

THE BLACK SASH

DIE SWART SERP

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How to Lose Friends

PERHAPS the greatest single problem facing the present Government is the bad reputation which it has earned overseas. To say that the Nationalists have a bad Press abroad is to put it mildly. Politically, the Union is easily the most disliked part of the Commonwealth, not only in Britain, but in America and in Western Europe. There is no need to stress what India and Pakistan think of us, and as for Russia and the Iron Curtain countries no words are bad enough. Perhaps only in Little Rock, Arkansas, could we count on solid support. This was true even in the days of Dr. Malan; under Mr. Strijdom matters have become much worse. Sometimes our critics are merely abusive without showing much understanding of our problems. That can be endured. What is far more serious is that well-informed opinion represented by such newspapers as the "Manchester Guardian," "The Economist" and the "New York Times" is equally unanimous in condemning our policies.

This is a grave situation. It is not merely a question of "wanting to be liked." If it were only a matter of a few tourists frightened away, sluggishness in immigration and the shyness of overseas capitalist investors, we could probably face it out—although the problem of capital investment is already growing serious. But the political consequences of this isolation are disastrous and could, in certain circumstances, become highly dangerous. With African nationalism stirring throughout the continent, it does not require much imagination to realise

Hoe om Vriende Kwyt te Raak

SY onsmaaklike reputasie in die buiteland is miskien die grootste probleem waarmee die huidige regering te kampe het. Die buitelandse pers is beslis antagonisties teenoor die Nasionaliste, en op politieke gebied is Suid-Afrika die ongewildste deel van die Gemenebes. Hierdie mening geld nie alleen vir Brittanje nie, maar ook vir Amerika en Wes-Europa. Indië en Pakistan se houding teenoor ons is algemeen bekend, en ons praat nie eers van Rusland en die lande agter die Ystergordyn nie. Slegs in Little Rock, Arkansas, kan ons ondersteuning verwag. Selfs in dr. Malan se dae het hierdie toestand geheers; met mnr. Strijdom aan bewind is sake veel erger. Diegene wat ons aanval is soms bloot beledigend, sonder om te toon dat hul ons probleme enigsins begryp. Dit kan ons nogal verduur. Maar watter uitweg het ons wanneer ons beleide ewe skerp veroordeel word deur verantwoordelike koerante soos „The Manchester Guardian,” „The Economist” en „The New York Times”?

Hierdie toedrag van sake is onrusbarend. Daar is meer op die spel as die begeerte dat andere van ons moet hou. Die uitwerking op ons toeristebedryf, op immigrasie en op die toevoer van buitelandse kapitaal is nie noodlottig nie, hoewel lg. reeds vry ernstig is. Dit is die politieke gevolge van ons afsondering wat so ramspoedig is en wat vir ons moontlik in sulke gevaar kan stel. Deur die ganse Afrika ontwikkel nasionalisme onder die gekleurde rasse, en dit verg nie veel verbeeldingskrag om

that South Africa is in an increasingly precarious position alone at the tip of the Continent. No wonder the Government is worried. When the Press Commission, which is due to report soon, was taking evidence from journalists in all parts of the country, the point about which the Commissioners showed the most concern was the reporting of South African affairs in the overseas Press. The cause of their anxiety was clear. They were disturbed by the effect on overseas opinion of despatches leaving this country, although most of the damage, of course, is done by the actual speeches and legislation of ministers and not by newspaper comment on them. Often enough, comment is unnecessary.

To be fair to the Nationalists we must face the question whether, in the present climate of world opinion, any other South African government would do much better in winning friends overseas. Is it not true that our basic position, on which the vast majority of us are agreed, of a white minority imposing its will on a black majority is in itself obnoxious to overseas opinion, let alone to non-Europeans, throughout Africa and Asia? The answer must be "Yes." Our whole racial philosophy, whether it is right or wrong in present circumstances, is under fire, and whether we like it or not, we are all, Nationalists and Opposition alike, in the dock.

But that does not excuse Nationalist behaviour. Nationalist arrogance and harshness have made a difficult situation ten times worse. When a Nationalist minister refers to Indians as "Coolies," that echoes round the world and sticks in the minds of hundreds of thousands of people who would never be bothered to go into the intricate details of our Indian problem. When Dr. Verwoerd legislates against the "nuisance" of Native churchgoers in European areas he offends against decent feeling everywhere, and no amount of specious talk can rescue him from his invidious position.

We are not here blaming the Nationalist Government for being unpopular but for showing an almost brutal insensitivity. A position which would be difficult to defend in any case is made infinitely worse by an attitude of mind which positively compels revulsion. Look at it how you will, South

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te besef dat Suid-Afrika, stoksielalleen aan die punt van die kontinent, in 'n bedenklike toestand verkeer nie. Geen wonder dat die regering bekommerd is nie. Toe die Perskommissie wat binnekort verslag sal lewer, die getuienis van joernaliste in alle dele van die land afgeneem het, was dit die kwessie van berigte in die oorsese pers oor Suid-Afrikaanse aangeleenthede wat die kommissarisse mees sorgwekkend gevind het. Die oorsaak van hul benoudheid is voor die hand liggend. Hul was onrustig oor die uitwerking, op buitelandse opinies, van verslae afkomstig uit Suid-Afrika, hoewel die grootste skade natuurlik deur die toesprake en wetgewing van ministers aangerig word, en nie deur kommentaar daarop nie. Dikwels is kommentaar oorbodig.

Om teenoor die Nasionaliste regverdig te wees moet ons nou probeer besluit of enige ander regering 'n meer gunstige indruk oorsee sou skep. Die oorgrote meerderheid van ons is dit tog eens dat die blanke minderheid oor die nie-blanke meerderheid moet regeer, en is dit dan nie hierdie begrip op sigself wat in die buiteland as geheel ongewild is, om nie eers te praat van die nie-blanke lande in Asië en Afrika nie? Ja, dit is wel die geval. Ons ganse kleurfilosofie, heeltemal afgesien daarvan of dit onder omstandighede verskoonbaar is aldan nie, word hewig aangeval. Ons almal, Opposisie sowel as Nasionaliste, is die beskuldigdes.

Hierdie feit regverdig egter geensins die gedrag van die Nasionaliste nie. Hul verwaandheid en onmenslikheid het 'n netelige posisie in 'n onmoontlike posisie omgeskep. Wanneer 'n minister na Indiërs as „koelies” verwys, weergalm dit oor die hele wêreld en maak dit 'n skerp indruk op mense wat anderssinds gladnie eers belang sou gestel het nie. Wanneer dr. Verwoerd wetgewing indien om die „las” van naturelle-kerkgangers in blanke gebied teen te werk, word die belediging deur alle regdenkendes afgekeur, en sy pogings om dit goed te praat is nutteloos.

Ons veroordeel nie die regering omdat dit ongewild is nie. Wat ons wel afkeur is sy beesagtige ongevoeligheid. 'n Toestand wat in elk geval moeilik te regverdig is, word nog veel erger as gevolg van 'n uitkyk wat ordentlike mense met afkeer vervul. Suid-Afrika se rasse-

(Vervolg op volgende bladsy)

FROM OUR POSTBAG

To the Editor, **The Black Sash.**

YOU called for comments on the "This is your Party" series!

My own view is that so many parties cannot continue to function indefinitely in South Africa—nor could they, I believe, so continue in any country: human thought having a tendency, after a time, to flow in certain well-defined channels.

I would not be surprised if, in the future, the Nationalist Party absorbs the Right Wing of the United Party (or the Right Wing of the United Party absorbs the Nationalist Party) taking up the South African Bond and the Wassenaar-type offshoots as well. A more moderate, sensible Nationalism would then result. A vastly-strengthened Liberal Party would absorb the Labour Party, the Federal Party, and anything else left over, and these two giants—reformed National and Liberal—would eventually confront each other across the face of the old inscrutable Africa, who would decide the issue herself in the fullness of time.

Gilbert and Sullivan summed it all up very succinctly many years ago.

"Every boy and every girl
That's born into this world alive,
Is either a little Liberal
Or else a little Conservative."

When Black Civilization reaches its zenith, as ultimately it must after the passing of decades, we will find this exact situation repeating itself, and the final emergence of the two basic parties, the Liberal and the Conservative.

Moves too far to either Left or Right will always produce the temporary offshoots or tributaries of Communism and Fascism, but the tendency is to return after a while to the broader streams of human thought. These flow concurrently towards some vast confluence that will be the final brotherhood of Man.

M.P.W.

* * *

To the Editor, **The Black Sash.**

Driving along the hot dusty road to Kaap Muiden recently, a friend and I met a stranded car. A man and young lad of about 12 were trying to mend something inside the bonnet. Pulling up I asked: "Good morning, can we help?" The reply was: „Het jy miskien 'n lang spyker?" No salutation, no please!—I felt immediately I had addressed the poor fellow in the wrong language. After a fruitless effort on the part of our driver to assist him, we offered to take his son to Kaap Muiden, get the spare part and bring it back. On the way we carried on the usual conversation grown-ups do with young lads of 12—how old are you, where do you go to school, etc., etc. All this in Afrikaans. Nearing Kaap Muiden the lad said in good English: "Here is Kaap Muiden, not so far away." "Oh," I replied, "You

talk English very nicely." To which he replied: "Oh, yes, and I would like to talk it MUCH more." Make of it what you will. I was left with an overwhelming sorrow that adults could be so stupid, and youth so thwarted.

F.M.B. (Johannesburg).

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To the Editor, **The Black Sash.**

My colleagues and I have the most profound respect and admiration for the noble altruism and dedicated zeal of your members, and their patient, dignified bearing. We admire their courage and perseverance, and hope and believe that their efforts will not be in vain.

For my own part, I would like to say "thank you" to you for sending me regularly your journal. In the nature of things I have not the time to read every word of every issue—although one weekend I read through at one sitting the whole of your first seven issues—but I always feel spiritually refreshed after looking through your pages. Courage, freedom and justice shine through each one.

With every good wish to you and your colleagues in their brave endeavours, I am, Madam,

Yours sincerely,

P. R. STUBBINGE, Editor,

"Land and Liberty," London.

(Continued from page 2)

Africa is in a tragic racial dilemma, but why make this worse by an almost unbelievable display of spiritual pride? The world might go a long way towards showing us sympathy and understanding if our position were carefully explained, with decent humility, but the world will not tolerate people like our Nationalist Government who act and speak as if they had divine guidance in a policy of oppression.

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probleem is alreeds 'n netelige vraagstuk; waarom nog boonop hierdie haas ongelooflike hoogmoed? Die buitewêreld kan ons probleme dalk nog insien as ons dit met betaamlike nederigheid nader, maar die buitewêreld verdra nie mense soos ons Nasionale regering nie wat handel asof hul goddelike leiding ontvang het vir hul afstootlike beleid van onderdrukking.

PERSONALITY PARADE

MISS MARY McLARTY was born of Scottish parents in the small West Cumberland town of Harrington and was educated at the local school, Keswick School, St. George's School, Harpenden, and at Durham University. She was a scholar of the University in Classics, took an Honours degree in Classics and Philosophy and subsequently an M.A.

Miss McLarty's career as an educationalist and worker for women's rights has been so crowded and

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MISS MARY McLARTY

successful that she has almost forgotten that she was once proficient in games, having played hockey, lacrosse, cricket and tennis in her school and university days. She found swimming difficult until she first plunged into the large salt-water bath at Durban in 1914 and then this sport too was added to her list of accomplishments. Of herself, Miss McLarty says: "I belong to the generation that agitated for votes for women. All, or most, University women of my time were suffragettes. I wrote articles, made speeches, carried banners in processions—all a good training for the Black Sash!"

Her teaching career in the Transvaal has been long and distinguished. From 1915 to 1918, she was Junior Latin mistress at the Johannesburg High School for Girls, which, this year, is celebrating its seventieth birthday. From 1919-1946 she guided the destinies of hundreds of pupils at the Jeppe High School for Girls, for twelve years as Senior Latin mistress and for fifteen years as Headmistress.

On her retirement, this indefatigable woman turned her attention to politics and was returned unopposed as M.P.C. for Kensington in 1949 and again in 1954. She has been associated at executive level with the High School Teachers' Association, the Classical Association, the Association of University women and the National Council of Women, for which on two occasions she acted as International Standing Committee member for Education. She has been a member of the Regional Committee of the Johannesburg Teachers' Training College for two periods of office and is the present Chairman.

Apart from educational interests, Miss McLarty has for many years been associated with the Institute of Race Relations and is at the moment a member of the Executive Committee and Chairman of the Southern Transvaal Regional Committee. She also serves as Chairman of the Transvaal Girl Guides' Association. One of the most pleasant duties she performs is as a member of the Scholarship Committee of Barclays Bank, an office which each year brings her into touch with an outstanding cross-section of boys and girls from all parts of the country.



To the average Black Sash member, finding difficulty very often in coping with only her Sash duties, this impressive record of achievement must be little short of phenomenal. It is a record of service—service to the country of her adoption, to her fellow women and, above all, to the youth of South Africa. It is hardly surprising that Miss McLarty confesses: "I have no leisure. One day I hope to have time to read and possess my soul." Perhaps it is some consolation to her that her example serves as an inspiration, not only to every member of the Black Sash, but to all with whom she comes in contact.

"Humanity" is an ennobling concept; to think of "humanity" and to think for "humanity" however narrowly the bounds are drawn, is an achievement for the limited mind of the individual man, the greatest achievement which civilisation has to its credit and the object, in the end, of all civilisation.

—C. V. Wedgwood.

PASSES AND AFRICANS

By **W. B. NGAKANE**

(Mr. Ngakane is a field-officer of the S.A. Institute of Race Relations, and writes this comment on the Pass Laws out of his personal experience of what they mean in terms of suffering to the African).

PASS! No other word in the country conjures up such a variety of associations as this one word. For the legislator and the administrator, it rouses memories of control over Africans, thus giving them a false sense of security. To the ordinary white person it means an abundant supply of cheap, docile labour—especially if he happens to be a farmer. But to the ordinary run of African, mention of it has a magical effect. It rouses memories of police raids, of numbers of families estranged from one another, of children separated from parents, of fathers sent to serve terms of imprisonment, and of humiliation in its bitterest form.

What constitutes a pass is a matter of dispute between those who have created it and those who have to carry it. What is a pass to the legislators and administrators may be of academic interest to those who are interested in the study of origins, but to us it is not of sufficient importance to merit following up within the limited gamut of a thousand words. Suffice it to say that, to the African, any document that has in it the elements of compulsion or restriction is regarded as a pass, irrespective of what the authorities think to the contrary.

HISTORY OF PASS LAWS

The history of the "pass" dates back to 1797, when, according to the Interdepartmental Committee on Native Pass Laws, "it was introduced for the purpose of excluding all natives from colonial territory and directed farmers and others employing natives to discharge them." Since this date the variety of ways in which it has been used is intriguing, although it shows what a useful instrument it has been for dealing with a subject people, according to the caprices of different governments. At one moment it was used, as I have already indicated, for segregating Africans from European frontiersmen. At another time it was utilised as protection for the farmers against the predatory habits of the vagrant natives. Then it was applied variously for enforcing contractual obligations between employer and employee, for detecting deserters from employment, to identify the natives on behalf of their relatives who died leaving assets, etc.

With the opening of the diamond mines, Cecil Rhodes conceived the specious idea of saving the large number of young natives, "the Kaffir mashers," who spent their lives in beer-drinking, by sending them to the diamond fields to be taught the dignity of labour, and so the Glen Grey Act was passed. More recently, expanding commerce and industry attracted large numbers of Africans in ever-increasing measure and the necessity to provide

adequate housing for them raised the question as to whether the age-old panacea could not be helpful again. And indeed it did not fail them.

PROCESS REVERSED

What was purely a sociological trend had to be reversed and the gravitation of the Africans to the industrial centres stopped. And all that was necessary to achieve this end was a slight twist or alteration to the pass laws. The Urban Areas Act was amended and the Abolition of Passes and Consolidation of Documents Act was passed. These two acts together serve the dual purpose of canalising labour, so as to make it abundant for the farmers, who are thus saved from paying competitive wages, and controlling the influx of the Africans to the prescribed areas. So that, whereas at one time the passes were used to compel the Africans to go to the diamond fields and industrial areas, now they are used to **exclude them** from such areas.

To one who has observed the effect of these laws closely, the questions occur repeatedly: What have the pass laws achieved? Do they prevent crime? Have they achieved the purpose their framers had in view and do they humanise the African? Obviously they have so far achieved none of these results. Instead, they have reduced them to the lowest terms of depravity and demoralised both the Africans and those officials who have to administer them. While the farmers are forced to resort to all sorts of ruses to evade the maze created by the pass and influx control regulations, the administrators are exposed to the temptation to accept bribes. I have seen men go about on crutches in order to evade arrest by the police for being without passes; I have known men rendered completely homeless and condemned to a life of vagabondage, because they have fallen foul of one of the many regulations that hedge them about, to say nothing of the men and women who are sent to prison annually. I have stood in the pass office and seen how young adolescents, at a time when they need the support of their parents most, are ordered to leave their parents and homes because the pass laws demand it.

INCREASE IN CRIME

During the last few years stricter and harsher laws have been exacted and the police force has been doubled to enforce their observance. But crime has increased, and murder, robbery and rapine have become the order of the day. If the passes have any use, it is to cause resentment and intensify hatred for the white man, which expresses itself in increased criminality.

Until fairly recently, the women have been excluded from the operation of the pass laws—except for curfew and for the permit system, which operates in a few towns and was introduced for the purpose of excluding so-called loose women from the

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urban areas. Today however, they are being brought within the ambit of the pass laws. Teams of government officials from the Native Affairs Department are touring the country and issuing "identification certificates" to women in the rural areas and small towns. Although in many of the areas the women are yielding to government pressure and are accepting these "identification certificates," in many other areas there is strong resistance, which has led to prosecution of women, banishment of leaders and chiefs and to rioting and deaths.

WOMEN RESISTING

No women accept the passes willingly and their resistance derives from their knowledge of the manner in which their men folk have been harassed by the administrators of the pass laws in the past. In the first place, experience has shown that young and irresponsible policemen are not above arresting African women and promising to release them if they will give in to their advances. And cases are on record in which policemen have arrested women under curfew regulations and abused them. If women have to carry passes which must be produced on demand, the number of defaulters is going to increase considerably. Thousands of African women are thus going to be arrested by male policemen and the number of abuses increased commensurately.

To exemplify the sort of thing that is likely to happen: an African policeman made advances to a nurse. When she responded unfavourably, he decided to teach her a lesson. He knew that on certain days she returned home from duty after curfew, so he waylaid her one day and arrested her for being without a "special." On the way to the charge office he promised to release her if she accepted his proposal. According to the nurse, she feared going

to the police station and so reluctantly yielded to his "blackmail."

Women arrested under the pass laws will be introduced to prison life. And this will apply to young girls of the apparent age of sixteen years, as well as to adult women. Many white women support the idea of their domestics carrying passes "to bring to an end the desertions which are so easy and common." Admittedly desertions and occasional thefts by women domestics can and do cause great inconvenience, but can the inconvenience of a few women be compared with the misery of thousands of African women whom the passes will send to the courts and prisons? Can they justify the dislocation of family life caused by a mother who does not return home at night, because she has been arrested? Can they justify the suffering of young children whose mother has been arrested?

WASTE OF MAN-HOURS

Employers already complain of the labour hours which are wasted because of the large number of workers who are kept away from work daily by reason of their failure to produce a pass. Have those white women who support the pass laws for their African domestics calculated what it is going to mean to them in terms of inconvenience when "Annie" fails to turn up, because she has been "copped"? There are days when the townships are surrounded and the police demand passes. There are days when all exits from the railway stations are blocked by policemen in search of pass defaulters, when everybody who has no pass on him is picked up and taken to the charge office. It is on such days that the "missus" will wish she had not supported passes for African women.

Morning Market In Pretoria

WE are greatly indebted to our Chairwoman, Mrs. Lang, for taking the initiative in, and bearing the brunt of, a most successful Morning Market and Rally on the 4th September, 1957. For this Market Mrs. Lang gave her charming garden. Apart from being a great success financially and bringing in £88 17s. 8d., the Morning Market was a very pleasant rallying ground for members who so often meet in less agreeable circumstances, and usually in silence!

Mrs. Dora Hill came over from Johannesburg and spoke most effectively about the dynamic force that the Black Sash had been and would continue to be. No one who heard Mrs. Hill speak on "Why we go on" could be in any doubt about the urgency of protesting where and whenever possible.

Besides the tea, convened with great efficiency by Mrs. Zacchy Taylor, there were several stalls. Mrs. Lang, helped by Mrs. McMillan and Mrs. Becklake, ran a sweet stall of home-made sweets. Mrs. Simpson and Mrs. Thorpe did a brisk business at a cake stall. Miss Barrett and Mrs. Monson ran a

miscellaneous stall at which they sold everything, including Penguins (which rather disappointingly turned out to be books). Mrs. Wallis and Mrs. Souter ran a Tombola Table, handsomely bedecked with articles we had dragooned our grocers and chemists into giving us. The flower stall was a family affair almost entirely stocked by Mrs. van der Byl with the most exquisite spring flowers from her garden, sold by herself, her sister, her daughter and her daughter-in-law.

Apart from stalls there were three "competitions," one for a beautiful fairisle jersey knitted by Mrs. Wallis, one for a most enticing twin set made by Mrs. Simpson, and one for the best-dressed doll in town begged and exquisitely dressed by Mrs. Lang.

Special medals should go to three of the stallholders, Miss Barrett, Mrs. Simpson and Mrs. Wallis, who went straight from their stalls to keep the four-hour vigil at the Union Buildings.

MARGARET BRINK,
Acting Secretary.

Die Afrikanerdom se Grootste Gevaar is van Binne

KOLONEL Laurens van der Post, die Suid-Afrikaanse skrywer en reisiger, het 'n uitdagende verklaring gemaak voor sy terugkeer na Engeland na 'n verblyf van agt maande in Suid-Afrika. Hy het onder andere gesê:

Daar gebeur iets in die Unie wat uitsluitlik op die politieke terrein uitgeveg word maar wat wesenlik van alles-oortreffende menslike belang is.

Dit is as mens dat ek nie opsy kan staan sonder om deel te neem nie. Dit is vir my onverstaanbaar dat enige Suid-Afrikaner opsy kan staan sonder om 'n beskouing te hê, sonder om met homself versoen te raak.

Ek wil verduidelik dat ek suiwer as 'n Afrikaner praat.

Hierdie ding wat aan die Kleurling-bevolking en aan die Swartes gedoen word, is so boos en so oneerbaar dat die hele volk onvermydelik moet vergaan.

Die metodes wat gebruik word om hierdie stelsel van ongeregtheid toe te pas is so verreikend dat dit nie die Kleurling-bevolking en die Swartes is wat in gevaar gestel word nie—die geskiedenis bewys dat die verdruktes uiteindelik triomfeer—maar die siel en die hele bestaan van blanke Suid-Afrika.

Die Afrikanerdom staar die grootste gevaar in sy geskiedenis in die aangesig—'n gevaar wat die Afrikaner-nasie vir hulleself skep.

Dit kom nie van buite nie. Dis is 'n innerlike wond wat die Afrikaner-nasie aan homself toebing.

Vir die eerste keer in my lewe het ek iets gevind (gedurende die afgelope agt maande) in Suid-Afrika wat ek nooit vantevore gevind het nie: vrees. Vrees vir die Staat en vrees vir die Regering. Mense is bang om te praat.

Dit is uiters vernederend vir 'n Afrikaner soos ek om Afrikaners—met hulle heldegeskiedenis—hulle so lafhartig te sien gedra. Dit is bokant my vuurmaakplek.

Ek dink die Afrikaner het rede om bang te wees. Sy gevaar is werklik. Die hele voortbestaan van die ras is op die spel. Dit word van binne-af vernietig.

Deur homself te vernietig, volg die Afrikanerdom 'n klassieke patroon—die onderdrukking van vryhede en die verheerliking van die Staat.

Ons universiteite, skole, staatsdiens, kerke is vol mense wat weet dat hulle die verkeerde ding doen, maar almal is te bang om op te hou.

Tensy Suid-Afrika en in besonder die Afrikanerdom in staat is om die baie lelike weerkaatsing van homself wat uit sy politiek en sy beleid blyk, vierkantig in die oë te kyk, en dit te verloën, beweeg hy in die rigting van 'n ramp.

Tensy ons tot 'n algehele daad van vernuwing in staat is, is ek seker dat ons gedoem is. Ek blameer ons kerke, universiteite, skole, alle instellings wat uit

hulle aard waghonde van die nasionale gees is, Mnr. van der Post het bygevoeg:

Die Engelssprekende Suid-Afrikaner is eweseer skuldig.

Die Engelssprekende besigheidsman steek sy kop soos 'n volstruis in sy bank-legger en dit is al waarin hy belangstel.

So 'n houding is nog meer laakbaar. Dit is tipies van die houding van besigheidsmense in Nazi-Duitsland.

(Met erkenning aan die S.A. Versoeningsvereniging)

WITH APOLOGIES TO HEINRICH HOFFMAN

Verwoerd was a likely lad,
A good clear mind our Verwoerd had,
And everybody saw with joy
The clever man grown from the boy;
He rose to honour in our land.
We watched to see what he had planned.

But one day—one depressing day,
He boomed forth "Take those blacks away!
Oh, take the horrid black away,
You can't have any blacks today."

Now begins our tale of woes,
For more determined Verwoerd grows,
Tho' mines may close and farms fare ill,
The busy fellow cries out still,
"Not any blacks for you, I say!
I'll send these people far away—
You shan't have any blacks today!"

The third phase comes; Oh, what a sin
To see white people pale and thin,
Yet, when we plead that we are poor,
He shuts and locks and bars the door—
"I'll keep the frightful blacks away,
You mayn't have any blacks today!"

Look at us! Confess we're funny,
No industries, no mines, no money;
No labour, leisure or employment,
No peace, no prospects, no enjoyment.
What makes a clear and factual mind
Blind itself to lead the blind?

D.R.

SOUTH AFRICA

By The Most Rev. Denis E. Hu

WHEN I went abroad last year I made a firm resolution to be a good South African. By this I meant that I would engage in no criticism of my country or its policies. I would try to explain the situation and leave it to others to draw their conclusions.

Explanations by South Africans are necessary. There is a tendency for people who do not live a situation to simplify it, to paint it in broad sweeps of black or white. When a policy runs counter to the fashionable maxims of a period, the maxims that are the bread-and-butter of politicians, the popular press and the annual school speech-day, one must expect a clear-cut and simplified hostility to that policy. South Africa's policy of segregation shocks people who have never been to South Africa and who are brought up to believe that denial of equal rights and equal opportunity is worse than blasphemy. They can draw only one conclusion: people who preach and practise segregation are tyrants. The picture often existing in the minds of such people is of a South Africa whose population is as homogeneous as their own, a population with a single common culture and view of life, common skills, abilities and capacities, differentiated by the very minor accident of pigmentation, a population composed of two sections, the White oppressors and the Black oppressed.

I found this simplification, as, I am sure, many of my readers found it. When the opportunity arose I did my best to correct it. An illustration I was fond of using was that of patriotism. I would say to people that to understand how difficult it is to solve the colour problem of South Africa, they must imagine a situation in which they would be asked to surrender their own patriotic feelings. Patriotism is an attitude towards one's country packed with emotion and usually fed on false history. The patriotism of Frenchmen or Americans, Germans or British is a carefully cultivated and unquestioning dedication to country and nation. The race-consciousness of White South Africans is of the same manufacture, a particular canalisation of the human herd instinct.

Imported Racialism?

I would try to throw the blame for South Africa's racialism on Europe, showing that it was an inevitable development once European nationalism, exported with colonial settlers to South Africa, came into contact with such vastly different people as the Africans. This racialism in South Africans was condemned as evil, while another brand of social exclusiveness and arrogance, nationalism, was carefully tended and promoted.

You can criticise South Africa with a good conscience, I would say, when you as a Britisher, come down off the pedestal of assuming that whatever is English is for the good of humanity, or when you,

an Irishman, forget the seven hundred years of English oppression, or when you, a Frenchman, forgive Germany from your heart. If you condemn South Africa's policy as immoral, remember that pride and the unforgiving spirit are just as immoral, and before God there is little difference between individual pride and pride of race and nation, and no distinction between the personal and the national enemy you must forgive.

EDUCATION MAKES A PEOPLE EASY TO LEAD BUT DIFFICULT TO DRIVE, EASY TO GOVERN BUT IMPOSSIBLE TO ENSLAVE.

—Lord Brougham.

All this was fine, and I think I did persuade a few people that our problem is a very complicated one and that it has something of the emotional dynamite that divides the nations of Europe and of America one from another.

But one cannot escape forever questions about the solution to the problem by describing how difficult the problem is. People are generally sympathetic to any country that has a social problem. The French are sympathetic because their own colonial policy is disintegrating in Algiers and Morocco. The English are sympathetic because they have had to deal with a million human problems the world over. The Americans are sympathetic because they have their own colour problem. Sympathy is not lacking, at least in the countries of the West.

The Essential Elements

So gradually I found myself abandoning my strategy of describing the problem and asking who was clean enough to cast the first stone at South Africa. More and more my mind became fixed on the essential elements in our race problem. Distance and detachment probably contributed to this evolution. When far away from your own country, you see it more clearly in the context of the world. It is a pity that our members of parliament could not be made to go five thousand miles away from their debates and resolutions. Things they say in Cape Town, that seem so sensible and meaningful, would choke them in another atmosphere.

Two realisations grew stronger and stronger during the course of my absence. The first was the difficulty of understanding how people can believe in segregation as a rational conviction. The emotional side you continue to appreciate. Mass emotion is a powerful thing wherever it is found, and it is found in nationalism and racialism the world over. But that people can express their

FROM THE OUTSIDE

I. I. D. D., Archbishop of Durban

emotional colour prejudices in clear-cut phrases, in propositions to which they seem to give honest intellectual assent, becomes more and more difficult to comprehend.

We are often told that South Africa is misrepresented overseas and undoubtedly there are exaggerations. But are we not responsible for creating a climate in which exaggeration is inevitable? All of us have read quite devastating statements by public men pointing out that White supremacy is the absolute good of South Africa. Everything else is subordinate to White supremacy—politics, economics, marriage, education, culture and now even religion. Any restriction on non-Whites is justifiable if done in the name of White supremacy.

Overseas people who learn this from responsible utterances of apartheid-upholders are mentally prepared to believe any tale of oppression. History justifies this attitude. In the past when determined men have set themselves distorted political goals they have seldom hesitated to use any means to achieve them. It is a characteristic of minds fanatically attached to a perverted ideal that their obsessive purpose becomes the norm of morality. Thus the pursuit of the communist aim is the only yardstick distinguishing the good from the bad in the Marxist code of behaviour. The preservation of White supremacy is an end justifying any repressive measure in the eyes of the segregationist. Overseas people can be excused for expecting the worst from politicians who have a perverted understanding of the aim of government and who accept the principle that the end justifies the means.

Bad Overseas Press

South African politicians have no right to complain of a bad overseas press. They have contributed very clear definitions and statements of political principles that to overseas readers, are absolutely horrifying. The gruesome details may be filled in by some imaginative reporters and editors, but the blue print is without any doubt made in South Africa.

It is the blue print that becomes so incredible when you are outside the Union. It is so much in contrast with the attitude of the rest of the world (with the exception of a shrinking party in the southern States of America), that you are astonished that people have the courage to proclaim it. Of course nobody is taken in by such high-sounding euphemisms as separate developments, development along one's own racial lines. It is enough to know that the people expected to develop are given no choice in the matter.

Let me emphasise again, it is not the emotional side of our racial problem that is hard to explain overseas. People grasp that easily enough. It is the rational formulation of a principle of discrimination that shocks them—and shocks you, too, when

you are away long enough to see things in better perspective.

A second point that assails the mind with devastating force is the realisation of how tragically short-sighted, if not completely blind, present policies in South Africa are. Even if the principle of apartheid were morally justifiable, the facts of modern political life would render it utterly stupid. It ill behoves a small man to insult the big fellows with whom he has to live. South Africa is doing precisely that. No matter what carefully chosen terms camouflage apartheid, there is no hiding the fact that it means only one thing: **a white skin is the mark of the elect, colour is corruption.**

Fierce Resentment

Anybody with any knowledge of world developments knows how foolish it is to proclaim that. It sets practically the whole world against us. It is an insult to Asians, Arabs, Africans and most South Americans. It meets no favour in the United States. It shocks the people of Europe and sets most thinking persons shaking their heads and commenting that "whom the gods would destroy they first make mad."

To Asians, Arabs and Africans the word "apartheid" is as detestable as the word "colonialism." These two terms arouse all the fierce resentment experienced by non-White peoples at having been subject to White colonisers. They are driven to fury at the memory of the White man's arrogant assumption of innate superiority, of his right to rule and to guide the destinies of less favoured peoples for their own good.

The White man may claim that he carries with him the art of good government. Whatever achievements the non-White may secretly attribute to White rule are offset by the incurable hurt of having been considered inferior. "That's all the gratitude you get," deplores the retired colonial officer, but it is human nature not to thank someone for making you feel small, no matter how humanely he did it.

The Asians, Arabs and Africans are the uncertain quantity in the struggle between civilisation and communism. To us the choice is clear, communism is the denial of civilisation. To the non-White peoples the issue is not so definite. For the third "C," colonialism, has too often been associated with what we call civilisation. In his hatred of colonialism, the non-White may be sorely tempted to turn to communism.

Friendship with Non-White Peoples

It is this consideration which weighs so heavily with the United States in its Suez policy, and which is going to exert an ever-increasing influence in American foreign policies in Africa, Asia and the Middle East. It is essential for America, as leader

SOUTH AFRICA FROM THE OUTSIDE (Cont.)

of the civilised world, to retain the friendship and trust of the non-White peoples. If this occasionally results in her treading on the corns of European colonial powers, she is prepared to take that risk. She dare not let herself be associated too closely with colonialism if she wants to save another third of the world from going communist.

Here we are then in South Africa proclaiming ourselves part of the civilised camp, yet playing into the hands of communism by insisting on that by-product of colonialism, apartheid. No wonder we distress our friends.

America cannot dare to show any sympathy to our solution of the Colour problem. Internationally, as I have mentioned, she is committed to creating bonds of friendship and trust with Asians, Arabs and Africans. Internally she has set her face firmly against segregation. In the future the Coloured vote in America is going to exert increasing influence. Negroes, Mexicans and Puerto Ricans will constitute an important segment of the electorate that no party dare neglect.

As regards Europe, the colonial powers have seen the writing on the wall. They have lost Asia, and the African colonies are going fast. Within twenty-five years I doubt if there will be a White administrator north of Livingstone. There may be some loose external association between old colonies and European countries, but that will be all.

South Africa, somehow, has to live in this rapidly changing world. How can we hope to live with our policy of insulting our neighbours?

International Contacts Jeopardised

Without much foresight one can see what will happen. South Africa will find herself more and more embarrassed in the international exchanges

that are such an important part of modern life. Sport, culture, commerce, agriculture, hygiene, religion are all marked today by increasing international contacts. How long shall we be allowed to participate when the things we stand for are an affront to half the other participants? How can they bear our presence when they know that in South Africa politicians seriously propose that all mixed gatherings should be prohibited by law, and that opposition to restrictions on freedom of worship is termed blasphemous?

Perhaps we shall be brought to our senses when we find ourselves the pariah nation of the world—banned from football federations and Olympic Games, omitted from the list of invitations to international conferences for fear of a boycott by other nations, harbours closed to us, airports denied us, diplomatic representatives refused to us, investors and merchants avoiding us.

There have already been a few indications of what is to come.

As I said at the beginning of this article, I began answering questions about South Africa by explaining how difficult a colour bar problem is. Very soon I found that the explanations were occupying a smaller place in my mind and that two big realisations were growing bigger and bigger: firstly, how utterly incredible it is that civilised men in this age can formulate in rational terms a policy of discrimination, and secondly, how completely stupid it is to advocate apartheid in a world in which non-White nations are rapidly assuming a dominant position.

The difficulty of dissolving quickly the emotional blocks involved in our colour bar remains comprehensible. People understand that. But they see no sense in giving these emotions a pseudo-rational justification. They know, as we know only too well, that our own hope for the future consists in facing the facts and giving the leadership to our heads instead of our hearts.

Control Boards Have Cost Us Millions

(By permission of the "Sunday Times.")

THE taxpayer has been warned that he will have to make good the stupendous losses on foodstuffs exported by the control boards for the sole purpose of keeping up prices in the Union—in other words creating local inflation.

We are officially told that in five months of this year the Mealie Control Board lost £1,000,000.

Other losses by the other boards were £250,000 on butter and £35,000 on dried beans apart from the huge loss on exported eggs.

Citrus and deciduous fruits are beyond the pockets of 90 per cent. of the White population.

Meat is obtainable but at exorbitant prices, and South African sugar is dearer locally than it can be purchased overseas.

Tens of thousands of tons are exported annually.

The Government itself profits by hundreds of thousands of pounds every year on rice—a food which is universally consumed in this country.

What tremendous benefits would accrue to the mines, the Government, industry, commerce and all other employers, including farmers if these so-called surpluses were sold locally at reasonable but profitable prices.

Cost-of-living allowances throughout the Union would be substantially reduced, mines on the verge of closing would be given a new lease of life and the wealth of the nation enhanced.

The value of the £1 to purchase foodstuffs is worth less than 8s.

Inflation and high land values can be blamed on subsidies.—**HIGH EVERYTHING** (Maritzburg).

THREADS FROM THE SASH

The **Natal Coastal Region** took the trouble to insert advertisements in several of the Natal Papers headed "Have You Checked Your Vote?" and giving the telephone number of the Electoral Officer, Durban. The results were surprising. There were long queues at the Electoral and Party offices and 'phones rang constantly until zero hours on October 31st. This public-spirited, non-party move was an inspiration.

* * *

The newspapers in Port Elizabeth gave considerable prominence to the stand made by a hundred members of the **Eastern Cape Region** at the opening of the Cape Nationalist Party Congress in Port Elizabeth. The women, holding placards, "Onthou die Senaatwet Skande," stood vigil for an hour, but the Prime Minister, Mr. J. G. Strijdom, took the precaution of entering through a door at the back of the hall and so avoiding them. An unquiet conscience? The following morning, however, the women were on vigil again at the entrance to the City Hall and had the satisfaction of "sashing" the Prime Minister and all his Ministers, with the exception of Dr. Verwoerd, who arrived much later.

* * *

Joyce Gauntlett, vice-Chair, and Kris du Toit, Treasurer, of the **Waverley Branch, South Eastern Transvaal**, recently undertook the task of investigating all the names on the Branch register. Together they got in touch with 372 people, with the result that Waverley has 256 paid-up members. It was discovered that 150 people on the original register, drawn up when the Branch started, are still active members, an encouraging sign indeed.

* * *

The following bouquet for the **Natal Midlands Region** came from a Matric. boy at Hilton College, writing to his mother in Johannesburg. "Last night Mrs. Corrigan, accompanied by Mrs. Lund, came up from Pietermaritzburg for the Forum meeting on the Black Sash. We were most impressed with her address. She was perhaps the best speaker we have had, better than any 'Varsity professors. Thousands of questions were asked, which was considerably more than usual." Even allowing for exaggeration in the term "thousands," it is quite obvious that the address aroused tremendous enthusiasm and we congratulate a school which has the courage and initiative to train its pupils for their responsibilities in the wider world ahead of them by arranging talks of this nature from speakers in the political, cultural, social welfare and educational fields.

* * *

Mrs. Garnett, of the **Germiston Branch**, recently had an outstandingly interesting visitor, Miss Stella Aldwinkle, who is on the pastorate of Oxford University. Miss Aldwinkle, who is a philologist and theologian, was intensely interested in the work

being done by the Sash and suggested that a copy of The Black Sash Book should be sent to the library of Oxford University. This has been done by the Germiston Branch and out of this action has come the decision that each Region be asked to sponsor the presentation of two copies of the book to the libraries of various universities, both here and overseas. An excellent suggestion!

* * *

From the **Cape Eastern Region** comes news that Mrs. Janet Robertson, the hard-working and extremely capable Regional Treasurer, gave an inspiring address at a recruiting meeting held by the Kragga Kama Branch. One of her audience says: "I was so touched by her obvious sincerity and depth of feeling, I felt that, had I not already been a member, I would have signed on—on the dot!"

* * *

A member of the public, **not** a member of the Black Sash, told a friend in the **Cape Western Region**: "I should like to become a subscriber to the magazine (the Black Sash), as it appears to be really impartial—a very rare thing." We take a bow!

* * *

Mrs. Freda Bate, Magazine Correspondent for Johannesburg, was recently staying with another member of the Black Sash in **White River**. This friend entertained some Nationalist friends and the talk inevitably turned to politics. One Nationalist woman said, "Mona, I cannot understand you—with your background and upbringing—belonging to a thing like the Black Sash. Look what we are doing for our Party, and you are working against it." To which Mona replied: "You are doing something, perhaps, for your **Party**, but by belonging to the Black Sash, I am doing something for my country!" Well spoken, Mona!

* * *

As more and more incidents of the hardships suffered by African women through the recent application of the Pass Laws to them came to the notice of the public, **Cape Western Region** decided that it was essential for members to inform themselves further on these complicated laws. Dr. Monica Wilson, Professor of African Studies at Cape Town University, spoke to a well-attended meeting in Claremont recently and many members have also attended the meetings held throughout the Peninsula at which a European and an African woman spoke on this subject.

* * *

Many readers of this magazine will already have seen the heartening report of Black Sash activities which appeared recently in a **Vancouver** newspaper. For those who did not, we quote this significant paragraph. "Perhaps the results of their voluntary crusade have not been spectacular. Perhaps it hasn't



THREADS FROM THE SASH (Cont.)

achieved any concrete gains, but their missionary work will keep alive the spirit that's needed if freedom is to survive in their troubled homeland."

* * *

An entertaining sidelight on the very successful Information Table being run by the **East London Branch** is the number of odd comments passed by interested members of the public. Just after the by-election in East London, one man refused all Sash pamphlets because he said he had voted for us and that was quite enough! Another asked whether the Sash couldn't cut Dr. Verwoerd's throat, and one woman, who professed to read the newspapers, said she had never heard of the Black Sash!

"The whites who live in Africa are suffering from a crisis of conscience. Everything the black man asks is based on what they taught him was right: Christianity, democracy, liberty, the pursuit of happiness. The whites feed themselves on illusions about the black man: that he is an unteachable savage, that he is a child, that he does not like change, that he ought to 'develop along his own lines.' But in their hearts they do not really believe any of this themselves. And they are afraid."

—From *The Heart of Africa*, by Alexander Campbell.

FACT AND FICTION

FICTION:

"There is no alternative to Apartheid except suicide."—Dr. Dönges, at Port Elizabeth, as reported in "Die Transvaler," 23rd October, 1957.

FACT:

Dr. Dönges, whom we understand to be a great family man, appears to be confusing his fatherly and grandfatherly function of teller of fairy tales to the young with his more serious role of politician and cabinet minister. He obviously knows that children love to hear fairy stories and demand the old familiar ones, over and over. But how dare he insult the adult people of South Africa with so crude and obvious a fiction? With two fictions, indeed, because Apartheid itself is no more than a bedtime story, which no one, even the Nationalist Party itself, believes in, since the Tomlinson Report showed how impossible it is to implement.

That, however, is by the way. This latest fiction at Port Elizabeth, that there is no alternative to Apartheid except suicide, is scarcely worthy of Dr. Dönges, Minister of the Interior. Has he not heard of immigration, which is, after all, controlled by his Department of the Interior, and very rigidly controlled too? If he is genuinely afraid that the small white population of South Africa is going to be swamped by the non-whites unless we have Apartheid (and he knows that Apartheid can't be made to work), well, what about Immigration? What about reinforcing the small white population with hundreds of thousands of white immigrants from Western Europe with their families, their industries and their skills? A State-aided immigration scheme on a vast scale, plus generous family allowances, seems to us quite a good alternative to Apartheid and one we much prefer to suicide. Fie, Dr. Dönges!

M.E.F.

FANTASIE EN FEIT

FANTASIE:

„Indien ons Apartheid van die hand wys, is selfmoord die enigste alternatief."—Dr. Dönges soos vermeld in „Die Transvaler" op 23 Oktober 1957.

FEIT:

Dr. Dönges wat, soos ons verstaan 'n toegewyde pater familias is, skyn sy funksie, om as pa en oupa sprokies te vertel aan die jongspan, te verwar met sy ernstiger taak as politikus en minister. Hy weet blykbaar dat kinders lief is vir sprokies en die ou bekendes tot vervelens toe wil hoor. Maar hoe durf hy die volwassenes van Suid-Afrika te beledig met so 'n lompe in-die-ooglopende versinsel—eintlik twee versinsels—want Apartheid self is maar 'n vertel-seltjie, wat niemand glo nie, selfs nie die Nasionale Party-leiers, sedert die Tomlinson-verslag bewys het hoe onmoontlik dit is om ten uitvoer te bring nie.

Dit is, egter, tussen hakies. Hierdie jongste fantasie uit Port Elizabeth dat daar geen alternatief bestaan vir Apartheid behalwe selfmoord, is waarlik die Minister van Binnelandse Sake nie waardig nie. Het hy nog nooit gehoor van Immigrasie—wat deur sy departement beheer word—nagal streng beheer word nie? As hy werklik bang is dat die klein blanke bevolkingsgroep van Suid-Afrika oorstelp sal word deur nie-blankes, tensy ons Apartheid het (en hy weet Apartheid is nie uitvoerbaar nie), wel, wat van Immigrasie? Waarom dan nie die klein blanke bevolking versterk met duisende immigrante uit Wes-Europa met hul families, hul nywerhede en hul bekwaamheid nie? 'n Regeringondersteunde, groot-skaalse immigrasieskema plus ruim familietoelae lyk vir baie mense na 'n eerste klas alternatief vir Apartheid en ver te verkies bo selfmoord. Skaam u, Dr. Dönges.

M.E.F.

IT IS THE GREATEST OF ALL MISTAKES TO DO NOTHING BECAUSE YOU CAN ONLY DO A LITTLE.

—Sidney Smith.

BEPERKINGS OP VRYHEID VAN BEWEGING

DEUR is verskeie wette, wat regte verskaf nie alleen aan die Geregshoue nie, maar ook aan Ministers en hul beampes, aan stadsrade en hul werknemers en ook aan die polisie—regte, wat onder sekere omstandighede die volgende kan laat geskied:—

1. Enigeen kan verwyder word van waar hy woon, na onvoldoende verhoor of sonder enige verhoor en sonder dat 'n rede verskaf word.
(Onder (a) Die wet op die Onderdrukking van Kommunisme;
(b) die Wet op Oproerige Byeenkomste;
(c) die Groepsgebiedewet;
(d) die Stadsgebiede-wysigingswet;
(e) die Naturelle-Administrasiewet (1927).)
2. Enigeen kan 'n paspoort geweier word sonder dat 'n rede verskaf word.
(Onder (a) Paspoort Regulasies;
(b) die Vertrek uit die Unie-wet.)
3. Enigeen, wat nie in Suid-Afrika gebore is nie, kan na goëddunke van die Minister gedeporteer word.
(Onder die Deportasiewet.)

Daar is tallose regulasies wat die bewegings kontroleer van mense binne die Une. Baie van hierdie wette raak mense sonder stemreg; baie raak ons almal. Leer alles omtrent die bestaande wette. Hou 'n oog op alle voorgestelde wetsontwerpe.

BOOK REVIEW

YOU ARE WRONG, FATHER HUDDLESTON

THE author of "You are wrong, Father Huddleston," like all real South Africans, is distressed that the name of S. Africa is tarnished in the eyes of the world. In his book he puts the blame for this on those who criticise S. Africa. He fails to see that the remedy is not to deny facts but to remove the evils.

Mr. Steward regards the affairs of S. Africa as purely local affairs. He fails to see that the wrongs of man to man are the concern of people of goodwill the world over.

The main part of the book deals with apartheid, Bantu Education and African housing, and it is on these questions, if his title is to be justified, that Mr. Steward must answer Father Huddleston.

Father Huddleston, like Professor Keet, regards apartheid as utterly un-Christian. Mr. Steward suggests that Christianity, in this sense, must wait till the next world. Indeed, it is difficult to follow his argument for apartheid at all—he glosses over so much that needs explaining. Mr. Steward makes a comparison between the unskilled worker in England and the African here. Does he not realise that, in England, there is nothing to prevent the unskilled worker becoming skilled, while in South Africa the colour-bar frustrates the African at every turn?

Passing on to the Bantu Education Act, Mr. Steward draws our attention to Dr. Verwoerd's speech to the Senate, a speech that in every way emphasised the idea of white supremacy, and therefore, that Africans should receive an inferior education. He does not quote Dr. Verwoerd's words that African children should be taught English and Afrikaans so as to be able to *obey simple orders*.

Mr. Steward's views on African Housing are also difficult to understand. He gives a glowing picture of Korsten in Port Elizabeth, but this must be mostly wishful thinking, as he would find if he visited it. He returns to the old story of Sophiatown's demolition being slum-clearance. I shall ask him three questions:—

1. Why were people turned out of houses, while forty thousand families were already homeless?
2. Why were some of the best houses pulled down first?
3. Why were the places selected for destruction the only spots where Africans had freeholds?

The idea running through this whole book is that the white man knows what is best for the black man, not that the black man should be educated to decide what is best for himself. It never occurs to Mr. Steward that—as Dr. Verwoerd himself has told us—the African contributes enormously to the things which Mr. Steward says are *given* to him. He pays direct and indirect taxation, in duties on all that he buys, and without his labour industry would be at a standstill.

Mr. Steward questions whether parliamentary government is the best for the African. At least one

can answer that, with all its defects, it has been found to be the most satisfactory form of government for all advanced nations. "You are wrong Father Huddleston" is a hard book to review—it is diffuse and much of it is irrelevant and illogical, but it does achieve this—it leaves one quite sure that "You are right, Father Huddleston."

C.R.L.

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.)

"Except for a body of die-hard racialists, such as the Sons of England and others, the vast majority of English-speaking citizens have accepted the Union Flag and Die Stem as the only emblems of South Africa."—The Prime Minister, Mr. J. G. Strijdom, reported in the *Eastern Province Herald*, 23/10/57 (5s. to Mrs. A. Allchurch).

"The Minister of Labour, Mr. Jan de Klerk, brought new uncertainty and threatened chaos to one of our greatest industries—the garment industry—when he announced that certain jobs would be reserved on a racial basis."—Marais Steyn, M.P., quoted in *The Sunday Times*, 3/11/57.

"If we look closely into the catalogue of Ghanian defections, we find a striking similarity with the actions and mental processes of our own Nationalist Government."—Leader in *The Daily Dispatch*, 9/10/57.

"In this pitiless conflict which is being forced upon our people by the Broederbond, we in opposition must remember that our countrymen, the Afrikaner Nationalists, are becoming involved in a torment of misrepresentation. It is the business of Nationalist politicians and organisers to obscure the real issues involved, or they are lost."—Graham Pringle, quoted in *Tse Rand Daily Mail*, 2/11/57.

"In my experience I have always found that heavier penalties were the best possible deterrent to crime."—Mr. N. J. de Wet, former Chief Justice, quoted in *The Rand Daily Mail*, 1/11/57.

"Mr. P. O. Sauer, the Minister of Lands, said at a Nationalist Party meeting in Joubertina yesterday that he believed the White Man had not come to South Africa by accident, but had been destined to create a White man's country here."—SAPA item in *Rand Daily Mail*, 4/11/57.

"This election campaign is going to be the most unsavoury and the dirtiest in the history of the Union."—Mr. Eric Louw, reported in *Rand Daily Mail*, 1/11/57.

"Apart from the fact that the Act (Nursing Act Amendment Bill) denies non-European nurses any representation on the Nursing Council, and robs them of a voice in the Association, it is also needlessly humiliating and an affront to decent feelings and human dignity."—Mrs. Alison M. Pirie, in *The Eastern Province Herald*.

President's Tour Of Natal Midlands

DURING her recent tour of the Natal Midlands, the National President, Mrs. Ruth Foley, emphasised repeatedly that the Black Sash would not go out of existence after the General Election next year, that the movement was out for moral victories, the seeds of which were now being sown, and that there was now a greater need than ever to maintain the Sash as an integral part of the political life of South Africa.

The tour can with justice be said to have been in the nature of a triumphal procession. Enthusiasm ran high everywhere, the very strenuous itinerary was completed without a hitch and members who met the President were left with a renewed determination to continue the fight until good government should have come to stay in South Africa. One member wrote after the tour: "If ever Mrs. Foley gets weary or dispirited, let her know that her visit has supplied the yeast to make our spirits rise again and filled us with enthusiasm to go forward, absolutely convinced that the Black Sash is more than ever necessary."

STRENUOUS ITINERARY

Regional meetings were held in twelve towns during the fortnight the tour lasted. Nine of these were private meetings for members only, and Mrs. Foley found all members in good heart. At the three public meetings, held at Underberg, Kokstad and Matatiele, keen interest was shown in the aims of the Black Sash. Many penetrating questions were asked by members of the public showing a widespread appreciation of the present political situation and deep concern at recent legislation. It seemed that all who attended these public meetings fully approved of all that the Black Sash stands for.

On the first day of the tour, Mrs. Foley visited Greytown in the morning and New Hanover in the afternoon. The second day she devoted to Howick and Eaton and on the third day attended an all-day meeting of the Natal Midlands regional executive committee in Pietermaritzburg. The chairmen of the following branches were present: Howick (Mrs. Johnston), Mooi River (Mrs. Richards), Kokstad (Mrs. Phillips), New Hanover (Mrs. Masters) and, of course, Mrs. M. Corrigall, Chair of Natal Midlands. Mrs. Foley was Mrs. Corrigall's guest during her stay in Pietermaritzburg.

Speakers at the all-day meeting included Dr. Betty Lund, the Parliamentary correspondent for the Region, who spoke on the Nursing Act, old and new, and Mrs. Russell, who gave a penetrating analysis of the Bantu Education Act.

FIRST DAY-SCHOOL

The Region had taken advantage of the President's visit to organise its first "day school." This was held on Friday, November 1st, and was a great success. The two distinguished lecturers, Professor G. H. Durrant, of Natal University, and Professor G. H. le May, of the Witwatersrand University, gave

all present "furiously to think." Professor Durrant spoke on "Politics and the Press," and Professor le May on "Techniques of Pressure Groups." Both speakers opened up many new avenues for investigation and analysis.

Members found the lectures so valuable that they are making plans to hold similar courses as soon as possible. Kokstad Branch plans to hold a "day-school" early next year.

FUTURE POLICY

In an interview given to the Press during her stay in Pietermaritzburg, Mrs. Foley explained how, in several Regions, pools had already been formed of workers ready to give active support to the Opposition political parties. When any particular party needed help, it contacted the local organiser, who delegated members supporting that party to take their turn in the party offices. No pools had at that stage been formed in Natal Midlands, but individual members were active in their respective political parties.

Mrs. Foley also said that between now and the General Election, the Black Sash in the Natal Midlands Region had decided not to haunt Cabinet Ministers, except where they appeared in public in their official capacity; there would be no demonstrations at election meetings, or meetings where Cabinet Ministers attended as party members or leaders. The Black Sash had long regarded its educational work as of enormous importance in its programme and this work would be maintained and even, probably, accelerated. It was through its educational programme that the Black Sash had succeeded in interesting women in politics in the first place.

Summing up her exhausting, but very rewarding fortnight, Mrs. Foley said: "My most vivid impression of the tour is that the people of Natal I met have a sincere wish to develop that true conception of all South Africans united in one Nation. I saw no signs whatever of the insularity which is supposed to be a feature of the political life of Natal."

BLACK SASH A.B.C.

(Continued)

Pampered Penelope hasn't a clue
How her servants spend Sundays, or what they may do.

Perfect Patricia strives hard to ensure
That life is made easier for them to endure.

Rubber-neck Rosie will never be found
Standing with "Sashers"—she must move around.

Radiant Ruth works from morning till night
Teaching the women that Protest is right

P. B.

QUESTION AND ANSWER

Question: By what means could the Constitution of the old Free State Republic be altered?

Answer: A three-quarters majority in two successive sessions.

Reference: Article 26 of O.F.S. Grondwet. (published in Eybers, Select Constitutional Documents).

WE MUST BE JUST

“What is our policy to be, here in South Africa, with its many races and the white man in a minority? We cannot solve the problems of our grandchildren for them. We shall all be dead and the problems may have changed. The thing must work itself out gradually. Meanwhile we must be just. When we see a thing is wrong, we must simply try to put it right, without fretting over what the consequences may be in a hundred years' time. If an African child is hungry, we must feed it; if it is naked, we must clothe it; if it lacks

schooling, we must educate it. We are all here to stay in South Africa: Afrikaner and British, black and white. We must learn to live with one another, to understand one another, to act as Christians towards one another. There is no other way for us.”

—*The late Field-Marshal Smuts.*

BE OF GOOD CHEER

“God will answer, when to thee, not a possibility

Of deliverance seemeth near. It is **then** He will appear.

God will answer when you pray, yea though Mountains block the Way,

God will dig a passage through, God is working now for you.

God who still divides the sea, willingly will work for thee.

God, before whom Mountains fall, promises to hear thy call.”

—Selected.

REGIONAL CHAIRS AND SECRETARIES

BORDER.

- C. Mrs. D. Curry, 3 Carisbrooke Road, Stirling Ext., East London.
- S. Mrs. M. G. Pollock, 106 Devereux Avenue, Vincent, East London.

CAPE EASTERN.

- C. Mrs. A. Pirie, 68 Westview Drive, Port Elizabeth.
- S. Mrs. R. Pearse, 49 Bird Street, Port Elizabeth.

CAPE NORTHERN.

- Chair: Mrs. M. Owens, 7 Howie Road, West End, Kimberley.
- S. Mrs. B. Buck, 3 Poole Street, Kimberley.

CAPE WESTERN.

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

LOWVELD.

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

NATAL COASTAL REGION.

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

NATAL MIDLANDS.

- C. Mrs. M. Corrigall, 306 Alexandra 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, P.O. Box 245, Bloemfontein.
- S. Mrs. R. Kruger, 4 Van Heyningen Street, Bloemfontein.

SOUTH-EASTERN TRANSVAAL.

- C. Mrs. E. Gouldie, Marievale Mine, P.O. Marie shaft, Transvaal.
- S. Mrs. 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.