT succeed if she puts her brain, and her time and energy into fighting it. She is not content to sit idly by and be just a "good" woman. "For Evil to Succeed it is sufficient that Good Men do NOTHING."

If only we can bring home to all the "Good" women we know this vital truth. All you Black Sashers, *make* all your friends and acquaintances realise this blatant fact! **Do nothing**, and all the forces on the evil side will spread like a fungus. **DO SOMETHING**, and the fungus can be destroyed.

D.T.

MEET THE BLACK SASH

Free State Office-Bearers



MRS. O'CONNOR

MRS. OLLEMANS

MRS. HELEN O'CONNOR, Chairman of the Free State Region of the Black Sash, was, for nearly thirty years, a history mistress at the Eunice High School, Bloemfontein. When she retired from teaching she decided to become a librarian and is at present on the staff of "The Friend." During World War II Mrs. O'Connor became a WAAF Welcome-Information officer. She later moved to the Directorate of Demobilisation with the rank of Captain, and was concerned with the demobilisation of women. She is a foundation member of the Bloemfontein Business and Professional Women's Club and was President from 1950 to 1952, and from 1955 to 1956. She organised the Torch Commando in the Free State, and was one of the first members of the Black Sash in this Region.

Mrs. O'Connor takes a very keen interest in the non-European question and is a member of the Institute of Race Relations and closely connected with the Bloemfontein Joint Council of Europeans and non-Europeans.

MRS. JOY OLLEMANS, Vice-Chair of the Free State Region, is an executive member of several cultural organisations, among them the S.A. Association of Arts. Worked for the S.A. Red Cross during the war and was awarded the "Florence Nightingale" certificate for raising £1,000 single-handed. Was a foundation member of the French Circle, now the Alliance Francaise, of which she is a patron. Her diverse activities include a great deal of work in an executive capacity for the United Party, being a Council member of the Free State Girl Guide Association, and working for the Nursery School movement in her area. Is a regular worker for charity and finds time to be interested in gardening. Has a daughter of 15 at school in Johannesburg and a son of nine at home.

MRS. CORAL WATKINS, second Vice-Chairman of the Region, is a teacher by profession and taught in Bloemfontein until her marriage in 1936. During the war she was an indefatigable worker for S.A.W.A.S. and has worked for the United Party, the Torch Commando, and, now, the Black Sash with the same energy and enthusiasm. Her husband, Mr. H. Watkins, died recently, and the Black Sash extends to her sincere sympathy in her bereavement.



MRS. WATKINS

CAPE MIDLANDS PERSONALITIES



MRS. GILFILLAN

MRS. SOUTHEY

MRS. MADELEINE GILFILLAN, who lives near Conway, is the Chair-woman of the Cape Midlands

Region. She was born at Prince Albert, Cape, and educated at Pretoria Girls' High School, afterwards continuing her studies at Rhodes University, where she obtained her B.A. degree. She married a Karroo farmer in 1936 and has a daughter and son, aged six and five. Mrs. Gilfillan had never taken any interest in politics until 1955. Since then she has become an ardent and untiring worker for the Black Sash and it is due to her unselfish efforts that the Black Sash has a foothold in this, one of the most difficult regions of the country, politically speaking.

MRS. JUNE SOUTHEY hails from Pretoria, where she was born. She was educated at the Pretoria Girls' High School and finished her studies at a Commercial College. She then worked on the staff of the "Rand Daily Mail" and the "Sunday Times." In 1945 she married a Karroo farmer and has a family of three, two daughters and a son. Is the energetic and extremely capable Secretary of the Region.

OPEN LETTER TO AN AFRIKAANS-SPEAKING WOMAN

Dear Fellow South-African,

I HAVE felt for a long time that you and I should "get together" to discuss our common problems and our joint future in this, our country. But when we meet we are usually too shy of each other to enter into serious discussion: we dare not talk politics because we feel that our differences may be too great. In this letter I am going to try to lay emphasis on those points upon which we can surely agree and to move on from there to a frank appraisal of what our main differences may be. I, for one, do not feel they are too big to be overcome.

To begin with, let us concede that there is something to be said for both our points of view. That is a sound basis for any argument. No one group of people can be a hundred per cent. right and the other a hundred per cent. wrong. It is bad logic and against human nature, which is neither omnipotent or omniscient. Many of us are too lazy to think for ourselves and prefer to let others do the thinking for us. The state in which South Africa finds herself today is largely the result of this apathy. The Press, which does so much to influence our point of view, is largely biased. The English Press does not always fairly represent the Afrikaner point of view. Your Press is unashamedly political. Your leaders make no bones about their wish to keep you within the proper political fold and the controlled Press is one means of doing this. Politics, it is often said, are the curse of South Africa and yet it is only through politics, the science of government, that our salvation can come. So let us, you and I, talk politics in a new way. Let us attempt to narrow the breach instead of widening it.

Our Common Love for South Africa

Let us start upon the common ground of our common love for this, our land, this beautiful country, that has come through so much tribulation in the past and which must grow, in the end, to full nationhood.

Your big grudge against me, in the past, was that I could not, you felt, love this land as much as you did, that my loyalties were divided. I think you were right in your condemnation of me; but I can assure you that the situation barely exists today. English-speaking South Africans are growing more and more to love South Africa and recognise her as their only homeland. And just because of this, they also want a fair share in her development. They do not like to feel that they are being continually pushed out: and isn't that what this Government—and those Afrikaners who support it—are trying to do? If you are just you will realize that English-speaking South Africans are not, under the present regime, given even a proportionate share in the administration of the country. They are not represented in the Cabinet; they are not encouraged to play their part in the Civil Service; they are asked to defend the land in time of war, but the responsible positions in Army or Air Force, under this Government, will undoubtedly be kept from them. Perhaps

you feel that all this is just retribution for my lack of true South African patriotism in days gone by. You may be right but there is another, a greater, retribution waiting for all those who divide, or seek to keep divided, the white races of this country. The time which we are given to make up our minds about this is short.

Let us, then, make a common patriotism the basis of our future arguments. We are both here; we both intend to stay here. In that case, is it not sensible that we should start out together, that our children should mix freely in the schools and begin to get to know each other there? The Government has plainly stated that it wishes to keep the children apart. It is afraid, doubtless, of Afrikaner children becoming Anglicised. On our side of the fence, there are people who are afraid of **their** children becoming Afrikaner-ised, of losing the English tradition. I say "Away with such pettiness, such short-sightedness; it is racial suicide." If both races intend to stay in South Africa for all time, they must agree to become South Africans and not persist in sorting themselves out into Englishmen or Dutchmen. They must evolve a South African way of life that is acceptable to both of them and the surest, the easiest way, to do that is to let our children play together, grow up together.

The Future of the Dark Races

But we, Afrikaans- and English-speaking, are not alone in our struggle for Nationhood. Embarrassingly enough for some of us, there are the dark races of Africa also; they also claim this vast land as their own. They also know no other homeland. What, in justice and honour, is to be their future here?

You, as an Afrikaner, support Apartheid—segregation. It is traditional for you to do so, and I, according to the number of years that my forbears have been settled in the country, probably feel very much the same as you do. In the past the Bantu people accepted this solution peacefully and had no ambition to better their lot. Now they have glimpsed emancipation and they desire it. What are we to do about it? Are we to "keep them down"—try to hold the lid on the boiling pot, until, finally, the heat generated causes the whole thing to burst, or are we to put more water in a bigger pot, and let it blow off its steam gradually and harmlessly? Are we to give this nascent nationalism bigger surroundings, a chance to expand and the means to replenish itself when empty, or are we to wait for the explosion that may destroy us as well?

This Government, I do not doubt for a moment, set out to try and solve the Native question with a greater fervour than any previous Government had shown. It appointed a commission that did a vast and painstaking work and the Tomlinson Report was the result. It was a terrifying report—to the supporters of Apartheid. It showed that the sands were running out; that we must now, this minute, begin

(Continued on page 10)



THIS IS Y

UNITED PARTY

DURING the last 30-40 years the Union has shown itself capable of phenomenal development, the most important feature of which has been the growth of secondary industry. This development has resulted in an improved standard of living for a population that has increased by 7 million since 1921. In the next 35 years, if still higher living standards are to be attained, or even the present state of prosperity maintained, jobs must be found for a population that will have increased by another 14 million.

Development on a scale sufficient to achieve this end can only take place within the sphere of European initiative and capital investment and not in a country artificially divided between European and Native.

Furthermore, our manufacturing industry, like food farming, has not attained a level of efficiency sufficient to compete on equal terms in the world's markets, so that an outlet for productive expansion must be sought at home.

Employment of non-whites in industry has increased nearly six times since 1921; our present able-bodied white population is already fully employed—in fact there is a severe shortage of skilled labour—and by the year 2,000 if the present development continues and no large-scale immigration takes place, in addition to providing the unskilled and semi-skilled labour, non-Europeans will have to provide half the **skilled** labour force as well!

The Government has in the last nine years professed to play Canute against this tide of evolutionary development, but when faced with reality, is not prepared to accept the very real material sacrifices associated with true "apartheid." The uncertainties created by such a policy, or lack of policy, have lowered overseas and local confidence in the industrial future of this country, well demonstrated in the fall in private

(Continued in column 6)

The Black Sash, May, '57

THE POLITICAL PARTIES GIVE US THEIR VIEWS ON THE FUTURE OF SOUTH AFRICAN INDUSTRY

LABOUR PARTY

THE Labour Party believes that the development of South African industry must be guided and assisted through proper planning, so that the entire nation shall benefit from the maximum exploitation of the country's abundant resources.

Two existing bodies, the Natural Resources Development Council and the Industrial Development Corporation, should be charged with the task of investigating the adequacy and efficiency of all major industries, with a view to ensuring, as far as possible, South Africa's self-sufficiency. Proper distribution of industries being essential to a healthy national economy, regional development should be scientifically planned.

The best use must be made of all available labour resources and workers of all races should be rewarded on the maximum scale. Industrial training should not be left to the uncertain initiative of private employers but should be undertaken in an organised manner, with State co-operation and assistance.

The unfortunate attitude that Africans are a source of cheap, docile labour has resulted, apart from many other evils, in a serious neglect in industrial training and in a high labour turnover in most industries. Racial discrimination also has encouraged the payment of low wages to African workers. These factors are responsible for inefficiency, low productivity and a restricted internal market. They are being aggravated by costly efforts to apply discriminatory labour and other laws, which prevent the free movement of labour and limit the use of available manpower. Industrial colour bars are a bad substitute for "the rate for the job." Future development must pro-

(Continued in column 6)

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SOUTH AFRICAN BOND

SINCE the first quarter of this century, our industrial development has been phenomenal and has developed, as in some other countries, even more rapidly since the last war, but there are signs that it is slowing down and unless we allow "wise counsels" to prevail, the consequences may be serious, especially if we take into consideration that gold mining is a depreciating asset.

Decentralisation of industry for strategic reasons is inevitable and South Africa is ideally situated to benefit substantially from such an eventuality. We have all the raw materials necessary to become one of the most important industrial countries, but unfortunately racial politics, the most lethal of all "ticks," has always retarded our natural economic developments, as was very evident in that disastrous gold standard debacle of the Nationalists in 1931-1932.

Labour, capital and markets (internal and external) are essential factors for the establishment of sound secondary industries.

Labour

There is a dearth of skilled and semi-skilled labour in the country, largely due to the immigration policy of the present Government, the restrictions on non-Europeans and the unfair non-competitive policy of other organisations which insist on time-work instead of fair payment by results, whereby every unit will be remunerated according to merit and ability to produce. The basis of all this is fear and unless this fear-complex can be replaced by confidence, in order that every unit of labour can attain maximum efficiency in its own sphere, our economic position will always be at a comparative disadvantage.

Capital

Foreign investment capital is as important to the development of a new country as food is to the life of the individual. Lack of confidence in the

(Continued in column 6)

Die Swart Serp, Mei '57

OUR PARTY



THE LIBERAL PARTY

INDUSTRY today in South Africa employs three non-Europeans for every European. Industry is in fact completely dependent on its non-European labour force and without it the wheels of industry would soon come to a standstill.

Our industrial structure has, of course, been built up jointly with the aid of the capital, enterprise and skill of the European together with the physical strength and energy of the non-European and particularly the African, and can only be maintained and further developed by their continued effort and willing co-operation. In other words industry is, par excellence, that sector of our economy in which the interdependence of our various racial groups is most vividly illustrated.

But whereas in earlier days the non-European was used in industry solely as an unskilled labourer—today the pattern has radically altered. Under the influence of a continuing shortage of skilled European labour and of an increasing resort to automatic and semi-automatic machinery, non-Europeans are being employed in ever larger numbers as semi-skilled operatives and increasingly on work requiring a high degree of skill. It is therefore in industry that the so-called trend towards "economic integration" is most evident. Industry cannot function efficiently with untrained, unqualified migrant labour with one foot in the Reserves. If it is to produce efficiently, and competitively, it must employ people who have become adapted and adjusted to the demands and discipline of highly complex factory production and whose lives are no longer dominated by primitive tribal customs and values.

It is much too late and our economic development has proceeded much too far for any unscrambling of the egg to be even remotely possible or practicable.

This being so, it is incredible that so far only a handful of Europeans

(Continued overleaf)

NATIONALIST PARTY

INFORMATION REFUSED.

UNION FEDERAL PARTY

SOUTH AFRICA is a land blessed by a bountiful Nature. The unbelievably vast reserves of natural wealth which await development need only the stimulus of the twin forces of investment capital and labour resources to transform our country into a productive giant. Indeed, it is largely due to this superabundance of natural wealth that the present effects of a capital and labour shortage have been cushioned and mitigated. Such is our latent wealth that only a crisis or disaster of major proportions can seriously threaten our economic health and buoyancy.

Yet what is the industrial picture that South Africa presents? A timorous scratching at the surface of possibilities, a shackling of productivity through racial mania, and little more than a feeble attempt to tap the nation's wealth. Worse still, before the stage of positive development (as opposed to the mere hand-to-mouth, day-by-day character of the nation's industrial efforts) can be contemplated, drastic steps will have to be taken to remedy the strangulating and crippling effects of the unrealistic, shortsighted, artificial and economically absurd policies which presently govern the life and progress of the nation.

Not only must we provide every encouragement to the two vital imports—capital and immigrants—but positive and courageous action must also be taken in the spheres of labour relations, soil and water conservation and development, per capita productivity, economic stimuli for investment of capital, taxation relief, technical education and the vigorous expansion and development of consumer markets at home and to the north.

(Continued overleaf)

UNITED PARTY (Continued)

capital inflow since 1948 and declining stock exchange activity.

The United Party, on the other hand, believes that only through placing proper emphasis on the importance of the country's economic development, particularly secondary industry, which will provide an improving standard of living for all our peoples, can the future of Western civilisation and the western way of life in South Africa be protected and maintained.

The acceptance of such a policy by the Government, in preference to its obsession with apartheid ideology, would establish immediately the healthiest possible industrial climate for the country which, with its bountiful natural resources, has otherwise all the potentialities for a very great future.

LABOUR PARTY (Continued)

ceed upon the basis of non-differential wage rates, to provide equal opportunities and access to employment for all races.

In addition, African workers must be given the same rights to industrial democracy as other workers. The legal recognition of African trade unions, the industrial council system and collective bargaining must be extended to African workers, who today comprise more than half the total labour force in secondary industry.

The fruits of industrial progress must be for the entire nation and not for one section of it.

S.A. BOND (Continued)

narrow-minded procedure of the present regime has virtually stopped the flow of foreign investment capital with a resultant increased taxation and the slow-down of development.

Markets

The ultimate object of production can only be consumption, hence the importance of internal and external markets. For internal markets there must be the necessary purchasing

(Continued overleaf)

OPEN LETTER (Continued)

to implement apartheid, or else it would be too late. And what has the Government done? It has temporised, it has dithered, it has put the whole thing back on the shelf. It has been afraid to put apartheid into practice for fear of losing votes, although many Nationalists, who are better Nationalists than their own Government, have expressed their willingness to make a start.

What is to be Done?

You and I, the ordinary people of the country, may hold different views on the subject. Or we may, as I have indicated, hold similar views. The main thing, at this stage of the argument, should be that we both acknowledge that something has to be done about the matter, that the present situation cannot go on indefinitely. The days of "Die Kaffir op sy Plek" are over; either inside or outside our community the Bantu must progress; his rights as a human being must be acknowledged. Do you not agree, therefore, that the whole question should be taken out of Party Politics: that Afrikaners and Englishmen, or more happily South Africans from both racial groups, should get together and consult and ponder and even pray for the right answer? That representatives of the Bantu and the Coloured and the Indian should be called in too and that out of the honest striving of honest men, a new and greater South Africa should arise, in which, in the words of the greatest Nation-Builders of all, "there is malice towards none, and charity for all." Apartheid has nothing to fear from such a concourse, because if apartheid is the correct solution, it will surely come to the top: be acknowledged by all as the only way. If, on the other hand, Integration is the answer, then we must stop being terrified of the very word, realizing that the best way to keep our racial purity is to live it morally—the easiest way to lose it is to descend to trickery and shame. We have an example, in our near neighbours, the Portuguese, of how this sort of integration can be made to work: how, in those territories, black and white contrive quite simply to live apart although there is no colour bar.

Finally, I would like to speak to you about Freedom—that precious thing, that no-one appreciates

until he has lost it. Freedom of thought, freedom of speech, freedom of movement, freedom of religion: all these are the life-blood of a Democracy and the foundation of any successful modern State.

Republic not the Answer.

Perhaps you do not care very much for Democracy. You feel that in a Broederbond Republic the rights of you and your fellow Afrikaners would be better protected; the Uitlander and the Kaffir would be kept in their places; there would be no danger, any more, of your being dragged into "England's Wars." You might prefer to trust in your President as head of the State, to make your decisions for you, to lead the Volk in the way of life to which they feel they are entitled. But, make no mistake about it, a Dictator is always a Dictator, whether he be head of the Third Reich or President of the First South African Republic. It has been proved, over and over again, that the appetite of a Dictator grows with power: that the appetite is never satisfied. Sooner or later, in a Dictatorship, you, an Afrikaner, are going to be devoured also. When he has finished with the Native and the Uitlander, he will turn upon you, one of the Volk. You, too, may lose your liberties; you too will be crushed and subjected; you too may become a mindless and soulless servant of the State. Now, you may think the price worth paying; one day, my friend, you may not. Now you are free without knowing it; take care that you do not put the chains about yourself.

And so I end my letter, in the hope that I have made you see that, although our difficulties are great, our differences are not; that we must rid ourselves of fear and prejudice and try to tackle our problems together, honourably. We will find then that the true, the Christian, answer is at hand. I don't presume to know what that may be, but it is there, just round the corner, for both of us. Our survival in this country depends, in the last analysis, not upon the theories of either Apartheid or Integration, but upon the will of God. And that we must seek humbly and selflessly, not trusting, as the Prayer instructs us, in our own righteousness, but in His great mercy.

Totsiens, my friend.

ENGLISH-SPEAKING WOMAN.

S.A. BOND (Continued)

power distributed justly amongst all the units helping to produce. (Space does not permit to give figures and details of comparative per capita national incomes, but the facts are startling.)

External markets (vitally important for foreign exchange) demand good neighbourly relations and superior products at competitive prices. Through foolish government we have

(Continued on page 13)

The Black Sash, May, '57

LIBERAL PARTY (Continued)

are prepared to recognise that the high degree of economic interdependence of the various races in 20th century South Africa cannot indefinitely continue side by side with political attitudes and policies which are more appropriate to rural feudalism than to urban industrialism.

Of the various political parties only the Liberal Party appears to have recognised this and tackled the real

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FEDERAL PARTY (Continued)

Our national production must be increased; there must be a deliberate campaign to raise the nation's standard of living by working for an increase in the national income. More money earned means more money spent means an expansion of industry to meet the greater demand, necessitating more labour and paying more wages, and so continuing the spiral of economic progress.

(Continued on page 13)

Die Swart Serp, Mei '57

BRANCH AND REGIONAL NEWS



"FOR WHOM THE BELL TOLLS . . ."

For the first time, on 27th April, the Black Sash held a demonstration that was not silent. The women of the Johannesburg Region stood in silence, but throughout their vigil a bell tolled mournfully. The object of the demonstration was to protest against the Native Laws Amendment Bill. On the big symbol of a bell, seen in the picture, were inscribed the words, "Never send to know for whom the bell tolls—it tolls for thee." (The bell was a recording).

[With acknowledgments to "The Star."]

THE Natal Midlands held their Annual Regional Conference on 28th March, at which Klip River, Mooi River, Kokstad, New Hanover, Eston, Pietermaritzburg, Howick, Ixopo, Matatiele, and the two newest branches, Underberg and Richmond, were represented. Unfortunately neither Greytown, nor Estcourt sent delegates. A very busy and interesting day was spent and although delegates returned home quite exhausted, it was all well worth while. Members found inspiration in listening to the Pietermaritzburg Chair, Mrs. Corrigan, and Mrs. O'Callaghan's talk on the Summer School held in Johannesburg was most stimulating. Mrs. O'Callaghan quoted one speaker as saying that he did not think that Black Sash knew what tremendous power they wielded, and another speaker who said that Black Sash represented

the one hope of the continuation of civilisation in South Africa. Members felt that this was indeed a day well spent.

Klip River, who have a most capable and vital chairman in Mrs. Sheila Henderson, brought forward 7 resolutions. One which was carried unanimously, and on which it is hoped all Black Sash members will bring as much pressure to bear as possible, was "That the Black Sash deprecates the proposed increase in Non-European Taxation."

Pietermaritzburg reported having held a jumble sale which realised £86. This branch is determined that Black Sash propaganda will not be allowed to suffer through lack of funds. A fund-raising com-

(Continued overleaf)

mittee was formed at the last general meeting, and this was their first effort, on which they are to be heartily congratulated.

LOWVELD REGION

General: Owing to the Christmas holidays this was a comparatively quiet period, but during it each branch in the region held its annual general meeting, chose its committee for the coming year and its delegates to the Regional Conference. The sale of the Mirabel Rogers' book—which unfortunately reached us too late for sending overseas for Christmas—and of the diaries and crossword puzzles, went on steadily and has been fairly satisfactory.

Mrs. Wolstenholme resigned from the committee, and Mrs. S. Pott has taken her place as Magazine Correspondent, while Mrs. M. Griffith is in charge of magazine distribution.

A news sheet, "Notes and News," has been started to give members a short summary of general Sash news, and will be produced whenever the material warrants it.

Demonstrations: The demonstrations on 18th January, were a disappointment, partly owing to many members being away from home. Pamphlets were distributed in all branches, and vigils were held in Sabie and in White River (where it was supported by cars driving slowly up and down the village street, with posters).

Regional Conference: This was held in Nelspruit on 19th February and was attended by 56 members, most of whom had come a considerable distance. It was a desperately hot day, but the interest and enthusiasm shown was most encouraging. There could be no question as to the vitality of the Black Sash in the Region. Minutes of the Conference are being prepared and will be sent to all branches.

Visit of Mrs. Taylor and Mrs. Bond. Mrs. Betty Taylor and Mrs. Penelope Bond visited the Region from 7th-12th February, staying the night of the 7th in the Elands Valley where they held an excellent meeting. From there they went to Barberton for an afternoon meeting—as usual for this branch, very badly attended—and on to White River for an evening meeting. The following evening they spoke at a braai-veis at Mattafin and on Monday at Graskop in the afternoon and Sabie in the evening. Their visit was most valuable and probably was partly responsible for the enthusiasm shown at the Regional Conference ten days later. The disappointing meetings were at Barberton and at White River, where the hall was very badly lit and only 50 people were present.

Propaganda: A great deal of propaganda has been distributed very widely during this period. The Blue Manifesto and the Region's "Second Phase" circular have gone to all anti-government and doubtful women voters wherever a copy of the voters' roll has been obtainable. "Who are the Black Sash" and "Do You Know" pamphlets have been distributed in a similar way, but including Nationalist supporters.

All literature received from the Central Executive has been distributed to the branches and to members

of the Regional Executive. One hundred extra copies of Adv. Donald Molteno's lecture have been ordered. Every effort is made to make full use of all material of this kind which can be obtained, and all that comes from the Central Executive is greatly appreciated.

Future Activities: Plans are being made to organise the demonstrations on a rather different basis, with more co-ordination between the branches. This is difficult owing to the considerable distances, and the lack of adequate transport, but it is felt that this may give new life to the demonstration which, in some of the smaller places were becoming increasingly difficult to man.

A fund-raising drive is being started immediately throughout the Region. It was agreed at the Regional Conference that this should be done individually by branches and not on a regional basis.

The Task Ahead

To the Editor, The Black Sash.

How many of us have had the question put to us recently "Why doesn't the Black Sash close down? Why don't you all concentrate your energies on the approaching election and stop dividing the opposition?"

I feel we ought all to have a firm, logical and irrefutable answer at the tips of our tongues, because such questions, although annoying, are often posed by well-meaning and well-disposed people. We must keep calm and answer them as well as possible.

Let us say at the outset that the ship of the Black Sash was not launched on the wave of emotion attendant on any election. Two years elapsed after 1953 before the Women's Defence of the Constitution League came into being, as a protest against the shameful Senate Act and against the trend of this Government to pass repressive and dictatorial legislation in general.

Let us bear in mind always that we were looking at the broader ideals and issues and that we, as the Black Sash, intended from the beginning to carry on as a vigilant body for as many years as might be necessary. We planned to watch the movements and morals of any Government in power, regardless of which political party had elected it.

If we were to close down we should be dishonouring our pledges. There are quite a few syren voices to be heard, but the ship of the Black Sash **must not** founder on the rocks and whirlpools of the coming election. We may have years of struggle ahead of us, not just the months until the next election.

By this time the political consciences of most of the members of the Black Sash have been thoroughly awakened. Our members can be left to act as they think fit. The suggestions and criticisms will flow thicker and faster as the time of the election draws near. Let us just remember not to lose sight of the fact that there may be many years of struggle ahead of us and let us not be side-tracked by election fever or consideration of gains purely for the immediate future.

D. DAVIS,
Walmer Branch.

BOOK REVIEW

"THE ANATOMY OF SOUTH AFRICAN MISERY."

PROFESSOR C. W. de Kiewiet a South African by upbringing, now President of the University of Rochester, U.S.A., and author of some of the best-balanced books on South African history, has added greatly to his reputation by the newest publication in his name, "The Anatomy of South African Misery"—a publication containing the Whidden Lectures, the first in this foundation which honours the memory of the late Rev. H. P. Whidden, Chancellor of McMaster University from 1931 to 1941.

Dr. Kiewiet's approach to the problem of Africa sheds light on the larger problem of human relations which have become of the most vital importance in the world today. He believes indeed that South African problems are major problems of world politics and cannot be confined to the small area of South Africa itself, since there is a shift of power in the world, a shift in which Africa will play a part of increasing importance. In this new set up the attempt of South Africa to maintain white ascendancy over the non-white population is in conflict with the revolution which is transforming racial relations in the modern world.

One of the great virtues of Dr. de Kiewiet's book is that he shows an understanding of the factors which have stopped the two white races from forming the one reconciled and unified community which alone can deal with the changing circumstances of the 20th century. He appreciates that the Boer War was a tragedy; it divided the country racially and left a legacy of bitterness and resentment which prevented the defeated Boers from keeping pace with the new thought and action. Ancient grievance has loomed larger than the vision of the future and has given the Nationalist Afrikaner a sense of innocence and rectitude and a Calvinist conviction that he is of the elect, superior by Divine Will to the African.

In consequence of this he has proceeded to pass a series of laws which aim to entrench him in power for all time. Although many intellectual supporters of apartheid are sincere and genuine in their belief that South Africa's salvation and the only fair solution of the racial problem lies in that theory, they fail to realise that apartheid is a delusion which can lead only to tyranny and not to greater security. The African aspires to take his place in the western world and talk of the development of a native culture divorced from western civilisation is a myth. A policy of repression and frustration can lead only to some expression of the deep resentment engendered. There is intense fear of Communism in South Africa, but the very laws which are meant to suppress it may themselves be the cause of its acceptance, and the men who are responsible for the laws may be the agents in bringing the country to the very state they fear.

In this book lies a grave warning to all South Africans, white and black, that a continuance of the present trend can lead only to irreparable disaster. Will South Africa wake up to its danger before it is too late?

H. O'C.

The Black Sash, May, '57

From a talk on "The Shape of Freedom", by Dingle Foot, which was published in "The Listener" on 16th September, 1954:—

. . . "Where does the real distinction lie between freedom and dictatorship? We are accustomed to speak of the free nations, by which we generally mean the members of the Atlantic Community and the British Commonwealth. The difference certainly does not lie in the fact that we hold elections and choose, or think we choose, our rulers. Almost every dictatorship — nazi, fascist, or communist — holds elections of a sort . . . I would suggest that the only valid distinction is between government by law and government by caprice. A free country is one where the rulers, no less than the ruled, are subject to the law of the land. A dictatorship is a community where the rulers are above the law."

S.A. BOND (Continued)

lost the confidence of our erstwhile friends and have limited the economic productive capacity of the labour at our disposal.

To summarise: South Africa has a vast potential industrial future and can become a most important reservoir of supplies, provided that political perspicacity will place the interests of South Africa before any party. At the present moment the valuable time of parliament is wasted on contentious legislation and amiable **Unity** amongst the parties is only discernable when personal monetary-material advantage may be gained.

The radical economic policy of the South African Bond is the answer to **Peace, Progress and Prosperity.**

LIBERAL PARTY (Continued)

problem facing the country—that of gradually creating a political structure that truly reflects the realities of the situation. The Party has prepared a blueprint for a Common Society in which the fruitful co-operation of the peoples of South Africa at the economic level can be extended into the political field, and which, at the same time, will preserve and protect the ultimate values of western civilisation.

FEDERAL PARTY (Continued)

The miracle cannot take place overnight. To overcome certain obstacles, e.g. the colour bar, patience and perseverance will be required. At least let us realise our possibilities, recognise and accept our responsibilities, and work towards those first steps which promise so much.

FACT AND FICTION

FICTION:

Most frequently heard on the Platteland: Black Sash women are "kafferboeties."

FACT:

Two of the most saddening incidents on a recent goodwill tour of the Western Transvaal were firstly, the derisive cries of "kafferboetie" from little boys in the streets, and secondly, a question put at a public meeting: "Do you consider the kaffir to be a human being?"

It is hard to realise that people can be saying and thinking such things in the twentieth century and in an allegedly Christian country, a country whose Government is forever trying to preserve "white civilisation." Civilisation implies the recognition of the dignity of human beings. The "kaffir" lives, breathes, suffers, thinks, feels, laughs and cries like any other colour of human being made, so we are taught in all our Churches, in the image of God. To deny that the "kaffir" is a human being is to deny the Word of God. To admit that he is a human being, and to protest against the deprivation of his liberties, as well as of our own liberties, the liberties of all citizens of South Africa—does that make us "kafferboeties"? If by "kafferboetie" you mean some one who recognises the "kaffir" as a fellow human being, entitled to live his life in freedom, with dignity and in peace, to hold up his head before God and his fellow-men, then all **civilised** people are "kafferboeties." Unfortunately, the people who choose to use this word give it a very different meaning. The thought in their minds is "miscegenation," and they impart this foul lie (for we cannot call it a fiction) even to their unhappy little children to shout it in the streets.

M.E.F.

TOEWYDINGSREDE

MET trots en nederigheid verklaar ons ons gehegtheid aan die land van Suid-Afrika, ons wy ons aan die diens van ons land, ons bevestig opnuut ons getrouheid aan die Unie-verdrag, wat ons bymekaar gebring het.

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

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

The Black Sash, May, '57

FANTASIE EN FEIT

FANTASIE:

Op die Platteland hoor mens dikwels „Die Swart Serp vroue is kafferboeties.”

FEIT:

Twee van die treurigste voorvalle wat onlangs op 'n Swart Serp toer in die Westelike Transvaal voorgekom het was, eerstens, die honende geroep van „kafferboetie” deur klein seuntjies in die strate, en tweedens die vraag wat op 'n publieke vergadering aan die Swart Serp gestel is: „Reken julle dat die kaffer 'n mens is?”

Dit gaan swaar om te besef dat mense nog sulke dinge kan sê en dink in die 20e Eeu in 'n sogenaamde Christelike staat, 'n land waarin die Regering ewig besig is met die behoud van „blanke beskawing.” Beskawing veronderstel tog die erkenning van die waardigheid van die mens. Die „kaffer” lewe, haal asem, ly, dink, voel, lag en huil net soos enige mens van 'n ander kleur, soos enige mens wat, volgens die leer van ons Kerke, geskape is in die beeld van God. Om te ontken dat hy 'n mens is is om Godswoord te ontken. Om te erken dat hy 'n mens is, en om te protesteer teen enige ontneming van sy vryhede, asook van ons eie vryhede, die vryhede van alle burgers van Suid-Afrika, maak dit ons „kafferboeties”? As u deur „kafferboetie” iemand bedoel wat die „kaffer” erken as 'n medemens, as iemand geregtig daartoe om in vryheid te lewe, met waardigheid en vrede, iemand wat sy hoof hoog kan hou voor God en sy medemens, dan is alle **beskaafde** mense „kafferboeties.”

Ongelukkig verkies die mense wat hierdie woord gebruik om 'n heel ander betekenis daaraan te heg. Hulle dink aan „verbastering” en hierdie gemene leuen (ons kan dit tog nie fantasie noem nie) dra hulle oor aan hulle ongelukkige kinders, sodat hulle dit op straat kan uitskree.

M.E.F.

This South Africa

“Far from eliminating tribalism, Dr. Verwoerd is trying hard to restore tribalism—which is incompatible with modern industrialism.”—“Evening Post,” 5/1/1957.

“Now the Nationalists are telling the universities whom they may admit: soon the Government will be telling them WHO is to teach and WHAT is to be taught.”—Letter in “The Saturday Post,” P.E., 26/1/57.

“Is it the intention of the Nationalist Party that policemen should have the right to bludgeon whom they will?”—Leader, “Daily Dispatch,” 26/1/57.

“The Nationalists are too wide awake to the seriousness of the international situation not to realise that every effort must be made to ensure internal peace and content. They will not allow minor matters of language, colour and creed to jeopardise the future welfare of their own children.”—Letter in “Rand Daily Mail,” 19/2/57.

HOW OUR COUNTRY IS RUN

(PART II.)

FUNCTIONS OF THE PROVINCIAL COUNCILS

By U. M. WEISS, M.P.C.

(We regret that, owing to pressure of space, this feature was omitted last month.—Ed.)

UNDER Section 85 of the South Africa Act, the Councils deal with affairs with a wider issue than local government, the most important of these being Education, Hospitals and Roads. The Provincial Council's power is mainly:

- (a) **POSITIVELY**, to initiate legislation other than financial, amending draft ordinances introduced by the Executive Committee.
- (b) **NEGATIVELY**, to refuse such legislation, or appropriations recommended by the Administrator.

The Administrator must carry into effect majority decisions of the Executive Committee, taken under Section 82 of the South Africa Act. Provincial Councils have no sovereign powers, they merely function to discharge their delegated duties, and all ordinances must be sanctioned by the Governor-General-in-Council.

The Provincial Council system worked precariously at first, as naturally there was inexperience by both Parliament and Provinces. In 1918, after the Provincial Commission's report on the Retention or Abolition of Councils, the Ministry fortunately refused to give them up even when their first span of life (ten years) allotted to this system by the South Africa Act ended. Twice the Government limited the Provincial Council's liabilities, and financial arrangements varied until in 1945, through the Financial Relations Consolidation Act, the Union Government agreed to contribute 50 per cent. of the Provinces' expenditure.

So evolved the Provincial Councils as we know them to-day. Their powers of law-making are specifically prescribed in Section 85 of the S.A. Act, with the provision that Parliament may delegate additional powers, and any ordinance made by Provincial Councils shall have effect as long as it is not repugnant to an Act of Parliament. The Union Government can legislate on the same topics as Provincial Councils and such legislation is paramount, and no ordinance involving expenditure shall be passed without the Administrator's personal recommendation. So it can clearly be seen that while Provincial Councils' powers are limited, they are an important adjunct of the Central Government. M.P.C.'s have the opportunity to be in close touch with the electorate, for they live in their constituencies all the year, and know the feelings and reactions of the people to current issues, and how they are affected. The political vigour of a Provincial Council must be that it is firmly founded on such truly representative members, imbued with the tradition of local

service—this is practical statesmanship. Provincial Councils, which the Act of Union gave us, are designed to meet the need for some Provincial legislature as a step down from the centralisation of all legislative powers in the Union Government. This should be kept and there should be no pruning of powers.

That great son of South Africa, Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr, said in his book, "Coming of Age"—"The Provincial system represents the most distinctive feature of the South African Constitution." Provincial Councils are most admirably suited to South Africa, and because of the huge extent of the areas and the relatively small European population, the system of Provincial Government keeps in intimate touch with the local interests of the electorate.

Fight For Your Freedom

YES, fight for your freedom while you still can fight, for we have not much time left. Let us try to learn from Europe and what happened before the last war. Let us take Germany. Hitler came into power while hundreds of thousands of workers were out of work. Hitler gave them work which meant bread and clothes, but also meant becoming a member of the Nazi Party and making ammunition for the war which was to come. No freedom for them anymore, for in order to get a job it was essential for them to join the Nazi Party. In Holland there was also an economic crisis and thousands of people were living on the unemployment dole.

The Nazis in Holland tried to get as many young men for their party and for work in Germany as they could. They promised them clothes and good money and some went over the border to work in the factories where the bombs were made to destroy part of Holland and maybe even kill their own parents.

Many people thought Hitler had his "good" points. Those good (?) points were dangerous because the people forgot to see the very bad things he did. After he gave the Germans work, he started something else. He banned the trade union leaders and took over the unions, cash and all, into his so-called "Labour Front." There were no natives in Germany to make bad laws for, so he had to start with a section of the white people. Where you have the Natives, Indians and Coloureds, the white people won't protest because it does not concern them. Or does it? So Hitler started with the Jews. He slaughtered them, and people who protested, were put into concentration camps.

Those people who think they still live in a paradise here, should read some of the books about the cruel things that happened in Europe. It should make their blood boil and maybe give them courage to fight for their own freedom, if they don't want those things to happen here. The war came and Germany invaded Holland: five days of war and

FIGHT FOR YOUR FREEDOM (Continued)

then hell started. The people were ordered to go to Germany to work in the factories. Many went "underground." There was very little to eat, and the German and Hollander Nazis took it nearly all.

Some people, with lots of money, managed to leave Holland for England or some neutral country, and it was mainly the working people who had to suffer. The war ended and 11 years later Holland appears almost as before the war with her cities and towns rebuilt.

But all this need not have happened, if the people whom we warned that "Fascism is Murder," "Fascism is War," had not shrugged their shoulders and said, "It can't happen to us". Make no mistake about it—what happened in Holland and Germany **can** happen here too.

Luckily for us, here are the non-Europeans, but after them—who is next?

Repressive laws are made, but not only for the non-Europeans, they affect everyone who does not agree with the Government.

Please have courage, and take on the fight, before it is too late!

We can do it, and especially the women. Think what the Suffragettes did for us. They had pluck. Mothers owe it to their children to make South Africa a good country to live in. If we should lose, let us go down fighting.

But we want to come out on top. This means, that we must all fight as much as we can NOW, to make South Africa a country to be proud of.

JOHANNA VAN DER VEER.

KONSTITUSIE VAN DIE SWART SERP

(1) Naam.

Die naam van die Organisasie sal wees die Swart Serp (hiernamaals sal na die organisasie verwys word as „die Organisasie“).

(2) Doeleindes.

Die doeleindes van die Organisasie sal wees:—

(i) Om propaganda te maak en steun en hulp te werf vir die eerbiediging en nalewing van:

(a) Politieke moraliteit en die beginsels van parlementêre demokrasie in die Unie van Suid-Afrika.

(b) Die morele beloftes en grondwetlike waarborge van die Unieverdrag.

(c) Burgerregte en vryhede.

(ii) Die opvoeding en voorligting op politieke gebied van die burgers van Suid-Afrika en ander mense.

(iii) Die betragtings van alle sake en die uitvoer van alle werksaamhede, wat die doeleindes van die organisasie sal bevorder.

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. R. Pearse, 49 Bird Street, Port Elizabeth.

CAPE MIDLANDS.

- C. Mrs. M. Gilfillan, Glen Heath, Conway, C.P.
S. Mrs. J. Southey, Manorholme, P.O. Schoombie, C.P.

CAPE NORTHERN.

- Acting Chair:* Mrs. Welham, 14 Pratley Street, Kimberley.
S. Mrs. E. Hammond, 1 Solomon Street, Kimberley.

CAPE WESTERN.

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

LOWVELD.

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

NATAL COASTAL REGION.

- C. Mrs. M. Scott, 77 Ridge Road, Durban.
S. Mrs. A. G. Haysom, P.O. Kloof.

NATAL MIDLANDS.

- C. Mrs. M. Corrigan, Midhouse, Swartkop Road, Pietermaritzburg.
S. Mrs. O. Forsyth, 2 New England Road, Pietermaritzburg.

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- C. Mrs. C. M. F. Lang, 91 Manning Street, Colbyn, Pretoria.
S. Mrs. A. Rethman, 190 Lisdogan Avenue, Arcadia, Pretoria.

ORANGE FREE STATE.

- Acting C.* Mrs. J. Ollemans, 18, Pater Crescent, Bloemfontein.
S. Mrs. R. Kruger, 4 Van Heyningen Street, Bloemfontein.

SOUTH-EASTERN TRANSVAAL.

- C. Mrs. E. Gouldie, Marievale Mine, P.O. Marie shaft, Transvaal.
S. Mrs. J. Stephenson, Geduld Mine, P.O. Dersley, Transvaal.

SOUTHERN TRANSVAAL.

- C. Mrs. D. Hill, 41 The Valley Road, Westcliff, Johannesburg.
S. Mrs. M. Cluver, 2 Hope Hall, cor. Von Weilligh and Jeppe Streets, Johannesburg.