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THE **BLACK SASH****DIE SWART SERP**

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**WETLIK MAAR  
SEDELOOS**

**D**IT is nou nutteloos om die geleerde rede-  
wering wat in Bloemfontein plaasgevind het  
weer in oënskou te neem, maar dit is belangrik  
om te besef wat die gevolge van die uitspraak  
is.

Eerstens moet Suid-Afrikaners aan die idee  
gewoond raak dat politieke sekuriteit 'n ding  
van die verlede is. Die Nasionaliste het deur  
hul oorwinning in die Appellhof 'n rewolusie  
teweggebring wat geensins meer onvattend  
sou gewees het as dit met wapens in plaas van  
politieke foppery behaal is nie. Die konstitu-  
sionele posisie is dat daar nou geen grondwet  
is nie. Deur 'n wetlike uitvlug het die  
Nasionaliste dit die nek ingeslaan en ons is  
nou in die mag van 'n junta wat kan handel  
volgens wat wetlik is en nie volgens wat reg-  
verdig is nie.

Lede van die Swart Serp, wat hulle nou voor-  
berei om die protesveldtog voort te sit, moet  
hierdie onaangename feite deeglik besef. Daar  
is nou geen wet wat kan verhinder dat die  
Uniewet herroep word, dat daar uit die  
Gemenebes getree word, dat 'n republikeinse  
diktatorskap in die lewe geroep word of dat  
verteenwoordigende regering geskrap word nie.  
Dit kan alles gebeur. Die laaste item word  
reeds beplan wat die stadsrade aanbetref.

Die regering se woordvoerders sal voorgee  
dat sulke moontlikhede hulle met afsku vervul.

**LEGAL, BUT  
IMMORAL**

**I**T is useless now to go back over the learned  
arguments at Bloemfontein, but it is  
important to realise what the judgment means.

In the first place South Africans have got  
to learn to live with the idea that there is no  
such thing as political security any longer in  
the Union. The Nationalists, with their victory  
in the Appeal Court, have successfully conclu-  
ded a revolution as sweeping in its implications  
as if it had been conducted by force of arms  
instead of political chicanery. The constitu-  
tional position now is that there is no constitu-  
tion. The Nationalists have destroyed it by  
recourse to a legal subterfuge, and we are now  
in the hands of a junta which need acknow-  
ledge no law higher than expediency.

It is just as well that Black Sash members, as  
they prepare to renew their campaign of pro-  
test, should realise these grim facts. There is  
no longer any legal bar to the repeal of the Act  
of Union, withdrawal from the Commonwealth,  
the declaration of a republican dictatorship and  
the abolition of representative government.  
All this can happen. Indeed, the last item is  
already being planned as far as the municipali-  
ties are concerned.

Government spokesmen will profess to be  
horrified by such suggestions. They will say  
that they are pledged to observe the rights of  
"both sections," to obey the volkswil and to

Hul sal sê dat hul die ooreenkoms om die regte van „beide seksies” in ag te neem plegtig sal nakom, dat die volkswil eerbiedig sal word en dat demokrasie behou sal word. Hul beloftes is waardeloos, want het hul nie belowe om die regte van die kleurlinge in ere te hou nie? Hul beloftes is geensins meer duursaam as die papier wat die pers gebruik om hulle bekend te maak nie.

Dit is juis hierdie verlaging van standarde in die politieke lewe wat so onrusbarend is—iets wat nog erger is as die konstitusionele vakuum wat die leiers van die Nasionale Party daargestel het. Ons is daarvan oortuig dat die meerderheid van hul aanhangers onrustig voel. Hulle is miskien verlig omtrent die oorwinning te Bloemfontein, maar hul voel deeglike skaam oor die wyse waarop dit behaal is. Hul hou gladnie van die wanskape partydig saamgestelde Senaat wat geskep is om die verskansde klousules uit die weg te ruim nie, en hul voel skuldig omtrent die hele verdagte affêre.

**HUL WIL HÊ DAT ONS DIT SO GOU MOONTLIK MOET VERGEET.**

Die taak van die Swart Serp is om te verseker dat hul dit nooit sal vergeet nie. Gedurigdeur moet hul herinner word aan die misdaad wat hul teenoor Suid-Afrika gepleeg het.

Baie Nasionaliste probeer om hul verantwoordelikheid te ontdunk deur privaat toe te gee dat die Senaatswet nooit ingedien moes gewees het nie. Aan hierdie persone moet gesê word dat hul deur hul kondonasië van die misdaad ook skuldig was.

Hul moet besef dat hul kwytskelding slegs kan verkry deur teen die regering te protesteer. Waarvoor is hulle dan bang? Dit is tog 'n demokratiese land, nie waar nie? Die onrustige gewetes van hierdie Nasionaliste is direk toe te skryf aan die feit dat hul hul leiers toegelaat het om 'n misdaad te pleeg.

'n Groot taak lê vir die Swart Serp voor en 'n veel belowende begin is gemaak deur die indrukwekkende betogings gedurende die nag wat gevolg het op die bekendmaking van die Appelfhof se uitspraak. Ook is ons beleid kragtig gestel deur die twee slagspreuke wat by daardie geleentheid gebruik is: „Nou wetlik, maar vir ewig immoreel” en „Die Saak is verlore, maar nie die Gewetenssaak.”

preserve democracy. That means nothing. They were pledged to keep faith with the Coloured people. Their promises are just about as enduring as the paper which the Press uses to report them.

In fact, it is just this degradation of the standards of political life that is so disturbing—something worse even than the constitutional vacuum that the Nationalist leaders have produced. We are convinced that the great majority of Nationalist voters are not at all happy about it. They may be relieved by their victory at Bloemfontein, but they are thoroughly ashamed of the way in which it was achieved. They heartily dislike the monstrous packed Senate that was created in order to destroy the Entrenched Clauses and they have a strong feeling of guilt about the whole shady business.

**THEY WOULD LIKE US ALL TO FORGET IT AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.**

It must be the job of the Black Sash to make sure that they never forget it. They must be reminded, in season and out of season, of the crime that they have committed against South Africa. Many of the Nationalist rank and file try to wriggle out of their responsibility by admitting privately that the Senate Act was a mistake. These people must be told that, by condoning the crime, they are also guilty. They must be told that they can only absolve themselves by speaking up against the Government. What are they afraid of? This is a democracy, isn't it? The present unhappy state of the consciences of these Nationalists is the direct result of allowing their leaders to commit a crime in their name.

The Black Sash has a big task ahead and the pace has been set by the magnificent demonstrations on the night that the Appeal Court decision was announced. Our policy, too, has been defined by the two slogans which were then displayed: “Legal Now, But Immoral Forever,” and “The Case Is Lost, But Not the Cause.”

**HOW FAR CAN YOU LET  
EXPEDIENCY PUSH YOU INTO  
COWARDICE?**



# PARTIES AND PRESSURE GROUPS

By RUTH FOLEY

(National President)

**M**ANY people believe that the existence of so many political parties and extraneous political groups and movements in opposition to the Government during the present period of crisis in South Africa is a sign of weakness. Approximately one-and-a-quarter million voters support no less than seven political parties, whereas in Great Britain, for instance, fewer parties represent over 20 million voters.

Is this situation in South Africa indeed a sign of weakness?

The first thing to remember is that an extraordinarily large number of parties in relation to the size of the electorate has from time to time been a feature of the South African political set-up, and that this recurring phenomenon is due to natural causes. It is partly political immaturity, but mainly the range and complexity of this country's problems, which prompts the emergence of so many groups struggling for expression.

The Black Sash movement, which is not a political party, but a pressure group, came into existence as a protest against political trickery. It continues, through its functions of protest and education, to strengthen the resolve of all who oppose the Government's policy. It has become one of the most important of the extraneous political groups, and probably the most effective pressure group. It is therefore vitally important for its members to decide now whether the existence of so many parties and groups is indeed a sign of weakness. We believe it is not.

It must be remembered, first, that strength does not necessarily lie in numbers. Neither are numbers any criterion of rightness.

Secondly, it is clear that while the present Government is in power, no amount of discussion in Parliament, no arguments, however reasonable, can divert it from carrying out its predetermined pattern of legislation. Parliamentary Government is the fairest way yet devised for translating the desires of the people into laws. It provides for the expression of all its voters—that is why the representatives meet in Parliament. But when we have a Government such as ours which ignores the opinions of all who oppose it, when we have a Government which will not listen to any argument, however reasonable, when we have a Government which claims that it has a mandate to do as it pleases, then it is clear that the time has come for the people to express themselves very plainly outside Parliament. Pressure groups, such as the Black Sash, are a vital, urgent necessity.

The Black Sash movement arose to defend the cause of constitutional government in South Africa; it arose to combat the imminent danger of South Africa becoming an authoritarian state. We believe that this cause is great enough to inspire a supreme and sustained effort by all men and women of goodwill. We believe that this reason alone should guide the actions of all people and parties until such time as we are assured that this danger is past.

"United we stand, divided we fall," is a popular saying in South Africa. The tragedy is that the very cause for which we should be striving, unity, is forgotten or swamped in a welter of side-issues, details and trivialities, so that agreement between the parties has become impossible. But South Africa has a cause sufficient to bind all together. Does it matter whether we belong to the United, Liberal, Labour, Federal, Bond, Conservative or Nationalist Party, as long as we are united in a resolve to save South Africa for democracy?

The Black Sash movement came into being spontaneously; that alone should be sufficient proof of its necessity, its inevitability. It began when the women rose in protest against the Senate Bill, for this measure, in itself an iniquitous thing, fanned into flame the smouldering fires of moral indignation.

People do not care who governs; they care how they are governed. They care whether their government is fair and just; they care whether it sticks to the rules. They want a government which can be trusted, scrupulous in word and deed; they want a government which observes the spirit as well as the letter of the law.

Moral indignation is a compelling force. When the women's movement first began, we hardly knew what we were seeking; we had little time for self-analysis. We knew only that freedom was indivisible and that once a government turned away from the paths of democracy there was no knowing where the end might be. In our search for the truth we have learnt the inescapable lesson all searchers must learn: "The end of all political struggle is to establish morality as the basis of all legislation."

Political parties are a means, not an end; a way, not a goal. The strength and the weakness of democracy are that it depends on the individual. South Africa, in this hour of peril, needs the brains, the devotion, the perseverance of every one of its citizens. We of the Black Sash know our burdens and we accept them; we go forward, in a crusading spirit, to carry a message to the people. We believe that in strengthening individual resolve we strengthen the whole. We exist to encourage integrity and probity in all political parties and groups.

The Black Sash movement has no political aspirations. We have no intention of becoming a political party. Our aim is to stiffen the resistance of all who are opposed to authoritarian government; to achieve clarity of purpose and, through it, honesty of government. We recognise that all political parties must endeavour to attract as many people as possible into their ranks; we cannot concede that any one party has the prerogative of opposition.

Let any party prove entirely honest and trustworthy; mindworthy of the good of the country as a whole and not of the good of a party or a section; let that party base its policy on the eternal principles of truth and justice and let that party safeguard basic human rights; then the Black Sash will have achieved its aim.

# EDUCATING FOR DEMOCRACY

"OF making many books there is no end" and among these, from time to time, are found books on the philosophy and practice of education. Some have indicated a new attitude in our thinking on education—as new or as old as Plato.

By way of introduction to my possibly "highbrow" random thoughts I quote the concluding paragraph of one such book, *Education for a World Adrift*, by Sir Richard Livingstone, published by the Cambridge University Press in 1942. "Our first task," he writes, "is to realise that the spirit of citizenship does not grow into a strong plant without cultivation; our problem will be solved when everyone born in Britain has the knowledge needed by a citizen, has seen the vision of what citizenship is, and has been trained in it by living with others, not merely as an individual, but as a member of a community whose life and responsibilities he shares. I have put these three requirements in inverse order. The most important is the last."

## SIGN-POST

IF for "Britain" we read "South Africa," we have here a sign-post to guide us. These words give substance to the concept of democracy, a word which it is necessary to define anew as changes in our social and political way of life inevitably occur. Awareness of social change brings the realisation that education is a means for the continuance of the traditions of a nation and their adaptation and development in the world of today. In a country such as ours, with two differing European traditions, it is therefore not surprising that in educational policy there is usually a strong bias towards one or the other attitude. It is the task of statesmanship to reconcile these two attitudes and ensure freedom for both until such time as a common South Africanism is forged.

There are three partners in education: the home (which is the most important), the school and the community. As many members of the Black Sash are what we call ordinary housewives—though why this adjective for the most difficult of all vocations I do not know—I offer briefly and with diffidence as an observer, some thoughts on the part which the home can play. It is the strongest influence in the growth of the personality and therefore basic to all educational processes.

Men would be the first to admit that, in the early formative years of a child's development, the influence of the mother is greater than theirs. This is necessarily so. Even where there is an ideal partnership and sharing of responsibility the daily dependence of a child on his mother's physical care and the feeling of security engendered by this bond produce the atmosphere essential for normal psychological and spiritual growth.

This thought bears closer scrutiny. Mothers and teachers know that selfishness is mankind's strongest characteristic. It is the expression of the biological urge for self-preservation. It is to be counteracted by the encouragement of altruistic feelings, an appre-

ciation of other people's rights in the scheme of things; in other words, a counterbalancing unselfishness. The home is the nursery where such training can most easily be given. It is basic to communal life and becomes more difficult the longer it is deferred. Where the child is encouraged to learn the lesson in the security of an affectionate home, the true balance by which he retains his own individuality while respecting that of others is achieved and he is ready to face four-square the wider world of school and eventually the community of adult life.

## PITFALLS

THERE are pitfalls here which every mother will recognise. The timid child has to be led to assert himself and the aggressive child to respect the rights of others. We admire neither prigs, who are too unselfish, nor bullies, whether they are children or adults. The home, with its circle of relatives and friends of every age and its domestic help, usually non-European, offers daily opportunities for the development of a community spirit. If the family circle includes both language groups of our European people the child is fortunate indeed. All families will have one or more non-Europeans either as house-servants, delivery messengers or the Indian with his vegetable cart. It is in the attitude towards the non-European that the most careful training is necessary.

Many of our troubles stem from the fact that, from their earliest years, our children unconsciously, in the atmosphere of the adult world, develop an attitude to people with skins of a different colour which is bound up with the master-servant relationship. From this comes the deeply-rooted colour consciousness which people in Europe find it difficult to appreciate or understand. I believe it to be a psychological danger-point in the growth of our national character. From this may come those manifestations of arrogance, lack of consideration for others, the inability to consider people who are different as part of the national community, manifestations which are so frequently seen in all parts of our daily life. The right attitude in the family circle, the subtle, indefiable atmosphere of goodwill, above all the absence of careless talk and criticism within the hearing of small children, can do much, and are, in themselves, a contribution to nation building.

As I finish the writing of these thoughts, the chimes at the Union Buildings warn that the day of vigil is nearly over. I am glad to have had this experience which so many have shared. Dedication to a common task of vigilant guardianship of the ideals that brought our diverse traditions into union, has now brought us into this comradeship. Women of the Black Sash in the home (to which their critics would like to confine their activities!) can do much to build up that good life for all the people of our country which is the underlying purpose of sound and acceptable government.

MARY McLARTY



# HABEAS CORPUS

IN the year 1679 an Act known as the Habeas Corpus Amendment Act was passed by the English Parliament. Burnet, in his *History of Our Own Times*, says that this Act would not have passed the House of Lords had the tellers not, for a joke, counted a particularly fat peer as twelve men! There seems to be some foundation for the story for the numbers recorded in the division were apparently greater than the number of peers present. If the story is true, it was the best practical joke ever made.

The Habeas Corpus Act defined and gave statutory authority to an ancient common law procedure for safeguarding the liberty of the subject against the arbitrary exercise of power. It had long been the custom in common law that prisoners had to be brought to trial as soon as possible; but under Charles I various devices were used for keeping political prisoners locked up, or even transported to some distant prison outside England—in fact, “banished”—without a trial. The new Act made this illegal and gave the Courts power to issue a writ of Habeas Corpus compelling the prison authorities to bring the prisoner before the Court forthwith.

## PRINCIPAL SAFEGUARD

**HABEAS CORPUS** has rightly been regarded as one of the principal safeguards of the liberty of the subject. The form of the writ is interesting. It is issued by the Queen to the keeper of the gaol and commands him immediately to produce the prisoner who has been “committed and detained in our prison under our custody” and to state when and why he was imprisoned. Note the words “our” prison and “our” custody. The prisoner is the prisoner of Her Majesty the Queen, not of a minister or one of his officials. And the Courts are there to protect the liberty of the Queen’s subjects against arbitrary action by anyone, including governments, ministers, and officials. Moreover, in returning the

writ the gaoler must include the original warrant for arrest and this has to state definitely what the charge is. In other words, an individual cannot be arrested merely because he has displeased an official or because a minister thinks he is dangerous.

The importance of Habeas Corpus is that it asserts the supremacy of the Courts over the Executive and protects the individual against arbitrary action by it. It is no protection against Parliament, however. If Parliament chooses to take away individual liberty by placing it at the mercy of the Executive and its officials, there is nothing to stop it from doing so. The individuals who are voters can, however, choose a Parliament at the next general election that will not destroy their liberties.

## OPERATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

**THE** principles of Habeas Corpus operate in South Africa too. But our Parliament has by various Acts expressly excluded the Courts, and so the individual is at the mercy of the Executive in regard to those Acts. Some of these Acts affect everyone who lives in South Africa; others apply to Africans only. These latter are by far the more dangerous for our liberty, for two reasons. In the first place, the large majority of voters are European, and governments are always a bit chary of a direct attack on the liberty of voters. In the second place, the voters, not being directly affected by laws that curtail the liberty of Africans, are inclined to think that it does not matter so long as their own liberties are secure. There is no more dangerous delusion.

The reason why we are in our present mess is that, for years, we have accepted without protest the curtailment of the personal liberty of three-fourths of the population. That curtailment is now going on at an unprecedented rate and has already touched the white voters who imagined they were so secure.

(Continued on page 15)

# BALANCE SHEET

## LIABILITIES

To one only Constitution (wrecked) ...	£	????
To one only language guarantee (written off) ...	£	????
To six dozen assorted pledges (broken)	£	????
To solemn promises for the future (worthless) ...	£	????
To 41 surplus senators (obsolete) ...	£	????
To Spirit of Union (evaporated) ...	£	????
To Coloured people’s goodwill (lost) ...	£	????
	£	?????

## ASSETS

By one only legal victory ...	£	??
By one only purified, Colour-free common roll ...	£	??
By one only Enlarged Senate (in perfect running condition, owner anxious to trade in for smaller model, a dead snip) ...	£	??
By Balance ...	£	????
	£	?????

(This Balance Sheet was the first leading article in the “Sunday Express” of 11th November. We reprint it with acknowledgments.)

# MEET THE BLACK SASH

## LOWVELD REGION

**MRS. LYN SANDENBERGH** is Chairwoman of the Lowveld Region. She was educated at the Girls' High School, Wynberg, in the Cape. A foundation member of the Civil Air Guard, when war broke out she joined the W.A.A.F., rising to the rank of Captain. She was discharged shortly before her eldest daughter was born in 1945. After the war, she lived for eight years at Skukuza in the Kruger National Park where her husband was the Warden. She now lives in White River. Has three children, two daughters aged eleven and seven, and a baby son aged sixteen months. A vivid and fearless personality, our Regional Chair took no interest in politics before she joined the Black Sash, and confesses that she steadfastly avoided sitting on any sort of Committee. Now she is not only a good committee member but on the way to being a useful public speaker as well.

**MRS. PATRICIA WOLSTENHOLME** is Correspondent for the Lowveld Region. Born in Johannesburg, she was educated partly at St. Andrews School and partly in England. She has lived for the last twenty-seven years in the Lowveld. Was Branch Secretary of a political party for five years; but feels she is best described as a "true country bumpkin," with a love of animals and all nature. She has two sons studying Agriculture, and a daughter still at school.

**MRS. MARGARET MELLING-WILLIAMS** is Treasurer of the Lowveld Region. She was born in Boksburg, Transvaal, and educated at the Johannesburg Girls' High School, Barnato Park, Johannesburg. Has one daughter and one son. She lived on the Reef until 1944 and was an active member of the Randfontein branches of the N.C.W., the Red Cross and Non-European Child Welfare. Now living in White River and working in an office, she still finds time to do valuable work for the Black Sash.



**MRS.  
WOLSTENHOLME**



**MRS.  
MELLING-WILLIAMS**



**MRS. SANDENBERGH**

**MRS. WINIFRED ELAINE WILSON** is a member of the Lowveld Regional Executive. Educated at Jeppe High School for Girls, Johannesburg, she took her medical and surgical nursing training at Witbank Hospital, and midwifery at King Edward VII Hospital, Durban. Present occupation: Housewife. She has three sons and one daughter. To her has been given the unenviable task of canvassing for the Black Sash in difficult localities, and she has carried out this job with distinction.



**MRS. WILSON**



**MRS. POTT**

**MRS. SHIRLEY POTT**, who describes herself as a mongrel of English, Dutch and German blood, was born in South Wales and came to the Union at the age of six. She was educated at the Parktown Convent, Johannesburg and St. John's Diocesan School in Pietermaritzburg. On leaving school she took a secretarial course and worked in Vereeniging until she married and made White River her home. She has two sons. An incorrigible humorist, Mrs. Potts was a great strength and stay to those from the Region who felt like wilting at the Cape Town Rally. She is an able committee member.



**MRS. KITTY SIMMONDS** is the Chairwoman of the Sabie Branch. She spent her early childhood in the Argentine and then went to England to school. Later she trained as a nurse at the Norfolk and Norwich Hospital. Come to South Africa at the end of 1937. She joined the South African Military Nursing Service on the outbreak of war and spent five years "Up North." On returning to South Africa she came to the Eastern Transvaal, married, and has lived there ever since. She started a large and flourishing branch of the Black Sash in Sabie in a matter of hours after other "contacts" had failed. She has the gift of organisation and of bringing all types of people together—an invaluable attribute in our troubled and suspicious land.



**MRS. SIMMONDS**



**MRS. TRACEY**

**MRS. BETTY TRACEY** is Secretary of the Lowveld Region. She was born and brought up in Scotland and educated at Priors Field and Cambridge University (Honours Tripos in Economics, M.A. Degree). After University, travelled and then became private secretary to a well-known industrialist and naval writer. She came to South Africa in 1934 to report on the affairs of a Lowveld farming company, and remained with the company as Chairman and Managing Director until her marriage. She and her husband have now returned to live in the Lowveld. She was one of the first to start the Black Sash ball rolling in the Lowveld, and has worked for the League wholeheartedly and devotedly ever since. Only those who serve on the Committee with her can have any inkling of the work she gets through, and of her loyalty to our leaders and their cause.

\* \* \*

Two Executive Members are absent overseas:—

**MRS. MADGE GRIFFITHS**, who has done some excellent fund raising for the White River Branch, and

**MRS. MARY METFORD**, who was in charge of the cars that went from the Lowveld to the Cape Town Rally.

## **PARLIAMENTARY TERMS AND USAGES**

(Continued)

### **COMMITTEE OF SUPPLY AND OF WAYS AND MEANS**

**I**N his Budget speech the Minister of Finance moves that the House go into Committee of Supply on the Estimates of Expenditure for the coming year and into Committee of Ways and Means on taxation proposals. In his speech the Minister states the financial policy of the Government and the taxation it proposes to introduce. Any subject, other than subjects covered by Bills or motions already before the House, may be discussed in the debate that follows.

When the House goes into Committee the estimates of each department of State are discussed and the whole policy of the Minister concerned may be brought under review.

After the Committee has considered the estimates, the necessary legislation to give effect to the Government's policy is introduced as a money Bill. All such Bills can be brought forward only in the Assembly. From there they go to the Senate but that body has no power to amend them.

### **PART APPROPRIATION BILLS**

**N**OT every item of expenditure can be foreseen when the Bill following on the discussion of the estimates is introduced. There will thus from time to time be expenditure which must be provided for. This is done by Part Appropriation Bills. When such Bills are introduced any general question may, as in the case of the motion to go into Committee of Supply, be raised and discussed.

### **PAIRING**

**O**N matters of importance each party wishes its voting strength to be maintained in relation to that of its opposite party. But members from time to time may wish to be absent from one or more sittings. A system has grown up of what is called "pairing." A member of one party wishing to be absent will find one of the opposing party who also wishes to be absent. They will agree that for a certain sitting or sittings they will not take part in a vote in the House. In this way the majority of the Government party will not be affected by the absence of one of its members at any division.

### **CAUCUS**

**T**HE members of a party in the House combine in a "caucus," which meets in private and decides what attitude it will adopt on any bill or motion. Thereafter all its members are required to vote as so decided and no member may oppose that decision.

The effect is that no argument in Parliament itself will make any impression on how many members will vote. The caucus system may lead eventually to the complete stultification of the Parliamentary system. It has in effect introduced a form of dictatorship.

(Concluded.)



## UNITED PARTY

**THE** United Party recognises the fundamental right of all citizens to acquire the basic elements of education, and regards it as the duty of the State to make such education progressively available to all sections of the community in conformity with their needs.

Control over non-European education will be exercised as laid down in the Act of Union with specific powers allocated to the Union Department of Education and delegated to Provincial Councils. The existing Bantu Education Act will be repealed and replaced by a measure which will give greater recognition to the enlightened educational work of missionary bodies. Native education will be co-ordinated by a Union Advisory Board on Native Education similar to the one established by Act 29 of 1945.

Financing of non-European education will be a charge against the Consolidated and Provincial Revenue Funds and the Native Trust Funds. Unwise expenditure with the sole purpose of furthering the impracticable aspects of the Nationalists' apartheid policy without benefiting the Native will be discouraged.

The training of competent teachers will receive priority. Syllabuses will conform to the needs of the population with due regard to the universal nature of truth and human knowledge.

In primary and secondary education the traditional policy of separate schools for the races will be followed. In higher education the existing autonomy of the institutes of higher learning will be respected. The basic recommendations of the Holloway Commission are accepted.

The education of the non-European is of importance to all South Africans as a factor in increasing the productive efficiency of the Union's unskilled labour force, thereby leading to a raising of living standards at all levels. The main purpose of education should, however, be to build character and to bring truth and enlightenment to all mankind.

## LIBERAL PARTY

**THE** Liberal Party believes that the aims and methods of education are universal and of equal application to all persons, irrespective of colour or race. It follows, therefore, that the Liberal Party does not have a "non-Europeans only" education policy.

To distinguish one child from another by skin colour only and then attempt to evolve a system of education to suit the pigmentation is, at best, absurd. Such distinctions have nothing to do with education and the logical outcome of making them is the Bantu Education Act. This Act is not designed to introduce the pupils taught under it to the cultural heritage of mankind so that they may develop to the full their personalities as human beings; on the contrary, it is designed to keep the children and their heritage apart, presumably so that their personalities shall be stultified and limited.

But education in South Africa was discriminatory before the Bantu Education Act and as a result there are some problems with a colour emphasis. No African children have ever received compulsory free education and, of course, all must; the professional and academic standards of non-European teachers are—by and large—far too low, as are their salaries; adult illiteracy in South Africa, especially among non-Europeans, is frighteningly high.

The Liberal Party's education policy, however, goes further than the tackling of these evils. Bearing in mind the sort of society Liberals would like to see established in South Africa, the Liberal Party advocates the multi-racial classroom. No state or state-aided school or teachers' training-college under the Liberal Party would discriminate solely on grounds of colour in the admission of students or the appointment of teachers. No doubt, for an interim period, there would be mixed and non-mixed state schools and parents could choose—and no doubt some private schools

(Continued in Col. 3)

**The Black Sash has invited the major political parties in South Africa to set forth their views on national matters. Last month the subject was "European Education" and we noted with regret that the Nationalist Party had said that "this kind of thing was outside the function of the Nationalist Party."**

**Our subject this month is**

## **BANTU EDUCATION**

### **LIBERAL PARTY (Contd.)**

would elect to be non-mixed—but the multi-racial classroom is an integral part of Liberal Party policy. It is more than an educationally sound institution: it is both an instrument for the establishment of a peaceful and stable society here in South Africa, and a guarantee of that society's survival.

### **LABOUR PARTY (Contd.)**

a famous saying. The Tomlinson Report omitted to add, however, that the Government will decide what the Africans may learn. Education for the African is to be so exclusively Bantu that contact with the Whites in South Africa, or with the world, would be minimal. Hence the insistence on mother-tongue instruction which will help to keep the races apart, except possibly to acquire the knowledge necessary to follow orders and instructions.

Education for the African is today only a privilege which the Minister of Native Affairs may or may not extend to the African, but there is that which is inherent in enlightenment and education, which cannot be confined and bound to man-made laws and regulations. We believe that Bantu Education is only a passing phase, because education is the sum total of man's intellectual growth and cultural advancement. Like the air we breathe, it cannot be withheld or rationed.



# UR PARTY



## FEDERAL PARTY

**T**HE Union Federal Party stands for increased educational opportunities for the non-European, thus fitting him for increasing responsibilities in the life of the country.

It believes that any real education must be objective, seeking only the truth. It cannot be the tool of a government. It opposes a special type of education to fit the non-European to be the servant of the White man. Like "Soviet Science," it is spurious. John Ruskin said "Better a child should be ignorant of a thousand things than that he should have engraved on his mind a single lie." Dr. Verwoerd's type of education engraves a lie on the impressionable minds of our children, both White and Black.

Much of this is common ground with other democratic parties. Where the Federal Party makes its distinctive contribution is in its insistence that education should be under the control of the Provinces.

This is no mere sectionalism. It is based on the sound democratic principle that if democracy is to be a reality the ordinary citizen must play his part and not be a mere cog in a machine operated by remote control by some higher authorities called "they."

It is based, moreover, on the lesson of history that one of the biggest bars to dictatorship is the existence of local liberties, such as the power of each Province to govern its own affairs in certain matters. "Power corrupts, and absolute power corrupts absolutely." Every dictator seeks centralised control. Hitler abolished the remnants of federalism in Germany and in this country the Nationalists are running true to form in seeking to abolish Provincial powers, beginning with Non-European education, going on to White education and destroying the federal structure of the Senate, which was a part of our Constitution.

## SOUTH AFRICAN BOND

**T**HE development of South Africa's vast natural resources and the raising of the standard of living of all sections of the community requires a bold economic policy instead of politics based on racial fear and prejudice. The Bond therefore supports an education policy for the Native people of this country which would provide for their training and education as more efficient members of the community and effective participators in our Western way of life on a broadly co-operative basis.

In order to provide the food required by our increasing Native population whose low standard of health is a danger to the whole community, intensive training of Native farmers in Native agricultural colleges in the Reserves in order to create a contented settled agricultural Native peasant class is an urgent requirement. This training should follow on a primary school education based on the European syllabus.

The increased use of Native labour in industry and commerce requires training in technical and administrative skills for which practically no provision exists at present. These improved skills will not only raise the standard of efficiency but will entitle the trained Native clerk and mechanics to better wages.

For the immediate future provision must be made for the training and development of a Native professional element to serve the Native community and to assist the Europeans in their leadership of the lesser developed communities in South Africa. For many years to come Native doctors, lawyers and teachers will be fully occupied in teaching and healing their own race.

The multi-racial peoples of South Africa need not live in any atmosphere of fear of one another if the economic development of the Union is undertaken for the benefit of the whole community. If any section of the economic community is untrained or unemployed, the economy of the whole country is hampered.

## LABOUR PARTY

**T**HE South African Labour Party knows of only one kind of education and therefore rejects even the conception of Bantu Education.

It regards the Bantu Education Act as the most serious and far-reaching of all apartheid measures because the aim is to keep the African separated from the general stream of human culture, and will close the doors of many to higher education. The planning of the schools, the syllabi and methods of education may shut out many a young African from humanity's common heritage.

It is wrong, therefore, to assume as do the Nationalists and for that matter, most other Europeans, that the Africans are reconciled to the Bantu Education Act, and that the change-over has been well received and is working well. Education is today so essential a need for the Africans, that they have to accept whatever is available. True, Bantu education is preferable to no education, but the declared objective of this new concept of education and its implications—the keeping the African as a subject people for all time—does not give ground for assuming that Bantu Education, with its pretty trimmings of "an education for service to his own Bantu community," will develop according to plan.

The chief function of Bantu Education is to restore the tribal society, and the Commission on the Socio-Economic Development of the Bantu Areas—the Tomlinson Commission—confirms this. Bantu education was moulded on European lines, the Commission states, with the result that it did not bear a characteristic Bantu stamp. Therefore it is necessary "to link the Bantu actively with education tasks, and responsibility must be delegated to the tribal authorities."

Education, concludes the Tomlinson Report, must be "OF the Bantu, BY the Bantu, FOR the Bantu." What could be more impressive, more eloquent, than this paraphrasing of

(Continued in Col. 3)

# REGIONAL AND BRANCH REPORTS

Our **Border Region** correspondent reports:

The Nationalists went to great lengths to keep the movements of the Ministers secret during the Nationalist Congress in East London from 22nd to 26th October, and at one time we thought they had succeeded. However we were able to meet the most important of our visitors and the others had a fair share of the haunting during their stay in East London.

We have only 40 regular standers and the majority of those can only manage half-hour stands, so we had to plan our campaign accordingly. We decided on two-hour shifts from 8.30 a.m. to 10.30 a.m., 12 noon to 2 p.m. and 4.30 p.m. to 6.30 p.m. each day to see the Ministers in and out of all the meetings. Four of us were able to meet Dr. Donges and Mr. Erasmus who came by private plane and we had time to contact 32 members who were at their hotel on their arrival in town.

Tuesday, 23rd October, started off quietly with the routine stands and in the evening we collected for the mass stand outside the City Hall for the official opening of the Nationalist Conference. Fifty of our members turned out on a very cold and rainy evening, a very stout effort.

The Jeugbond were turned out in full force to hide us from the Ministers, but without much success. The youngsters on the whole behaved very well but older people passed the usual insulting and pointless remarks. One of the adults made a grab at my sash and managed to undo it, but as soon as I turned round and stared in his face he dropped it and walked off. Although there were crowds of Nationalist supporters the applause when the Ministers arrived was very poor.

Fifteen of us went on at 9.30 p.m. for the all-night vigil outside the hotel. We had written letters to all the Ministers individually and delivered them by hand under their bedroom doors to await their arrival from the Conference. These letters were an appeal from the Black Sash for them to forget the past and to work during their Conference in an unbiased way for the unity of all South Africans. It also told them that we were standing all night outside the hotel to register our strong protest against the Government's immoral legislation.

Our letters evidently had some effect as at 8.30 a.m., just before the Ministers came out for their next meeting, the manager of the hotel came out with a letter in his hand and asked us please to move off the hotel steps. We moved onto the pavement on each side of the steps.

From there we all dashed out to the aerodrome again and were joined by a few others to stand eighteen strong to meet Mr. Schoeman when he arrived by private plane from Port Elizabeth. We waited on and were joined by the 8.30 to 10.30 stand to meet Dr. Verwoerd on the mail plane. To avoid us Dr. Verwoerd was led out of a gate bearing a large notice "Non Europeans." We had time to walk to the main gates and the car had to drive

through our lines. That afternoon we saw Mr. Schoeman off again in his private plane.

Six Queenstown and six Barkly East members joined us on Thursday and we started them off by meeting Mr. de Klerk on the mail plane. From there we dashed in to take up our stands outside the City Hall and also to cover a luncheon at an hotel. There we again stood over 30 strong.

On Friday our women stood outside the City Hall until the meeting broke up. We had begun our Regional Conference and we decided that as we were unable to discover the exact time of departure we would let them leave in peace and not interfere any more with our own Conference.

I would like to thank Mrs. Lucas from Johannesburg and Mrs. Ross from Bedford who joined us on several stands.

\* \* \*

Our **Eastern Cape Region** correspondent reports:

Several branches met in September at Port Alfred to sash Mr. Schoeman. While there the Chairman of the Salem branch asked tentatively if Mrs. Pirie, our Regional Chairman, would come to a meeting. She agreed at once and said "just name the day." In October Mrs. Pirie and I went up to Salem in the evening and had dinner with the chairman and her husband, at whose house we were going to stay the night.

Never dreaming it would be anything but rather a dull meeting with only a few of the hoped for anti-sash husbands and uncles there, we arrived at the Salem Hall! (This village is the centre of a farming community, widespread and few). There were cars parked everywhere. We went into the Hall, where we found no fewer than 246 people, with a sprinkling of babies in the cloakroom, and several asleep in cars, as is the custom in the country. The piano was playing, couples dancing and talking and milling about. We found a few friends from Grahamstown and Alexandria, too. When asked to join in the games, we did so with gusto. The best sight of all was to see the Chairman of the Eastern Cape region winning the musical arms in the face of great competition, and although out of breath, proving she was a woman of determination (and guile).

Then they rushed the chairs into rows, and the speakers went up onto the platform. It was a wonderful audience because they were so interested. Many were convinced then and there of our hopes and endeavours and although some were still adamant, they certainly did seem impressed. I think we proved to them that night that we were not just a lot of foolish women. Mrs. Pirie spoke concisely and well, and was never at a loss. After the applause was over, we went into tea and had a great talk to all the members, guests and their husbands, most of the latter being ardent supporters of the Black Sash, which was most heartening.

We came back to Port Elizabeth feeling that it was without doubt the most successful meeting ever. Was it only because the presence of the men was a



## REGIONAL REPORTS

(Continued)

challenge? Was it because a great many of them showed how they sympathised? Whatever it was, we feel that Salem's effort is one to be copied by all branches in all parts of every region. The pattern can be fluid but the general idea the same. Be human and understanding but be sure and consistent, and remember to invite **everyone!** Your most bitter enemy could become a friend through an evening like this.

\* \* \*

Our **Graaff-Reinet** correspondent writes:

Graaff-Reinet members had a busy first week in August when the Branch was addressed by Mrs. Alison Pirie of Port Elizabeth, and, five days later, by Mrs. Foley and Mrs. Taylor during the course of their tour of the Midlands Region. In spite of the great travelling distances involved, members responded admirably, and both meetings were well

attended. All welcomed the opportunity of hearing and meeting the leaders of the movement.

Pleasing features of Mrs. Foley's meeting were the number of non-members present, several of whom signed membership cards at the close of the meeting, the lively discussion which followed her address, and the quality of the questions and suggestions put to the guest speakers.

Mrs. Pirie came to Graaff-Reinet at our invitation, and we feel extremely grateful to her for making the trip, over one of the worst roads in the country, to give us some of that personal inspiration and encouragement for which she is renowned. The day following her Graaff-Reinet meeting she addressed a gathering at Jansenville, which had been arranged by some of our members from that district, and where it is hoped to form a new Branch shortly.

A "Graaff-Reineter" who is not a member of the Sash, recently visited Pretoria and was at Union Buildings at midday one day when those on vigil there did their rounds. "It was tremendously impressive" was her comment.

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## THREADS FROM THE SASH

**RUSTENBURG** writes: One of our older members said the other day, "I have done a great deal of political work in my time, and had reached the stage where I felt I no longer had any illusions or ideals left—until I joined the Black Sash. Now I feel quite different about it all." I think she expressed something which most of us feel.

\* \* \*

**TWO** volunteer "report-back" **Johannesburg** members are expected to attend meetings of all parties, and two "vigilance" members are expected to attend open council meetings and report back on municipal matters. Can Black Sash be the only **responsible** section in a democracy that has long ceased, or always failed, to take its duties seriously?

\* \* \*

**AT** a Dutch Reformed Church in a **Transvaal** town the Black Sash was mentioned in the sermon. The minister said that he admired women of courage, and hoped that his congregation would treat the women with respect. Thank you, Mr. Minister.

\* \* \*

**WE** have heard recently of two cases of women victimised because they were members of our organisation. The first was a school teacher dismissed from her post, because she was seen handing out our leaflets. She found a post in a non-government school. Three months later the head of that school received a letter from the Education Department threatening the withdrawal of the Government grant unless the new teacher was dismissed. The family is thinking of leaving South Africa.

The second victim was wearing a Black Sash badge when she went to draw her pension. The official commented on this and said she had better resign from the Black Sash, or her pension would be sus-

pending. She replied that all her papers were in order and that they could not do anything to her. "Papers can be lost" was the dry reply.

\* \* \*

**DURBAN AIRPORT** witnessed a strange sight recently when Mr. Schoeman, being met by the Black Sash, chose to leave through the "Non-Europeans Only" gate, rather than go through their lines. Tut, tut, Mr. Schoeman. If we must pay so heavily to ensure complete apartheid—kindly keep to your own side of the fence!

\* \* \*

**A** **SMALL** girl was taken away from the convent where she had previously been a pupil and sent to the local government school. She found herself the only English-speaking child in the class and was a bit overwhelmed at first. One day she came home somewhat brighter, and her mother asked what had happened. "Oh," she said, "all the children were talking today about their mothers, and what they could do. Some said their mothers could cook and some said they could sew—they could all do something very wonderful." "So what did you say?" "Oh, I just said—my mother's a Black Sash." Quite unaware of the bomb she had dropped, the little thing went on with her usual tasks, and no one could find anything to say after that.

\* \* \*

**MRS. T.**, mother of a Black Sash branch chairwoman, accepted a lift to the local shopping area in a luxurious limousine. Making polite conversation with the lady in the limousine she said "Perhaps you know my daughter, Mrs. B., of the Black Sash?" "Good gracious," exclaimed the lady, "I have no time for the Black Sash and such things—you see, I have seven dogs!" "My daughter," replied Mrs. T. gently, "has five young children."

# AM I MY BROTHER'S KEEPER?

By the HON. MR. JUSTICE LUCAS

NONE of us can think of living for long in complete isolation from the rest of the human race. We need the society and help of our fellow men and women to make life endurable. As then, we are so dependent on our fellow human beings, there rests on each one of us the obligation to do our part in making life brighter and better for them. To that extent at least we are morally our brother's keeper.

As long as there are poverty and injustice in our land can we claim that we are fulfilling that moral duty? The natural resources of the earth are great enough to provide plenty for everyone. That is true of our own country. As there is so much injustice and poverty in our land can we say that we, the whites, who have the vote and a monopoly of the political power, are doing our duty by our brother man? The poverty is unnecessary and the injustice unforgivable.

Among our non-Europeans there is widespread, crushing poverty and a not inconsiderable number of our European population, despite the alleged prosperity of South Africa, are desperately poor. Such a state of affairs could easily be ended and everyone, white and black, could enjoy a comfortable living, if we would use our votes to bring that about. When we fail to use our votes, either by not voting when the opportunity comes, or by allowing a party machine to impel us, in effect, to waste it on some party hack, we are failing in our duty as our brother's keeper, and we are defaulting in what we owe to the community for the benefits it confers on us and without which we cannot live.

When the Reform Act was passed in England, in 1832, and the franchise given to a large number of men who had been previously disfranchised, the privileged classes of the day believed that their power to control the affairs of the country in their own interest would soon be taken from them. And so, of course, it could have been. But the new voters then, like the great majority of the voters today, half of them women, did not value or make use of the new power placed in their hands. The fears of the privileged classes had been baseless. They had overestimated the intelligence of the electors. They were able to fool the masses all the time.

Even when the vote began to be used to introduce the "Welfare State," that was merely a form of charity. It consisted of doles and subsidies, sub-economic housing schemes, free medical service, and such like measures. These palliate but do nothing to remove the causes of poverty and injustice.

People do not want charity. They want justice. We boast to the world about all the things we are doing for our non-Europeans. We give no credit to them for their contribution in producing the wealth of the whites which enables us to provide those things. Despite them, the non-Europeans live in dire poverty, are frustrated, and are subjected to grave injustice and deprivation of freedom.

Charity is unsatisfying. We may give generous gifts to a slave and feel a fine glow of self-satisfaction in doing so, but he still remains a slave. Ulti-

mately he will want freedom and justice and will dispense with charity. Charity is demoralising to the giver and the taker.

Could anything be more unjust than our policy of trying to keep the black man out of the better paid jobs and confining him to low-paid, unskilled work, even though he may have the aptitude for the former? All this because he happened to be born with a skin of a different colour from that of those who have the political power in the country. The Minister of Labour recently warned the Cape Town City Council that it must not appoint Coloured men as firemen in the Fire Brigade because he would have such reasonably well-paid jobs reserved for whites under the new Industrial Conciliation Act. These Coloured workers are to be excluded from such posts, although they are well qualified for them, and although they are ratepayers, who contribute through the rates, to pay the wages for those posts.

Only when the voters wake up and use their votes to elect members of Parliament who will stand for justice, and insist on the necessary, and easily devised and practicable, measures to end poverty, can we feel we are living up to the personal responsibility involved in being our brother's keeper.

There can be no half-way house to justice. Either we must be just to all or there can be no real justice for any.

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## QUESTION AND ANSWER

### QUESTION:

Our former High Commissioner in England, Mr. G. P. Jooste, said recently in Edinburgh that Government services for the Bantu cost the South African taxpayer £30,000,000 a year and that the total contribution of the Bantu population was less than £2,000,000 a year. Is that statement correct?

### ANSWER:

It is not correct. The figure of £30,000,000 as the cost of the services provided for the Bantu is certainly not an under-statement. The other figure of £2,000,000 bears no relation to fact. In 1932, the Native Economic Commission estimated the revenue derived from Natives at £3,322,917 and the expenditure on services for them at £4,184,700. The amount paid by them in customs duties, excise, and other forms of indirect taxation has increased enormously since that date. Then, too, the money spent on providing housing for Natives should not be regarded as the provision of a public service for them but as part payment of their wages. They have to have shelter and the wages they receive are not sufficient to enable them to provide their own. Dr. Verwoerd has stated later that if one counted what the Bantu pay in indirect taxes, it would probably be found that he was paying slightly more than he received.

No doubt Mr. Jooste considers, as so many people do, that all the mining revenue of the country is



**QUESTION AND ANSWER (Continued)**

contributed by Europeans. The right to mine precious minerals and metals is by law vested in the State, that is, in all its people, non-whites as well as whites. From this right the State gets a revenue of £50,000,000 a year. As there would be very little

mining if there were no Native labourers, a good slice of that revenue should be credited to the Bantu population. If that were done, it would probably be found that the Natives, although they are the poorest section of the population, were subsidising the White taxpayers, instead of, as Mr. Jooste suggested, the other way round.

**IN MOURNING**



[With acknowledgments to the Rand Daily Mail]

# Those Freedoms

Last month in the first of a series on our rapidly disappearing freedoms in South Africa, we discussed "Freedom of Movement." Here is the second in the series:

**FREEDOM of Access to the Courts** like so many of our freedoms, has been taken so much for granted by the average citizen, that it is seldom thought about, or even mentioned. We don't really appreciate oxygen until we find ourselves in an oxygen tent!

Many nations have struggled throughout history to guarantee to the individual protection against the tyrannical powers of the State. In recent years the tendency has changed and we have seen in our lifetime, in totalitarian countries, the domination of the individual by the State. We are seeing it happen in South Africa today.

## RULE OF LAW

Parliamentary government was designed to ensure certain freedoms for its citizens, one of the greatest of these being the "Rule of Law," that is, the right not to be deprived of one's rights and liberties without an opportunity of a fair hearing in an independent Court of Law. This fundamental liberty is rapidly being taken away today in South Africa, not by a violent revolution, but by passing Acts of Parliament which give Cabinet Ministers and departmental officials autocratic powers over the individual, and which specifically exclude the Courts of Law.

The Courts have always provided protection for the citizen against a too great power in the hands of the rulers. Today that protection is rapidly being removed by Acts of Parliament passed by a so-called democratic Government.

**The Suppression of Communism Act of 1950** confers on the Minister the widest powers to interfere with the people's right to freedom of movement, speech and assembly. It gives officials power to confiscate property and to enter homes at any time of the day or night, and in no case has the Court power to question the Minister or the official, unless it can be proved that he exceeded his powers or acted in bad faith.

**The Citizenship Act of 1949** gives the Minister of the Interior absolute discretion in regard to the granting of South African citizenship, and the would-be citizen, if refused a certificate of registration, has no recourse to the Courts. The decision of the Minister is final.

A similar situation is created by the **Passport Regulations and Departure from the Union Regulation Act of 1955**. The Minister may (and does!) refuse to grant a passport to any citizen without giving reasons. The citizen has no recourse to the Courts.

## STATE OF EMERGENCY

Even more flagrant in its granting of autocratic powers to a Minister is the **Public Safety Act of 1953**. Under this Act the Governor-General may declare a state of emergency, and make such regulations as he may deem necessary for public safety and the maintenance of order. These powers may be used by the Cabinet or by the Minister of Justice

alone, and no reasons need be given. Newspapers may be suspended, property confiscated and criminal penalties imposed, but the Minister is responsible neither to the people nor to the Courts for any action he may take.

Under the **Natives (Prohibition of Interdicts) Act of 1956** a local authority may serve a banishment order on any Native in that area, without the Native being given the opportunity to prove before a Court of Law that the banishment is illegal. He may go to Court only after the order has been carried out, by which time he will most certainly have lost both his home and his livelihood.

These laws illustrate the increasing tendency in our country to deny the citizens the right of a fair hearing in a Court of Law, one of the most fundamental of the freedoms in our Western civilisation. Dare we stand by, without protest, and say: "This does not affect me, therefore I need do nothing about it." Dare we?

M.E.F.

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# THE BLACK SASH HUSBAND

(Editor's Comment: We are aware that Richard Marsden Pankhurst was a well-known barrister who was a firm advocate of Women's Suffrage, and who sat with his wife, Emmeline, on a committee which promoted the Women's Property Act. On his death in 1898 he left his wife and three daughters wholly devoted to the cause of Women's Suffrage. Nevertheless, we publish this cri-du-coeur of a modern victim of women's enthusiasms, feeling that it will echo in the hearts of all male readers, and possibly soften the bosoms of some female militants).

THE other night I attended a Black Sash party, one of those "bring-your-husbands" affairs, and one of the ladies said to me: "And whose husband are you?"

I confess that this set me thinking.

Just who and what are we, the Black Sash husbands? Well, who was Mr. Pankhurst? Everyone knows who Emmeline was, but well may we ask "Who was Pankhurst, what was he, that all the books ignore him?" There might have been one. It is easy to imagine him, tottering out for a breath of air, the nappies washed and the children in bed at last. "Ah, Pankhurst," says an acquaintance, "Your wife been biting any policemen lately? Still, must keep the butcher's bill down, what?"

And so he shuffles down the vistas of history, dim, shadowy, indeterminate, vicariously immortal, the husband of Mrs. Pankhurst.

So, look upon us while you may, before our present solidity quivers into mistiness; for we are the modern Pankhursts, the bloom of our reflected glory still upon us.

And a sorry lot we are.

Pale? Oh, quite definitely. Up half the night, you know. Little chap restless, couldn't get him off to sleep, probably whooping cough, but the doctor thinks not. Fortunately managed to snatch a few hours' sleep at the office. Got to be fit for tonight. No, not for a week or so. Down at Bloemfontein sashing a minister or two, I believe.

Ragged? Well, the woman I got doesn't seem to get round to doing much. Don't appear to be able to get the hang of ironing the things myself, somehow. Still, managed to find an old one that hadn't got itself to a Jumble Sale yet.

The limp? Oh, nothing much, just a broken ankle. Tripped while running for the bus. No, she's got it in Port Elizabeth. Rotten train journey and air fares are so expensive now.

Can't really spare the time queuing for buses, got to get home to see to the supper, if I've remembered to order it. Still, getting along somehow, you know. The hand? Nothing to worry about really. Got it caught in the mangle. No bones broken, fortunately. Anyway, it stopped the kids quarrelling for a time, till they stopped laughing anyhow. Small mercies, you know, small mercies.

Malnutrition? Well, I wouldn't go as far as that. That reminds me, the tin-opener's worn out. Must

get another. No future in trying to get into them with a carving knife and a tyre lever. Eh? Yes, that's right. The doctor thinks blood-poisoning but isn't sure yet.

Poor old Pankhurst. How my heart bleeds for him. Still, I suppose he thought it was worth it. We certainly do, we modern Pankhursts, as we warm ourselves in our reflected glory. If we didn't think so—well, we'd probably do it anyhow. Dangerous commodity, militant femininity, and, like charity, it is apt to start at home.

L.J.F.

## HABEAS CORPUS (Continued from page 5)

And you may be sure of one thing: it will spread at increasing speed unless we halt it. There is only one way to do that, and that is to elect members of Parliament who will uphold the principles of Habeas Corpus.

Some of the laws that infringe our liberties have been mentioned in previous issues of this paper. It would, I believe, be a good beginning if everyone were to try to find out which laws deprive us of the protection of the Courts and place us at the mercy of the Executive and its officials. And by "us" I naturally mean all South Africa citizens of whatever colour. We could then discuss the laws with friends in the legal profession to find out exactly how dangerous such laws can become. Finally, we can ask our M.P.s whether, if returned to Parliament, they will undertake to try to get those Acts repealed.

LEO MARQUARD



My dear, I feel that women's WORK is in the home.  
I couldn't POSSIBLY find time!

# FACT AND FICTION

## FICTION:

On 13th May, 1956, the Minister of Education said in the House of Assembly: "The Government has always, in regard to every problem, proved that it wants to act cautiously and in such a way that it does not cause unnecessary hurt or inconvenience."

## FACT:

Perhaps the Minister really does think so. If that is the case, it is time he got to grips with a few facts. Has he perhaps not heard of Ficksburg? Of course, he made this statement before anything happened to Ficksburg, but we have as yet not seen any withdrawal thereof. Ficksburg, for the Minister's information, is a Free State town of some 3,200 white inhabitants, many of whom, because the town is very close to the border of Basutoland, drive a thriving trade with the Basutos who come over the border to do their shopping.

Came Dr. Verwoerd and glorious apartheid! No longer could the Basutos be tolerated in the streets (and the shops) of Ficksburg. The traders of Ficksburg face ruin. Perhaps the Minister does not regard empty shops and "For Sale" notices in unsellable houses as "unnecessary hurt or inconvenience." The Minister most concerned, Dr. Verwoerd, is perhaps "acting cautiously" when he insists that a new trading area must be established in a narrow zone. New shops must be built, while the old ones stand empty.

Who pays? Not Dr. Verwoerd, but the white trader. We hope, for Dr. Verwoerd's sake, that they will regard the payment as a glorious sacrifice on the altar of apartheid, and not merely as "unnecessary hurt or inconvenience."

What the Basuto feels about the matter is another thing. No one cares to be classed as "untouchable," but after all, why should Dr. Verwoerd worry? The Basuto hasn't a vote in South Africa.

**M.E.F.**

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- S. Mrs. E. Wiggill, 4 Sandgate Road, Stirling, East London.

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- 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.

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- S. Mrs. E. Hammond, 1 Solomon Street, Kimberley.

### CAPE WESTERN.

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

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- S. Mrs. B. Tracey, Pleasant Hill, Box 17, White River.

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- S. Mrs. C. J. D. Harvey, 12 Manor Crest, Manor Drive, Durban.

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- S. Mrs. A. Rethman, 190 Lisdogan Ave., Arcadia, Pretoria.

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- S. Mrs. R. Kruger, 4 Van Heyningen St., Bloemfontein.

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