

THE BLACK SASH

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UNIVERSITIES IN CHAINS?

THE Nationalists seem determined to go ahead with enforcing apartheid on the "open" universities of Cape Town and the Witwatersrand, in spite of overwhelming opposition to this move by the controlling bodies of the universities concerned, by the teaching staffs and the students, and in spite, too, of the odium which academic segregation is bound to incur in educational circles overseas.

The Government's reasons for insisting on this particular instalment of apartheid have never been made clear, beyond vague references to bringing the universities into line with "national policy." It has never been seriously contended that European students suffer any great harm from the presence of a handful of non-Europeans. It has, indeed, been suggested that the non-Europeans suffer harm through receiving an education "above their station," as it were, but nobody really believes in that theory either, at least from an academic point of view. It makes sense, of course, if you are frightened of the existence of even a few well-educated Natives in the community, but that is a political matter and is a different thing altogether.

The objections to the enforcement of university apartheid, on the other hand, are precise and have been stated time and again. In the first place, there is the important point

UNIVERSITEITE AAN BANDE?

DIT lyk asof die Nasionaliste gaan volhard met hul plan om apartheid op die „ope" universiteite van Kaapstad en die Witwatersrand af te dwing ten spyte van die verbete teenstand van die betrokke universiteite se beherende liggame, dosente en studente, en in weerwil van die veragting waarmee opvoedkundige segregasie in akademiese kringe oorsee beskou sal word.

Die redes waarom die regering op hierdie besondere toepassing van apartheid bly aandring, is nog nooit duidelik gestel nie. Daar was nog net vae verwysings na die wenslikheid daarvan dat die universiteite met „nasionale beleid" moet inskakel. Daar is nog nooit ernstig beweer dat blanke studente ly as gevolg van die teenwoordigheid van 'n handjievol nie-blankes nie. Daar is wel aangevoer dat die nie-blankes ly deurdat hul 'n opleiding ontvang wat as 't ware „bo hulle stand" is, maar uit 'n akademiese oogpunt glo niemand aan daardie teorie nie. Dit het natuurlik sin as mens die teenwoordigheid van selfs 'n klein getal opgeleide nie-blankes vrees, maar dis 'n politieke kwessie en gevolglik 'n ander saak.

Die besware teen die toepassing van apartheid in die universiteite, intendeel, is herhaaldemale gekonstateer. Eerstens is daar die belangrike punt dat hierdie beleid teen wil en dank op die universiteite afgedwing word. Dit

that this policy is being forced on the universities. It is government interference of the most blatant kind, and universities that take orders from governments are scarcely worth the name. One of the worst periods in the history of German education was when the universities lost their academic freedom to Nazi domination. The same thing can happen here, if once the Government is allowed to get a stranglehold. A university must be free from political control and it must be free to teach what it thinks best to whom it chooses. It may make mistakes, but these must be its own mistakes, and not mistakes imposed upon it by the political party that happens to be in power. If Stellenbosch and Pretoria think it best to remain "closed" universities, then that is their business, but there is no reason why a similar policy should be forced on other universities which have adopted a different view.

The other important objection is a humanitarian one. The non-European in this country has a hard enough struggle as it is to get even a moderate education. It is the height of cruelty to deny, to the few who can manage it, the right to go to a university. The Government is going to say, of course, that it proposes to establish alternative non-European universities—in fact, a whole series of segregated "tribal colleges," dotted about the country. But does anyone, even in the Government, really consider that this is a feasible proposition? Where is the money coming from, or the staff or the equipment? Merely to ask these questions supplies the answer and exposes the hypocrisy of the scheme. Even if they are ever established, these "universities" must remain on the level of fifth-rate technical colleges.

The truth is, of course, as we suggested above, that the Nationalists do not want to see any non-Europeans with a real university education. They already do their utmost to stop them from going abroad to get any higher education and they will stop them from getting it here, if they can. With reluctance, the Nationalists will allow the Native to learn to read and write, with a smattering perhaps of motor mechanics, so that he can keep a tractor in running order for a farmer. But anything more than that makes them nervous. They are frightened by the whole idea.

is inmenging van die grofste soort, en universiteite wat deur regerings beheer word is die naam nie werd nie. Een van die donkerste tydperke in die geskiedenis van Duitse opvoeding het aangebreek toe die Nazis die universiteite se akademiese vryheid weggeneem het. Dieselfde kan hier gebeur as die regering eers toegelaat word om 'n wurggreep te kry. 'n Universiteit moet nooit aan politieke oorheersing onderwerp word nie, en dit moet vry wees om te besluit wat geleer sal word en aan wie. Daar sal soms foutief gehandel word, maar dit moet die universiteite se eie foute wees en nie foute wat vloei uit die heerskappy van die politieke party wat aan bewind is nie. Indien Stellenbosch en Pretoria besluit om „geslote" universiteite te bly is dit hul eie saak, maar daar bestaan geen rede waarom dieselfde beleid op andersdenkende universiteite afgedwing moet word nie.

Die ander belangrike beswaar is humanitêr van aard. Die nie-blanke in Suid-Afrika moet reeds hard genoeg stry om selfs 'n middelmatige opvoeding te bekom. Daar is min wat instaat is om 'n universiteitsopleiding te ontvang, en dis die grootste wreedheid om hul hierdie reg te ontsê. Die regering sal natuurlik aanvoer dat dit van plan is om nie-blanke universiteite te stig—trouens sommer 'n hele reeks universiteite vir die verskillende nie-blanke stamme. Maar is daar enigeen, selfs in die regering wat werklik dink dat dit 'n praktiese voorstel is? Waar sal die geld en die staf en die toerusting vandaan kom? Bloot deur hierdie vrae te stel openbaar ons die skynheiligheid van die plan. Selfs al word hulle gestig, is dit tog duidelik dat hierdie „universiteite" nooit meer kan word as vyfderangse tegniese kolleges nie.

Die ware toedrag van sake is dat die Nasionaliste wil vermy dat nie-blankes 'n werklike universiteitsopleiding bekom. Hul doen reeds hul uiterste bes om te verhinder dat hul oorsee gaan om hoër opleiding te ontvang, en hul sal alles in hulle vermoë doen om ook te verhinder dat hul dit in Suid-Afrika kry. Met teësin sal die Nasionaliste toelaat dat die nie-blanke leer om te lees en te skryf, met miskien so bietjie motorwerktuigkunde daarby sodat hy die boer se trekker aan die gang kan hou. Meer as dit maak hulle egter senuweeagtig. Hul vind die hele idee skrikwekkend.

THIS OUR FREEDOM

The following is a condensation of a thought-provoking address given to the Highway Branch recently

By Mrs. LOUISE PHILLIPS.

"WE must be free or die, who speak the tongue that Shakespeare spoke; the faith and morals hold which Milton held." This was written of the English people over a century and a half ago and, looking back upon the history of the world, we find that peoples everywhere have been inspired by this same love of freedom and been prepared to make astonishing sacrifices for its sake.

Early in the 17th century, a number of English people set out in a tiny sailing vessel, "The Mayflower," for unknown shores, because they wanted greater freedom of religion. Descendants of these same people, two centuries later, fought the American War of Independence against their motherland, because they were being heavily taxed without being allowed a voice in the government of the new land which they had founded. And some of the political giants of England at this time sided with them.

World-shaking events, such as the French Revolution, the Russian Revolution, recent events in Hungary and Poland, have occurred because the human spirit cannot be held in bonds.

THE POSITION IN SOUTH AFRICA

And what of South Africa? We who speak the tongue that Shakespeare spoke are not alone in our fervent love of freedom. Far from it. Our Afrikaans-speaking countrymen have shown that same fervour many times during their history. Many of them are descendants of the people of Holland who, throughout their history, have shown a sturdy spirit of independence and a passion for freedom.

Many of our Afrikaans-speaking friends are showing the same spirit of independence today and refuse to support the actions of the present Government when these actions lead, not only to suppression of the opposition, but to the repression of adherents. The attitude of men like the Pretoria professors is significant, and we read in the Press of a prominent Nationalist who has resigned from the Party because "the average Afrikaner is by nature a democrat and has a deeply-ingrained sense of legality." (His own words). There would appear to be in some quarters resistance against the working of the whole party machine.

WHAT IS FREEDOM?

What do we mean when we talk about freedom? The laws of the country are made to be obeyed; but does this mean that, in a democracy at any rate, the Government has a right to act without scruple itself; a right to pack the Senate in order to pass a law that the majority of its citizens hold to be unjust? Does it mean that the party in power

may act in such a way that religious bodies, who have conducted schools along perfectly legal lines, are forced to close them? Does it entitle a government, which calls itself the protector of the Bantu people, to pass a law which enables it to force these same people to be moved from their established homes to another district, with no right of appeal until they have actually been moved? Our answer is an emphatic "NO!"

In a prosperous country like ours freedom from want, among the European population at any rate, is more or less established. Does the Government, however, feel no twinge of conscience when it thinks of Cato Manor and other areas like it?

A civilization which despises death because it despises the human person and ignores the value of human life, a civilization which squanders the courage of men and wastes their lives for business profits or for satiating covetousness, or hate, or for the frenzy of domination, or for the pagan pride of the State; is not a civilization, but barbarism. Its heroism is heartless bestiality.

—Jacques Maritain.

THE POSITION OF THE BANTU

No one advocates that the Bantu people should have everything poured into their laps—that is not what is meant by freedom from want—but it does mean that their place in industry, in agriculture and in commerce should be an honourable one and one that will enable them to maintain themselves on a decent economic level.

Never in their history have the South Africans felt more the need for freedom from fear: the fear that prevents them from speaking their minds and from acting as their conscience dictates, the fear that makes them feel they may soon be living in a police state, the fear that if they express views that are in any sense liberal, they may be treated as traitors against the State.

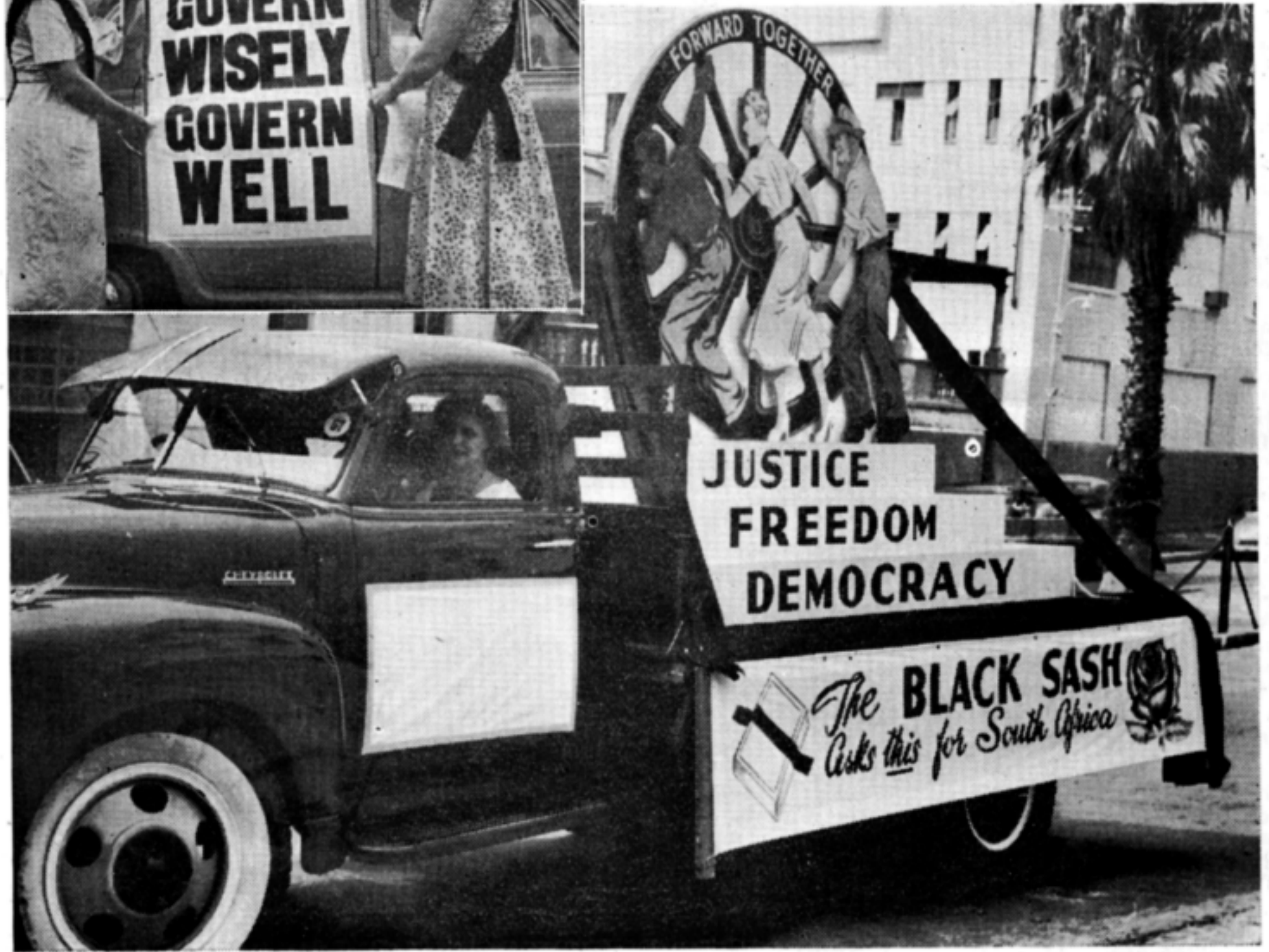
There is another important aspect of the lack of freedom in our country which deserves comment: it has to do with the educational methods now in force, especially in the Transvaal. I refer to the system of unilingual schools and to the practice of robbing parents of the right to choose the language medium through which their children are to be taught. Nothing can be better calculated to divide the citizens of this country into two camps than the system of unilingualism in schools. It forces our

(Continued overleaf)

CONGRATULATIONS CAPETOWN !



Below is the remarkably effective float which was used by the Cape Western Region in their demonstration to mark the opening of Parliament. (Inset). Two members fix a banner to one of the cars which preceded the float in its progress through the streets of Capetown.



children apart and prevents them from understanding, not only one another's language, but one another's ideas and principles. This again is an inroad into the fundamental rights of all of us.

INTERFERENCE WITH LIBERTIES

Our Government vehemently noises abroad that our domestic affairs must not be criticised or interfered with. They will not tolerate, for example, any criticism of their treatment of the Non-European. But they do not hesitate to arrogate to themselves

the right to interfere with the liberties of the people who comprise the State.

It is because the flood of freedom must not be allowed "to perish in the bogs and sands" that we belong to a movement like the Black Sash, so that at least we may raise our voices in protest against any attempt to stem this flood. As Professor G. H. Durrant said recently, "We must not only stand up for our own liberties, but also for those of our fellow-men. We can only be ashamed of ourselves if we do not stand up for justice and liberty."

Our Traditional Way Of Life In South Africa

SPEAKING as a woman I will tell you what our traditional way of life has always been—we have grown up, served and pampered by the non-Europeans, regarding them as a necessary part of the family background. We have depended on them, lived in indolence because of them, and thought as little about them as possible. On the platteland we frequently have more servants than is strictly necessary; in the towns we often have more than our purses can afford. And except where they constitute the perennial topic of conversation between housewives who have suffered from a series of bad domestics, as people they occupy no thought in our consciousness at all!

Is this not true? What, then, have we to do with the Group Areas Act and Pass Laws, and all the restrictive legislation that has recently appeared on the Statute books? Why should Mrs. X from the town and Mevrouw Y from the farm be asked to bother their heads about this tedious subject? *What can it possibly have to do with us?*

I will tell you why I think these matters concern us.

In the towns, and particularly in Johannesburg, we have strict pass laws, and strict laws governing the inflow of the non-Europeans to the towns. We have always felt that these were necessary and desirable to control this large and shifting population; to bring about law and order; to prevent serious crime and to make the city safe for all its inmates.

But we have found, increasingly, that no matter *how strictly* the laws are enforced, serious crime is becoming more and more common, murders are appallingly frequent, clashes between European and non-European (unknown in the past) are a daily occurrence, more and more houses are being burglar-proofed while at the same time robberies, too often with violence, have become commonplace news in our daily papers. The jails are full to overflowing; our servants get progressively less employable; and the people are no longer safe in the streets after nightfall.

This is Johannesburg 1956. Black Johannesburg 1956 is a thousand times worse, but the murders, the violence, the plight of the respectable citizen in the townships is not news, and is seldom, if ever, reported.

Black Sash Enquiry

Certain members of the Black Sash decided to find out why this has been happening, and I will tell you what we found. We found that the *very laws* which were in operation to *protect us* were in fact the *main cause* of the lawlessness and the reign of terror that the citizens are enduring! We found that the Pass Laws (which we approved of) were responsible for the fact that thousands of our law-abiding servants were being thrown into jail; that they were hemmed in with laws and regulations which made life a perpetual misery, while at the same time

criminals (whose papers are, of course, always in perfect order and could be produced at a moment's notice) remained free to prey on the community.

We found that in the non-European townships convoys of police raid at four every morning, looking for passless natives; that these raids are carried out with no regard for privacy or decency; that brutal methods are so common against the defenceless population that the children have learned to connate Police (white or black) with violence and tyranny and to hate and fear them. We learned that people are ordered out of bed, or bath, or home, herded together like animals and handcuffed—not because they have robbed or murdered or threatened, but because they *can't produce* a certain *book or piece of paper* called a *Pass!* We learned that officials and police have been corrupted by the driving need of the non-European to own this talisman which secures his right to live in a place and earn and work; that passes and permits have been forged and sold for as much as £40 each, and that there is a thriving industry enriching those who batten on desperate needs!

We learned that abuse by the police of non-European women, is, in most cases, not reported, and that the opposition by African women to an extension of the law enforcing them also to carry passes, is because they fear passes will open the door to more harsh treatment and abuse than is at present the custom.

We learned also that the Reference Book or Pass is regarded as a badge of slavery by the youth of the townships, and that the sober opinion of their

OBITUARY

It was with very deep regret that members heard of the death of Mrs. LILIAN BRUCE GELL, of Ferndale, who passed away on February 3rd.

Mrs. Gell was born in the Eastern Province in 1883 and came to the Rand as a very young child with her parents in an ox waggon; she therefore saw all the great changes in Johannesburg and along the Reef. All her life she interested herself in matters pertaining to the welfare and happiness of her neighbours; and any cause that had her approval was given generous and continued support.

Mrs. Gell joined the Black Sash movement from its very inception and was an active and loyal supporter. Many of her suggestions were received with general approval.

We extend our sincere sympathy to her two sons, Eric and Athol, in their bereavement.

elders is that *every* African is regarded as a potential criminal by virtue of the Pass Laws.

Last, but indeed not least, we learned with horror that all feeling for the stigma of prison has now disappeared from the hearts of the people, so many thousands of respectable and innocent members of the community have been sent there for what none of them regard as sin.

So much for the Pass Laws.

Does Influx Control Work?

What about the Influx Control? Just outside Johannesburg on the main Pretoria Road, there is a township of 75,000 souls called Alexandra Township. Influx Control has said: "No resident of Alexandra is permitted to work in the municipal area of Johannesburg—only in the Peri-Urban areas." The peri-urban areas may also employ "foreign" natives, and human nature being what it is, many of the residents of those peri-urban areas *do* employ foreign natives from the Rhodesias and Nyasaland etc., in large numbers.

What has been the result of this autocratic ruling?

In simple language it has meant:

- (a) Thousands of non-Europeans (what a pity that they must work or starve!) illegally working in Johannesburg.
- (b) Thousands of able-bodied men and youths idling in the streets, workless, hungry, sullen.
- (c) Those same thousands inevitably turning to crime; robbing, threatening, murdering, first their own people; and then turning their attention with perfected techniques, to the residential suburbs of Johannesburg.
- (d) 20,000 youths, not allowed employment, growing up in that one township alone, and gangs of toughs operating on the defenceless residents for many long months. When responsible native opinion asked that it might be allowed to form its own civilian guards, it was allowed only for two weeks and then forced to disband. It is worthy of notice that during the two weeks' probationary period there was a complete absence of violence and assault in the streets, and that the citizens moved about freely without fear.

Crime Increasing

This is the story of Influx Control as it affects only one township. One other thing we learned. We learned that the laws we approved of and which we believed were solving our city problems and encouraging industry, were in fact *responsible* for the growth of idleness, vagrancy and serious crime! That the respectable element of our native working population felt bitterly that our laws were making them into criminals and that the white people had forgotten them or were intent on destroying them.

It is not enough to discover that a thing is bad, one should offer an alternative. I would like to offer

nine practical suggestions to improve our position in the towns.

- (1) Influx Control, *as now operated* should cease to exist.
- (2) The Pass Laws should be revised and *drastically altered*.
- (3) The Police Force should be better paid, and young men of character and quality should be encouraged to join.
- (4) The pay of Native Police should be raised, and a much larger body of non-European police employed. *Character* should be the basis of eligibility in all acceptances.
- (5) A system of nightly patrols should be inaugurated, and every block in the city and suburbs and locations should in time be circled hourly in the same way that the London police work.
- (6) The demand to "see your pass" should *stop for one month*. A native abroad should only be required to state his business there after curfew, during this period.
- (7) Combing the locations for passless natives should *cease* and the patrols should patrol the streets only.
- (8) The civic guards should be revived while the police force is re-organising, and the citizens of locations should be required to undertake this very necessary job as soon as possible.
- (9) Workless non-Europeans should be organised to undertake jobs for the community, e.g., street making, drain laying, tree planting, sidewalk levelling, etc.

While the emphasis continues, through government propaganda, to be on hate, repression, and acceptance of our non-Europeans as a future menace, nothing constructive *can* be done. But why do we allow them to do this to us? We like our traditional way of life, but we have lost it for something so dangerous that the heart quails at the threat of the future.

DOREEN RANKIN

MIDDELBURG (CAPE) NEWS

ON January 30th, the Middelburg (Cape) Branch held a demonstration and vigil, which was combined with a General Meeting and Regional Conference. This was arranged so as to minimise travelling for those taking part, as some of the members in this Region have to travel over 400 miles to attend any Black Sash function.

An impressive vigil was held outside the Magistrate's Court and outside the Post Office. The local members were delighted to have members from Fish River and Beaufort West standing with them. The vigil completed, all members gathered at the V.C.A. Hall, where delegates from other centres were also welcomed and refreshments were served.

MEET THE BLACK SASH

Some Office-bearers of the Natal Midlands Region



MRS. TARBATON



MRS. CORRIGAL

MRS. MAIMIE CORRIGALL, the regional chair for Natal Midlands, is full of dynamic enthusiasm for the Black Sash. She was educated at the Girls' High School, Pietermaritzburg, and the Natal Training College. She has three daughters and one son, and in spite of her family demands she drove herself and two other members to Cape Town on convoy. She maintains that her sister is the best Sasher of all, as it is her unselfishness in coming when needed to look after the Corrigan family that enables the Chair to travel to the Natal branches, spreading information and enthusiasm amongst members.

MRS. DOREEN TARBATON is a Transvaaler by birth but came to Pietermaritzburg in 1924 where she matriculated at Epworth. Her great grandparents were amongst the first settlers in Pietermaritzburg, arriving there in 1843. During the war years worked for St. Dunstons, the Red Cross, Women's Auxiliary and Navy League. Is happiest in the garden and has judged at flower shows. She has three sons and three daughters. Her eldest son spent a year in England and then hitched home alone from London and took 11 weeks to do it.



DR. LUND



MRS. RUSSELL

MRS. E. E. M. RUSSELL was educated at Bedford High School and London University, where she attained her M.A. (Hons.), and Natal University. Her life has been overflowing with public interests, and listed below are just a few of them.

Member of the Pietermaritzburg City Council, 1930-48. Chairman, Native Administration Commission for nine years. Mayor of Pietermaritzburg from 1943-1947. Member of Natal Education Commission, 1936. Member of Government Commission on Kaffir Beer Profits, 1945. At present she is on Grey's Hospital Advisory Board, South Africa Institute of Race Relations, past president of N.C.W.S.A.; Chairman, Adult Education Federation of Women's Institutes. On the Board of Trustees, Natal Museum, and Voortrekker Museum Commission. She has also been Principal of Girls' Collegiate School and St. John's High School, Pietermaritzburg.

DR. ELIZABETH LUND was educated at Roedean School, England, and at Queen's University, Belfast. She came out to South Africa in 1946 and married a Pietermaritzburg doctor. She has also practised as a Child Specialist, and as she has five lovely children of her own, she is qualified in more ways than one to do so!



MRS. FORSYTH



MRS. WILDMAN

MRS. OLIVE FORSYTH: Natal Midlands Secretary. Born in Rondebosch, Cape; educated at St. Annes Diocesan College, prior to going to a convent in St. Leonards, England, then to Reading University to take a commercial course. Returned to South Africa to marry a South African and lived in Dundee, Natal, then in Johannesburg. Did clerical work during the war, and afterwards. Has three grown-up daughters, one with Social Science degree, and two studying architecture; two of them members of Black Sash! Ever since coming to Pietermaritzburg to live Mrs. Forsyth has been working indefatigably for Black Sash.

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UNITED PARTY

THE United Party stands unequivocally for the strengthening of the European population of the Union. It recognises that a constantly and materially increasing white population is the best safe-guard of western civilisation in South Africa; not only because a greater proportion of whites in our population will mean an accordingly greater number of standard-bearers of Western civilisation, but also because the present enormous disparity makes fear an ever-present factor in the attitudes of many white men towards non-European policies. Fear and reason are never good bed-fellows!

The United Party, when restored to power, will:—

1. Help our settled white population to have larger families by the payment of children's allowances, bigger tax rebates for the family man, improved maternity services, and a programme of economic expansion which will mean better opportunities for all.
2. Bring in not fewer than 50,000 selected immigrants per year on a state-aided basis under a dynamic immigration scheme.

The Union can absorb more Europeans. It is rich in coal and minerals. Its manufacturing industry can become the workshops of all Southern Africa.

There is ample water; the Vaal watershed could carry more than fourteen million people. The production of basic foods could easily be doubled, and the question of food supplies need not, therefore, limit the growth of the population.

Every year approximately 40,000 houses and flats are built in South Africa for Europeans; an additional 10,000 for immigrant families will not present any great problem.

An official survey by the Department of labour showed that in 1952 the country needed at least 10,000 additional skilled workers, and the position is more acute now. In any

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THE MAJOR POLITICAL PARTIES HAVE BEEN INVITED THIS MONTH TO SET OUT THEIR POLICIES ON

IMMIGRATION

LABOUR PARTY

IS the S.A. Labour Party in favour of European immigration?

Though the question is full of pitfalls, the answer is clearly in the positive. Yes, we are in favour of a large, and not so selective immigration of Europeans to this land of empty spaces and of great opportunities.

There are, as there always will be, White workers afraid that the Labour market will be flooded, of there arising a situation whereby the supply of skilled labour will exceed the demand, but the lessons learned in countries of large immigration, such as Canada and Australia, and nearer home, in the Rhodesias, will convince them that an increased population increases the avenues of employment, and brings with it all greater economic security.

To-day the internal problem of new settlers is reduced to the ability to provide adequate housing for the new arrivals, and if the building of housing accommodation proceeds simultaneously, any dislocation would be of a minimum.

The problem of a large scale immigration is, however, to-day mostly academic, since the Union just cannot get the immigrants it wants. Those who wish to go to new lands chose for their new homes a country that offers them a reasonable degree of security, and the strained relations between White and Non-White sections of South Africa's population, frightens many would-be immigrants.

Were this not so, or were we determined to remove the causes for this reluctance to come to South Africa, two other aspects of the problem would have to be faced.

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SOUTH AFRICAN BOND

WE do not believe in wishful thinking and pious platitudes nor do we resort to the age old political subterfuge by suggesting yet another futile commission to investigate and report. We have the facts before us, time is against us and the writing is on the wall.

According to the Tomlinson Report the estimated total population in the year 2000 a.d. will be 31,248,000. The European population of 4,588,000 (not calculating the mere trickle of European Immigrants, which gave us a net gain of 2,024 last year) will constitute 14.7 per cent. of the total as against 20.9 per cent. in 1951.

In the light of these disconcerting facts and the obvious unrest in the country, the South African Bond, as a firm believer in our **Western Democratic way of life and Just European Leadership and Guidance**, considers that the greatest and most urgent problem in South Africa is the **European Problem**. It is imperative that immediate action be taken to supplement our meagre European population by a bold policy of European Immigration, preferably from our countries of origin.

- (a) It will reduce the ratio of the Non-European to the European population.
- (b) It will assist to eliminate from the minds of the Europeans the "Fear Complex" on which all contentious legislation is based.
- (c) It will provide the necessary man-power in peace and war.
- (d) It could afford to offer greater scope and hope to the Non-Europeans and their feeling of "frustration" now being translated into hatred, would gradually disappear.
- (e) It will pave the way towards greater **Economic Co-operation** between Whites and Non-Whites and create greater efficiency for the benefit of all.

As South Africa enjoys little if any confidence in the outside world to-

(Continued overleaf)



NATIONALIST PARTY

NO COMMENTS RECEIVED.

LABOUR PARTY (Continued)

The first one is the insistence on artisans and technicians as the only suitable and required new citizens.

This is a narrow-minded, unrealistic attitude that considers only the present generation, and to-day's needs, and has the effect of depriving future generations of useful citizens.

The so called "unproductive" immigrants of the first twenty years of this century, not only gave South Africa the people who developed commerce and industry, but contributed, through their children, men and women who to-day play a prominent part in the professions and the arts. Under a "selective" policy in the past, South Africa would have been deprived of citizens who have and are serving our country well. The non-technical person who would come to South Africa may well be the father of the technician of tomorrow. Besides, the shortage of labour to-day and for the near future, is felt in every phase of our national life. Picking and choosing of immigrants defeats the object of a balanced economy. Immigration must be open to all persons of good health and character, without regard to their religion or present occupation.

The second and most important aspect of a large immigration is to discard the present motive for an increased White population—"To save White South Africa" and to strengthen the White man in the coming struggle against the Non-Whites.

As already indicated, few Europeans want to come under these conditions. If they are to uproot themselves from their homes, they wish to

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UNION FEDERAL PARTY

PRACTICALLY unlimited European immigration is essential if South Africa is to remain a country habitable by Europeans. But, while immigration to other Commonwealth countries in the post-war years is calculated in millions, South Africa's share can only be measured in paltry thousands. During the decade 1946-1956, the Union Federal Party believes, 500,000 immigrants should, and could have been introduced to our country.

Of all the signal follies perpetrated by the Nationalist Government, perhaps the most criminal has been the refusal to open our gates to the immigrants of Western Europe. Our need is not as great as that of Canada or Australia—it is far more imperative, incomparably more urgent. Without a substantial increase in the White population—before it is too late—the concept of continued European settlement in Africa must become historically incongruous.

Whereas, in the case of other countries, immigration has meant the infusion of new blood, fresh concepts and wealth—both material and spiritual—into the life of the recipient nation, to South Africa immigration means all this and more. In a world of contestant ideologies and menacingly inflamed hatreds, the preservation and perpetuation of Western democratic ideals and the way of life consonant therewith becomes vitally important, not only to Whites, but to non-Whites whose destinies are now indissolubly linked with those of millions throughout the world. For Black Africa—the disappearance of White civilisation (inevitable without immigration) will mean immeasurable retrogression. For Europeans in South Africa who wish to see a perpetuation of civilised standards, immigration becomes an ethnic necessity. Whites in South Africa account for just over 20 per cent. of the entire population of 12½ millions, and the disparity is growing. When it is remembered that the Union

(Continued overleaf)

THE LIBERAL PARTY

THERE is a general feeling in South Africa, as in most so-called under-populated countries, that Immigration is a "good thing." Indeed it is, but it can never be a substitute for the uplift of the indigenous population.

The purpose of immigration is to enlarge in number and enrich in quality the human resources of the country. It seems to us odd, therefore, that the present Nationalist government, whilst advocating immigration, should deliberately have set about pauperizing our own human resources. Let us take two examples. We need to raise the educational standard of all our workers: the Nationalist government deliberately lowered the standard of education for Africans, while the United Party before it was content to see only one-third of African children at school. Again, we need skilled technicians and efficient artisans: both major political parties in office have withheld from our (black) human resources the right to acquire any skills at all. The effect of this is not only to deprive us of the potential skill of ten million people: we must also suffer the inevitable consequence, namely, the generally acknowledged inefficiency of European workers who are given jobs not because they are efficient, but because they are white. The productivity of South African workers—black and white—is deplorably low by world standards.

Our expanding economy badly needs all the skills that human material can provide. There is no doubt that we must import people but—and this is at least of equal importance—we must enrich our own human resources.

If the major political parties are encouraging immigration in order to bring about numerical equality between the colour groups, they are wasting their time. The low European birthrate will keep the disproportion. Moreover, in our view, this motive for immigration betrays a feeling that a population with the

(Continued overleaf)

Meet The BLACK SASH (Cont.)

GEORGENA WILDMAN: Secretary/Treasurer for the Pietermaritzburg Branch of the Black Sash at its inception; now Honorary Treasurer for the Natal Midlands Region—attended the preliminary Conference held in Port Elizabeth in 1955.

Is a housewife and mother of five children—two girls born in South Africa and three boys in East Africa, their ages ranging from eight to 21 years.

With a business training, she assists several welfare organisations as either Treasurer or Secretary.

Born in 1908 in Scotland of Scottish parents, married in South Africa at the turn of the century, and brought to Durban as a baby, claims to be a South African and resents her third-class citizenship.

Spent twelve impressionable years in Tanganyika and Kenya from 1935 to 1947. Holds an executive position in an astonishing number of public and charitable organisations.

BLACK SASH

Oh, Women of South Africa, come help us as we stand,

For Freedom and Democracy and Justice in our Land.

For Justice is the birthright that belongs to every man,

For Freedom and Democracy our Fore-fathers did plan.

Be fearless for your children's sake, whose future is your care;

Protest against all evil acts, or you the guilt must share.

Stand forth against Dictatorship and men who lust for Power;

Come help your Land, South Africa, so near her darkest hour.

THIS IS YOUR PARTY—CONTINUED

UNITED PARTY (Continued)

event, the wage-fund theory, which held that there are only a certain number of jobs in a society, and that immigration means unemployment, has long ago been exploded. Immigrants create new demands, more employment, economic expansion.

In the two years of the United Party immigration scheme before the advent of the Nationalist Government in 1948, nearly 76,000 selected immigrants came to South Africa. In 1950 and 1951 more white people left the country than came into it. And as recently as last year (1956) our net gain in immigrants was only 2,034. We cannot maintain Western civilisation on that basis!

LIBERAL PARTY (Continued)

composition of ours can't be "handled" by traditional policies, i.e., it is an admission of failure. No doubt, however, an increase in the European population would do something, in a very small way, to quiet European fears of "swamping" and encourage Europeans to go forward in faith instead of hanging back in fear. But Liberals believe that *to uplift our own population* would much more effectively and dramatically put such fears to flight.

LABOUR PARTY (Continued)

go to a country which promises them peace and security, and not inevitable struggle and strife.

It would therefore be imperative to formulate an immigration policy which would assure the Non-Europeans that White settlers are sought because South Africa needs them for its greater development and welfare of all her people, and that the increase of the White population does not constitute a threat to the Non-Whites, but on the contrary the greater the country's development, the greater the opportunities also for them—the Non-Whites.

This would, of course, have to be more than a mere promise, but would have to be followed by opening new avenues of employment and particularly, providing training facilities for the Non-Europeans.

With a changed and more tolerant racial policy, the Non-Whites, just as the Whites, would realise that the greater industrial and agricultural expansion will simultaneously provide White and Black not only with full employment, but also ensure a higher living standard.

S.A. BOND (Continued)

day, such a bold European Immigration policy could only succeed:—

- (1) If confidence could be restored in South Africa by means of European Unity and the election of a reliable Government. By Unity

SOUTH AFRICAN BOND (Contd.)

we mean unity of the people and not a "save our seats coalition" as was witnessed in Parliament in 1933.

- (2) If we could offer attractive inducements to immigrants economically and socially.
- (3) If certain citizenship qualifications were relaxed so that immigrants could feel welcome as future South African citizens.
- (4) If radical Economic changes, as advocated by the South African Bond, were made in order to attract investment capital and with it the much desired European Immigrants.

We must choose between the survival or doom of European Civilisation. Are we going to follow those who blasphemously claim the Sovereignty of the Almighty on their last great but misguided Trek into the wilderness? The S.A. Bond categorically refuses to embark on the path of extermination and strongly advocates large scale **European Immigration. It is our only salvation!**

U. FEDERAL PARTY (Continued)

cannot be insulated from the rest of Africa, and that the continent sustains 200,000,000 Blacks and a mere 4½ million Whites, is not the only realistic racial policy one of unlimited European immigration—while there is still time?

Die Moeder En Die Opvoeding Van Die Kind

DEUR die opvoeding beoog elke Moeder sekere mikpunte vir die kind aan haar toevertrou. Korteliks kan ons die mikpunte onder twee hoofde indeel:—

1. Die akademiese sy waarvan vaardigheid in lees, skryf en reken, en 'n basiese feitekennis die grondslag is. Op die fondament kan die kind dan so ver vorder as sy bekwaamheid hom toe laat.

2. Die houdings wat ons wil aankweek. Hierdie houdings sal bepaal watter gebruik die kind van sy akademiese geleerdheid sal maak. Die tweede indeling is dus 'n uiters belangrike deel—dit is ook hierdie opvoeding wat elke vrou, wat die naam van Moeder werd is, mee begin sodra haar kind in haar arms lê. Sy neem haar voor om die nodige versorging en liefde te gee sonder om die kind te bederf deur aan onredelike eise te voldoen. Hy moet leer om ander mense se regte te respekteer—om verantwoordelikheid vir hulle geluk te aanvaar—om onselfsugtig te wees—om pligsgetrouheid te betoon—om nie 'n „traak my nie” houding teenoor sy medemens se besittings aan te neem nie—om te besin eer hy begin—om moed, volharding en eerlikheid aan die dag te lê. Dit leer hy in sy huislike kring, maar namate hy ouer word moet die opvoeders hom help om die lesse toe te pas in die wyer kring van die staat, wat veelal bestaan uit mense en groepe wat hy nie ken nie. Hy moet nie sy skool of groep se voordeel soek ten koste van 'n ander groep se regte nie. Die beginsels wat Moeder vasgelê het moet nie prysgegee word selfs vir 'n groep se voordeel nie.

In al die lesse het die Moeder die eerste beurt. Sy neig die jong boompie soos sy reken hy moet groei. Maar die skooljare breek gou aan, die jare waarin die kind opsien ook na die onderwyser(es) vir hulp en leiding. Veral in die eerste jare neem die onderwyser(es) se gesag haas skrikwekkende afmetings aan. Juis daarom is die houdings van die skool vir die verantwoordelike ouer van die grootste belang. Dit het as logiese gevolg gehad die ontwikkeling van die ouerverenigings by ons skole. Hier het die ouers en personeel die geleentheid om saam te werk om die verlangde stempel te plaas op die houdings wat die skool gaan inboesem. Dis 'n uitstekende instelling waardeur die ouers hulle invloed kan laat geld in die skole. Dit toon aan dat die bevolking die peil bereik het dat hy ontwaak oor die noodsaaklikheid om aktief deel te neem saam met die staat om die kind op te voed. Dit bied die geleentheid om houdings aan te pas namate nuwe idees posvat.

Om hierdie aktiewe deelname te probeer teengaan deur meerderheidsmenings van 'n ouer groep te ignoreer, kom daarop neer dat daar mense is wat wil ontken dat daar vryheid bestaan vir elke ouer om sy menings in die skool te laat geld. Dit spreek vanself dat elke skool nie dieselfde karakter sal dra nie. As 'n groep eis dat alle skole dieselfde sal wees, dan matig daardie groep homself die reg aan om sy idees op ander groepe af te dwing. 'n Gesonde

verskeidenheid van mening sal gesmoor word, en die samelewing sal verarm word. Nee, ouers moet die reg behou om houdings in die kind se skool te beïnvloed.

IT IS NOT TRUTH THAT CAN
MAKE MEN GREAT, BUT MEN
THAT CAN MAKE TRUTH GREAT.

—Confucius.

Nou vra ek myself af, word hierdie reg altyd eerbiedig? Ek sien dit as 'n yername plig van die vrou om toe te sien dat daar geen inkorting van hierdie reg is nie, wat in Suid-Afrika deur die ouerverenigings tot stand kom. Maar nou onlangs het die ouerverenigings van een groot skool gebots met die departement van onderwys. Dit was die Hendrik van der Byl Skool waar die ouermening (878 teenoor 6) hom uitgespreek het ten gunste van die instandhouding van die parallelmedium vorm van die skool. Hierdie ouers was oortuig daarvan dat so'n skool die gewenste houdings t.o.v. tweetaligheid en Unie in ons land aankweek. Die departement van onderwys in die Transvaal het hulle teen gegaan. Die saak is hof toe. Die regter het met geen onsekere stem die departement daarop gewys dat hulle „onbehoorlike” redes moes gehad het vir hulle optrede, want deur die skool na 'n enkelmedium te verander, het hulle buite die magte, wat die ordonnansie hulle gee, gehandel. Wat was die onbehoorlike redes? Ons weet nie. Die Administrateur (as verteenwoordiger van die uitvoerenderaad) het geweier om op die vraag van die ouer deputasie te antwoord.

Besef die leser hoe skandelik dit is dat die departement in die Transvaal kan probeer om ons ouermening teen te gaan in die soort skool wat ons verlang, en dan geen redes durf te noem nie? Besef die leser dat die departement van plan is om wetgewing deur die Provinsiale Raad in te bring om hulle die mag te gee—die mag om ouermening teen te gaan? Besef die leser dat as hy nie saamstem met sulke wetgewing nie, dit sy dure plig is om sy stem te verhef daarteen?

Wil u vryheid hê om die karakter van 'n kind se skool te beïnvloed of nie? Wat kan u doen om bestaande vryhede te behou? U kan u provinsiale raadslid laat weet as u teen sulke wetgewing is. Hy is deur u gekies om u wense uit te voer. Moenie bang wees om u mening uit te spreek nie. Span saam met ander ouers om u demokratiese regte te laat geld deur u raadslid te beïnvloed. Dit is elke verantwoordelike ouer se geboortereg om 'n stem te hê in die rigtings van u kind se opvoeding. Sorg dat u die bestaande kanale oophou.

ANNA MARAIS.

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.)

"The present Constitutional issue has little to do with colour. It is basically yet one more expression of the suspicion and distrust with which two white nations, dwelling within the bosom of a single state, continue to regard each other—the traditional fear that each one entertains of being absorbed by the other."—Awake, 22/9/1956. (5s. to Mrs. J. Martin, East London.)

"The Nationalist will not change his spots and there is as much principle involved in the forthcoming Parliamentary moves to destroy University freedoms, for example, as ever there was in the constitutional crimes that have been committed in Democracy's name."—East London "Daily Dispatch," 18/1/1957.

"Never, repeat never, in all our chequered history has South Africa stood in such dire need of a progressive, planned White immigration policy. Here we are on the threshold of a tremendous future . . . and all that Nationalism can do is to withhold that future from our grasp in the sordid interests of party politics."—F.L.G., in "The Daily Representative," Queenstown, 19/1/1957.

"Even among the Nationalist M.P.s the Senate is regarded as something near a joke—a joke in poor taste, we might add."—"The Daily Representative," 18/1/1957.

"In proportion as free speech is gagged by autocratic legislation, the secret police are increased until the people begin to talk in whispers because of fear and mistrust of the police."—Letter in "Sunday Times," 17/2/1957.

"Over and above cricket and jukskei, the new 'kennetjie' would also soon eliminate other questionable and/or untraditional games like baseball."—Letter in "Dagbreek," as reported in "The Star," 5/2/1957.

"If one honestly considers what the unfortunate South African Police have to tolerate, then one is apt to overlook it when they occasionally lose their rag."—Letter in "Rand Daily Mail," 6/2/1957, from Nariman, De Deur.

"In a world which is increasingly one world, it is very dangerous for a small nation to experiment with the minds of its children, especially when these experiments involve putting the clock back a century or more."—Sheila Patterson (Anthropologist), in "The Last Trek."



"What is she making all the fuss about? After all, it isn't as if the Senate Act had prevented our getting our new Cadillac or anything."

New Hanover Report

THE New Hanover Branch of the Black Sash now has a membership of twenty-two. Unfortunately the members are scattered over a wide area, which means that most of them have to travel quite some distance for each Meeting or Vigil. During the last year the meetings were not well attended. At the last meeting of the year, however, at which we were pleased and privileged to welcome Mrs. Corrigan and Mrs. Lewis from Pietermaritzburg, there were only a few absentees. Instead of standing with bowed heads on the day Parliament opened, we're still hanging our heads in shame—only three members arrived for the Vigil.

The finances of the Branch have improved somewhat, but could still be much better. We are indebted to Mrs. Pennfather for her suggestion, and Mrs. Shearing for the lovely Christmas cake she kindly made and donated, and which accounted largely for the improvement in our finances.

The Annual General Meeting was held on February the 14th. It is hoped that the attendances will improve during the year so that we could have speakers invited to, possibly, every second meeting. However, if we all remember the motto, "for evil to succeed . . ." I'm sure we'll all make that extra effort during this coming year.

FROM OUR POSTBAG

To the Editor, Black Sash.

I WANT very much to express my gratitude for the complimentary copies of the Black Sash magazine which are being sent me. The magazine is shared with my Brethren in the Community here and I was delighted to see that one of them, Fr. Speight, contributed an article for the last issue. I have long been praying for the growth and consolidation of a Resistance Movement (in the sense of that word so ably put forward by Miss Van Heyningen) and I do see in the Black Sash an answer to this prayer which I know is put up by many besides myself.

I well remember the day when I was travelling in a 'bus with one of your number who was on her way home from keeping vigil. She looked tired and strained and I was instantly reminded of the days—for me long ago—when we used to come back from the front line for a rest. I don't think I am in favour of *men* doing Black Sash work—vigils and so forth. That is particularly *your* job: the Women of South Africa: it is not for us to steal your glory. There is plenty of other Resistance work for the men of South Africa: but alas! so many of the men seem crippled with "cold feet." May God use the fire you have kindled to *scorch* their feet into action! That is part of my own prayer—only I don't put it exactly that way. I do, however, as I keep my own prayer-watch associate myself with all of you who keep Vigil and that thought strengthens me enormously.

Gratefully yours,

MATTHEW TRELAWNY-ROSS, C.R.

* * *

To the Editor, Black Sash.

I READ your December, 1956-January, 1957 (Vol. I, No. 12) edition of "The Black Sash."

Your aim to enlighten the man, woman, in the street on political matters of current interest is most commendable. If the Black Sash can develop into an objective and unbiased instrument of enlightenment in the Political Arena I think it will be doing a grand piece of work. I like particularly your page on "This is Your Party" and "A Pretty Penny for Your Thoughts."

May I suggest, however, that a little restraint be placed on the rushing to print "opinions" on contentious subjects. May I suggest that in your enthusiasm for your cause, you do not fail first of all to see the other man's point of view. That you first of all really try to understand the purpose of legislation before you criticise it.

Your "Let's Talk About Interdicts" is true as far as it goes. But it does not go far enough. As it stands it is only a half truth and as the other half changes the whole picture your article is in fact a misrepresentation.

An interdict is all and everything that you describe it to be. But, as in all things there are always those who wrongfully use 'saving graces' in law, not for the purpose for which it was originally intended, but for the purpose of playing for time.

Now it is true that the public should not be deprived of a privilege merely because there are a few unscrupulous people who misuse it. But, when in a page in history certain circumstances arise in which there is a blatant and general misuse of that privilege, do you not think that a Government is justified in temporarily withdrawing that privilege?

May I suggest that you refer to Dr. Verwoerd's statements on the reason for introducing the legislation concerned. Even more to the point, discuss the matter with those officials of the municipalities who are responsible for the administration of Native townships. When you have seriously and honestly done so I am sure you will have some more news for your readers.

In so far as your magazine is righteous, holy and whole, may it prosper abundantly as I am sure it will.

May I pen myself as

A READER,

Benoni.

(*Editor's Comment.*—We have read Dr. Verwoerd's statements on this legislation and are still convinced that it constitutes a charter of official violence and illegality by depriving the African, on grounds of race alone, of the elementary human right of access to the Courts of Justice. We are submitting this letter to a Municipal Non-European Affairs Department and hope to publish their comments in our next issue.)

* * *

To the Editor, Black Sash.

THIS is an experience I had in a dairy while waiting for ice cream, which a gentle, English-speaking woman behind the counter said was coming shortly and apologised kindly for keeping me waiting.

A little girl of 8 or 9 walked in with flashing eyes, banged a bottle on the counter and said "Melk!" I picked the bottle up and handed it back to her, saying in Afrikaans, "When you ask for anything say please—you were very rude." She answered, "My mother says I can speak to the English and the Kaffirs just as I like." I can't tell you the atmosphere this small person brought in with her. I feel this is a truly sad story.

M. PHILLIPS.

East London.

FACT AND FICTION

FICTION:

I say: Any step of concession to the Native is a step towards European suicide. I believe the Europeans in Southern Africa are a people with a vocation and the carrying out of our vocation is an act of faith. . . . We must ignore world opinion and return to the segregation our forefathers knew.

(Letter in „Die Suidwester,” quoted in the “Rand Daily Mail.”)

FACT:

The pathetic paradox in this letter is that the writer very probably considers himself a true Christian, is a regular Churchgoer and gives freely to the missionary funds of his Church.

Why missionary funds? Because he himself says that his people, the Europeans in Southern Africa, have a vocation. That vocation is the carrying of the Gospel to the non-Europeans—to what end? Surely we cannot give them Christianity without civilisation? And to civilise a man and at the same time to hold him down in a state of barbarism is surely a denial of the very Christianity we seek to bring him.

We must ignore world opinion, says the writer of this saddening letter. It would appear that even he realises the trend of world opinion today. It may not be to the white man's liking to know that throughout the world the coloured races are throwing off white domination, that the bell has tolled which proclaims the end of all colonial systems, however good or bad they may have been. To ignore world opinion is as futile as to ignore the approach of a hungry man-eating tiger. To endeavour “to return to the segregation our forefathers knew” is just as futile. That segregation was perhaps necessary between Christian and heathen, between civilised white man and barbarian black. That distinction no longer holds. Colour is no longer synonymous with barbarism. The black man is in many cases neither heathen or barbarian.

This letter is prompted by fear, fear of European race-suicide, fear which closes the eyes of the mind to facts and reason. Surely the way to prevent that suicide is to accept the facts which are so clear to the world today. You may prefer ox-wagons to jet planes, but you cannot deny the existence of jet planes. It behoves us then, if we wish to preserve our European civilisation, quite apart from any Christianity we may profess, to seek with open eyes and an open mind the friendship and co-operation of the Native in the land we share with him.

We quote two thoughts from “South Africa in a Changing World,” by Dr. Edgar Brookes: “To many of us belief in the colour bar is more important than belief in God,” and again: “The things that are dear, so dear, to us—if they are dear to God, can we not trust him with them, and if they are not dear to Him, do they greatly matter?”

M.E.F.

FANTASIE EN FEIT

FANTASIE:

Ek sê: „Elke toegewing aan die Naturel is 'n stap in die rigting van blanke-selfmoord. Ek glo dat die blanke in Suid-Afrika 'n roeping het en die uitvoering van ons roeping is 'n geloofsdaad. . . . Ons moet wêreld-opinie ignoreer en terugkeer na die segregasie wat ons vaders geken het.”

FEIT:

Die patetiese paradoks in hierdie brief is dat die skrywer homself waarskynlik as 'n ware Christen beskou, 'n gereelde kerkganger is en vryelik bydra tot die sendingsfondse van sy kerk.

Waarom dan sendingsfondse? Omdat hyself sê dat sy mense, die blankes in Suidelike Afrika, 'n roeping het. Daardie roeping is om Godswoord aan die nie-blankes te verkondig—met watter doel? Ons kan hulle tog seker nie die Christendom gee sonder beskawing nie. En om 'n persoon te beskaaf en hom terselfdertyd in 'n staat van barbaarsheid te hou is tog seker 'n ontkenning van die Christendom wat ons trag om aan hom te verkondig.

Ons moet wêreldmening ignoreer, beweer die skrywer van hierdie droewige brief. Dit skyn asof selfs hy besef in welke rigting wêreldmening gaan. Die blankes mag nie daarvan hou dat dwarsdeur die wêreld die gekleurde rasse blankeoorheersing verwerp nie, dat die klok wat die einde van alle kolonialestelsels, hoe goed of hoe sleg hulle mag gewees het, aankondig, gelui het. Om wêreldmening te ignoreer is so nutteloos as om die aankoms van 'n mensvreter te ignoreer. Om te trag „om terugtekeer na die segregasie wat ons vaders geken het,” is net so nutteloos. Daardie segregasie was miskien nodig tussen Christen en heiden, tussen die beskaafde blanke en die onbeskaafde barbaar. Hierdie onderskeiding bestaan nie meer nie. Kleur is nie langer 'n sinoniem vir barbaarsheid nie. Die swart man is in baie gevalle nie meer 'n heiden of barbaar nie.

Hierdie brief spruit uit vrees, vrees vir blanke-rasseselfmoord, vrees wat 'n mens verblind teen feite en rede. Die selfmoord kan tog sekerlik verhoed word deur die feite wat so duidelik aan die wêreld vandag is, aan te neem. U mag die ossewa bo die spuitvliegtuig verkies maar u kan nie die bestaan van die spuitvliegtuig ontken nie.

Dit betaam ons as ons ons blanke beskawing wil bly behou, heeltemal afgesien van die Christendom wat ons mag bely, om met ope verstand en oop oë die vriendskap en medewerking te soek van die Naturel in die land wat ons met hom deel.

Ons haal twee gedagtes aan uit „South Africa in a Changing World,” deur Dr. Edgar Brookes: „Vir baie van ons is ons geloof aan die kleurskeidslyn meer belangrik as ons geloof aan God” en weer: „Die dinge wat dierbaar, so dierbaar is vir ons—as hulle dierbaar is vir God kan ons hulle dan nie aan Hom toevertrou nie, en as hulle nie vir Hom dierbaar is nie, beteken hulle dan veel?”

M.E.F.

THREADS FROM THE SASH

ONE LOWVELD BRANCH has reported that some members are said to be afraid to continue in the movement on account of the recent arrests on charges of High Treason. By the same post, from a fifteen-year-old schoolgirl in California came the comment on Mirabel Rogers' book: "Reading it, I was reminded of the words of Franklin D. Roosevelt during the Second World War—'We have nothing to fear, but Fear itself.'"

ONE member, who feels that she cannot take too active a part in Black Sash affairs in **ALIWAL NORTH**, points out that she is surrounded by Nationalists, but that they are individually kind and friendly. She says "they are a very kindly crowd, but unfortunately will believe any lies they are told by their leaders." How many of us share this regret!

THE demonstrations to coincide with the opening of Parliament in January were remarkably successful in the **BORDER** area. Vigils were held in twelve Border and Transkei towns and pamphlets were distributed at important points. Five cars from **EAST LONDON** took women to nearby towns, where they swelled the ranks of the local members, and each woman took six copies of the magazine with the object of interesting non-members in it. Other Regions please copy!

IN NELSPRUIT at the time of the School Board elections, the accountant of a well-known bank was working on the table for the Nationalist M.P.C., who stood against the very able man who had been Chairman of the Board for many years. This is interesting at a time when there is growing pressure on all Government opponents to refrain from political activity of any kind.

THE MIDDELBURG Branch reports that symbolic vigils were held recently in Middelburg and Cradock and that some supporters from Fish River joined the members in Cradock. It was the first time a vigil had been held in the latter centre and both the vigil and handing out of leaflets aroused a great deal of interest.

MR. RENS, an interested friend of the Sash in **KIMBERLEY**, has been so deeply impressed with Black Sash propaganda and action, that he has donated the proceeds of his grape crop and the sale of pot plants to the Branch Funds. A friend indeed!

MRS. D. CURRY and Mrs. K. Pollock, of **EAST LONDON**, recently visited Stutterheim and held an evening meeting, which was a great success. A branch was formed as a result of their visit. Well done, East London!

Why I Joined The Black Sash

By a very Ordinary Member

I WAS in England when I first read about the Black Sash. A handful of women had elected to stand outside the Union Buildings wearing black sashes as a protest against the proposed Senate Act. Mr. Sauer was reported as remarking genially, "We shall be seeing a lot of each other in the future, Ladies." The ladies had declared their intention of standing for six months.

I just laughed. I said to myself, "What a lot of clots—they must want something to do! Who is going to take any notice, and what effect could it possibly have?"

I returned to my small country town in South Africa. Less than 48 hours later I was invited to join the Black Sash. I refused politely, but inquired who were the local members. To my astonishment I learnt that the membership consisted mainly of the intelligent and well-respected people of the town. I learnt further that the "standers" included many of the aged and infirm. (The average age of the town must be well over fifty). My conscience was stirred. If my more elderly friends thought it worth while then the least I could do was to "stand" by them.

I agreed to stand at the local airport as an experiment. The experiment was impressive. I was

urged to take on the secretaryship. I refused (politely).

I stood again with my not so young colleagues. We were mocked with songs and toilet paper, yet that line of gentle, unpretentious women stood firm, and by their dignity reduced their mockers, if not to shame, at least to silence. I took on the secretaryship.

That spirit of dignity and quiet determination to right a wrong inspired the daily vigils, the large demonstrations and the miraculous convoy drive last year. That same spirit lives today and unites thousands of ordinary women in their opposition to dictatorship and injustice. Who now dares to say that their efforts are useless?

THINGS TRUE AND EVIDENT
MUST OF NECESSITY BE RECOGNISED
BY THOSE WHO WOULD
CONTRADICT THEM.

—Epectetus.

HOW OUR COUNTRY IS RUN

(PART I.)

FUNCTIONS OF THE PROVINCIAL COUNCILS

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

CLOSE on half a century has passed since the South African colonies came together to form the Union. Before this, outside the Cape Province, no local Government, except municipal, existed, and even Municipal Government, particularly in the Transvaal and Orange Free State, was of very recent growth. In the Cape Province Sir George Grey instituted Divisional Councils as one of the first acts of the new Cape Parliament of 1855. But Provincial Councils only came into being with the South Africa Act, 1909, which laid down that each of the four Colonies should become a Province, under an Administrator appointed and paid by the Central Government. This new official would be the Chief Provincial Executive Officer, a position similar to the Governor-General.

In examining the Provincial System as laid down in the Act of Union, it is found that each Province has a Provincial Council with the same number of members as the Province sends to Parliament. There must never be less than twenty-five members, even

if that Province has less than that number in Parliament, as do the O.F.S. and Natal. This may necessitate re-delimiting of electoral districts or re-allocation of members.

Provincial Councils were first elected for three years, which was changed to five years in 1935. They must assemble at the least for one month per annum; now in the Transvaal, for example, the standing rules lay down the maximum as thirty-six days or six weeks a year. The elections for the Province and Parliament are conducted in the same way, and all Parliamentary voters vote for Provincial Councils. In the Cape Province, until deprived of this right by the South Africa Act Amendment Act 1956, the Cape Coloureds also voted. In both the Cape and Natal, non-Europeans were allowed to stand for election to Provincial Councils, but they lost the right to stand for Parliament. In 1936 this was changed and Bantu Representation in Cape Councils limited to Europeans.

Four Executive Members are elected from the Party members by proportional representation; i.e. in the Transvaal to-day, with sixty-eight M.P.C.'s for every fourteen members a Party is entitled to one member of the Executive Committee. These M.E.C.'s of the Executive Committee, the Province's Cabinet, are presided over by the Administrator, who has a casting, as well as a deliberative vote, but no voting right in the Council. The Executive Committee is elected for the duration of the Council and cannot be removed by the Council itself, the Administrator or the Union Government.

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. Ollson, Box 306, 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.

- C. Mrs. M. Owens, 7 Howie Road, Kimberley.
- S. Mrs. E. Hammond, 1 Solomon Street, Kimberley.

CAPE WESTERN.

- C. Mrs. M. Henderson, Cranborne House, Salisbury Road, Wynberg, C.P.
- 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.
- Actg. S. Mrs. J. F. Hill, 27 Meyrich Avenue, Durban.

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.

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

SOUTH-EASTERN TRANSVAAL.

- C. Mrs. M. Fourie, East Geduld Mine, Box 222, Springs.
- S. Mrs. E. Salters, 8 Excelsior Court, Boksburg.

SOUTHERN TRANSVAAL.

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