

THE BLACK SASH

DIE SWART SERP

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NO CHANGE

THE events that have taken place since the previous issue of this magazine was published (we regret that circumstances compelled us to suspend publication for several months) have not altered the thinking of our government. Neither have they weakened the determination of the Black Sash to carry on the struggle for a better system of government.

It must be recognised that nothing has happened since the 21st of March to convince government supporters that their policy is unworkable. The government shattered the campaign launched by the Pan-Africanist Congress; it suspended the rule of law by declaring a state of emergency under which it has exercised powers normally reserved for dictatorships; it apprehended thousands of people and locked them up without charge or trial; it has remained unshaken in the face of world-wide condemnation, boycotts and immense internal pressure to amend its ways. Having succeeded in maintaining its policy against great odds, the government apparently sees no reason why it should not continue to do so, meeting future opposition with the same weapons it has used in the past.

GEEN VERANDERING

DIE gebeurtenisse sedert uitgawe van die jongste nommer van hierdie blad (tot ons spyt was ons verplig om publikasie vir etlike maande te staak) het nie die denkwyse van ons regering laat verander nie; ook het dit nie die vasberadenheid van die Swart Serp verswak om die stryd om 'n beter regeringstelsel voort te sit nie.

Daar moet besef word dat niks sedert 21 Maart gebeur het om die regering daarvan te oortuig dat sy beleid onuitvoerbaar is nie. Die regering het die veldtog verpletter wat deur die Pan-Africanist Congress op tou gesit is; dit het die heerskappy van die wet opgeskort deur 'n noodtoestand te verklaar ingevolge waarvan dit magte uitgeoefen het wat gewoonlik slegs by diktatorskappe voorkom; duisende mense is in hegtenis geneem en sonder aanklag of verhoor opgesluit; die regering het onwrikbaar gebly ten spyte van wêreldwye afkeuring, boikotte en ontsaglike druk binne ons eie land om sy optrede te verbeter. Noudat die regering daarin geslaag het om sy beleid ten spyte van sterk weerstand voort te sit, sien die regering skynbaar geen rede waarom daar nie hiermee voortgegaan moet word nie, of waarom weer-

It is true that some government supporters are uneasy about what has happened since the 21st of March. They do not like being reminded of the shootings that took place, the beatings, the forcible removal of people from their homes in the early morning, their lengthy incarceration without trial. But they excuse themselves, saying that it was necessary to take strong action in defence of law and order; that race relations are basically sound but that agitators have been undermining confidence in the government; they lay blame for the disturbances on Communists, the "liberalistic" English-language press, and certain clergymen. They concede that their administration has not been perfect, but they visualise a future state of amity and co-operation (which, they say, the achievement of a Republic would assist), when the benefits of "positive apartheid" become apparent.

This stubborn refusal to change is disheartening to members of the Black Sash, some of whom have been further discouraged by the belief that the government will stop at nothing to achieve its ends. But the Black Sash has remained steadfast to the ideals that brought it into existence.

During the past few months many members have devoted themselves energetically to the task of organising relief for the dependants of detainees and other victims of the emergency. The Sash is not a welfare organisation, but it is our policy to try to mitigate the suffering caused by unjust legislation. We have helped to create new bonds of goodwill between White and non-White, and have made a practical contribution towards achieving the better society we all desire.

This magazine, as the official journal of the Black Sash, carries authoritative articles on the activities of the Sash. The leading article adheres broadly to the policies of the organization, but the Central Executive does not necessarily endorse the views expressed by contributors.

stand in die toekoms nie met dieselfde wapens bestry kan word as wat die regering in die verlede gebruik het nie.

Sommige regeringsondersteuners voel wel besorgd oor wat sedert 21 Maart gebeur het. Hulle word nie graag herinner aan die doodskietery wat plaasgevind het nie, die geslaan, die verwydering van mense uit hul huise in die vroeë oggend, hul langdurige tronksittery sonder verhoor. Maar hul voer as verskoning aan dat dit nodig was om kragdadig op te tree ten einde die gesag van die wet te beskerm; dat rasseverhoudings basies gesond is maar dat opstokers besig was om vertrouwe in die regering te ondermyn. Hulle lê die skuld vir die onluste aan die deur van Kommuniste, die „liberalistiese" koerante, en sekere kerkmanne. Hulle gee toe dat hul administrasie nie perfek was nie, maar hulle beoog 'n toestand van vriendskap en samewerking in die toekoms (en sê dat die verkryging van 'n Republiek hier toe sou bydra), sodra die voordele van „positiewe apartheid" sigbaar word.

Hierdie hardkneggige weiering om van beleid te verander is ontmoedigend vir lede van die Swart Serp, en sommige van hulle is verder ontmoedig omdat hulle glo dat die regering vir niks sal stuit om sy doelstellinge te bereik nie. Maar die Swart Serp het standvastig geheg gebly aan die ideale waaraan sy ontstaan te danke is.

In die afgelope maande het baie van die lede hulle daadwerklik toegewy aan die organisering van bystand vir die afhanklikes van aangehoue persone en ander slagoffers van die noodtoestand. Die Serp is nie 'n welsynsorganisasie nie; tog is dit ons beleid om die lyding te probeer versag wat deur onregverdige wetgewing veroorsaak word. Ons het daartoe bygedra om nuwe bande van welwillendheid tussen Blanke en nie-Blanke te skep, en het 'n praktiese bydrae gelewer tot die daarstelling van die beter samelewing wat ons almal begeer.

Our main task, however, is to continue to declare that the present system of government is fundamentally unjust. The events of the past four months have shown how well-founded was our fear that the attempt by this government, representing a minority of the population, to impose its will on the majority would have painful consequences. We must point out that the merits of the theory of separate development are irrelevant, and so is the sincerity of those who so patiently expounded it. Government without consent is tyranny: it remains tyranny irrespective of the intentions of the tyrants; and in the end tyranny will fail. While a vestige of hope remains, we cannot relax our efforts to bring about a peaceful change.

Ons vernaamste taak is egter om vol te hou met ons aanvoering dat die huidige regeringstelsel fundamenteel onregverdig is. Die gebeurtenisse van die afgelope vier maande het getoon hoe gegrond ons vrees was dat die pogings van hierdie regering (wat 'n minderheid van die bevolking verteenwoordig) om sy sin op die meerderheid af te pers, pynlike gevolge sou afgee. Ons moet daarop wys dat die meriete van die teorie van afsonderlike ontwikkeling nie ter sake is nie, ook nie die opregtheid van diegene wat dit so geduldig verkondig. Regering sonder toestemming is tirannie: dit bly tirannie, afgesien van die voornemens van die tirane; en uiteindelik sal tirannie misluk. Terwyl daar nog die geringste hoop bestaan, kan ons nie ons pogings om 'n vreedsame verandering te verkry, verslap nie.

The Lesson of the Congo

by Hildegarde Spottiswoode

THE Prime Minister of Northern Nigeria said recently that the chaos in the Congo is due to lack of previous adequate training in self-government. This can hardly be disputed. The Belgian government, unlike British and French governments in other colonial territories, concentrated its development on economic measures and not on training in political responsibility. Its programme for a "model state" was begun only in the last few years, and it is regrettable, to put it mildly, that independence was granted far too soon for the benefits of this training to be felt.

Ghana, Nigeria and French West Africa have benefited from many years of education and training in all forms of political, social and economic responsibility. The path of independence in these territories has been comparatively smooth. But the Congo lagged behind in political training, and also in primary

and secondary education, which brings with it a civilizing influence. Recruits for the Congolese Army were chosen for their toughness rather than for their brains or educational standard. When discipline was suddenly removed, these men reverted to mass violence and savagery. But whatever its probable cause, the shocking violence in the Congo is condemned by all civilized people.

The percentage of African children who receive some schooling in South Africa is 56%, a far higher figure than in any country south of the Sahara. In a generation, up to 1958, 2,086 non-Whites have graduated and 886 have qualified for diplomas at universities. Universities in Ghana, Nigeria, East Africa and Rhodesia have together in the same period produced only 1,738 graduates and 1,058 holders of diplomas. In the Congo there are only 14 graduates! South Africa's record in comparison with other parts of Africa is therefore noteworthy.

But having trained such a considerable number of men and women, we fail to grant them the opportunities commensurate with their attainments, which

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