

THE BLACK SASH

DIE SWART SERP

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'n WREDE WET

VOOR die koms van die Wysigingswetsontwerp op Naturelletwetgewing, die implikasies waarvan die publiek nog steeds probeer om te verstaan, was die Wet op Groepsgebiede die hoofgereg op die regering se apartheidskaart. Dit was die wet wat sou bewys dat apartheid nie alleen 'n slagspreuk was nie maar dat Wit en Swart werklik van mekaar gedryf sou word, deur geweld indien nodig.

Die groot dreigende onreg wat die Swart Serp-beweging laat ontstaan het was die aanval op die Kleurlingstemreg, wat, soos ons nou weet, later in 'n aanval op die Suid-Afrikaanse Grondwet ontwikkel het, en uiteindelik tot die verplettering van die Uniewet gelei het. Die Wet op Groepsgebiede is egter iets wat heel anders is. Die konstitusionele strydvraag was grotendeels 'n kwessie van regsgeleerdes en prosedures, van politieke abstraksies en leerstellings. Dit was wel belangrik, maar dit was bo die vuurmaakplek van die meeste mense. Niemand het as gevolg van die kleurlingstemreg sy werk verloor, honger gely of snags snikkend wakker gelê nie. Maar hierdie dinge gaan inderdaad deur die Wet op Groepsgebiede veroorsaak word. Dit is soos die verskil tussen die lees van koerantverslae oor misdade en die persoonlike ondervinding van diefstal.

Ons wil geensins die belangrikheid van die konstitusionele stryd verklein nie. Die stryd om die Uniewet was die eerste, die basiese en die kritiese geveg. In 'n sekere sin vloei al ons huidige en toekomstige rampe daar uit. Maar die Wet op Groepsgebiede is meer direk

A CRUEL ACT

UNTIL the coming of the recent Native Laws Amendment Bill, the implications of which the public are still rather breathlessly trying to digest, the Group Areas Act was the main course on the Government's apartheid menu. This was the law which was to prove that apartheid was not just talk, but that White and Black were really going to be driven asunder, by force if necessary.

The great threatened injustice which brought the Black Sash Movement into existence was the attack on the Cape Coloured Vote, which developed, as we now know, into an attack on the South African Constitution and finally into the destruction of the Act of Union. But the Group Areas Act is something different altogether. The constitutional issue was an affair largely of lawyers and procedures, of political abstractions and doctrines. It was vital enough, but it all took place above most people's heads. Nobody lost his job, went hungry or lay awake sobbing all night over the Coloured Vote. But that is what is going to happen over the Group Areas Act. It is the difference between reading the crime reports in the paper and having your handbag stolen.

When we say this, we are not belittling the importance of the constitutional struggle. Far from it. The fight over the Act of Union was the first, the basic and the critical fight. In a sense all our disasters, present and to come, flow from it. But the Group Areas Act is more direct in its impact and more telling in its injustice.

in sy gevolge en meer duidelik in die onreg wat dit teweegbring.

Die Wet op Groepsgebiede gee die regering die reg om te bepaal waar iedereen, Wit, Swart en Bruin, sal woon. Dit is die groot geografiese pronkstuk van apartheid. Die wet is geweldig ingewikkeld (tot so 'n mate dat dit gedurig gewysig word in 'n poging om dit te lap) en ons kan hier nie eens die hooftrekke van sy wye bestek skets nie. Pogings om dit in werking te stel mag vir vyf jaar, of miskien selfs tot 'n ewigheid, duur.

Dit is egter vir ons wel moontlik om 'n idee te gee van wat die wet kan veroorsaak—en trouens reeds veroorsaak—in terme van menslike ellende. Die Minister (nie die Parlement nie) het die reg om te bepaal presies waar elke rassegroep moet woon, en daar bestaan geen reg om teen sy beslissings te appelleer nie. Hy kan huisgesinne en hele gemeenskappe verskuif van die plekke waar hulle vir twee geslagte of nog meer gewoon het. Hy kan 'n blanke gebied in 'n naturelle gebied, of andersom, omskep. Hy kan stadsgebiede verbied of afskaf. Hy kan neerlê waar munisipaliteite hul parke, voorstede, swembaddens of ontspanningsgronde moet bou. Al was die Minister 'n kombinasie van Koning Salomo en die Engel Gabriel sou hy dit moeilik vind om dit alles in ons land te doen sonder om geweldige ontwrigting en ontbering te veroorsaak; maar aangesien hy definitief 'n Nasionalist-politikus sal wees (tot dusver Dr. Dönges in hierdie geval) is wanorde so te sê gewaarborg. Die kleiner plattelandse dorpie van Transvaal het alreeds na hierdie wet begin gryp as 'n wonderlike geleentheid om van hul Indiër—winkeliers ontslae te raak. Die Indiërs kan nie na Indië teruggestuur word nie, maar hulle kan—en sal—na die kaal veld myle buitekant die dorp verban word, waar hul onmoontlik 'n bestaan kan maak. Die Indiërs van Johannesburg, party van hulle met handelsregte wat oor vyftig jaar strek, kan ontwortel word; die kleurlinge, wat vir meer as 'n eeu in vrede met hulle blanke bure in Kaapstad woon, sal afgekraal en saamgehoek word.

Die etiese regverdiging vir al hierdie stappe is die argument dat die Wet op Groepsgebiede op **ALLE** rasse in Suid-Afrika van toepassing sal wees, en dat dit gevolglik nie diskriminerend is nie. Onder huidige omstandighede is

(Vervolg op bladsy 4)

Briefly, the Group Areas Act is the law which gives the Government power to direct where everyone, White, Black and Brown, shall live. It is the great geographical show-piece of apartheid. The Act is immensely intricate (so much so that it is constantly being amended in efforts to patch it up), and it

DEDICATION

IN pride and humbleness we declare our devotion to the land of South Africa, we dedicate ourselves to the service of our country, we re-affirm our loyalty to the contract of Union which brought us together. We pledge ourselves to uphold the ideals by which our Union was inspired, of mutual trust and forbearance, of sanctity of word, of courage for the future, and of peace and justice for all persons and peoples. We pledge ourselves to resist any diminishment of these, confident that this duty is required of us, and that history and our children will defend us.

So help us God, in Whose strength we trust.

would be impossible here even to give an outline of its wide scope. It may take five years, or an eternity, to implement it.

It is possible, however, to give some idea of what the Act can do—and has already started to do—in terms of human misery. The Minister (not Parliament) is entitled, with no danger of an appeal against his rulings, to prescribe to within a few yards where every race must live. He can move families, streets and whole communities from places where they may have been living for two generations or more. He can turn a white area into a black area, or vice versa. He can prohibit townships or abolish them. He can tell municipalities where to put their parks, suburbs, swimming baths or recreation grounds. If the Minister were King Solomon and the Angel Gabriel rolled into one, he would have his work cut out to do all this in our patchwork quilt of a country without causing immense disruption and hardship; but since he is a Nationalist politician (Dr. Donges, so far, in this case)

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THE HELICOPTER FORCE

ON Saturday, 25th May, the Black Sash celebrated its second birthday and on the Friday concluded a three-day Conference in Pietermaritzburg. Serious consideration was given by the delegates from all twelve Regions to an assessment of what had been done in the two years since the Senate Bill was introduced which, by the indignation it aroused, called the movement into being, but even more emphasis was laid on an assessment of our future value and the advisability or otherwise of our continued existence.

There was much, much talk, since well over fifty delegates plus some observers can talk a great deal in thirty hours. This included tea and lunch breaks when, strangely enough, the talking did not stop. At the end of it all I tried to crystallize the impressions that had been formed in my mind of the nature and functions of the Black Sash. Suddenly an analogy flashed into my mind.

A Stimulating Atmosphere

The Black Sash has provided every one of its members with a helicopter which enables her to rise above the dust and noise of the political battle-field and look down from a somewhat rarefied but most stimulating atmosphere to spy out the lie of the land and the disposition of the various forces arrayed against each other. In her hands have been placed a pair of powerful binoculars whose frame is a deep love of South Africa and concern for the future of her own children and whose lenses are factual knowledge and honest courage to face reality, polished by a high moral purpose.

The armies on the ground who must fight the battle, look up at the helicopters with mixed feelings. The group in power at present does not like them at all and the knowledge that they are being watched all the time makes them not only uncomfortable but very angry. When the editor of the Black Sash Magazine invited all the combatants to state their case and to contribute to a series of articles "This is your political party," the Nationalist Party, refusing to contribute, said that this fell outside their function, as they provide literature exclusively for their own people—a strange policy for a party to whose ranks the leader Mr. Strijdom says he would welcome members from the other language group. Obviously this Government and the people who still support them do not like binoculars trained on them and therefore get angry. This is evidenced by the continual sniping at the Black Sash by the Nationalist-controlled Press and by the steady propaganda put out by individual Nationalists and directed at Black Sash sympathisers, which aims at discrediting the movement in the eyes of Opposition Parties.

It is Not Enough

Hovering well above the ground and dropping nothing more explosive than leaflets, however honest, factual and well-informed they may be, is not enough in the country's desperate crisis and Black Sash

members have all been urged to come down to earth whenever needed and throw in their full weight as individuals with the political party of their choice and thus help to achieve the aims of the movement viz. good democratic government for our country.

It would however be a stupid waste to destroy or allow to fade out a movement which furnishes all its members with increased vision, with a sharpened sense of the realities of the political situation in our land and with a strong spiritual urge to replace blind race hatred both between the white groups and across the colour line, with generous understanding and a basic agreement on rights, responsibilities and freedoms.

Both the President, Mrs. R. Foley and the Chairman, Mrs. J. Sinclair, said in their opening speeches at the Conference that a change of heart in South Africans is our only hope for the future and that we are striving to bring about with all the energy and integrity of which we are capable.

We call on all women who have not yet done so to join the Helicopter Force, ask all sympathisers to support us and political parties to benefit from the help our members would like to give them.

N. GREEN.

WOMANHOOD

*She came towards me down the Avenue,
And he who walked beside her held her hand.
The mountain sky above her, blazing blue,
Shone through the interleaving green of oaks,
To deepen still her sari's tender hue,
And as we passed, we smiled, with wisdom
shared.*

*We love—and we are loved; not so, my sister?
We have borne children, felt the self-same
pangs.*

*Prayed the same tender, inarticulate prayers of
mothers,*

Felt the same joy in touch of childish hands.

*I know your need—you mine; a peaceful
home.*

*The knowledge passed between us like a flame.
Your roots are in the East, mine in the West,
Our womanhood we share, in Heaven's Name.*

M.L.S.

This South Africa

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

"Mr. A. Hepple said that the need for increased wages for both Black and White was urgent. He ignored the argument of increased productivity and said that if members of Parliament were paid on productivity many of them would be starving."—S.A.P.A.

(5s. to Mrs. J. W. Wright, Nata[.])

"There must be State-aid for immigrants and we must see that South Africa gets her share of the best in Europe."—Sir de Villiers Graaff, as reported in "The Rand Daily Mail," 20/5/57.

"If I am playing in a Rugby team I do not want to win the game by introducing an extra eight forwards on my side."—Mr. A. Louw, ex-Nationalist Party member, as reported in the "Rand Daily Mail," 21/3/57.

"Unity of one race vis-a-vis another is destructive of unity and the seed-bed of dictatorship, as is shown both in the career of Hitler and our own totalitarians. Unity founded on race brings strife and war."—G. E. Lee, in "Rand Raily Mail," 21/5/57.

"The story goes that the world-renowned child's tale of a horse called "Black Beauty" was banned in South Africa because the censor thought it was the autobiography of a Zulu belle."—*"Sunday Tribune," Durban, 21/4/57.*

"The real problem that should be exercising our minds is not pipe-dreams of apartheid but serious consideration of how best to organise the social and economic life of the people in a multi-racial society."—Prof. D. Hobart Houghton, Economist, reported in "The Evening Post," Port Elizabeth, 11/5/57.

hierdie bewering egter die grofste skynheiligheid. Die nie-blankes het grondige rede om te sê dat hulle die Nasionaliste sal glo wanneer hulle verneem dat al die blankes in Parktown, Rondebosch en die Durbanse Berea uitgesit gaan word. Die nie-blankes vereis egter nie soveel nie. Hul sê hul sal die Nasionaliste glo as daar maar met een klein blanke gemeenskap as gevolg van die Wet op Groepsgebiede verskuif word. Sal dit egter ooit gebeur?

Die Verenigde Party het blykbaar besluit om die Wet op Stadsgebiede nie te herroep nie indien die Party weer aan bewind kom, maar om dit eerder te wysig of die intreding daarvan uit te stel. Die enigste opregte koers is egter om geheel en al daarvan ontslae te raak.

A Clarion Call

"Never has the Black Sash been more urgently needed. We must go back and fight: we must arouse the apathetic and frighten the unconvinced. You will all remember Lincoln's words, 'The probability that we may fail in the struggle ought not to deter us from the support of a cause we believe to be just.' So I ask you to return to your branches determined to fight every inch of the way and to put all the time and energy you can spare into this most urgent struggle."

These were the concluding words in an inspiring address which Mrs. M. Corrigall, Chair of the Natal Midlands Region, recently delivered to the Annual Branch Conference of the Region.

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havoc is almost guaranteed. Already the smaller country towns of the Transvaal have begun to seize on this Act as a heaven-sent opportunity to get rid of their Indian store-keepers. The Indians cannot be sent back to India, but they can be—and will be—banished to the bare veld miles outside the town, where they can only survive by taking in one another's washing. The Indians of Johannesburg, some of them with trading rights of fifty years' standing, are scheduled for upheaval; the Cape Coloureds, who have lived peacefully in Cape Town with their White neighbours for over a century, are to be kraaled off and herded about.

The ethical justification for all this is the argument that the Group Areas Act applies to **ALL** races in South Africa and that therefore its application can involve no prejudice to any one race. In the present set-up in South Africa, however, that is a piece of hypocrisy that is too embarrassing even to glance at. The non-Europeans might well reply that they will believe the Nationalists when they hear that all the White people are going to be evicted from Parktown, Rondebosch and the Durban Berea. But the non-Europeans are not as ambitious as that. They say that they will believe the Nationalists if just one small European community is evicted under the Group Areas Act. Can anybody see it happening?

The United Party has apparently decided that it will not repeal the Urban Areas Act if it is returned to power, but will modify or postpone its working. Surely the only honest thing to do is to get rid of the monstrosity altogether.

MEET THE BLACK SASH

Two Office-bearers of Natal Coastal Region



Mrs. SHEARER



Mrs. GOLDBERG

MRS. M. SHEARER. Municipal Affairs, Natal Regional Committee. Born in India. Travelled to and from England until marriage, when she lived in Scotland for 2 years. Was in England with her children during the war, and worked as Air Raid Warden in outer London. Returned to India after the war to join husband (Indian Army) and came to South Africa in 1946. Has always been interested in politics and municipal affairs. Is an active member of the Women's Institute.

MRS. E. GOLDBERG. Press Relations Officer, Natal C. Region. Born and educated in England. South African citizen since 1929. Organized in Natal the first petition for the Women's Defence of the Constitution League. Married and has one grown up son.

THREADS FROM THE SASH

A SINCERE tribute has come from the **EASTERN CAPE REGION** to their retiring Secretary, Mrs. Kay Judd. Among other Herculean tasks with which she is credited was her remarkable achievement of having rushed home and duplicated 2,000 pamphlets in an incredibly short space of time, when it was found that these pamphlets were in short supply for a demonstration already under way!

* * *
MRS. ELNITH BLACK, of the **GEORGE BRANCH**, thinks there is only one other member of the branch younger than herself and she gives her age as "not young." Many of the younger women give as an excuse for not joining the Black Sash the fear that their "husbands' businesses might suffer." As enthusiasm and fearlessness are better qualifications than mere youth, the elderliness of the George members does not detract an iota from the excellent work they are doing.

* * *
ONE of our members has just returned from a brief holiday in the **WATERBERG** area, and was greatly impressed with the stalwart fight being put up by the Black Sash in this part of the world. Their numbers are not large and they are, of course, coping with the Prime Minister's own constituency, but there is no doubt that their persistence and integrity have made a great impression on the farming and trading community of the Waterberg.

* * *
MRS. PEGGY NORTON, of the **KING-WILLIAMSTOWN BRANCH**, is holding the fort almost single-handed while the Chair is overseas. Mrs. Norton has been responsible for following East London's excellent example and starting an Information Table, where Black Sash magazines and literature are on view and can be readily distributed to the passing public.

BARBERTON CHAIR



Mrs. MELVILL

ELIZABETH MELVILL, wife of Alexander Melvill, surveyor, Barberton. Married in 1936. They have travelled extensively in the Union, Rhodesia, and Swaziland on various surveys. Mrs. Melvill helps her husband in his work, often spending weeks at a time camped in the back of beyond. There are two sons, 18 and 16.

Mrs. Melvill is the third daughter of Willoughby Laidman Methley, of Newstead, Balgowan. She was educated in Natal and London, where she attended a private secretarial college. Her great grand-father, the Rev. Thomas Laidman Hodgson, built the first home in the Transvaal in 1823 at Mquassi, where, with the Rev. John Broadbent he established the first Mission Station. Mr. Melvill's great grand-father settled at the Cape as a boy in 1795.

THREADS (Continued)

ONE of the **CAPE TOWN** delegates to last month's Conference in Pietermaritzburg was asked by the Indian telephone operator in her hotel whether the Conference was Government-sponsored. She replied firmly: "Oh no, the Government is trying to ignore us, but we never ignore them!"

THREE REPORTS ON NATIVE LAWS

THE Tomlinson Report is news today. It is both interesting and profitable to cast the mind's eye back to its predecessors; the **Fagan Report** (1948) and the Report of the Transvaal Local Government Commission (1922), commonly known as the **Stallard Commission**.

The findings of the **Stallard Commission** established the basic premise on which subsequent legislation in South Africa was framed: "It should be a recognised principle of Government that Natives—men, women and children—should only be permitted within municipal areas in so far and for so long as their presence is demanded by the wants of the white population and should depart therefrom when they cease to minister to the needs of the white man." And where the presence of Natives in urban areas was so required, the same principle of residential segregation should be followed as was laid down for rural areas by the Native Land Act of 1913.

In pursuance of this policy the Natives (Urban Areas) Act was passed in 1923, whereby the Government, while retaining some measure of control over local authorities, entrenched the principle that each municipality is responsible for Natives within its area. Municipal authorities were among other things (a) to provide adequate housing for Natives (b) to set up Native Advisory Boards in Native villages (c) to control the influx of Natives into the area and remove "redundant" natives.

The Fagan Commission, i.e. the Native Laws Commission appointed in August, 1946, delivered its report in February, 1948, shortly before the Nationalist Party came to power in May, 1948. This Commission reviewed the existing conditions in urban areas and concluded that "not only that legislation drafted twenty-five years ago has been inadequate to meet the situation, but also that the very premise (of the Stallard Commission) on which such legislation was passed is untenable today." (1948).

The Fagan Report studied the drift to the towns. "Economic forces have proved stronger than legislation. Natives have been pushed out of the rural areas because the Reserves are over-populated . . . and they have been pulled towards the urban areas because of the labour requirements of the expanding industrial centres . . . Conditions in the rural areas have forced many hundreds of thousands of Natives to regard the towns as their permanent home."

The Fagan Commission called for a new approach to the problem. It felt that Municipalities could no longer be responsible for the Natives in their areas. What was urgently necessary was "a shifting of the emphasis from the local to the central authority, so that comprehensive, co-ordinated plans for the whole terrain can be devised and put into operation."

That, alas, never happened, because of the change of Government in 1948.

The Fagan Commission considered also three possible policies:—

- (a) Apartheid or total segregation.
- (b) No racial discrimination.

- (c) Acceptance of the co-existence of European and Native communities side by side, but recognising their intrinsic differences in legislation and administration.

It found **the idea of total separation completely impracticable** for economic reasons. The old cry of "Send them back to the Reserves" was no longer a solution because too many Natives had never known life in the Reserves. The policy of "no racial discrimination" it held to be unrealistic, and therefore accepted the third policy as the only practical line of action—the "acceptance that European and Native Communities will permanently exist side by side" bound together by economic ties, but whose intrinsic differences necessitate recognition in legislation and administration.

The Commission felt that migratory labour was undesirable both from an economic and a family point of view, and recommended a policy of stabilisation of labour. Hand in hand with this went recommendations for a policy of agricultural development of the Reserves plus the establishment of industries therein.

Elasticity in legislation of Native affairs was stressed, with room for experimenting and consideration of the varying stages of development of the Natives. "A course of events that can no longer be changed has made South Africa the common home of races differing so radically from each other that there can be no question of assimilation, yet economically and territorially so intertwined that they are simply compelled from moment to moment, to regulate their contacts, to bridge their differences, and to settle their disputes."

The Tomlinson Commission was appointed in 1950 and took four years to complete its report, which consisted of eighteen volumes.

The **basic premise** of each of these three reports is what concerns the people of South Africa. The Stallard Commission's basic premise was "keep the Natives in the urban areas only in so far as their presence is demanded by the wants of the white population."

The Fagan Report, twenty-five years later, accepted as its basic premise the permanence of the Native in the urban areas, and the **interdependence economically of European and Native communities**.

The Tomlinson Report, a colossal document, also has but one basic premise: that the only possible solution is **separate development-apartheid**. It makes its choice between complete integration of the two main racial groups or their separate development, and finds no middle course possible.

All that follows in the Tomlinson Report is but an elaboration of this basic premise. Separate development means territorial segregation which in turn necessitates the full-scale development of the Bantu areas. This includes both agricultural and urban developments in Bantu areas, which will have to be far greater in geographical extent than the present Native Reserves.

(Continued on opposite page)

FACT AND FICTION

FICTION:

A few years ago, Dr. W. Nicol, Administrator of the Transvaal, when addressing a gathering of young people in Johannesburg, strongly urged young Afrikaner women against marrying an Englishman, because he said that their cultures could never mix and only trouble could result from such a marriage.

FACT:

The fact is that some of the most successful marriages we have known are those between Afrikaners on the one hand and English-speaking South Africans on the other. (We refuse to use the term "Englishman" as Dr. Nicol did, to emphasise the separateness and uniqueness of the species). As we pointed out in a recent Fact and Fiction article, at this stage of our development surely the Afrikaans-speaking girl and the English-speaking boy could with justice both be termed South Africans. Most of us who are English-speaking in the Union, but who nevertheless like to think of ourselves as South Africans, belong to the second or third generation to be born here. Would Dr. Nicol not concede that, however different the historical background, it is possible that we have developed a strong love for this, our country, in that time? Nobody, of course, has ever doubted the Afrikaner's love for, and devotion to, this country.

But are the cultures of which we are the products so vastly different? Is it true that the differences are so great that "the cultures could not possibly mix"? It would take an historian a matter of minutes to set forth a hundred points on which the English and Dutch races had more in common than most races, but for reasons of space we must content ourselves here with pointing out that the legal systems developed by both indicate a common strong sense of justice, that both have shown in their respective histories a sturdy spirit of independence and frequently a passion for freedom.

To get away from the distant past and look forward for a moment: what about the children of these "mixed" marriages which Dr. Nicol regards with such grave mistrust? Are they not the true South Africans of the future? Perfectly bilingual, brought up free from suspicion and distrust of children "in the other camp" and inheriting the best from both sides of their ancestry, surely they are the very citizens on whom we could truly depend to build a united South Africa? This continued emphasis on narrow sectionalism has not done much so far towards creating a united nation.

Enormous sums of money will have to be spent on this separate development. Bantu towns will have to be established in which the Bantu will enjoy the same rights as the European in his towns. The scheme is stupendous in its magnitude, but for all the Report's insistence on the implementation of its basic premise of **apartheid**, it admits that by the end of the century there will still be six million Natives in the

FANTASIE EN FEIT

FANTASIE:

'n Paar jaar gelede het dr. W. Nicol, Administrateur van Transvaal, 'n groep jong mense in Johannesburg toegesprek. In die loop van sy toespraak het hy sterk aanbeveel dat jong Afrikaner-dames nie met Engelse moet trou nie. Hy het beweer dat hul kulture sou bots en dat daar slegs tweedrag uit so 'n huwelik sou voortvloei.

FEIT:

In werklikheid is party van die mees geslaagde huwelike dié wat tussen Afrikaners en Engels-sprekende Suid-Afrikaners aangegaan word. (Ons weier om die term „Engelsman" te gebruik; Dr. Nicol het dit gebesig om die kastige afsonderlikheid en uniekheid van die groep te beklemtoon). Soos ons onlangs in hierdie rubriek aangedui het, kan die Afrikaanssprekende meisie en die Engelssprekende seun albei tog seker, in hierdie stadium van ons ontwikkeling, Suid-Afrikaners genoem word. Die meeste van ons wat Engelssprekend is maar wat onself nietemin as Suid-Afrikaners beskou, kom van families wat reeds vir twee of drie geslagte in die Unie gevestig is. Hoe verskillend ons historiese agtergrond ookal mag wees, sal dr. Nicol nog seker toegee dat dit in die loop van hierdie jare vir ons moontlik was om 'n sterk liefde vir ons land te ontwikkel. Aan die liefde en toewyding van die Afrikaner teenoor ons land is daar natuurlik nie te twyfel nie.

Maar is die kulture waarin ons ontwikkel het dan regtig so uiteenlopend? Is dit waar dat die verskille so groot is dat „die kulture sou bots"? 'n Geskiedkundige sou sonder moeite 'n honderd punte kon noem waar die Engelse en die Hollanders meer gemeen gehad het as die meeste ander volke. Weens gebrek aan ruimte moet ons egter tevrede wees om slegs die feite te noem dat beide regsstelsels dieselfde regverdigheid toon en dat beide volke bewys gelewer het van kragtige gevoelens van onafhanklikheid en 'n hartstogtelike liefde vir vryheid.

Om nou die verre verlede te vergeet en ons oë op die toekoms te rig: wat van die kinders van hierdie gemengde huwelike wat dr. Nicol met sulke agterdog bejeën? Is hulle nie die ware Suid-Afrikaners van die toekoms nie? Volkome tweetalig, sonder agterdog teenoor kinders „van die ander seksie," met die beste eienskappe van albei groepe as hul erfenis—sal hulle dan nie by uitstek die burgers wees aan wie ons die bou van 'n verenigde volk kan toevertrou nie? Die klem wat gedurig op eng seksionalisme gelê word het tot dusver bitterlik min bygedra tot die skepping van 'n verenigde volk.

European areas. Those six million will presumably be the ones mentioned in the Stallard Commission's basic premise—but this is where we come in! In 1922 there was no thought of white South Africa being surrounded by independent and possibly hostile Bantu States, created by white South Africa itself.

M.E.F.



UNITED PARTY

THE experience of the years since Union has shown that the present electoral laws of the country do not today meet with the essential requirements of a justly democratic system. For example, in the last two General Elections, the party which gained the majority in the House of Assembly did so despite the fact that it polled fewer votes throughout the Union than did its chief opponent, the United Party. The figures in the 1953 election, after a reasonable allocation of votes to each of the contending parties in seats which were unopposed, were:

- Nat. Party, 641,384 votes.
- 94 House of Assembly seats.
- United and Labour Parties, 772,433 votes.
- United Party, 57 House of Assembly seats.
- Labour Party, 5 House of Assembly seats.

This situation arose, firstly, because of the concentration of United Party votes in various areas, which resulted in many unopposed seats and vast majorities for the United Party in those constituencies which were contested; and, secondly, because of the provisions of the South Africa Act which permit individual constituencies to contain up to fifteen per cent. more or fewer voters than the general constituency quota.

The electoral system which is commonly called "proportional representation" would eliminate this kind of situation, namely, one in which the reins of office can rest in the hands of a party commanding a minority of votes. But the proportional representation system carries within itself other grave defects which could gravely endanger stability in government. For example, its application encourages and usually leads to a multiplicity of parties, each of which obtains some measure of representation in Parliament. Seldom, if ever, does any one party obtain an overall majority, and, consequently, the

(Continued in column 6

THE LOADED VOTE AND DELIMITATION

THE VIEWS OF THE OPPOSITION PARTIES

LABOUR PARTY

THE Labour Party believes that the prime objective at the 1958 general election must be the defeat of the Nationalist government.

Nine years of Nationalism have brought worry and anxiety to all but a small minority of South Africans, who all share a growing fear for the future. Every Session of Parliament has thrust some new crisis upon the people. Race relations have never been worse. The apartheid policy of the Nationalists is showing itself to be one of desperation.

The times demand the presentation of a clear and courageous alternative to the present Government. All those who see the Nation's danger and wish to avert it, should make common cause on the one objective of seeking an end to Nationalist rule.

As things are, conditions favour the Nationalists. First of all, there is the widespread disunity amongst the forces of the Opposition. Secondly the advantages of the loaded vote fall almost entirely to the Nats., because they hold practically all rural seats, which can benefit up to 30 per cent. at the expense of urban seats. Thirdly, the Nationalists have improved their party machine tremendously since 1953; they have more money, more organisers and greater efficiency.

They have been studying the question of the delimitation for a long time and will submit skilfully conceived and convincing evidence to the delimitation commission, to improve their chances in many more constituencies. In the Cape, they have finally secured the removal of the Coloured voters from the common roll, a step which they hope will gain them at least three additional seats.

(Continued on page 10)

SOUTH AFRICAN BOND

THE South Africa Act of 1909, section 40, sub-sections 1, 2, 3, makes provision for the methods of delimitation to assure justice and equity to all voters. The Delimitation Commission is required to divide the total number of registered voters in each Province by the number of members of the House of Assembly to be elected in that Province. After having determined the provincial quotas in this manner, the commissioners are, during the process of delimitation, required to give consideration to the following factors:—

- (a) Community and diversity of interests.
- (b) Means of communication.
- (c) Physical features.
- (d) Existing electoral boundaries.
- (e) Sparsity or density of population.

They may however, whenever they deem it necessary, depart from the above, but in no case to any greater extent than fifteen per centum more or fifteen per centum less than the quota determined.

In 1953 the quotas were as follows:

	Maxi- mum	Mini- mum	Quota
Cape	12,802	9,462	11,132
Transvaal	11,721	8,665	10,193
Natal	12,049	8,905	10,477
O.F.S.	12,085	8,933	10,589

When the Act was passed half a century ago the provisions as set out above were made because the rural areas were sparsely populated, communications and transport were undeveloped which placed them at a disadvantage. Modern introductions such as telephones, motor cars, aeroplanes and better roads have removed the necessity for discrimination.

At the last election the governing party polled 599,826 votes as against 626,450 votes by the combined opposition. There were in addition twenty unopposed seats (two Nat. and 18 U.P.). Taking these into consideration the total opposition vote was about 130,000 more than the total vote cast for the governing party, yet the Nats. won 94 seats against 62 of the

(Continued on page 10)



FEDERAL PARTY

LET'S begin by looking at a few aspects of the franchise:

1. Subject to certain conditions, e.g. adulthood, obedience to the law, etc., citizens are entitled to the vote.

2. The votes of citizens should have an equal value.

3. Government decides and controls the conditions of electoral eligibility and

4. Government has the power to alter the relative values of votes.

5. Government is democratically bound to reflect and discharge "the will of the people."

When we compare these aspects of the franchise with the factual situation in South Africa at present, we have good reason for surprise and alarm. Surprise at the remarkable facility with which the Government has placed entirely new interpretations on accepted democratic principles, alarm at the sinister trend electoral affairs have taken since the present Government have come to power.

If South Africa is really to be a democracy, if her Parliament is really to represent and carry out the will of the people, it is essential, in the Union Federal Party's view, for a drastic alteration in electoral policies to be made.

Those who bear the responsibilities and burdens of citizenship (taxation, military service, etc.) are entitled to the privileges of citizenship, foremost among which is the franchise. We accept that differences of education, culture and generally recognised standards of civilization exist between, on the one hand, the European inhabitants, and on the other, the non-European peoples of South Africa. We believe that those who enjoy a higher standard of civilization, and who consequently bear a greater proportion of responsibility as citizens, are entitled to a greater voice in matters concerning their lives as citizens of South Africa. Equally firmly, we believe that this provision in no way impairs or curtails **the right** of any citizen, white or non-white, to enjoy

equal status. We do not consider that non-whites must permanently enjoy inferior and unrepresented status. We do believe that if a citizen, of any race, satisfies certain requirements, he or she is entitled to a vote.

So much for the individual vote. Limitations of space forbid a more comprehensive survey, and another aspect of electoral affairs commands our attention—delimitation. As the law stands, electoral delimitation offers generous scope for malpractice, and despite a Delimitation Commission's impartiality, iniquitous and monstrous recommendations have often been the basis of delimitation decisions. These, as a consequence, have been far from just in their practical application. Among other things, **the Union Federal Party will work for the abolition** of those provisions of the Electoral laws which allow "loading" and "unloading" of constituencies. The original reasons for and merits of this electoral device have long since ceased to have any validity. The system is perpetuated and grossly misused by the present government on a variety of advertised pretexts which should hood-wink no one.

Two other major points regarding delimitation which the Union Federal Party considers warrant early amendment are:—

1. The Delimitation Commission should be appointed by the Chief Justice, and thus be kept outside party political affiliations.

2. The terms of reference of the Delimitation Commission's enquiries, and the nature and interpretation and application of evidence which may be collected and used in delimitation decisions by the Commission, need drastic revision in order to secure the justice of decisions.

In its ultimate stages, Federal Party policy embodies state elections (to replace the present Provincial elections) for State Governments federally linked by a Constitution which will not permit the enactment or exercise of unconstitutional measures. Diametrically opposed to the Broederbond concept, the Union Federal

LIBERAL PARTY

THE Liberal Party's views on the vote have been expressed fully in a previous number of "Black Sash." Here we should just like to reiterate briefly our twin-views: that representative institutions work best through universal adult suffrage (notwithstanding the frailty of the average adult voter!) and that it is the job of the State to do its utmost to create an informed electorate.

We should like to add that we believe that delimitation commissions should be manned by Judges of the Supreme Court. On the subject of "loading" we should like to make this observation: the historical reason for "underloading" rural constituencies, i.e., because voting is physically more difficult where distances are great and transport lacking, is still valid but not, we believe, as of much force in this age of mechanized transport as it was in the past. Disparities as great as exist, say, between the number of voters on the roll in Hillbrow and the number on the roll in a South West African seat (something like 13,000 to 3,000) cannot be justified by any such considerations.

FEDERAL PARTY (Continued)

Party unreservedly believes that the State exists for the benefit of the People, the State is the servant of the People, and the State is subject to the will of the People.

UNITED PARTY (Contd.)

government invariably consists of a coalition of two or more parties who sooner or later disagree, thereby bringing about frequent changes of government and destroying any material measure of continuity.

The United Party has therefore resolved in Union Congress that upon the Party's return to power it will review the provisions of our Electoral Laws to ensure that proper effect is given in future elections to the will of the people.

MEET THE BLACK SASH

More Members of Natal Midlands Region



Mrs. HARRISON



Mrs. LEWIS

MRS. GILLIAN LEWIS is the Natal Midlands Branch Organiser, and is quite tireless in her work for Black Sash. Of herself she says: "I have had a very uninteresting but happy life. Born in Kingwilliamstown in 1926. Lived in England for five years and returned to South Africa in 1938 to complete education at Barnato Park School, Johannesburg. Did one year in war supplies as a factory hand on wireless, and then worked at Wits. Medical School for five years. Married in 1949. Have three children. Am really more interested in music than politics, but am also more interested in my children than in music—hence my concern over South African politics."

MRS. UNITY HARRISON matriculated at the Rustenberg Girls' High School in Rondebosch. She has lived in Pietermaritzburg for six years and has one daughter, Miralda, aged five. She was Areas Secretary of Toc H in Natal for two years, and for several years was Areas Scribe in Natal and Transvaal, and secretary for African Welfare. She is keenly interested in classical music, ballet and amateur dramatics, having taken part in several local productions. Is at present in the Town Clerk's Office, Pietermaritzburg. Joined Black Sash at its inception.

MISS PAMELA REID is one of the most prominent members on the Committee. She has been a City Councillor for three years, and has just been re-elected for a further three years. She is the youngest Councillor in Natal. Her interests are very varied. She attended the Girls' Agricultural College at Boschetto, spent several years overseas studying agriculture in Denmark and England. Is an authority on classical music, and keenly interested in amateur dramatics. Is now doing pottery, and we hear she is a "born potter." Is very enthusiastic about Black Sash.

WATERBERG CHAIR



MRS. TURNER

MRS. RUTH TURNER is Chairwoman of the Waterberg Branch, and organiser of that area. The Borseto Branch, of which she is also Chairwoman, was the first branch to be started in the Northern Transvaal. While her husband was on active service during World War II, she managed two farms, as well as doing a great deal of work for the S.A.W.A.S. She holds diplomas for designing and for art needlework and also finds time to be an energetic political worker. Has two grown-up daughters and two small sons still at school.

THIS IS YOUR PARTY—CONTINUED

UNITED PARTY (Continued)

Let there be absolute clarity on one matter; apartheid in the minds of its proponents means very much more than the traditional South African policy of social separation and racial purity. And because of this, it is as dangerous to South Africa as the opium pipe is to a man whose own problems of survival require the utmost clarity of thought.

S.A. BOND (Continued)

just European guidance and leadership, it is at the same time convinced that some hope must be offered to those who are willing to co-operate and who are willing to accept our western way of life. It insists on a radical economic policy and a bold European immigration policy.

FEDERAL PARTY (Continued)

lies the crux of the whole matter: How can complete integration be

most satisfactorily achieved? This is the vital question that requires answer. How much to give—and how soon? How to leap the great hurdles of race prejudice, political anxiety, economic fear? How to graduate the non-European's entry into our western way of life? How to bring about a new and healthy race relationship?

It is to this task, with patient perseverance, with sincerity and understanding, with courage and a deep sense of patriotic duty, that we should now turn our efforts.

GEDWONGE APARTHEID TEENOOR NATUURLIKE ONTWIKKELING

SINDS die vroeë jare toe 'n groep Blankes van die hoog beskaafde Westelike Europese lande hulle in Suid-Afrika gevestig het, en daar kontak gemaak het met die agterlike inboorlinge, was dit natuurlik dat 'n vorm van apartheid tussen twee sulke wyd uiteenlopende groepe sou ontstaan het. Die vorm van apartheid het nooit belet dat daar gehegtheid tussen individue van die groepe ontstaan het nie.

Driehonderd jaar het al verloop sinds die eerste Blanke nedersettings in Suid-Afrika. Dit was onvermydelik dat die groepe mekaar sou beïnvloed—veral van die Blanke sy, het die beskawing waarvoor hulle beskik het, vir die nie-Blanke 'n nuwe ontwikkelingstydperk laat begin. As gevolg van hierdie ontwikkeling is dit vandag duidelik dat die natuurlike apartheid besig is om te wyk vir 'n net so natuurlike neiging tot die integrasie en assosiasie tussen die groepe. Geen samelewing is staties nie. Daar moet gedurig aanpassings en veranderings plaasvind. As 'n persoon of 'n groep hierdie natuurlike veranderings wil stuit, moet hy hom op geweld beroep. Die begrip „geweld” is geen aangename begrip nie.

In die oorgangsjare van jongmens tot volwassene maak die meeste mense deeglik kennis met die begrip. Gedurende daardie tydperk in sy lewe is die mens so seker van wat reg en wat verkeerd is, en met die onervare entoesiasme van die jeug beskou hy geweld as 'n hoogs bevredigende oplossing vir die probleme wat hy ervaar. Kan ons nie almal (gewoonlik met 'n blos van skaamte) die noodlottige gevolge onthou toe ons probeer het om sake op te los met geweld nie? Die groot voordeel van die jare wat ons versamel is die wysheid wat ons ook daarby wen—die heilsame twyfel wat by ons ontstaan oor die onfeilbaarheid van enige persoon of enige stelsel. Ons word meer bewus van die gevare wat die veronagsaming van natuurlike ontwikkelinge kan meebring. Ons dink ook nie maklik daaraan om sulke ontwikkelinge te probeer **dwing** in 'n vorm wat ons persoonlik onderskryf nie. Ons ontleed ander standpunte krities en met aandag en pas ons eie idees aan in die proses. Dit is gedurende hierdie tydperk dat one insien dat die gebruik van geweld nie die antwoord is nie. Dit geld sowel vir individue as vir groepe.

Ons het vandag in Suid-Afrika te doen met 'n Regering wat in die stadium van jeugdige alwetendheid verkeer—die Afrikaner Nasionaliste wat baas is. Enige opposisie word geïgnoreer en almal word geforseer om aan te pas by die enigste ideologie wat reg is—hulle ideologie. Met die talle wette wat hulle besig is om op ons wetboeke te plaas, gee hulle ons 'n ongeëwenaarde vertoning van geweld teneinde hulle idees op Suid-Afrika af te dwing. Alleen deur vasberade opposisie teë te kom sal hulle 'n rypere stadium bereik en besef hoe onverstandig dit is om geweld te gebruik veral op die skaal wat dit tans geskied.

Hier is 'n paar voorbeelde om te toon in watter omstandighede die gebruik van geweld verkeerd en onverstandig is:—

- (1) Om Engelssprekende en Afrikaanssprekende kinders te **dwing** om in aparte skole te wees en daardeur parallel-mediumskole af te skaf.
- (2) Om die Universiteite van Kaapstad en die Witwatersrand te **dwing** om hulle deure te sluit vir nie-Blanke studente. Dit sou net so verkeerd wees om Stellenbosch of Potchefstroom te **dwing** om hulle deure oop te maak vir nie-Blanke studente.
- (3) Om inwoners van b.v. Melrose te **dwing** om nie-Blankes in hulle woonbuurt te laat woon.
- (4) Om kerke (b.v. Afrikaanse kerke) te **dwing** om hulle deure oop te stel vir nie-blanke kerk-gangers terwyl die blanke kerklede nog nie te vinde is vir die idee nie.
- (5) Om mense van kleur te **dwing** om woonbuurtes wat al geruime tyd deur hulle bewoon is te verlaat (b.v. Kleurlinge in die Kaap—Indiërs in Vrededorp—gemengde rasse in Sophiatown). Sonder dwang sou enige oorbevolkte deel uit eie beweging oortrek na dele waar beter behuisingsskemas goedkoop aangebied word en waar redelike transport teen billike tariewe verskaf word.

Op grond waarvan kom enige groep tot die gevolgtrekking dat hy oor genoeg kennis en wysheid beskik om te kan sê dat die groep die natuurlike ont-

“IF A MAN DOES NOT RESENT SLIGHT INJUSTICES, HE WILL SOON BE CALLED UPON TO FACE GIANT WRONGS.”

—Anon.

wikkelinge en aanpassings, wat in enige gemeenskap moet plaasvind, behoort te stuit, en selfs in die teenoorgestelde rigting moet probeer stuur? Hierdie natuurlike ontwikkelinge is die gevolg van grootse magte wat ons sal respekteer en versigtig sal ondersoek as ons verstandig is. Dit is sulke magte wat besig is om te lei tot die integrasie en assosiasie wat oral om ons heen te bespeur is. Ons sien hierdie feit van integrasie in ons Universiteite, ons kerke, ons verenigings, ons professies en selfs politieke partye.

Hoekom is daar integrasie? Omdat met die ontwikkeling van 'n groep intelligente nie-blankes in die westerse beskawing, dit die mees natuurlike stap is om hulle te integreer en te gebruik in ons gemeenskap ten voordele van albei seksies.

Nou plaas die huidige Regering elkeen vandag voor 'n keuse. Dit is: gaan ons hierdie natuurlike ontwikkeling van integrasie aanvaar en help met die praktiese besturing van so 'n aanpassing, of gaan ons die Regering ondersteun in sy huidige aanmatigende wetgewingsmanie om dit te probeer keer?

REGIONAL AND BRANCH REPORTS

EAST LONDON BRANCH

Visit to Umtata

ON Monday, 6th May, seven members of the East London Branch went in two cars to Umtata to haunt Dr. Verwoerd, Minister of Native Affairs, who was arriving to open the Annual Transkei Bunga. It was a 150-mile drive and the day was fine, crisp and cold. After a happy picnic lunch, it was decided to take up a stand at a strategic spot where there was a sharp bend in the road, next to a cattle grid. Cars had to slow up almost to a standstill. Three members of the Umtata Branch joined forces with East London, making the number up to ten.

The plane arrived at about 4.30 p.m. and the Sashers then took up their stand. The Black Sash had never been active in Umtata before and considerable surprise was occasioned by this demonstration. When the last car had passed through the ranks, members moved to the front of the Savoy Hotel, where a cocktail party was to be held in honour of Dr. Verwoerd. Members took it in turns to stand two at a time until 6.15 p.m. Many compliments were paid to the Sash women by the well-dressed crowd passing in to the party and a group of American tourists afterwards met and chatted with the Sash women. They were intensely

GEDWONGE APARTHEID (Vervolg)

Vir Suid-Afrikaners is dit seker moeiliker om hierdie idee van integrasie te aanvaar, want ons het nou eenkeer 'n kleurvooroordeel, en neig nog om 'n swart mens te vereenselwig met 'n barbaar. Maar ons kan onthou dat natuurlike integrasie nie iets is wat oornag geskied nie. Dit kom namate die gemeenskap gereed is om dit te aanvaar. As u die rigting aanvaar, beteken dit nog nie dat u skielik te staan sal kom voor situasies wat u nog nie kan aanvaar nie, want geweld of dwang speel geen rol in natuurlike ontwikkeling nie. Maar, ek herhaal, die keuse wat die Regering voor u plaas kan u nie vermy nie — die ondersteuning van geweld om natuurlike ontwikkelinge te stuit, of die aanvaarding van integrasie, wat met u hulp dan op die mees wenslike wyse tot stand sal kom.

Aangesien die Swart Serp beweging op morele beginsels gegrond is, word dit gouer verplig om so 'n keuse in die oë te sien en daarvoor 'n besluit te neem dan ander groepe wat minder belang daarin het om die implikasies van die gebeure om hulle heen te ontleed. Suid-Afrika maak op die oomblik so 'n kritieke tydperk deur dat enige optrede (of gebrek aan optrede) 'n politieke betekenis het. Dit is vir u om te besluit. Verleen u ondersteuning aan aanmatigende dwang, of aan verstandige aanvaarding van, en samewerking met, natuurlike ontwikkeling.

ANNA MARAIS.

interested in the Black Sash movement as a whole and the East London women told them all they could about the activities in the short time at their disposal. The leader of the party, Captain Jennings, who in addition to conducting world-wide safari parties, is an international news reporter and has done a series of over a hundred television lectures, promised to do all he could to promote publicity for the movement overseas.

Besides having spent a most interesting day, the members had the satisfaction of knowing that the day's work would probably do much to help the Black Sash cause in the future.

(Editor's Note: The East London members are to be congratulated on their bright opportunism).

* * *

NATAL COASTAL REGION

Tour of Zululand Branches

ON the 29th April, 1957, a very successful tour of the Zululand Branches of the Sash, organised by the Natal Coastal Region, was undertaken by Mrs. Ruth Foley, accompanied by Mrs. Sheila Hopkins, assistant to Mrs. G. Ventress, the Branch Organiser for the Region. Mrs. Foley also addressed meetings of the Highway Branch, the Durban West Branch and the Umzinto and Park Rynie Branch after her return to Durban. The first town it was proposed to visit on the Zululand tour was Eshowe. Unfortunately the meeting had to be cancelled owing to rain and subsequent road conditions, so Kwabonambi was the venue of the first meeting. Here, in spite of adverse weather conditions, thirty-three of the local residents attended the meeting and at question time unusual interest was shown by the men in the audience in Sash policy and affairs. The following evening Mrs. Foley and Mrs. Hopkins addressed a small but interested audience at Empengeni and four new members were recruited.

The final meeting was held at Amatikulu where on the 1st May the Gingindhlovu Branch made Sash history—for there, for the first time, a Nationalist Party leader addressed a gathering of Black Sash women—local members supplemented by a car-load from the Durban Coastal Region. Mrs. Foley and Mrs. Hopkins also attended the meeting as guests. With the greatest good nature Mr. Hatting, who spoke on "Education through the Mother Tongue" faced a barrage of questions at the conclusion of his talk—and the Sash may feel justifiably proud of its well-informed members whose factual knowledge Mr. Hatting was unable to dispute or contradict.

PERSEVERANCE IS MORE PREVAILING
THAN VIOLENCE.

—Plutarch.

FROM OUR POSTBAG

To the Editor, Black Sash.

I wish to thank most sincerely our great leader, Mr. Strydom, for his steady, unrelenting forcing of black and white apartheid on a grateful country.

We white South Africans will not only be saved, we shall be made great.

When all the blacks are out of our country, sitting in their own States across our borders, we shall have time to breathe, and train our children for the great tasks ahead.

As they will be voters at 18, it is only right that our children should give something to the land of their birth before they become citizens. I would like to ask the authorities to cut down the school-leaving age to 13 years, and let our children start on the important task of earning their own livings, so that by 18, they will not only have the vote, but contribute in taxation to their country's earnings. The schooling must not be too fussy—after all, many of our boys and girls will have to become street cleaners, sewer workers, coal heavers, dustbin and refuse removers, pick and shovel miners, floor scrubbers, dishwashers, baby minders, etc. This means that they do not even have to learn the two official languages—one will do quite well—and so I am in hearty agreement with the Education Department dividing our children in the schools—so very many of them will not have to know more than a little reading to understand orders, and enough writing to address an envelope to the Income Tax Department. The less they know, the better they will be contented with the jobs that must be done.

But, Mr. Prime Minister, we cannot pay black wages to white workers; and I would urge you to show the high courage you have hitherto shown in your stand on the two apartheid, and start **NOW** to tax us all until we squeak. At least half of our earnings will have to be taken by the Government if we are to pay for the removal of all our Blacks, for the setting up and equipping of seven Bantu States; for the increase in wages to white farm labourers and all white labourers who have to take over black jobs. The industries will have to be closed down, and those engaged in such work sent back to the land to supply our farmers with their needed labour—we must not fail our farmers on whom the prosperity and the greatness of our country largely depend. We must not import a single stranger from overseas, Mr. Strydom, lest our ways of thinking and being slowly alter, and that would be disaster to our National greatness, Mr. Strydom.

My heart sings for joy. Though I know we shall be poor; though I know we shall have to labour unrelentingly, we have chosen poverty and hard work deliberately, we have accepted ignorance and joylessness, for the purity of our race and the pride of our Nation, and these will be reward enough.

What does it matter if all others take their ease and have time to sit in the sun? What does it matter if all others eat well and enjoy luxury? There are

THERE IS A LIMIT AT WHICH FORBEARANCE CEASES TO BE A VIRTUE.

—Burke.

things worth all the sacrifice and labour, and I cannot thank Mr. Strydom and his followers enough that they have seen this vision for us, and are steadily pushing us forward to that great day when, thank God, though we starve, though we slave, we shall know ourselves to be one people, one volk!

I am not of those who believe in partial apartheid. The honourable men who direct our destinies would not accept this unsavoury compromise. But apart from that, if we keep six million blacks to minister to our master race, they will only form a fifth column of the Black Bantustans and destroy us in the end. Further, only the riff-raff would in any case stay in a country which only "tolerated" them. We, in the towns, where the system is now in operation, know this well! No, no, we must be brave and sure. We must make a clean sweep and rid our land of all strangers and all races other than ourselves.

We shall be poor—but proud; we shall know grinding toil—but our souls will be our own; we shall be ignorant, but we like simplicity; we shall be defenceless, but strong in Nationalism; we shall be a little people in a world of giants—but we prefer that.

Mr. Strydom—from my heart—I thank you!

D. RANKIN.

* * *

To the Editor, Black Sash.

The present state of affairs—the robbing of the English-speaking South Africans of all heritage and traditions, has been allowed to persist too long. General encroachment is the order of the day and the insidious manner in which the Nationalists are putting over their programme has about it something of a creeping paralysis.

It is up to the women to stem the tide. Rise up, you courageous South Africans; show the "Nats" how much spirit you possess: protest until it hurts; fight as never before. Never let it be said that the Black Sash women accepted the Government's policy "One flag, one anthem, one volk" and of "Dictatorship in the Churches."

It seems a foregone conclusion that a republic will be thrust upon us in the near future. Let us show our resentment **now** at their dictatorial attitude.

The actions of the women—and their votes!—will affect the whole future course of the nation.

G. THOMAS.

A POSSIBLE EXPLANATION

THE rejoinder given to the Black Sash women by a young man at a public meeting during the formers' tour of the Western Transvaal Platte-land—"Do you consider the kaffir to be a human being?"—has filled many of your readers with horror and dismay. Not without a reason, we all wonder what hope there is for South Africa if this is the general outlook among one section of the populace.

All the same, as an English-speaking Plattelander who has tried hard, since 1948, to analyse and understand the Afrikaner point of view, I believe that the young man did not mean quite what he said in the literal sense.

The average Afrikaner—and this means Nationalist also—*does* believe the Native to be a human being. Cases occur, of course, where Afrikaners—and not necessarily Nats. at that—brutally ill-treat the unfortunate Black man. (Cases also occur where English-speaking people—rich Madams who should know better—treat their native servants quite abominably.) But on the whole the average Afrikaner of any political persuasion treats the native just as well as any English-speaking person. The difference does not lie there.

NATIONALIST IDEOLOGY

The correct interpretation, I feel sure, is this. The average Afrikaner (in this case chiefly Nationalist but not necessarily in himself a bad or dishonest fellow) does not believe that the native can ever become a white man. That is the crux of the whole matter, and the widest gulf that yawns between the two schools of thought in this country.

The whole structure upon which the Nationalist ideology rests is the sincere belief that the kaffir, or more happily, the African or Bantu, belongs to a different ethnological group. His body is a human body, but it is not and never can be a white or European body. His mind is a human mind, but it is not, and never can be, a European mind. No matter how ardently the Bantu may seek to share and imitate our civilization, the exponents of this school of thought believe that African civilization, when it finally comes, must have certain essential differences, just as the Bantu himself is different in colour and in facial characteristics.

It is, I think, one of the tenets of Calvinism to believe that God made a diversity of creatures, that each one has his particular niche in Creation and his particular part to play. Dogs must always remain dogs, and not evolve into camels or dromedaries. Human beings are human beings, but they are divided into distinct racial groups and they must evolve and develop according to their innate characteristics, keeping their fundamental stock pure. The Nationalists believe that this distinction between races is so definite that it necessitates separate development in education as well as in the social sphere.

A SEPARATE CIVILIZATION?

The sincere Nationalist—not the political opportunist who is only out for party strength and couldn't care less for theories and fine distinctions—believes that Bantu civilization need be in no way inferior to European civilization, but that it must be a separate civilization and in no way integrated in ours. There have been other civilizations, he points out, in the history of mankind that have been achieved by non-European peoples according to their own distinct and racial pattern: to wit, the civilizations of ancient Egypt, and India, and China. These civilizations were developed by the indigenous peoples themselves and were not, could not be, on any European model. I imagine that the exponents of the theory would like to see the African Christianised; but in Art, Literature, and general education they would like his development to take on a distinctive racial pattern.

It is a point of view. I think we must concede that, even if we don't agree with it. It has not yet been proved conclusively that the African **can** assimilate our civilization in its entirety. An experiment is taking place in the world today that should help to solve the problem for us. The peoples of Ghana have been given a model of a democratic state along European lines and have been left in complete freedom to manipulate it themselves. Will they succeed in doing so, or will they, if not actually relapsing into barbarism, gradually shed the European pattern and develop a State more in keeping with non-European thought? Many students of race believe that the latter is the more probable outcome. A relapse into barbarism is not, however, entirely out of the question. It **could** happen.

The recent revolt in Kenya was a pointer in the direction that barbarism is as yet not far from any black man's mind. Jomo Kenyatta was an educated man, a travelled man. Yet it appears that our civilisation made so little impression on him that when he returned to "liberate" his people he led them straight back into a primeval blackness, to which they took, we must unhappily admit, as ducks take to water. No-one who has read accounts of Mau-Mau atrocities can possibly believe that these natives, at any rate, thought and acted as white men.

THE LIBERAL VIEW

The liberal school of thought will endeavour to assure us that it is only lack of education, lack of equal facilities, that will make the African upon occasion act in this fashion. They will point out to us with pride the many brilliant doctors, lawyers, and teachers, that even now exist among Africans in the urban areas. To all appearances, certainly, these men and women have assimilated our civilization easily and assimilated it thoroughly. But how far, how deep, this civilization goes has still, I think, to be put to the test. After all, some of us are not yet properly civilized; and we have been going on for a considerably longer time! Can we wonder, there-

fore, that the "educated" black man, beneath his veneer of culture and in his innermost soul, still at times hears the drums beat in the jungle, and the wail of the human sacrifice?

I think we must seek to believe that all men, Black and White, will one day be wholly civilized. (Civilized enough, that is, not only not to mutilate their enemies with knives and daggers but not to drop Atomic bombs as well!) But I think it is wisdom to believe that the progress must necessarily be slow, especially in the case of a primitive race only just emerging from barbarism, and still in many parts of the country not even doing that. I think that we should not condemn the Nationalist Native policy outright, as it has points that are

worth our consideration. It is not (this policy) just a matter of politics. It should never have been made one. If only the leaders of honest Nationalist thought would agree to get together with the other racial groups on a basis of consultation, I believe that in the end a policy might result that would be for the good of all. It is the lack of consultation—this tyranny, this Verwoerdism—that is destroying the country: damaging beyond repair the better parts of the Nationalist policy, as it displays only the bad. It must destroy the Government in the end; but can we, can the ordinary decent citizen of any political persuasion, afford to wait?

English Speaking Plattelander.

Points of view expressed by contributors to this magazine do not necessarily reflect the views of The Black Sash.

SOUTH AFRICA AND KARL MARX

THE other day I was reading "Portraits from Memory" by the famous philosopher Bertrand Russell, and was much struck by portions of an essay called "From Logic to Politics". Mr. Russell's remarks about the Russian interpretation of Karl Marx's philosophy seem to me to contain a warning which is strikingly applicable to politics in this country. He says "In the Marxist philosophy, as interpreted in Moscow, I found—as I believe—two enormous errors, one of theory and one of feeling. The error of theory consisted in believing that the only undesirable form of power over other human beings is economic power and that economic power is co-extensive with ownership. In this theory the other forms of power—military, political and propagandist—are ignored, and it is forgotten that the power of a large economic organisation is concentrated in a small executive and not diffused among all the nominal owners or shareholders. It was therefore supposed that exploitation and oppression would disappear if the State became the sole capitalist, and it was not realised that this would confer upon State officials all (and more than all) the powers of oppression formerly possessed by individual capitalists."

In this country, where the very word "Communism" is used as a bogey to frighten the electorate, our own Government is committing this same error of theory, although they are, I think, committing it consciously and for their own ends. They would like their followers to believe that they share in the ownership of the country and, of course, many of them do so believe. They would like the entire electorate to fail to realise the extent of the political and propagandist power that they have abrogated to themselves. (The "military" is not yet, but that will come). Our Government is, in fact, acting in almost the same way as the Government of Soviet

Russia, although it shouts aloud about the "menace of Communism", which is indeed a very real menace. The last sentence quoted needs no comment from me; although it refers specifically to Capitalism, we have all had experience of the "powers of oppression" vested in members of the Government in other spheres.

Professor Russell continues: "The other error, which was concerned with feeling, consisted in supposing that a good state of affairs can be brought about by a movement in which the motive force is hate. Those who had been inspired mainly by hatred of capitalists and landowners had acquired the habit of hating and after achieving victory were impelled to look for new objects of detestation. Hence came, by a natural psychological mechanism, the purges, the massacre of Kulaks and the forced labour camps."

Who can deny that the motive force of the Nationalist Government is hate—hate engendered by fear? Nationalist children are being taught to hate all other South African children different from themselves and "die Volk" are taught to hate and fear all outside influences on them. If Professor Russell is right about his "natural psychological mechanism", where will it lead them? The seeds, which will yield an appalling harvest such as the one recently reaped in Hungary, are all sown. Professor Russell says: "I am persuaded that Lenin and his early colleagues were actuated by a genuine wish to benefit mankind, but from errors in psychology and political theory they created a hell instead of a heaven."

Perhaps some of our Ministers are actuated by the same wish, but that is not enough.

M. OWENS.

(1) Name.

The organisation shall be called the Black Sash (hereinafter referred to as "The Organisation").

(2) Objects.

The objects of the Organisation shall be:—

- (i) To conduct propaganda, enlist support and aid for the observance of:

 - (a) Political morality and the principles of Parliamentary democracy within the Union of South Africa.*
 - (b) The moral pledges and constitutional safeguards of the compact of Union.*
 - (c) Civil rights and liberties.**
- (ii) The education and political enlightenment of citizens of South Africa, and other persons.*
- (iii) The doing of all such things and the carrying out of all such activities as may further the objects of this Organisation.*

(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.

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

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- S. Miss F. Thorne, 1 Kildare Road, Claremont, C.P.

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- 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.

NORTHERN TRANSVAAL.

- 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.