

THE NAT... TY... ON

THE BLACK SASH

DIE SWART SERP

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THE LAW MUST BE JUST

TO make a distinction between law and justice is not cynical, although many people think it is. At the risk of oversimplifying one can say that the law is a matter of fact, while justice is a matter of opinion. Within certain limits the law on any given point can be discovered and pinned down in any country at any given time. On the other hand, justice involves consideration of such things as religion, philosophy, common humanity and, above all, prevailing modes of thought. A striking example of this distinction is that of the Romans who, although the greatest lawgivers in history, never queried the justice of slavery as an institution.

Roughly speaking, the aim of civilised societies is to keep law and justice more or less in step. When they drift too far apart, public opinion (in communities that are allowed any freedom of expression) grows restless and there are agitations and protests. Some of the most fascinating and stirring chapters of history have arisen from this situation, and we are living through one of them here in South Africa now.

The law says, quite clearly, that the Group Areas Act allows Dr. Dönges to move whole communities around to fit into a master plan of rigid racial segregation. Civilised public opinion says that this law, as it is being enforced in practice, is cruel, discriminatory, and an affront to the Christian conscience. In

WETTE MOET REGVERDIG WEES

IN weerwil van wat baie mense dink is dit gladnie sinies om reg en regverdigheid te onderskei nie. In die algemeen kan mens sê dat reg 'n kwessie van feite is, terwyl daar verskeie menings oor regverdigheid kan bestaan. Binne perke kan die wetlike posisie in enige verband met redelike sekerheid vasgestel word, en dit geld in enige land en in enige tydperk. Wat regverdig is kan egter slegs vasgestel word met inagneming van faktore soos godsdiens, filosofie, mensliewendheid, en veral heersende denkrigtings. Die Romeine was 'n treffende voorbeeld van hierdie onderskeid: hulle was die grootste wetgewers in die geskiedenis, tog het hulle die regverdigheid van slawerny nooit in twyfel getrek nie.

Die doel van beskaafde gemeenskappe is om te sorg dat wat wettig is, tegelykertyd ook regverdig sal wees. Wanneer reg en regverdigheid te ver van mekaar afdwaal, word daar (in gemeenskappe waar vryheid van spraak en denke bestaan) hewig geprotesteer. Aangrypende gebeurtenisse in die geskiedenis het uit sulke omstandighede voortgevloei, en in Suid-Afrika lewe ons vandag in so'n tydperk.

Die Wet op Groepsgebiede gee Dr. Dönges die reg om hele gemeenskappe sodanig te verskuif dat streng rasseseiding in die hand gewerk word. Die mening van beskaafde burgers is dat hierdie wet, soos dit toegepas word, wreed, onregverdig en in stryd met

short, it is unjust. The law says, quite clearly, that the racial groups can be moved away from their long-established homes and, in effect, be deprived of their means of livelihood. It does not say this, of course, in so many words but it permits such things to be done. Civilised public opinion, equally clearly, says that the final result, law or no law, is a gross injustice. The law says that the Minister, without giving any reason, may refuse a passport to a Native youth who has won a scholarship to study abroad. Civilised people say: "That may be the law, we agree, but nobody can tell us that it is a just one."

The Government which does these things might say in its defence that the end justifies the means, and that these outrages are permissible in the cause of creating a happier South Africa and safeguarding White civilisation. That at least would be an arguable point of view. But Government spokesmen do not even admit the injustice. They are full of pained protest when it is suggested that their laws are inhumane; they are indignant when they are accused of oppression. If they said: "We are only being cruel to be kind," then at least they would be honest with themselves. But they brush aside or seek to forget the accusation of cruelty and injustice.

The Black Sash thinks that this process of evading the issue is morally degrading to the people who pursue it and that the Government which puts it forward as national policy is degrading the whole nation.

The Black Sash must always remember the distinction between law and justice. Legality does not bestow a halo. Because something is the law of the land, that does not mean that it is right. On the contrary, a law may be a very evil thing.

It is one of the aims of the Black Sash to protest against "unjust laws." History shows that this is one of the finest enterprises any body of people can undertake.

THAT IS THE BEST GOVERNMENT WHICH DESIRES TO MAKE THE PEOPLE HAPPY, AND KNOWS HOW TO MAKE THEM HAPPY.

(MACAULAY, 1800-59)

kristelike opvatting is. Die wet lê duidelik neer dat rassegroepe van hul ou tuistes weggedryf kan word. Daardeur verloor sommige tegelykertyd ook hul bestaansmiddels. Dit is vanselfsprekend dat die wet dit nie op dié manier stel nie, maar die uitwerking van die wet is dat sulke dinge toegelaat word. Beskaafde burgers beweer dat die eindresultaat, alhoewel wetlik, gruwelik onregverdig is. Ons wette magtig ook die Minister om 'n jong naturel se aansoek om 'n paspoort te weier en hom sodoende die gebruik van 'n beurs vir oorsese studie te ontsê. Die Minister hoef nie eers 'n rede vir die weiering aan te voer nie. Beskaafde burgers sê: „Dit mag wettig wees, maar ons laat ons nie vertel dat dit regverdig is nie.”

'n Regering wat hierdie dade pleeg kan miskien die einddoel as regverdiging aanvoer, en beweer dat hierdie onregte toelaatbaar is omdat hulle 'n gelukkiger Suid-Afrika tot stand sal bring en die blanke beskawing sal beskerm. So'n uitkyk kan mens darem tot 'n mate verstaan. Maar die regering se woordvoerders wil nie eers erken dat hulle handelwyse onregverdig is nie. Hul is vol selfbejammering wanneer aangevoer word dat hul wetgewing onmenslik is; hul is verontwaardig wanneer hul van onderdrukking beskuldig word. As hulle sou beweer dat hul beleid op die lange duur voordelig sal wees, en toegee dat hulle huidige middels onregverdig is, sou mens hul kwalik van oneerlikheid beskuldig. Maar hul ignoreer die aantying van onmenslikheid en onregverdigheid of probeer dit vergeet.

Die Swart Serp-beweging meen dat hierdie ontwykingstaktiek geestelik verlagend is en dat 'n regering wat dit as 'n nasionale beleid aanvaar die hele volk verneder.

Die Swart Serp-beweging moet die verskil tussen reg en regverdigheid nooit uit die oog verloor nie. Wat wettig is, is nie noodwendig regverdig nie. Intendeel, 'n wet kan 'n gruwelike onreg daarstel.

Om teen onregverdige wette te protesteer is 'n vername plig van die Swart Serp. Die geskiedenis leer dat dit een van die edelste doelwitte is wat enige beweging kan aanvaar.

THE GOOD CITIZEN

SOME of you who read this may remember Mr. Chesterton's dictum on J. R. Green's "Short History of the English People"; "Green's 'Short History of the English People' is so short that it has had no time to mention the English People!"

Most of us of an older generation will remember that that was true of the majority of our school histories. We learned lists of kings and dates (1066—and all that), we read of statesmen and wars—but of the people of a country, their daily lives and thoughts, their crafts and guilds, we really knew nothing. Yet it is the people who make up a nation.

The state exists—not for the sake of a governing minority—but for the sake of the people—the ordinary citizen like you and me. Kings rule, Cabinets govern, ultimately because the people will it so. Let the people rise, and thrones can totter and governments be overthrown. It is the citizens of a country who have the final say; hence the truth in the old saying that a country always gets the government it deserves. In a modern democracy, it is we who vote the government into power, and if we are dissatisfied with our government, then it is high time we looked to ourselves, and each of us asked himself, "What have I done or left undone that has helped to bring this thing to pass? What kind of citizen am I?" A good government is ultimately the outcome of good citizens.

What are the marks of a good citizen? Though we may not arrive at a complete answer, there are certain qualities which seem, to me at any rate, to be fundamental. The good citizen really cares for the true welfare and good name of his country. That is not to say that he will not criticise, and criticise vigorously, its actions, if he thinks they are wrong. Criticism from within is often a real mark of the truest patriotism. Secondly, the good citizen recognises that he not only has rights, but also has corresponding responsibilities; responsibilities about the use of his vote in both local and national elections; responsibilities for service when he can give it, whether on councils or committees, or in whatever form it may present itself; responsibilities in meeting the just claims of his neighbour, for, in the third place, the good citizen fully recognises that his neighbour has equally his rights as well as his responsibilities. And by "neighbour" I do not merely mean the man with whom I play golf, or the family next door, or people of the same social class; but all my fellow-men with whom my work, my daily life, my residence in a country brings me into any kind of contact.

In a country like ours, with its multi-racial society, its traditions coming down from the early years of slavery, this recognition of my neighbour's rights is often hardest to make. In matters of race relations we are tempted to think with our emotions and prejudices rather than with our reason. The fight has often to begin within ourselves. In a country steeped in a particular tradition it is difficult to "get out of one's skin," so to say; it is difficult to think clearly and honestly and dispassionately. But if we have any care for the real welfare of our country, the effort must be made. We know well

enough that to treat a thing contrary to its nature is to use it wastefully and to invite disaster. To use an umbrella to poke a fire is to ruin the umbrella and to have an inefficient poker; umbrellas are made to shield us from rain or sun, not to poke fires. To use a man contrary to his nature, ends always in disaster. Man as man, whatever be the colour of his skin, has certain God-given human rights. He has the capacity to work; to make wealth from the raw materials of Nature; he has the capacity to marry and found a family; he has skills and talents that can be developed by education and training. All men have the right to justice and fair-play. We demand that right for ourselves, and we must demand it for our fellow-men. Any system which denies justice to any section of the community; which seeks to suppress development to a man's fullest capacity; which makes it difficult for a man to marry, and provide for his family, is clearly contrary to the will of God, for it is to use him contrary to that nature which God has given him—and that in the long run always spells loss and disaster.

The greatest enemy to good citizenship is apathy—an apathy that springs from selfishness. It is easy for most of us to acquiesce in injustice or tyranny so long as it does not affect ourselves, our personal comfort, our way of life. "Why stir up trouble?" we ask ourselves. That attitude is fatal. It is not only sinful—it is extremely silly. Justice—like peace—is indivisible, and we cannot deny our neighbour's just claim without, at the end of the day bringing catastrophe upon us all.

Let me end this article, as I began with a quotation (or rather a near quotation—for I have not his particular essay at hand). The author is writing of Nietzsche and his doctrine of the Super-man—the Blonde Beast—the doctrine that we now see was the fore-runner of the whole Nazi philosophy in Germany. "If a whale came swimming up to us," he writes, "and said, 'I am a new kind of whale. I am a super-whale; I have abandoned whale-bone,' we should not mind; but if a man comes up to us and says 'I am a new kind of man, I am a super-man: I have abandoned justice and mercy,' we should reply 'We have fallen with Adam, and we shall rise with Christ. We would rather fall with the devil than rise with you!'"

PHILIP SPEIGHT, C.R.

THE VERY ESSENCE OF A FREE GOVERNMENT CONSISTS IN CONSIDERING OFFICES AS PUBLIC TRUSTS, BESTOWED FOR THE GOOD OF THE COUNTRY, AND NOT FOR THE BENEFIT OF AN INDIVIDUAL OR A PARTY.

(JOHN C. CALHOUN, 1835)

The Voice of The Church

THIS month we have asked Chief Rabbi Professor L. I. Rabinowitz to give his Church's views on the problems of race and colour which beset our society. He has given us permission to re-print excerpts from his book of sermons called "Out of the Depths."

In previous issues the Reverend Dr. J. B. Webb spoke for the Methodist Church, and the Right Reverend Ambrose Reeves for the Anglican Church in South Africa.

THE prophet Amos is one of the most arresting of all the divine band of writing prophets. A humble herdsman and dresser of sycamore trees from the Southern Kingdom of Judah, he journeyed to the Northern Kingdom of Israel to prophesy its forthcoming doom—He saw, and was horrified at the sight, that elegance and opulence masked a deep-seated corruption. The poor were oppressed, justice perverted and the "fruit of righteousness was wormwood." Amos was ultimately expelled from the kingdom, but undeterred he continued to press home his lessons. "Are ye not as children of the Ethiopians unto me, O children of Israel, saith the Lord." Ethiopians! Despised blacks! Kaffirs! Natives! And Amos dares to compare the haughty children of Israel to them! Can one not imagine the fury, the resentment, the outburst of violent protest with which this sentiment was greeted? But the prophet speaks in the name of God. He is not concerned with how the children of Israel look upon the blacks; he is speaking of their standing in the eyes of God, and before God all men are equal. Black or white, Jew or Gentile, wealthy or poor, there is no inherent superiority of one over the other. Superiority before God consists solely and only in the moral standards by which people live, and by these standards only shall they be judged.

God knows but one yardstick, one measuring rod, and that is the moral standard. Neither race nor creed, neither colour nor nationality weighs before God, but only the worth of the man. Certainly it does not behove us Jews to harbour unreasoning prejudices or to be guilty of discrimination against a people for any accidental cause of birth or colour, and the words of Shylock may well be taken to heart by us:

"Hath not a Jew eyes? Hath not a Jew hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions? Fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and cooled by the same winter and summer as a Christian is? If you prick us, do we not bleed? If you tickle us, do we not laugh? If you poison us, do we not die?" and apply it to those of different colour as well as of different creed and race.

The only superiority to which the Jew can lay claim is the maintenance of a higher moral standard, the acceptance of a more rigorous code of ethics, that code of ethics which our Rabbis derived from that verse, that code which is called "cleaving to the attributes of God," and which is expressed in the words, "As God is gracious so be ye gracious, as God is merciful, so be ye merciful."

OSCAR-NO. 3

SOUTHERN TRANSVAAL receive this month's "special mention" for their magnificently organised convoy to the Western Transvaal. In spite of bad roads and atrocious weather, some unpleasant interludes and a minor fire in Mrs. Foley's car, all the thirty-odd women returned from their gruelling five days' tour filled with enthusiasm and determination to make further trips into the platteland.

The following letter has been received from a member of the convoy:

Madam,—On a recent good-will tour of the Western Transvaal towns by the Black Sash, the question most frequently asked was: "Do you consider the Native to be a human being?"

Well, the Dutch Reformed Churches have perhaps done the greatest amount of missionary work in South Africa, and all Churches have concerned themselves with the work of Christianising the non-European. It is clear, then, that our spiritual leaders consider the non-White to be a human being—one does not work for the soul of an impala or a lion! What follows? We, the inheritors of a great European Christian civilisation, are **denying** that civilisation and those Churches if we do not accept the black man's humanity.

Perhaps that is what those poor young men, who asked the question, have already done—perhaps they have reverted to pre-Christian barbarism! That would account for the obsessed fears that they displayed and the sick hate that tormented them—for in a world in which a white barbarian is outnumbered 8-1 the white savage need indeed fear greatly for his survival. What made them savages? What home, what school, what political party so trained these young minds that courtesy, honour, good-will and kindness were just a string of idle words?

What misguided propaganda has deliberately encouraged this state of mind and called it "saving White Civilisation"? When the White is no longer civilised there is nothing to save, and South Africa will, in the future, return to a new Dark Age.

These young men saw only one problem, one shuddering fear—the threat of the black races! They were apparently entirely unperturbed by national dishonour, dishonest government, by the fact that recent legislation has virtually enslaved us all, and that they were being encouraged to hate the other language group.

We women of the Black Sash deeply resent our national dishonour, we are tired of political immorality, we want everyone's lost freedoms restored and the threats of further restrictions withdrawn, and we are **deeply** angered at the deliberate policy of separating the children of the two white races in our schools.

"BLACK SASHER."

WHO SERVES HIS COUNTRY
WELL HAS NO NEED OF AN-
CESTORS.

(VOLTAIRE)

'N GROOTSE MAAR GEWELDIGE TAAK

DAAR word dikwels gesê dat die probleem van rasse-saamwerking die ernstigste is wat op die oomblik die aandag van die Westerse lande in beslag behoort te neem, maar een wat maar alte dikwels veronagsaam word. Hier in Suid-Afrika, waar ons 'n voorpos van Westerse beskawing genoem kan word is dit onmoontlik om te werk te gaan asof die probleem nie bestaan nie. En tog is daar nog duisende Suid-Afrikaners, wat probeer om met volstruis-politiek te maak asof dit nie hulle verantwoordelikheid is nie.

Die huidige Regering, met wie se beleid ek glad nie saamstem nie, het niettemin 'n diens verrig deur die hele vraagstuk deur hul voorgestelde, „oplossing,” apartheid, so onder die publiek se aandag te bring en dikwels met wette, wat sulke onregverdige en onmenslike gevolge het, dat ons nie as Christene of beskaafde Westersinge onverskillig of apateties durf bly nie.

Die gesegde van party Afrikaners dat hulle as volk uitverkore is om die suidelike punt van Afrika te kersten klink effens na 'n soort hoogmoedswaansin; natuurlik het elke mens sy plek om vol te staan in die Heelal en elkeen doen dit as individu volgens sy eie oortuiging, nie as volk nie. Maar dat Suid-Afrikaners besondere voorregte geniet wat dit moontlik maak vir hulle om 'n baie groot bydrae te bring tot die verspreiding van ontwikkeling, kennis en kultuur hier in Afrika lei geen twyfel nie.

Laat ons kyk wat die toestand is. Daar is volgens die jongste kieserslys 1,457,000 kiesers in Suid-Afrika. Daar is omtrent 13 miljoen mense in die land. Dit beteken dat elke kieser die lot moet beslis, deur sy stemreg te beoefen van amper 9 mense. Hiervan is 0.9 kinders van sy eie Westerse groep, 3.1 volwassenes van die Bantoe-, Indiër- en Kleurling-groepe, wat so te sê geen stemreg het nie en 4 hulle kinders.

Elke kieser dra dus die geweldige verantwoordelikheid dat hy nie net moet besluit wat hy wil hê dat die regering, waarvoor by stem, vir homself en sy kinders moet doen nie, maar ook wat daar gedoen moet word vir die miljoene, wat as individue geen seggenskap het in hul eie toekoms nie; in elk geval nie wat wetgewing betref nie. En die wette van die land beheer 'n mens se hele uiterlike en tot op sekere hoogte ook sy innerlike lewe.

Elke kieser in Suid-Afrika moet dus uitvind wat die Bantoes, die Indiërs en die Kleurlinge vir hulleself wil hê in hierdie land, waar hulle gebore is en woon. Die geleentheid om dit te doen bestaan, want in die normale ontwikkeling van ons land se nywerheid, handel en industrie en in die huis en op die plaas, werk lede van al die groepe, saam of naby mekaar. Dit behoort dus maklik te wees om deur bespreking en die uitruil van ideë mekaar se standpunt en strewe te verstaan. Doen ons dit? Amper nooit nie, tot nou toe.

Hoe kan ons dan as kiesers weet wat ons moet doen namens diegene wat geen stemreg het nie?

Politieke partye probeer om 'n „kleurbeleid” voor te lê, wat hulle van plan is om te volg, maar

meestal is die beleid vaag omlyn om tog maar geen aanstoot te gee nie; selfs die veelbesproke apartheid is glad nie in besonderhede aan die publiek voorgelê nie. Tot nou toe is die partybeleid ook in amper alle gevalle opgetrek sonder beraadslaging met die miljoene sonder stemreg, op wie dit dan maar afgedwing word.

Is die verantwoordelikheid nie te groot nie? Durf ons dit aanvaar?

As ons dit aanvaar het ons meer kennis, meer wysheid en meer selfopofferende menseliefde nodig as gewone mense. Ons sal leiding moet soek van ons godsdienstige leiers; ons sal diep moet nadink oor ons eie beweegredes—is ons beleid nie pure selfsugtigheid en die stryd om selfbehoud nie of is dit 'n ware begeerte om Westerse beskawing as iets lewendigs en waardevols te versprei in Afrika sodat almal die voller, ryker geesteslewe kan geniet, wat ons so waardeer in ons Westerse kultuurlewe.

As die Suid-Afrikaanse kieser die kans waarneem en die land so bestuur dat op vreedsame, stadige maar sekere manier ons ons Westerse erfenis sou deel met diegene sonder stemreg maar gretig om te ontwikkel, sodat hulle en ons en die Westerse beskawing verryk word, sou ons 'n taak verrig, wat die hele wêreld met bewondering sou vervul. Dan sou Suid-Afrika waarlik 'n bydrae maak tot die beskawing.

Maar onthou! Suid-Afrika beteken elke mens wat mag uitoefen met sy stemreg! Dit beteken ons, Suid-Afrikaanse kiesers.

Durf ons die geweldige verantwoordelikheid bly dra? Dit help nie om te dink dat, as die regeringsparty eers gekies is, ons die las kan oordra op ons Volksraadslid of die Minister nie, want dit bly ons besluite wat hulle uitvoer. Sal blanke Suid-Afrikaners nie in die toekoms moet erken dat dit 'n onderneming is waarvoor ons nie die nodige wysheid en bevoegdheid het nie en ook een wat ons so besig sal hou, dat daar geen tyd sal wees vir sorglose ontspanning nie? Laat ons nie onder die las beswyk en die hele land in wanorde bring nie, terwyl daar alreeds 'n groeiende groep nie-Blankes ontstaan het, wat gretig is om die verantwoordelikheid te help dra en wat die bevoegdheid het, en samewerking verlang.

N.G.

To the Editor of the Black Sash

Madam,

I WAS particularly struck by the excellent suggestion contained in a letter in the August issue of your paper that a comprehensive list of all the repressive measures passed by the present Government be published, and that pledges be obtained from the Opposition parties regarding the repeal of these measures.

Could not the “Black Sash” take the initiative in this regard by (a) publishing such a list (Editor.—This was done in the Sept. issue) and (b) asking the Opposition parties for the required pledges?

JACK CAUSTON.

Cape Town.

THOSE FREEDOMS

In the September issue we published a list of freedoms and the Acts which tamper with them. This month we enlarge a little on FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT.

TO the average citizen and citizeness of South Africa, in his office, in her home, on his golf course, at her bridge-table, there is, as yet, no apparent loss of freedom in South Africa. That is exactly the impression which the Government wishes to create. We all remember Mr. Strydom's genial brushing away of criticism during his recent visit to London. Pooh-poohing the ridiculous idea of a Police State in the Union, he cordially invited the people of England to come and see for themselves what a free and happy country South Africa is.

But make no mistake, Mr. and Mrs. Citizen. You may have forgotten, or never been aware of, the laws restricting your freedom. Mr. Strijdom knows them all, and the Black Sash would like you to remember them too.

These Laws, passed since 1948, restrict the **Freedom of Movement** of South Africans, white, yellow, brown, black—but still South Africans:

I. The Suppression of Communism Act (1950) declares the Communist Party to be unlawful, and so too any other organisation deemed to be furthering the aims of Communism. Such organisation's property may be confiscated, the names of members or supporters must be listed, and investigating officers have wide powers of seizure, entry upon premises and questioning. The Minister may prohibit public gatherings or prevent any individual from attending public gatherings. He may also, if he believes any person to be encouraging Communism (of which the definition is extremely wide) deport that person from an area, or, if he be not a South African citizen, he may deport him from the Union. The Act gives the Minister power to deprive citizens of legal rights without a trial before independent judges.

II. Group Areas Act (1950 and amended) divides the population into White, Native and Coloured (with sub-sections for Indian, Chinese and Malay) groups, as defined in the Population Registration Act of 1952. Areas are to be proclaimed for occupation or ownership by the group specified, and no members of other groups may occupy land or premises therein, except (by permit) servants, visitors, hospital patients or lunatics in asylums. Inspectors may enter any premises without notice and at any hour.

In the original Act certain areas reserved for Natives under the Native (Urban Areas) Act were protected. Under the amending Act of 1955 such areas can now be proclaimed as an area for any other group.

The Act was passed to enforce Apartheid, and proposes to uproot whole groups with no regard to property rights, loss of livelihood, human suffering, or the right to move freely about the country of

one's birth. There are no provisions for compensation to persons deprived of long-established rights.

III. Passport Regulations and Departure from the Union Regulations Act (1955) gives the Minister power to refuse passports and to withdraw those already issued, without giving reasons. It has also become a criminal offence to leave the Union without a passport, thus making South African citizens prisoners in their own land.

IV. Natives (Urban Areas) Amendment Act (1956): Under this Act any Native, born and bred in an urban area, may be banished by a local authority if in its opinion his presence is detrimental to peace and order. No provision is made for him or his dependants when he is driven from his urban home. He has no place in the Native Reserves, nor permission to enter another town. His presence (and that of his dependants) will be illegal. Destitution and vagrancy must result. Thus a criminal is born.

V. Immigration Amendment Act (1956) gives the Minister wider powers to deport persons whom he deems to be undesirable inhabitants of the Union. (Note the emphasis in all these Acts on the phrase "whom the Minister deems"). While this Act does not apply to South African citizens, it can include children born in the Union, since any dependent member of the family can be included in the warrant deporting the head of the family.

**FREEDOM IS LIKE THE AIR WE BREATHE.
WE TAKE IT FOR GRANTED UNTIL WE ARE
DEPRIVED OF IT!**

M.E.F.

To the Editor of The Black Sash.

Madam,

IN your July issue I was particularly impressed with the article on "The Second Language" and the article „Die Demokratiese Regte in Ons Onderwysordonnansie." The latter I presume refers to the Transvaal. In 1945 I taught for three months at Ladysmith High, which is parallel-medium. I thought it a grand idea. Do I understand A. Marais to say that even though 974 of 977 parents wish the school to continue as a parallel-medium school the Transvaal Education Department does not intend it to be so? And do I understand from "Justice and our White Stewardship" that a Native woman teacher had her own little school, where presumably singing was one of the subjects—and that she was both imprisoned and banished from her home town for life, for that?

GLORIA BLADES.

Durban.

(Editorial Comment.—You understand correctly).

MEET THE BLACK SASH

Members of the South-Eastern Transvaal Regional Executive

MRS. MARY FOURIE, Chairman of S.E. Transvaal Region, was born in Utrecht, Nederland, and came to South Africa with her family in 1920. She lived in S.E. Transvaal Region at Heidelberg and Nigel before going to Johannesburg, where she was educated at Parktown High School for Girls. During 1938 and 1939 she was "finished" in Lausanne, Switzerland, and in London. On her return she worked with the S.A. Red Cross, and later joined Wits. University Library Staff for five years. She was married in Johannesburg and has lived on Mines on the East Rand since then. She had taken no part in public life until she joined the Black Sash in August, 1955, on Marievale Mine. She has a young family of two sons and a daughter.



Mrs. FOURIE

MRS. ENID GOULDIE, Vice-Chair, was born in Primrose, Germiston. She received secondary education at Benoni High School. Her hobbies are sport, gardening and amateur dramatics. She is a very keen and active political worker. She has two sons—the elder is a B.Sc. and is teaching, the younger is an apprentice electrician.



Mrs. OLIVIER



Mrs. THOMAS

* * *

MRS. HILARY HAHN, Regional Treasurer, was born in Cape Town and educated at the Rustenburg Girls' High School, Rondebosch, and the University of Cape Town, where she took a Diploma in Librarianship. She was on the staff of the South African Public Library in Cape Town for two years before her marriage. She has two children and has been living in Springs for the last four years. During this time she has interested herself in the work of the Red Cross in the town, and is also a Committee member of the Springs Division of the United Party. She has been a member of the Black Sash since its inception, and is Chair of the Springs Branch.



Mrs. GOULDIE



Mrs. HAHN

MRS. AMY OLIVIER, Regional Contact for the Eastern Transvaal, was born in the Transvaal and educated at St. Margaret's, Johannesburg. She made teaching her profession, which she practised chiefly on the Reef. She was married on the Far East Rand and has spent most of her life in the Transvaal. She has one son who has settled with his wife on the Copper Belt in Northern Rhodesia. She did war work in both World Wars, and has taken an active part in political work.

* * *

MRS. GRACE THOMAS was born in Boksburg, educated in Johannesburg, Pretoria and Benoni, and worked for four years before her marriage. She is the proud mother of a son and three daughters. During the 1948 Elections, she was an enthusiastic worker for both the United Party and the Torch Commando. She has been a member of the Black Sash movement since its inception, and is a Committee member of the S.E. Transvaal Region and its very efficient Newsletter Correspondent.

**LABOUR PARTY**

THE main points of the Labour Party's policy for European education may be succinctly stated as:—

- (a) Free and compulsory education up to Standard Eight.
- (b) Free High School, University and vocational education or training for all children showing an aptitude or desire to acquire same; and the provision of free books. (It should be noted that in 1915, when in power, the Labour Party introduced free High School Education in the Transvaal).
- (c) The acceptance in principle that schools be either dual medium, or with parallel classes, as opposed to unilingual schools, which separate young South Africans on racial bases.
- (d) While acknowledging that mother tongue instruction is necessary in the early stages of his school career, there must be no interference with the maxim "that the child belongs to his parents, and not to the State." After the child has passed those early classes the parent shall have the undisputed right to choose the medium of instruction.

If this policy was adopted the Party believes that the principles of civil liberty and national unity would be firmly entrenched.

Our policy as enunciated under (a) and (b) is self explanatory, but I would add to (b) that in the Labour Party's view Universities should not be the closed preserves of the privileged rich, excluding the limited number of bursars. They should be open to any child who shows ability and qualifications irrespective of his or her parents' financial position.

The principles set out under (c) and (d) can be coupled. We have fought for them consistently. The Labour Party opposed the United Party's Education Ordinance of 1945, which introduced an encroachment on

(Continued on Page 12)

UNITED PARTY

THE capture and indoctrination of the minds of children have been an instrument of dictatorship over the years; democracy, on the other hand, recognises freedom in education as a bulwark of freedoms.

The policy of the United Party therefore aims at the achievement of the maximum degree of freedom in education, and recognises throughout that the child belongs primarily to its family unit and not to the state. Aware of the dangers of regimentation inherent in the over-centralisation of education the fathers of our Constitution provided in the South Africa Act that each province should be autonomous in matters of primary and secondary education. But there have been ominous signs that the central government will seek greater power and authority at the cost of the provinces. This the United Party will resolutely resist, as it will resist also attempts to limit the rights and powers of elective and representative educational bodies such as school boards and committees.

The United Party unequivocally acknowledges that the provision of proper educational facilities should exercise a prior claim on the resources of the country. Every child should have the right to be educated to the limit of his ability.

In the light of its dedication to the spirit of unity and tolerance, it stands for the training in our schools of bilingual citizens.

In regard to the language medium of instruction the Party accepts the desirability of mother tongue instruction in the early years of the child's school career, but firmly believes in the inherent right of the parent, as the natural guardian, to direct the spiritual, educational and cultural development of the child. This right inevitably includes the right of the parents to choose the medium of instruction and the type of school to which the children should go; and at all times the parents' decision in these matters should be final.

The Party therefore envisages that

(Continued in Col. 3)

The Black Sash has invited the major political parties in South Africa to set forth their views on national matters. The first of our series deals with

EUROPEAN EDUCATION**NATIONALIST PARTY**

SPACE was reserved for the Nationalist Party, who were invited to contribute an article in the same way as the other Political Parties.

Our letter and subsequent telephone conversations elicited the following reply:—

"This kind of thing is outside the function of the Nationalist Party, which produces literature exclusively for its own people, and is unwilling to become involved in controversy with any other political parties."

UNITED PARTY (Contd.)

there will be various schools in each community to give effect to the wishes of parents on the organisation of their children's school as a parallel or single medium institution.

The United Party will give the children of South Africa back to their parents.

SOUTH AFRICAN BOND (Contd.)

tudes in addition to laying a sound general educational background.

Overseas tours by school children and a greater degree of teacher exchange systems, sponsored by the Government, will do much to broaden the young South African's outlook.

Working knowledge of a Native language and an insight into the background, culture and development of the non-European groups in South Africa are an essential subject in the school syllabus in order to ensure respect for the other occupants of South Africa.



SOUTH AFRICAN BOND

THE S.A. Bond has set as its main task the achievement of national unity among the European peoples of South Africa. Every obstacle to this ideal must be removed. The multi-racial composition of the Union presents a challenge to the maintenance of the standards required by Western civilisation, and if the European is to succeed in leading the lesser developed racial groups to become supporters of and participators in the benefits to be derived from that civilisation, with its high ethical and cultural standards, educational policy in South Africa must be orientated accordingly.

The equal status accorded to both official languages at the time of Union must be respected by ensuring that from the earliest possible school age the young South African will receive a fully bilingual education in all subjects in order to remove the language barrier. This will also effectively deal with the separation caused by the single-medium school. It will also be necessary to re-educate teachers to undertake this method of instruction, and teachers' salaries will have to be improved to attract more persons to this most important profession.

As it is desirable that education in South Africa should be of a uniformly high standard, the present system of Provincial control of certain aspects of education will be replaced by Union control.

It is desirable that the educational system, both in the secondary schools, technical colleges and Universities, should be brought more into line with the practical requirements of commerce, industries and the professions.

In order to use our comparatively small manpower effectively, the best available educational processes and teaching methods must be adopted. Aptitude and psychological tests must be widely employed to eliminate waste, by determining the natural bent of the scholar as soon as possible and by fostering special apti-

(Continued in Col. 3)

FEDERAL PARTY

"The direction in which education starts a man will determine his future life."—Plato.

"All who have meditated on the art of governing mankind have been convinced that the fate of empires depends on the education of youth."—Aristotle.

THE crisis in European education in our country mounts with the passing of each day. It is a crisis which must inevitably leave its mark on the future citizens of the Union: as the products of an overburdened and inadequate educational system, they must unavoidably reach maturity "half-baked" and unprepared for the trials of life: as the victims of a narrow-minded, doctrinaire and sectional system, the rising generation may hardly be blamed for the bigoted and prejudiced viewpoints they are likely to hold.

Fundamentally, the present grave position has a two-fold aspect. Firstly, the refusal, by the Department in particular, and by the nation generally, to recognise or effectually counteract the mounting difficulties and shortcomings of our educational system. The shortage of teachers has reached calamitous proportions. Would such a situation have arisen had the Department offered and guaranteed attractive salaries, incentive prospects, academic freedom and the absence of discrimination?

Secondly, administrative policy, applied in accordance with the overall Nationalist pattern of subservience to the State and ideological indoctrination for sectional purposes, is responsible for the deliberate moulding of our youth to a regimented State-pattern. The employment of such devices as segregation of language-groups and the eradication of parental choice, allied to the implementation of Christian National Education (Christelike Nasionale Opvoeding) and the attempted coercion of Universities to the will of the State, are essential for the State's unfettered control of tomorrow's citizens.

(Continued on Page 12)

LIBERAL PARTY

IT is not easy to write about the "European Education Policy" of the Liberal Party, as the fundamental approach of the Liberal Party negates the distinction which is implicit in that description. Except insofar as special measures will be necessary for a time in order to overcome the backlog in Non-European education and bring it up to the standard of European education, the Liberal Party recognises no distinction between what is required in the education of Europeans and what is required in the education of Non-Europeans.

The fundamental principles on which the policy of the Party is based are taken from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and read:

"Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all national, racial and religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

"Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children."

The most important points affecting the education of Europeans which follow from these principles are that parents of children attending State schools must have the greatest possible freedom of choice regarding the type of education which their children are to receive, within the range of what is practicable in the State school system. Consequently, they must have free choice, inter alia, as to which official language their children should be taught in, and as to whether schools should be dual medium, parallel medium or single medium. Private schools should have the greatest possible freedom compatible with the requirements of a sound education. Teachers should enjoy full civil rights, subject only to their not using their position to further party-political ends in the class-room.

THREADS FROM THE SASH

ONE correspondent from a Transvaal town writes: "I was asked on the bowling green whether I wasn't ashamed of myself Black Sashing when my husband had a one-man business! I replied that I didn't care whether I was reduced to eating mealie-pap provided my conscience was clean and that I was able to keep my identity! The ironical part of it is that my husband's business continues to flourish and as a matter of fact he is doing a lot better than some of the "don't-upset-the-Government-at-any-price" people! Maybe people still believe in going where service counts and not where the proprietor or his wife are politically acceptable!"

Thank you for your expression of courage—perhaps some of our more timid sisters will be heartened by your story.

* * *

A SPRINGS reader writes: "I think the idea of 'Meet the Black Sash' a good one—it sort of makes us know one another even if it is only by photographs!"

* * *

I MENTIONED in this column the Secretary of a Transvaal country Branch who goes fourteen miles to her meetings and has to find transport there and back as she does not drive. It is the enthusiasm and drive of such women that keeps the Black Sash a living and vital organisation.

* * *

A NATIONALIST wife of the Chair of the National Party in one country town suggested that it would be a good thing if a sort of club could be started in the village where people of both major political parties could get together to discuss common problems in a friendly spirit. Only a woman would have the sense to suggest this, and we wish she would have the courage to start it! Free discussion is always a good thing provided it takes place without loss of temper and provided each viewpoint is given a courteous hearing on both sides. I know one argumentative family where discourtesy and loss of temper were punished as a failing in character! I wish we could run all meetings on the same formula.

* * *

MY correspondent from Plaston writes: "We need a Socrates to hold meetings in the market place and teach people, by free discussion, to think." Having just returned from a good-will trip to the Western Transvaal, we echo her sentiments with fervour. Will any budding South African Socrates please come forward and offer his services for our next trip?

* * *

PERHAPS the most astounding thing about the Black Sash is that throughout South Africa today there are thousands of women making arrangements to learn all they can about political matters, and to become really bilingual. They are determined to make democracy work, and have at last accepted the fact that democracy is only possible with an enlightened electorate. Will a handbook soon be written on "Hints to Husbands"?

A CORRESPONDENT from the Lowveld writes: "It is really funny to see people's reaction these days to anything black! I was walking down the street carrying my son's undergraduate gown over my arm—I was on my way to the dry-cleaners. Two men sitting in a stationary car recoiled as I passed as if I'd attempted to strike them—they obviously thought I was about to start some new sort of vigil!"

* * *

A JOHANNESBURG branch member received a donation towards the recent good-will trip taken into the Western Transvaal, enclosed in a note which said: "With all good wishes to the 'Little Trek'." Perhaps she was more prophetic than she knew, and this Little Trek and others like it will have as far reaching effects on this country as the Great Trek of 1835 did!

* * *

MISS Marjorie Juta, one of the original members of the Black Sash in Pretoria, writes from England: "May I congratulate you on the tenacity of purpose which keeps the Sash going in its second phase, which is more difficult to sustain than the original dramatic moments."

Thank you, Miss Juta! That could particularly apply to the country regions, and I know they will be heartened by your praise.

* * *

MY Naboomspruit correspondent writes of a vigil in June at Nylstroom where there were thirty women who had come to "meet" Mr. Strijdom and Mr. Ben Schoeman. Some women travelled as much as a hundred and sixty miles to attend!

Rather a long way to come, don't you think, Mr. Strijdom, just for exhibitionism and bad manners? Might there not be some other explanation?

* * *

A CORRESPONDENT from Potgietersrust sends in the following story: Potgietersrust Agricultural Show was opened on Thursday, the 6th inst., by the Minister for Agriculture, Mr. le Roux. As befitting the occasion the Black Sash was well represented and paraded both in the forenoon and afternoon at the entrance to the Showground. However, the large turnout of "Sashes" was evidently too much for the Minister and his courage failed him. When he was about to depart, a pair of wire-cutters was quickly produced, the seven strands of fencing wire were cut at the farthest end of the Ground from the Black Sash stance, and instead of leaving in a dignified manner by the main entrance, Mr. le Roux departed ignominiously through a hole in the fence.

OBITUARY

We regret to announce the death of Miss Marion Horwood of Rosebank, Cape, a grand-daughter of the late Hon. Alfred Ebdon, a former member of the old Cape Parliament.



Question and Answer

Proportional Representation

QUESTION:

What is meant by "Proportional Representation?"
What part should it play in a real democracy?

ANSWER:

The "Proportional Representation" system—P.R.—is a system of voting designed to give each elector an effective and equal vote and prevent its being wasted. Under our present system of single member constituencies all the votes of the minority are wasted and, as has often happened in Union elections, especially at the elections in 1924, 1929, 1948 and 1953, a party receiving only a minority of the total votes cast may obtain a majority of the seats.

P.R. with the single transferable vote is a system under which the voter votes for the candidate he wishes to have elected, but if that candidate for any reason does not need his vote, he shows his next preference or preferences for other candidates who will then in the order he chooses get his vote. In this way no vote is wasted and each party gets all the members elected that it is entitled to in proportion to its total number of votes received.

The unfairness of our present system is shown by

the results of the last election here for Parliament. The National Party, although it received about 150,000 fewer votes than the Opposition, obtained a large majority of seats. In South West Africa the Opposition polled nearly as many votes as the Nationalists but the latter got all the seats. Such a state of affairs is obviously unjust.

P.R. is in successful operation in several countries. Eire has had this system of voting ever since it became an independent state. Tasmania also has it.

P.R., but in a different form, has been in operation for many years in several countries including Switzerland, all the Scandinavian states, Belgium, and Israel. Except for the elections in 1945 and 1946, France has never had P.R. Johannesburg had it for a time for municipal elections. The first draft of the South Africa Act provided that the elections for Parliament should be on the basis of P.R. but that provision was deleted in the final draft.

For the P.R. system to function properly it is necessary to have constituencies each returning not fewer than three members. When a constituency has to elect several candidates election campaigns are far less bitter than they frequently are in single member constituencies. That has been the experience in both Eire and Belgium.

By giving fair representation to all sections and preventing votes being wasted, P.R. makes possible a nearer approximation to real democracy than we have as yet ever had in South Africa.

PARLIAMENTARY TERMS AND USAGES

(Continued)

BILLS AND THEIR STAGES

(a) Leave to Introduce and First Reading

These are usually quite formal but occasionally, when the subject matter of the bill to be introduced is one about which strong feeling is aroused, the Opposition may oppose the introduction and the first reading. Thus the Opposition opposed leave to introduce the South Africa Act Amendment Bill at the Joint Session of the Senate and Assembly, the removal of Coloured voters from the common roll of voters being involved.

(b) Second Reading

In the debate on the second reading the principle of the bill is discussed. Sometimes the Minister in charge of the bill may be satisfied that that principle should be modified. In that event he will agree to the bill being referred to a Select Committee of the House for it to reconsider the bill and bring up a new measure.

(c) Committee Stage

For this stage the House resolves itself into a Committee of the whole House. The Speaker does not attend this stage. The Chairman of Committees presides. Now each provision in the bill is considered in detail. Amendments may be proposed provided they do not run counter to the principle of the bill. If at the end of a day's sitting the Committee has not finished discussing the clauses it must adjourn. It does so by resolving to:

Report progress to the House and ask the House **leave to sit again**. This is automatically given and the Committee will accordingly sit again on an appointed day and continue where it left off before. This procedure will be followed until all the clauses have been dealt with, when the bill with amendments, if any, will be reported to the House. If the Minister in charge of the bill wishes to get it through the Committee stage by a certain date he may get the House to adopt a resolution to that effect and then any clauses which have not been reached for discussion by that date will be adopted without amendment. This procedure is known as the **guillotine**.

Sometimes before the Committee stage is taken the bill is referred after the second reading to a

Select Committee. This body considers the details of the bill. It hears evidence from interested parties. It then brings up the bill with any amendments it thinks fit, and in its amended form the bill then goes to the Committee of the House.

(d) Report Stage

This stage occurs only when the Committee stage has resulted in amendments having been adopted by the Committee. The House then considers such amendments and may adopt or reject them.

(e) Third Reading

During this stage the principle of the bill may again be debated. When this reading is passed the whole procedure has been completed in the House or the Senate as the case may be.

CLOSURE

During any stage of the discussion of a bill the House or Committee may resolve that **the question be now put**. If such a resolution be adopted no further discussion is allowed and a vote on the reading or clause in issue is then taken.

A bill goes through **the same procedure in both the Senate and the House of Assembly**.

At the first, second, or third reading of a bill the Opposition may move that it be read "**this day six months**." This is equivalent to moving its rejection.

TAX MEASURES

No bills to impose taxation or to involve any expenditure may be introduced except on a recommendation from the Governor-General, that is, in effect from the Government. This is for the purpose of preventing private members moving measures that might involve wasteful or extravagant expenditure. Only the Government may do that.

(To be concluded.)

LABOUR PARTY (Contd. from Page 8)

parental rights; and, under which, for the first time, statutory unilingual schools were established. We strenuously fought the Nationalist 1949 Ordinance, which exacerbated the position by enforcing home language to be the medium of instruction up to Standard Eight; and deprived parents of almost all their remaining freedom of choice and control.

We adhere rigidly to the principle of keeping children together in schools and on the playgrounds. The youth of this country must learn and play together; must understand each other's language customs and ways, thus acquiring a common viewpoint. They must develop together from adolescence to manhood; they must travel together on the road to racial peace and national security.

The Labour Party's educational policy aims "to build a nation, not to divide it."

FEDERAL PARTY (Contd. from Page 9)

Both major defects require immediate and drastic attention. Action in the first case holds out reasonable hope of an improvement in the situation. The second, and more menacing, aspect presents a vastly more difficult problem. It is the age-old conflict between the arbitrary imposition of authority and the fundamental human right to freedom. A vicious thralldom threatens our nation. With us rests the tremendous responsibility of securing for the citizen of tomorrow the freedom, dignity and independence of thought which we cherish as our birthright. No true South African dare evade the issue any longer.

REGIONAL AND BRANCH REPORTS

The Natal Coastal Region writes:

"We have had a spate of unusual activity. Mr. Viljoen came for one of his last functions as Minister of Arts, Education and Science, to open the M. L. Sultan Technical College. We sashed him six times during the day that he was here. Then followed the three-day (August 30, 31, Sept. 1) Nationalist Congress in the City Hall, Durban. For this the whole region turned out and Maritzburg sent down a contingent each day. We vigilled at the City Hall from 8.30 to 10.30 a.m., 12 p.m. to 2 p.m., and 4.30 until the meeting closed, so the Nats. were never free from us for their coming and going. We met the aeroplanes. Mr. Schoeman went through the non-European entrance, earning himself a paragraph headed 'TUT TUT, what would Dr. Verwoerd say' in the newspapers. Mr. Swart as usual did his best to avoid us . . . he appears to have an almost pathetic unwillingness to face the Sash. . . this time the steps went out to the blind side of the plane, the car went on to the tarmac and picked him off the plane. Nevertheless the Sash swung round so that he actually drove right across the front of them. That got him a 'box' on the front page of the paper. Mr. Strijdom was taken hastily into a side entrance of the City Hall and was overheard to remark somewhat testily to Mr. Haupt, the local Chair, that it seemed an odd way to go in. We were there anyway.

"Mr. Swart and Mr. Schoeman returned to us on Friday, September 7, for separate functions. The aerodrome had never seen so many Sash members turn out; we were able to man entrance and exit, see Mr. Schoeman off his special plane and wait for Mr. Swart on the usual J.H.B. one. This time he squeezed himself through the unopened entrance with its barriers closed. Mr. Schoeman's plane stopped opposite the non-European entrance, but he walked all the way round to the other that time. In the afternoon Mr. Swart formally opened the four new police houses that Westville have built. They lie half-way down a hill approached by a steep winding road that we were able to man with nearly sixty Sash. Again he refused to stop at the proper place and the car went further on for him to come in by a back way, but he had to pass us just the same and the Sash remained in full view of the ceremony, on the hill, while half of us went up the hill to see the whole party off at the exit on the main road.

"As many of our Sash members had never seen a Minister, all this activity recently has been a big thing. All Mr. Swart's evasions have amused us and the general public. Mr. De Klerk was here for the Congress too . . . I forgot to mention that we settled him nicely, too, for his comings and goings. While the Congress was on, the little sticker that Maritzburg produced was sent about the town in thousands 'pour encourager'."

* * *

FROM Kloof we received this glowing tribute: I am so proud of the effort of the members of the Highway Branch that, as Chairman, I feel I

must pay them a most sincere tribute through the Black Sash Newsletter.

We planned to hold an all-day vigil on the main highway at two points, Kloof and Gillitts, on the day preceding the Nationalist Congress opening. The day dawned bitterly cold and there would have been every excuse for a poor response. I made my way up to the vigil point in Kloof and soon found that there was absolutely no cause for worry. Instead of the cold keeping people away they were turning out so readily and in such large numbers that by the afternoon the "guard" was increased from four to six and we were able to send seven of our members down to Pinetown to help the Pinetown-Westville Branch in their vigil. Ninety women took part, and they ranged from young mothers who had dashed out for their only free half-hour to elderly ladies. As always with these things there were the moments of comic relief—one member was making a large quantity of marmalade which was apparently refusing to jell—she vigilled throughout the day but made numerous hurried trips home to shake her head over the rebellious marmalade.

The response from passing traffic was most heart-warming. Cars were passing at an average of a hundred every quarter hour and the percentage of motorists who saluted us must have been very high. Some motorists, of course, seemed most displeased to encounter us! Shortly before dark when we were all becoming very weary, our spirits soared at the sight of a T.P. registration and a Government pennant—Mr. de Klerk motoring to Durban was given a Black Sash "welcome."

* * *

MIDDELBURG (CAPE)

ON Monday, September 10th, at 7 a.m., Mrs. Gilfillan, with two of her Committee members, Mrs. June Southey and Mrs. Rous, set out for Aliwal North, 150 miles from here, where we had arranged to meet some ladies from that area in the hopes of starting a Black Sash Branch. Up to date we had had little encouragement from Aliwal North. However, we held a good meeting, Mrs. Gilfillan gave a short history of the Black Sash movement and its aims and objects, then Mrs. Southey spoke on repressive legislation, and after a short talk by Mrs. Rous on the history of the Middelburg Branch, our difficulties and our triumphs, we were delighted to find the Aliwal ladies most anxious to start a Branch, which was done immediately. As we closed the meeting, the ladies having elected their office-bearers, one of their members moved a vote of thanks, and ended by saying: "To meet together is a beginning, to work together is progress, and to stay together is unity." With a motto like this we can expect great things from Aliwal North.

* * *

THE Cape Western Region is setting the rest of us a splendid example by their hard work and imagination. One recent undertaking is the production of the first number of a quarterly News Sheet

REGIONAL REPORTS (Continued)

of four pages. In it they report that the Region has started a library of books on South Africa, from which members may borrow books at 6d. a copy. They have formed a Civic Affairs sub-committee which, amongst other activities, had observers present daily while the Group Areas Committee was inquiring into the zoning for the Peninsula. As a result of what they learned, Cape Western staged a big Protest Demonstration against the injustices of the proposed zoning. Lectures on the Group Areas Act have been given in Claremont and Hermanus. At lunch-time on September 13th, a public protest meeting, sponsored by the Black Sash, and supported by many public bodies and organisations, was held and a public petition started.

Lectures on the Tomlinson Report and on "The individual, his duties, responsibilities and rights in a multi-racial democratic society," have been arranged for October. Each lecture will be held in a different place so that as wide a public as possible will be reached.

The Region's appeal for funds has brought forth two valuable and novel offers—two members who wish to sell their houses offered to give the full commission to the Black Sash!

* * *

Barberton: Barberton was visited by the Minister of Justice on 2nd August, when he came down to present long service medals to the Police. He was sashed on arrival at the Town Hall by 34 members, a large number going from White River, Plaston and Nelspruit to support the Barberton Branch. They lined the curving steps to the Town Hall, up which all the guests for the reception had to pass—the result being very effective.

FACT AND FICTION

FICTION:

At the annual banquet of the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce on 26th September, the Prime Minister, Mr. Strijdom, told the gathering that he firmly believes that, except for a minority of cases, there was an infinitely better understanding between the English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking language groups and a much greater willingness to co-operate in matters of common concern than in the past.

FACT:

We print part of an Editorial in the "Star" of 27th September in reply.

Mr. Strijdom may or may not have been right. But what is beyond dispute is that there would have been far less friction and misunderstanding today had it not been for the Nationalist policy of keeping the two sections apart with deliberate intent. Any improvement in relationships, therefore, has been in spite of Nationalism, for there can in truth never be race unity while that party depends for its life on the existence of two distinct and separate racial groups and while Nationalism continues to propagate the ideal of an Afrikaner as distinct from a South African nation. The two conceptions of

nationhood are mutually exclusive, and as long as they exist there must be friction.

The remedy is in Mr. Strijdom's hands. He must break down the conscious striving for separateness in almost every sphere, social, economic and political, which present-day Nationalism dictates. And he could find no better field in which to start than the schools, where his party is forcibly keeping the children of the two language groups apart and compelling them to grow up strangers.

It is sheer sophistry to pay lip-service to race co-operation while pursuing policies which make for estrangement and worse. Therefore, Nationalist leaders must now either translate their words into deeds and start practising what they preach, or be content to have their talk dismissed as pious and amiable warbling.

FANTASIE EN FEIT

FANTASIE:

Op die jaarlikse dinee van die Johannesburgse Sakekamer, op 26 September, het die Premier, mnr. Strijdom, die gehoor vertel dat hy vas glo dat, uitgesonderd 'n paar gevalle, daar 'n oneindig veel betere verstandhouding bestaan tussen Engelssprekende en Afrikaanssprekende taalgroepe en 'n groter wil tot samewerking in sake van algemene belang, as vroeër die geval was.

FEIT:

Mnr. Strijdom mag of mag nie reg gewees het nie. Wat buite twyfel staan, is dat daar vandag baie minder wrywing en misverstand sou wees, as dit nie was vir die Nasionalistiese beleid om die twee groepe met opset apart te hou nie. Enige verbetering in die verhoudings, wat daar mag wees, het plaasgevind ten spyte van Nasionalisme, want daar kan inderdaad nooit rasse-eenheid ontwikkel nie solank daardie party se voortbestaan afhang van die instandhouding van twee afsonderlike en skerp-gekeide groepe en solank Nasionalisme voortgaan met die verspreiding van die ideaal van 'n Afrikanernasie in teenstelling met 'n Suid-Afrikaanse Nasie. Die twee ideale van nasieskap sluit mekaar uit en solank hulle altwee bestaan moet daar wrywing wees.

Mnr. Strijdom kan die wrywing beëindig. Hy moet 'n end maak aan die doelbewuste strewe na afsondering op maatskaplike, ekonomiese en politieke gebied, wat deur die huidige Nasionalisme voorgeskrewe word. En hy sou geen beter plek kan vind om mee te begin as die skole nie, waar sy party met geweld die kinders van die twee taalgroepe afskei en hulle dwing om as vreemdelinge groot te word.

Dit is valse redenering om lippediens te betuig omtrent rassamewerking terwyl 'n beleid gevolg word wat tot vervreemding lei of nog erger. Die leiers onder die Nasionaliste moet dus nou hul woorde omsit in dade en beoefen wat hulle preek, of aanvaar dat hul toesprake as vrome en minsame gekweel veronagsaam sal word.

UNION

By PHYLLIS LEWSEN

This is the second half of a study of the history of the coming into being of the Union of South Africa. The first half was published in our August issue.

TO argue, as Dr. Dönges has done, that "the Parliament of the United Kingdom had the final say, and whatever they advised had ultimately to be passed in the form of an Act of the British Parliament," is misleading and inaccurate.

The South Africa Act had indeed to be passed by the British Parliament, for the reason that no other authority—in terms of the existing colonial constitutions—could legally bring the Union of South Africa into being. But the British Parliament's function was formal only.

It did not exercise the "final say," or any "say" at all, and the fact that it passed the South Africa Act in no way affected the content of that Act.

To sum up: The South African constitution was the work of the delegates at the National Convention. Those delegates were responsible to their respective colonial Parliaments; and the Parliaments, in their turn, to the people of South Africa.

CAPE COLOURED VOTE

Among the Convention's problems was the fact that the Cape had a "civilization franchise," based on a property and literacy test, which admitted Coloured and Native voters to the roll. This franchise the Cape was determined to preserve. Both Cape parties were pledged to go "as far as the most solemn assurances can go"; and before the National Convention met, it was made quite clear that unless the rights of its Coloured and Native voters were safeguarded, the Cape would not come into Union.

The three other colonies all excluded Natives from their franchise; Natal by imposing impossible conditions, and the Transvaal and Orange River Colony by White manhood suffrage and a cast-iron colour bar. The problem before the Convention was to reconcile these two opposing traditions.

The Cape delegates attempted first to obtain a uniform franchise for South Africa, based on the Cape civilisation test.

They were outvoted; and eventually they accepted the compromise whereby each province retained its own franchise laws, while the Cape Coloured and Native vote was specially protected in the Constitution, by the requirement of a two-thirds majority of both Houses sitting together, before it could be altered. (They also gave up the right—which had never been exercised—of Coloured and Native voters to stand for Parliament.)

This internal compromise, not British pressure, is the explanation of Clause 35, and its entrenchment in Clause 152 of the South Africa Act.

It was one of the several major compromises necessary for Union; like the "Solomon's judgment" of dividing the capital city, and like the entrenchment of equal language rights, without which the Free State would not have entered Union.

COMPROMISE

The compromise, it must be stressed, was between the other three colonies and the Cape. Moreover, it was with some difficulty that the Cape Convention delegates managed to get it accepted by their Parliament—because the safeguard was not considered adequate.

In reply to this criticism, Merriman defended the compromise as the best that could be obtained: "We are asked," he said, "to accept some provisions which may be distasteful . . . but I implore honourable members to remember that every part of South Africa is being asked at this present moment to do the same."

And J. W. Sauer argued, with complete sincerity, that the Cape Coloured and Native franchise was entirely safe.

"I believe if a two-thirds majority is not a sufficient safeguard, a three-quarters majority will not help us very much more. I cannot foresee the risk . . . and I can conceive an agitation that will stir this country from one end to the other if it is attempted to do what I consider, and what most fair-minded men consider, an injustice."

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Queries from Enquirers

MIDDELBURG, CAPE, asks:

Q. What is the enlarged Senate costing you—the taxpayer?

A. The Senate was enlarged from 48 to 89 members. Each of them receives about £1,800 a year, half of it being free of Income Tax. The increased cost for the additional 41 members is, therefore, about £73,000.

Q. The cost of living continues to rise—why?

A. There are many factors causing this. Here are a few of them:

- (a) Increasing the amount of money in circulation without an equivalent of goods being produced—inflation.
- (b) Wasteful Government expenditure, as for example, on the Population Registration Act, or on inefficient Boards, all helps to waste the taxpayers' money.

(c) Every one of our taxes, except rates on the site value of land, raises the cost of living.

(d) Control Boards for farming produce—these were deliberately set up to raise the price of such produce. So successful has the Maize Control Board been that it managed to get the 1938 price of 8s. a bag raised to 32s. in the 1950's. That, of course, raised the cost of living all round. One result of that, and similar rises in the price of other produce, especially wool, was to make farming highly profitable. This caused an enormous increase in the price of land—far above its true value. This speculative price of land added to the cost of production to those buying new farms, and so prices went up again.

(e) Inefficient labour makes goods more expensive to manufacture. As wholesaler and retailer charge a **percentage** on what they pay, the increase to the consumer rises even more sharply than the cost of production.

F.A.W.L.

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