

THE BLACK SASH

DIE SWART SERP

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„Die Transvaler” is Kwaad

„DIE TRANSVALER” vererg hom alweer oor die Swart Serp. Hierdie keer is Strijdom se dagblad kwaad omdat mev. Power, tydens haar onlangse besoek aan die konferensie van die Internasionale Vrouebond te Geneva, met haar verslag oor die bedrywighede van die Swart Serp sulke geesdrif laat ontstaan het. Ons kan die uitwerking van haar toespraak goed voorstel. Hierdie internasionale byeenkomste is waardig, maar gewoonlik stemmig, en dit moes vir die afgevaardigdes prikkelend gewees het om ’n dame aan te hoor wat aksie verkondig het waar daar in die verlede slegs welmenende voorstelle bespreek is. Mev. Halsey van New York, algemene sekretaresse van die Bond, het tereg gesê: „Die teenwoordigheid van die Swart Serp was die glanspunt van ons byeenkoms.”

„Die Transvaler” het goeie rede om kwaad te wees. Hier het hy mos met ’n verteenwoordiger van die veragte Swart Serp te doen wat op ’n internasionale platform verskyn en ’n gehoor uit alle dele van die wêreld aangryp.

Daar is twee aaneensluitende tema’s in hierdie aanval van die regering se mondstuk, albei waarvan die regering se denkwyse treffend ont-hul. Die eerste is die vrees vir buitelandse menings oor Suid-Afrikaanse aangeleenthede. Die Nasionaliste kwel hulle oor die feit dat hulle alhoemeer afgesonder raak in die oë van die Gemenebes en die wêreld as geheel. Deur pas-

“Die Transvaler” is Angry

ONCE again the Black Sash has got under the skin of “Die Transvaler.” This time Strijdom’s newspaper is angry because Mrs. Power, on her recent visit to the conference of the International Alliance of Women in Geneva, aroused such enthusiasm with her account of the work of the Black Sash here. We can well understand the effect of her address. These international conferences are worthy, but usually solemn affairs and it must have been stimulating to hear a woman who had a story to tell for once of action as opposed to the mere passing of resolutions. Mrs. Halsey, from New York, the general secretary of the Alliance, was undoubtedly right when she said “Having the Black Sash here sure put the sparkle into this conference.”

So “Die Transvaler” had every reason to be angry. Here was a representative of the hitherto contemptuously treated Black Sash organisation speaking on an international platform and stirring an audience from all parts of the world.

There are two interlocking themes in this attack by the Government’s mouthpiece, both most revealing of the Government’s mind. The first is the real apprehension implicit in the article over opinion abroad about South African affairs. The Nationalists are intensely worried about the growing isolation of their position, both in the Commonwealth and in the world in general. By refusing passports and exit

poorte en reispermitte te weier—mev. Power moet versigtig wees—poog hulle om veroordeeling uit die mond van Suid-Afrikaanse reisigers te stuit. Was hulle nie vir die gevolge bang nie, sou hulle selfs sensorskap op persverslae na die buiteland toepas. Hulle is soos mev. Partington, wat die Atlantiese Oseaan met 'n stofdoek wou stuit, maar hul pogings duur voort. Hulle streef nog steeds om kritiek te versmoor. In hierdie bepaalde geval sien hulle natuurlik buitengewone gevaar in die teenwoordigheid van Swart Serpvertegenwoordigers oorsee. Die ont-plooiing van die Swart Serp-drama is op sigself aangrypend, maar dit verkondig nog boonop die boodskap dat die Nasionaliste geensins die beskouings van 'n verenigde Suid-Afrika weerspieël nie. Die Nasionaliste is veral gretig dat die bestaan van sterk opposisie teen hul kleur-beleid verswyg moet word. Hulle wil hê die wêreld moet glo dat alle Suid-Afrikaners apartheid, en die afgryslieke wetgewing wat daarmee gepaard gaan, ten volle steun.

Die ander punt wat uit „Die Transvaler” se inleidingsartikel te voorskyn kom is ewe belangrik en verdien nog meer aandag. Dit is naamlik die stelling dat iedereen wat die regering aanval 'n volksverraaier is. Dis natuurlik onsin. Enige Nasionalis wat dit beweer kan onmiddellik stilgemaak word deur Emily Hobhouse te noem. Beskou die Britte vir haar as 'n verraaier? Beslis nie. Sy dra hul goedkeuring weg as 'n eersterangse dame wat vas daaraan geglo het dat die Britse regering 'n verkeerde beleid gevolg het, en wat haar oortuigings na Suid-Afrika saamgebring het.

Die teorie dat elke aanval op die regering onpatrioties is, is so belaglik dat mense soms wonder hoe „Die Transvaler” so naïef kan wees dat hy dit verkondig. In werklikheid is „Die Transvaler” gladnie naïef nie—nie wanneer politieke sake op die spel is nie. Hierdie stelling is deel van 'n vasberade poging om op Suid-Afrika die idee af te dwing dat Nasionalisme en patriotisme sinoniem is, dat die regering se beleid outomaties die volkswil weerspieël, en dat slegs 'n Nasionalis 'n lojale Suid-Afrikaner kan wees.

permits—Mrs. Power had better beware—they hope to stop the flow of criticism at least from South Africans travelling abroad, and they would, if they dared, even impose a censorship on press messages leaving the country. The fact that they are like Mrs. Partington trying to stop the Atlantic Ocean with a mop makes no difference. They still go on trying to stifle criticism in any way they can. In this case, of course, they see a special danger in the presence of Black Sash representatives abroad. The story of the movement is not only dramatic in itself and likely to obtain wide publicity, but it carries with it the message that the Nationalists are not, as they would like the world to believe, speaking for a united South Africa. They are particularly anxious that the existence of a strong and active opposition to their Native policy should be kept quiet. They want the world to think that all South Africans are behind both apartheid and the whole string of horrifying legislation that it has brought in its train.

The other point which emerges from the leader in “Die Transvaler” is equally important and even more deserving of attention. This is the argument that anyone who attacks the Government is a traitor to South Africa. This, of course, is ridiculous. Any Nationalist who talks like that can be silenced immediately by the mere mention of Emily Hobhouse. Do the British people think that Emily Hobhouse was a traitor? Certainly not. She is regarded as a very fine Englishwoman who thought that the British Government was wrong—and carried her convictions out to South Africa.

The theory that all attacks on the Government are unpatriotic is so obviously absurd that many people wonder how “Die Transvaler” can be so naive as to put it forward. The answer is that “Die Transvaler” is not being naive at all. That newspaper may be simple-minded about other matters, but it is never naive about South African politics. The fact is that this argument is part of a consistent and cleverly maintained campaign to impose on South Africa the doctrine that nationalism is patriotism, that the Government's say-so is automatically the volkswil, and that nobody who is not a Nationalist can be a loyal South African.

THREADS FROM THE SASH

During the recent demonstration in the **Lowveld** against the Transvaal Education Ordinance, many pamphlets were handed out and fairly eagerly accepted. One Nationalist woman, followed by a number of small children, hurried past one of our members who was distributing pamphlets and pretended not to notice her. When, however, our member called out "Maar Mevrouw: met al daardie kinders, jy moet dit lees," the woman turned back and accepted the pamphlet. We hope she read it, too!

* * *

When Mr. Eric Louw arrived to address a meeting at **Empangeni** one night last month, he was unpleasantly surprised to find the Black Sash waiting patiently for him. He turned hastily to go through a side door to the hall, found it blocked by husbands of the Sashers, and returned to walk through the line of women. He showed his discomfiture, by stumbling on the first step. Black Sash women asked pertinent and penetrating questions at the meeting inside the hall and were enthusiastically supported by several men speakers. One man, passing through the Sash ranks, said that the members deserved the V.C. He is not alone in his opinion, but the Government so far remains unconvinced of our deservingness.

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Border Region have found that the public, on the whole, is not prepared to pay for information, so literature from their Information Table is distributed free. The Magazine, speakers' notes, Race Relations booklets and leaflets from our own Propaganda and Information Committee go "like hot cakes" under this system and undoubtedly have far-reaching effects.

* * *

Cape Midlands held a successful meeting in Middelburg in August, at which Mrs. N. Green and Mrs. D.

Rankin, of the Central Executive, were the guest speakers. The presence of half a dozen men in the audience was very encouraging. The Chair of Fish River Branch brought her six-weeks old baby with her rather than miss the meeting, a feat which deserves great commendation. We wonder if this is our youngest supporter?

* * *

Members of the Black Sash in **Port Elizabeth** were invited to attend a meeting held at the Provincial Hospital recently at which senior officials of the Nursing Association explained the provisions of the Nursing Act to the local nurses. The questions asked by Sash members received a good deal of publicity in the Press, and resulted in a lively correspondence. And so the ripples in the pool spread ever a little more widely.

* * *

With the adjournment of Parliament, haunts and vigils have temporarily come to an end in **Cape Town**, but other activities continue unabated. This Region has so far earned the palm for pushing the sales of the Black Sash book successfully and was instrumental in getting a three-year subscription to the Magazine from a distinguished visitor, Dr. Gwendolin Carter, Senior Lecturer in Political Science at Smith University, U.S.A. Keep it up, Cape Town!

* * *

Great enthusiasm was shown at a meeting held recently at **Witbank**, at which Mrs. D. Hill and Mrs. D. Rankin were the guest speakers. Although it was a morning meeting, people had travelled great distances in order to attend it, and the interest shown was remarkable. This interest and enthusiasm is due in no small measure to the excellent organisation of Mrs. Thelma Bell, secretary of the Witbank branch.

Hierdie veldtog, gesteun deur Ministers wat alle kritici as onrusstokers bestempel, word met mening voortgesit. Wat nog erger is—dit behaal sukses, selfs in die geledere van opposisie-ondersteuners wat veronderstel is om verstandig te wees maar wat blykbaar deur hierdie taktiek gehipnotiseer word. Deur intimidasie en gedurige herhaling word daar gepoog om ons te oortuig dat die regering en die Nasionale Party die enigste ware verteenwoordigers van die volk is, en dat teenstand aan verraad gelykstaan.

Dit is 'n onheilspellende leerstelling, en die Swart Serp verdien alle lof vir die wyse waarop hulle dit as 'n naakte leuen blootlê.

This campaign, ably abetted by Cabinet Ministers who treat critics as subversive agitators, has been carried to enormous lengths. What is worse, it is having a frightening amount of success, even among supposedly sensible opposition supporters, who are apparently hypnotised by the blatancy of the Government's pretensions. By intimidation and constant reiteration the theory is being forced on us that the Government and the Nationalist party are the sole representatives of South African nationhood and that to oppose them is not merely legitimate political activity but treason.

This is a most sinister doctrine and it is one of the main achievements of the Black Sash women that they have shown it up for the falsehood that it is.

PERSONALITY PARADE



No one has contributed more to the Black Sash movement in Natal than Miss Killie Campbell. Her enthusiasm, her loyalty and helpfulness have been, and are, an inspiration to all. She took part in the first haunt: her home was the venue for the first meeting and has extended a welcome to members on many occasions since then.

When the first vigil was planned, it was Miss Campbell who suggested the right place — the historic building, now the Post Office, where the founders of Union first met to draft the Constitution. It was an inspiration. She was first Vice-Chairman and now serves on the Durban Branch Committee. Her devotion to the Black Sash springs from her deep love of South Africa.

Miss Campbell is a member of one of Natal's oldest families, both sides of which were settlers of 1849 and 1850. They were pioneers of the sugar industry and have served our country well in many spheres. The late Roy Campbell, South Africa's best-known poet, was her cousin. His father was largely responsible for the establishment of technical education in Natal, while her own father, Sir Marshall

Campbell, was so highly respected by neighbouring Africans, that the Quadi tribe appointed him an Hereditary Councillor.

Miss Campbell herself has devoted her life to the collection and presentation of the treasures of our country's past. The old House Museum, where Natal's early history comes alive, owes its existence largely to her, as she collected and donated many of its

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DR. KILLIE CAMPBELL

exhibits. Students come from far and wide to seek her advice and help and to consult her famous collection of Africana.

She was appointed a member of the National Historical Monuments Commission in 1940, and her services to our country's past have been recognised by the award of an Honorary M.A. degree by the University of Natal in 1947; an Hon. LL.D. by the University of the Witwatersrand in 1954, and in 1954 she was made a Fellow of the South African Library Association.

Miss Campbell is a keen gardener and for eight years was a member of the Municipal Advisory Board for Parks and Gardens. She played a leading part in the establishment of Cambridge House, which provides a home for girls in need of special care under the Welfare Act.

Her achievements are many and to her home come all sorts and conditions of men, the underdog and the highest in the land; but always she remains the same sincere and unassuming person, one who can walk with kings, nor lose the common touch.

BLACK SASH A.B.C.

(Continued)

Meddling Maria is right on the spot

For a gossip—in helping she's last of the lot.

Merry Matilda will give of her best

To the hardest of problems and do it with zest.

Nauseous Nadine will always pretend

She hasn't a moment, or penny, to spend.

Noticing Nora will show, any day,

She's willing to give of her time—or her pay.

Odious Olga sits up on her perch

While others are threatened or left in the lurch.

Obstinate Olive will tackle apace

The case of a person who's gone without trace.

P.B.

The Republic In S. Africa: An Historical Argument

By A. K. FRYER

REPUBLICANISM in South Africa owed its origins partly to the accident of the lapse of Dutch rule, partly to the repugnance with which the Voortrekkers and other Afrikaners regarded the British Government, and partly because of nascent national feelings. There was little informed thought on the part of the republicans as to the differences between government based upon the impersonal concept of the Crown and upon the principle of an elected head of state. The incoherence of Voortrekker political thought with regard to constitutional forms, franchises, proportional or equal values of votes, confines of secular and ecclesiastical power, relative rights of Krygsrade, Commissierade and Volksrade, and with regard to due process of law and the rule of law, is amply demonstrated in the published Archival records of the O.F.S. and the Transvaal. Nor was this unnatural, or unusual, in the relatively isolated frontier community of farmers, as the history of the Americas shows.

What is significant about it, is that republicanism, however inchoate it was in its early phases (less in the O.F.S. than in the Transvaal) bore the stamp of folk-unity in race, religion, language, economic activity—and aversion to the insidious advance of British interests and influences in Southern Africa; moreover, it offered the concept of the sovereignty of the people at a time when the British colonies in South Africa were uniformly subject to an Imperial sovereignty. Further, the main body of the Trekkers left the Cape before either municipalities, divisional councils, or an elective Parliament had begun to mould South African political thought and practice according to a legacy of well-tried forms of procedure and principles of political conduct which were readily adaptable to South African conditions and capable of organic growth. The Republican North could not therefore understand that the concept of the sovereignty of the Crown in colonies possessing parliaments, did not mean government by other than the colonial parliament, or that British Imperial control, so far from being authoritarian (above and outside) was itself not simply the reflection of insular British interest, but of colonial pressures upon the British Government.

HEALTHY INDEPENDENCE

Thus the Crown was unable to persuade, and would not force the (parliamentary) Cape Colony to pass on a share of the customs duties levied at the ports on goods destined for consumption in the Republics, despite the pronounced Imperial interest that the O.F.S. in particular ought to have that economic support if it was to perform the role designed for it in the Bloemfontein Convention of 1854. The Empire of those days was already an organic structure in which the parts displayed lives

of their own which could be not only healthy but stubborn. In such a structure the Europeans of colonial South Africa were not truly subject peoples—neither the Boers nor the British colonists—and the remarkable growth and dominion of the Afrikanerbond in the Cape goes to prove it.

The Crown in these circumstances, played a remarkable role at once as the spring-board of full democratic development (more democratic than either of the Republics, because the notion of race was not a first principle in the letter or spirit of the constitution) and as a contributor of precepts in procedural and political behaviour (it was not for nothing the C. Brand, Dutch patriot that he was and famous Speaker of the House of Assembly, 1854-74, or Onze Jan Hofmeyr, corresponded with Speakers and politicians in the Parliaments of Britain and Canada) which gave the Cape a political history which until the end of the century showed considerable stability. More: it provided an 'international' liaison within the Imperial structure which was a spring-board of South African economic advancement.

COMPROMISE ACHIEVED

South African republicanism, misconstruing the nature of the Crown, had to find its own alternative pivotal principle. The first was the unity of the 'Maatschappij' (volks-eenheid), with its modern extensions in the Nationalist Party, Christian National Education, et al. The second was the nature of the State. Here two broad tendencies revealed themselves: among those who favoured the leadership of a Strong Man, with constitutional forms; and among those who placed the emphasis upon constitutional balance between the electorate, Volksraad and Executive, with the law courts independent. In the South African Republic, after years of strife and some civil war a compromise was achieved in 1858, which by the Krugerian period (1881-1900) had shown its true colours: the 'Volksleier' came to the fore squarely based upon the 'volks-eenheid' principle, and to make both truly effective constitutional checks and the independence of the judiciary (which under Chief Justice Kotze championed the testing right of the Supreme Court, which is practically inherent in States with written constitutions) had to be overthrown. The franchise laws were made subservient to the maintenance of the principles of Krugerian leadership and the domination of the Volksraad by 'ware Transvaalers.' Thus Art. 13 of the 1858 Grondwet, that 'The people shall delegate the proposal and the administration of the laws to an Executive Council which shall also recommend all public officials for appointment by the Volksraad,' was changed in 1889 by the words 'State President' replacing 'Executive Council'; and those 'uitlanders' who passed the many hurdles to citizenship were granted in the first instance, for a period of years, no more than representation in a Second (-class) Volksraad which had only advisory powers.

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QUIZ

ARE YOU A GOOD CITIZEN?

1. Do you ever speak at political meetings to voice your personal opinions?
2. Do you know who your M.P. is?
3. Do you have political discussions in your home?
4. Have you checked your name on the Voters' Roll?
5. Do you encourage your older children to taken an interest in the politics of their country?
6. Do you explain to your children the meaning of the worth of democracy?
7. Do you impress on them that they must shoulder their civic responsibilities?
8. Do you do your share of the necessary work, not leaving it to the "other fellow?"

7 out of 8 "yesses"—You are a good citizen.
6 out of 8 "yesses"—You are a fair citizen.
Under 5—YOU ARE ANOTHER "APATHY ANN"!

RIGIDITY OF THE CONSTITUTION

In the O.F.S. Republic the constitutionalists were dominant almost from first to last, certainly from the time of the coup d'etat against President Hoffman in 1855, while the fixed constitution, with its requirement for a three-fourths majority vote "in two successive annual meetings," for constitutional amendment, did not detract from a truly flexible and liberal political instrument. It is worthy of notice however that the rigidity of the constitution was designed and not accidental and that without it the less informed and more turbulent of the electorate might have deprived the State of a standard form of government which guaranteed stability; and that, secondly, it was the constitutionalist genius of Jan Brand, son of the Cape Speaker, who satisfied the oppugnant 'leierskap' and constitutionalist proclivities of the Free Staters. Brand gone, in 1888, the 'volks-eenheid' principle began to predominate and, favoured by local reaction to the 'scramble for Africa' by European Powers, it won through to close collusion with Krugerism. The Free State, was, then the place where C.N.O. schools were founded. But in neither the Transvaal nor the Free State were the constitutionalists overwhelmed, before or after 1900: the National Convention and the Act of Union, on the contrary, show them in full vigour, and the United Party, primarily an Afrikaner Party, is the principle legatee of the colonial parliamentarians, of the 'Volksraadmense' of the Republics of Natal, Lydenburg and the O.F.S., and of the stabilizing concepts and functions of the Crown and the written 'rigid' constitution.

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.)

"Democratic university life, with its free inquiry and discussion, dies in any land when the police move in."—*Evening Post Comment*, 7/9/57 (5s. to W. P. Jackson, East London).

"Few South Africans will envy the Minister of Finance, Mr. Naude, his present task of persuading those who control capital funds available for investment abroad that, after all, South Africa is a sound bet for at least a limited amount of money."—*Leader in The Star*, 2/9/57.

"The Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, told the Free State Congress of the Nationalist Party to-night that he was not in favour of old-age pensions for Natives. He would prefer a return to the tribal system, whereby the tribe was responsible for the welfare of the old people."—*The Rand Daily Mail*, 12/9/57.

"Armed police entered the hall. The 'posse,' it should be noted, were armed with bayonets, rifles, assegais, knobkerries and pistols." — Report on National Conference of the A.N.C. Youth League in *The Evening Post*, 7/9/57.

"We'll use an iron hand with regard to mixed gatherings aimed at undermining the Government's apartheid policy."—Dr. Verwoerd, reported in *The Star*, 12/9/57.

"The International Press Institute has heard from South Africa lately that more and more editors are becoming disturbed about the Government's attitude to those newspapers that are not associated with the Government Party."—*Evening Post Comment*, 5/9/57.

"One cannot worship in a foreign language. I object to English being rammed down the throats of our school-children at divine services—and that in the Free State of all places."—Mr. P. J. J. Delpont, reported in *The Star*, 12/9/57.

"They (the English) or us will have to go under—no compromise, no diluted Afrikaner nationalism: our whole existence is at stake."—Dr. L. E. Beyers, head of the Dept. of Commercial Law, University of South Africa, reported in *The Sunday Tribune*, 4/8/57.

"Mr. Strijdom said the other day that it was not necessary to obtain a two-thirds majority of the White voters before declaring a republic. What, then, is the proportion of voters that reflects 'the broad will of the people?'"—*Leader in The Rand Daily Mail*, 13/9/57.

"The pretence by the Nationalist minority of Afrikaners . . . that the struggle is between Afrikaners and English has an obvious purpose and should fool no one."—E. McD. Reeve in *The Sunday Tribune*, 4/9/57.

Farmers And The Government

OFTEN when I have mentioned certain actions of our governments, this present one and its predecessors, I have been told that I must have been wrong because no government would be so silly. Nevertheless what I said was quite true. Here are some examples. The story would be amusing if the consequences of what is being done were not so pathetic.

In many, if not all, countries powerful sections of the community form pressure groups which lobby members of Parliament to get legislation passed to favour their special claims. Farmers have been particularly active in this way, with great success, here, as well as in Britain, Australia, and the U.S.A. No government here has ever dared to antagonise the farmers, so they have gone on getting from Parliament more and more favours. These are, of course, at the expense of the rest of the community, as consumers and taxpayers.

During the last World War the farmers' lobby in the U.S.A. was so powerful that it was able to get the Government to guarantee, at an enormously high price, to buy all their produce they could not sell at that price. This stimulated production greatly and the Government was saddled with colossal stocks which, because of the high price, could not be sold at home or overseas. As a result of this action, prices of farm produce all over the world rose to extravagant heights.

In the early thirties, during the depression, because of the widespread poverty in the Union, our farmers could not sell all their crops at a price which they considered remunerative. Instead of looking for the reason why people who were starving, though they were willing to work, were too poor to buy what they needed, and allowing the matter of production and prices to adjust itself as it normally would do, the Government, under pressure from the farmers, set up control boards to raise the prices of farmers' produce. On these boards farmers had over 80 per cent. of the members. The policy was to create an artificial shortage of their produce so as to be able to force up prices. The method adopted was, after an estimate had been made of what could be sold at the desired price, to compel the export of the surplus.

As the price overseas then was lower than the local price, the loss was to be made up by increasing the price to home consumers. In this way they were subsidising the farmers. It followed that the bigger the surplus the greater was the quantity to be exported and the larger the loss which the domestic consumer had to make good in higher prices.

One example of how this worked will suffice. In 1938, the Maize Board fixed the price of maize at 8s. a bag as enough to allow the growers a reasonable profit. To produce the scarcity which would give them that price, the Board decided to compel the export of several million bags. This was done. The price obtained at the coast, after railage had been paid, was 5s. 9d. a bag. The difference between

that and 8s. was to be made up by raising the price to the home consumers (mostly the poorest of the poor) to 12s. a bag. Further the Railways, through carrying the maize to the coast at a loss, lost about £250,000.

The Maize Board has since been so successful in raising prices for farmers that a year or two ago the price was 32s. a bag, exactly four times what was a satisfactory price for them in 1938. It is absurd to contend that the rise in their cost of production justifies such an increase. The contrary is proved by the very great rise in the price of farming land. That rise represents what people consider the great profit, from growing maize at over 30s. a bag, makes it worthwhile paying.

The Board had decided some years ago that there should be a net profit of not less than 10s. a bag after allowing all costs and interest on the value of the land. No wonder the price was raised every year until, under the influence of falling world prices, about two years ago, there had to be a halt in the yearly rises. A slight reduction has been made since then.

Control boards are a guarantee that there will not be any reduction in the cost of living, if they can help it. They have brought about the most ludicrous situations. Mr. Bob Conolly illustrated this in a cartoon before the last war. He showed two ships passing at sea. One was taking our butter to England; the other was bringing butter from there to us! The Board had compelled the export of too much. In any event we have never yet produced enough of this protective food to meet the real needs of our own people.

Before the war the price of butter here was fixed at 1s. 8d. a pound, while what was compulsorily exported was sold, retail, in England at 11d. a pound.

Our sugar growers, being a combine, did not need a board to help them do the same sort of thing. They fixed the price at 3½d. and what they could not sell locally at that price they sent to London where it was sold retail at 2½d. a pound.

The two Fruit Boards have turned this from a fruit-eating to a fruit-starved country. The price of fruit today is prohibitive for the great majority of our people.

Mr. Sauer, the Minister of Lands, recently warned a meeting of farmers that "they were no longer the bosses of South Africa as they were sometimes inclined to think". They still, however, exercise tremendous pressure on the present Government and on the Opposition.

Women have had the vote here for a quarter of a century but they have so far used it to little effect in the economic field. The farmers' control boards are among the first things that need to be tackled in the fight for freedom to produce and to trade and to end poverty. Until that fight is won, malnutrition—a polite euphemism for starvation—and

(Continued overleaf)

NATIONAL COUNCIL MEETING

SEPTEMBER, 1957

"STATEMENTS are frequently being made by some of our members and by people outside the movement that the Black Sash should go into recess until after the election. In the opinion of the Central Executive and, I believe, in the opinion of the majority of our members, this would be a very grave mistake. I do not believe that any one of us believes that we have outlived our usefulness. We have hardly started: we will be needed in South Africa for many years to come."

This was the keynote of the inspiring and forward-looking address with which Mrs. Jean Sinclair, National President, welcomed delegates to the National Council Meeting held in Johannesburg on 17th, 18th and 19th of September.

Mrs. Sinclair went on to say, "When the Women's Defence of the Constitution League was formed in May, 1955, it brought into its ranks many thousands of women of diverse opinions who were united in a common purpose. They were united in their determination to protest against a breach of faith—the Senate Bill. They were united in their love for South Africa. Many of them had never taken any interest in politics; they were concerned with the running of their homes and the bringing up of their children. What future would there be for the children if the Government were allowed to proceed unhampered down a path which would inevitably lead to the destruction of a way of life? That is what united we women, this is what galvanised us into action. That common purpose is the thing which brought us together, which is keeping us together and which must continue to be the guiding light in all that we do."

"Some may have thought the Senate Act was the last straw; some of us were not aware of how badly we were being governed before May, 1955. The events since the Senate Act have left us in no doubt as to the seriousness of the situation—how unjust and immoral are the laws which have been passed, and how the honour and future of the country have been put in jeopardy."

Achievements of Past Two Years

"We have protested against and have drawn attention to all the unjust laws that have been passed since the Senate Act, and there have been many of them. Practically all of them have affected the rights and civil liberties of the Non-European. Most of

FARMERS AND THE GOVERNMENT—(Cont.)

its evil effects will continue. We have been told recently by experts that the death rate from T.B. among the underprivileged non-Whites is 30 times what it is among the privileged Whites. The fight to end poverty is one for us all to join in, if only to put an end to that shocking state of affairs.

F.A.W.I.

them are entirely unjust, discriminatory, unscrupulous, immoral and cruel. It is evident from all this legislation that we are being governed by a junta, whose belief is that the people exist for the benefit of the State, and that the State is not there for the welfare, peace and happiness of all the people.

Mrs. Sinclair reported briefly on Mrs. J. Power's visit to Geneva, as an observer for the Black Sash at the Conference of the International Alliance of Women. Mrs. Power's success had brought home to her, she said, the fact that there is no limit as to what one can achieve with a body of steadfast women who are safe in the knowledge that the cause for which they are striving is a just one.

She was continually being asked, said the Chairman, what the Black Sash was achieving. It was an organisation in which spectacular successes were not always possible, but she gave instances of Nationalist reaction to our tactics, which proved that the Black Sash was hitting them where it hurt most. Listing the actual achievements of the organisation, she mentioned that it had been officially recognised by an International body of standing, that many thousands of women were being informed of the duties of a citizen living in a democracy and the duties of a worker to her political party; that more factual information had been distributed by the Sash over the past two and a half years than by any other organisation, and that efficient workers had been supplied to the political parties.

After the Election?

Mrs. Sinclair said that she had already discussed with the Central Executive what the first assignment for the Sash should be after the General Election. If the United Party were to win the election, the task would be considerably easier; but it was a possibility, if not a probability, that with the new unfavourable delimitation, the present Government would be returned with an increased majority. Then the Black Sash would be of supreme importance to South Africa and plans should be made now to ensure that it could swing into action almost immediately. "Our determination must be obvious, our unitedness an example, our enthusiasm an infection and our will to succeed an inspiration. The Black Sash is unique: let it be one of the main causes of the return of a peaceful and happy South Africa," Mrs. Sinclair said, amid applause.

She concluded her address by outlining the important work to be done in the next few months and stressed the fact that activities should allow of members giving the maximum amount of time to work for their political parties. As this would probably be the last Council Meeting before the General Election, she hoped it would be an inspiration to all attending it and that delegates would go home feeling proud in the realisation that the Black Sash was doing something incalculably worthwhile in the service of South Africa.



Five of the Council members who came from all over the country to attend the meeting in Johannesburg last month. They are (from left to right, standing): Mrs. A. G. Haysom (Natal, Coastal), Mrs. M. G. Pollock (Border), Mrs. H. Spottiswoode (Cape Western), and (seated) Mrs. M. Owens (Cape, Northern) and Mrs. B. Tracey (Lowveld).

General Arrangements

The standard of debate on a wide variety of subjects, over the three days, was of an exceptionally high standard and one of the most encouraging aspects of the Meeting was the extent to which delegates from the country regions took an active part in this debate. To an observer the most significant feature of the whole meeting was the sincere desire on the part of all delegates to understand the difficulties of those Regions with problems at variance with their own, a genuine spirit of helpfulness and tolerance towards widely-differing viewpoints and a determination to arrive at a solution acceptable to all. A great deal of business was dealt with and momentous decisions taken; all in an atmosphere of tolerance and goodwill.

The catering arrangements, in the hands of the Johannesburg Region, were superb and no more hearty vote of thanks was passed than that to the organisers of these arrangements.

We are not free: Freedom doth not consist
 In musing with our faces toward the Past,
 While petty cares and crawling interests, twist
 Their spider-threads about us, which at last
 Grow strong as iron chains, to cramp and bind
 In formal narrowness, heart, soul, and mind.
 Freedom is recreated year by year,
 In hearts wide open on the Godward side.

—James Russell Lowell.

FROM OUR POSTBAG

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

Dear Madam,—I recently spent a holiday in the Federation of the Rhodesias, and have come back convinced that we in the Union have a great deal to learn from what is happening north of our border. Out of many impressions, that which remains most vividly in my mind is the determination on the part of all—not only the legislators—to be absolutely just to the African, without giving him more than he is ready for at the moment. People up there have faced up to the fact that the coming decade will bring with it many changes, some of them uncomfortable, even revolutionary, and they are fully prepared to meet what the years will bring.

Many of the Africans, of course, are inclined to take advantage of all that is being done for them, but these are only the uneducated, backward peoples. Undoubtedly the thinking, intelligent ones are fully appreciative of all that is being offered them, but they, too, have very great problems on their hands. Nobody knows better than they how unready the bulk of their people are to use wisely any power and freedom that is given them, but they will see to it that this ignorant mass does not jeopardise the chances of working out a bright and secure future of all citizens of the Federation.

Perhaps if Dr. Verwoerd and his minions were to make a more detailed study of the Native policy of our northern neighbours, they would realise that there is no greater safeguard against unrest and strife, than the existence of this co-operative, intelligent middle-class of African, which the Federation has had the courage to create.

And it is all being done without rancour, bitterness or recrimination. It is indeed a sad reflection on the present state of our country that I felt a definite sense of relief at being away—even for a short while—from the problems and strife prevalent in the Union.

J. MARTIN (East London).

* * *

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

Dear Madam,—There is one very important question which needs to be thoroughly investigated with a view to reform: I refer to the relationship between the Police and the Native. All too often, the European constable is ignorant of the Native's language and a charge is laid against the Native for things either omitted or committed by him—in Afrikaans—a language which not every Native can speak or understand. Consequently the Native is alarmed and bewildered and frequently subjected to rough and even cruel treatment. Every sympathy is felt for the Police, who have—more often than not—a most difficult task in dealing with the Native (every farmer, like myself, knows that he can be most exasperating), but surely the Police could carry out their duties in this respect with understanding and humanity.

If the Native Administration would make it compulsory for every European constable to be familiar with the Native language in the area to which he is appointed, how many cases of arrest would be carried out in a more humane and intelligent manner? To go further, every **Native** constable should be appointed in an area in which his own language is spoken. Is it not plain to see that—by their constant mishandling of the Native—the Police show neither the sympathy, understanding or intelligence required in their position. Also is the Native not being driven to defiance? Such mishandling as I have described is taking place daily and the situation is becoming more and more serious. Will our Native Administration wake up in time?

OBSERVANT (Northern Transvaal).

* * *

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

Dear Madam,—For some time I have been sending my Black Sash Magazine to an English friend in London. This short extract is from a recent letter of hers.

"Thank you for all Black Sash literature of which I read every word. More, please."

Perhaps other members might send their copies overseas, too, and so help to spread our particular kind of news abroad.

M. PIRIE.

TOEWYDINGSREDE

*M*ET trots en nederigheid verklaar ons ons gehegtheid aan die land van Suid-Afrika, ons wy ons aan die diens van ons land, ons bevestig opnuut ons getrouheid aan die Unie-verdrag, wat ons bymekaar gebring het.

Ons belowe plegtig die ideale te handhaaf waarmee ons Unie besiel was—ideale van onderlinge vertroue en verdraagsaamheid, van die onskendbaarheid van beloftes, van moed vir die toekoms, van vrede en regverdigheid teenoor alle persone en rasse. Ons beloof plegtig om ons te verset teen enige vermindering hiervan, oortuig dat hierdie plig ons opgelê is en dat die geskiedenis en ons kinders ons sal regverdig.

Mag God ons help, op Wie se krag ons ons verlaat.

A Review Of The 1957 Session

(Concluded)

By **GEORGE CLAY**

U.P. CONFIDENT

To add to their discomfiture, the Nationalists in Parliament this year had to face a United Party more self-confident and cohesive than it has been for years. The Government seldom got the better of a debate and it took some nasty knocks from vigorous Opposition speakers.

The Nationalists revealed their embarrassment in the extreme fury of their reaction on occasions. This manifested itself not only in vicious attacks on the Opposition, but in unrestrained "slanging" of clergymen, prominent South Africans—and the Press.

But the English-language Press was more than just a scapegoat this year. It was the target of what seemed to be a premeditated and concerted attack intended to "soften up" public opinion in preparation for some legislative curb on the freedom of the Press.

No Press law saw the light of day this session, but the Government did seem to be preparing the ground for some drastic action in the not-too-distant future.

FLAG DIVERSION

Hard pressed as it was in Parliament, and uneasily conscious of the gathering storm clouds within and around the Nationalist Party, the Government was on the alert for anything that could be used as a diversion. The most magnificent opportunity presented itself with Mr. Barlow's introduction of the Flag Bill.

The Government seized on the flag and anthem issue, linked it with the taking over of Simonstown, and triumphantly called on its supporters to witness its coup as a tremendous stride on the road to the republic.

But this diversion valuable as it was, was not enough to distract the electorate's attention entirely from the fumbings and failures of *apartheid*. The Government had to do something to impress upon the electorate that *apartheid* was still on the march, that although the goal might be uncertain, the motives questionable and the methods increasingly difficult to justify, the policy was still dynamic and decisive.

APARTHEID BILLS

It produced the social *apartheid* Bills: The State-aided Institutions Bill (museum and art gallery *apartheid*); the Separate University Education Bill (university *apartheid*); the Nursing Amendment Bill (nursing *apartheid*); the Native Laws Amendment Bill (church and institution *apartheid*); and the Group Areas Amendment Bill (physical *apartheid*).

This was the window-dressing to hide the shabbiness of *apartheid's* achievements so far.

All these Bills were presented as dealing with the "evils" inherent in social contact between the races; they were supposed to be in answer to public demand.

But the "evils" cited by the Government spokesmen in justification of these Bills were all hypothetical; and all evidence of any "demand" for them fell down under scrutiny.

The Government may in fact have correctly gauged the racial feeling of many of its supporters and correctly deduced the favourable reaction that the *kragdadigde* passing of such laws would have on them.

It may, too, just conceivably be able to fool some of the people for some of the time, by using these laws to tuck the non-Whites a little further out of sight and pretend that they are no longer there.

PRICE FOR S.A.

But even if the Government does succeed in so stimulating racial prejudice by these laws that it wins another election on the slogan of *apartheid*, the price exacted from South Africa in the long run will be painful.

For these Bills have a more sinister significance over and above their window-dressing qualities. They have one thing in common: they aim to eliminate all all points of contact between Whites and non-Whites as human beings.

Dr. Verwoerd proclaimed that the Government's intention was eventually to prohibit all contact between the races except on a basis of master and servant.

When one considers the foundations of *apartheid*, it is obvious why this should be necessary. Nationalist policy is founded on fear; in fact, if fear were eliminated from South African politics, there would be no Nationalist Party.

The Nationalist Government dare not allow White South Africa's sense of "otherness" as the *Transvaler* calls it, to be dissipated by contact on an equal footing, social or intellectual, with non-Whites. Such contact might eliminate the suspicion and fear on which Nationalist power is founded. It might lead Whites to look at non-Whites not as a "menace," but as men and women.

Again it was Dr. Verwoerd who said that too much contact might "blunt the colour feeling" of the Whites.

MAY "GET IDEAS"

And the Government dare not allow non-Whites to mix too freely with Whites for fear that they, in turn, will learn that Whites are only human—and if they made this momentous discovery they might "get ideas above their station."

Because so many of these laws constitute a drastic intrusion by the State into the personal life of the individual they have aroused much resistance among Whites. The English churches have stated flatly that

(Continued on next page)

Another Lost Freedom

THIS is not going to be something about the lost freedoms of which we in the Black Sash already know so much—the Pass Laws, the Group Areas Act, the Passport Law, the Deportation Act and all those stains upon our Constitution. I am going to try to fathom the loss of the greatest freedom of all—particularly to a virile nation like South Africa—and that is the freedom of thought, the ability to think for OURSELVES, because I believe that is the chief symptom of our present national sickness. There is the great mass of people who are told what to think, told what is best for them, and told to do what they are told. They long ago ceased to think for themselves at all and they accept unquestioningly what has been—and is being—dictated to them. They are the chronically sick. The acutely sick are those who have only just begun to think; those who are just waking to the fact that it is now a little late to begin thinking for themselves as they may not have the opportunity of doing so much longer. A little late perhaps, but not too late, to begin to think whether it is better to remain free people or not.

I am going back now in an attempt to diagnose the cause of this national ennui, back to the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries. Jan, John and Jacques all left their different countries for identical reasons—because of political and religious persecution, the loss of personal freedoms, the loss, mainly, of the freedom to think and pray as they and their children wished. They came to this country—new and young and free. Then, when even here these freedoms were threatened — they trekked. That shortly is our history in cause and effect. Once again, to-day, those identical freedoms are being denied us. Where is the magnificent spirit of our forebears? Where the spirit of those men who threw the gauntlet of courage and freedom in the face of dictatorial authority? Within a few hundred years, through sloth and apathy, we have become a subservient people, dictated to by, and obedient to, a political few.

THE 1957 SESSION—(Cont. from previous page)

they will not obey the church *apartheid* law, and other people have said that they will disobey any laws forbidding freedom of association.

If the Government implements these laws, therefore, it will be inviting a conflict between sincere and otherwise law-abiding citizens and the State.

But even more dangerous is the fact that if these laws are applied in the spirit in which they were conceived they will enormously widen the gaps between the races in South Africa, enlarge the no-man's-land in which racial misunderstandings occur, and bring about a final breakdown in friendly relationships between Black and White in South Africa.

That may well be the achievement for which history remembers the 1957 session of the South African Parliament.

I have searched in vain for the germ of this malady. It is not in our blood—our forebears came from the bone and sinew of their nations. Is it our climate, have we become slothful in minds and bodies, anaesthetised by our God-given climate and countryside, have we forgotten how to dig and hew, mentally and spiritually, because we have had a black man or woman to do it for us, have we become, because of these things, mentally turgid? These are ugly thoughts and words, but I have dug deep to try to find the cause. Down the years of our short world history our small Nation has produced its men of calibre, men who have stood comparison with the best of any nation—think of our politicians, statesmen, our soldiers, our scholars and our sportsmen who have enhanced our national reputation by their prowess on whatever field. Compare that with what we have sunk to to-day—to a nation ruled by fear and hate, a nation ruled by a despotic few. Where is the spirit of those hundreds of men and women who faced fearful odds for the right to think and pray as they wished? Where is the spirit of the men of all political creeds who have fought and died on foreign fields in our own century. Is it now to be locked forever in the bosom of the earth? Are those blood-stirring words, "Ons vir jou, Suid-Afrika," only a parody?

We of the Black Sash are trying to make people realise that it's not the people who govern us who are to blame, it is WE, ourselves, the people, who have allowed such a government to rule us, who are to blame. We stand against the deprivation of human rights. It will be a long stand but a resolute one. If there be any who doubt us, let them come to any of our meetings, to a small branch function to raise money, to a vigil or a haunt. There they will find no sign of our deadly national malady.

There is to-day in our ranks an enthusiasm, an indignation and a feeling of personal responsibility which is almost terrifying—a feeling of "far back in creeks and inlets making comes flooding in the main." Is it a resurgence of that spirit of freedom to think for ourselves—the spirit that was born all those centuries ago in Jan and John and Jacques, and culminated in those undying words which rise above a small cemetery in the hills of Italy—"Ons vir jou, Suid-Afrika."

F. M. B.

Question and Answer

Question: What is a referendum? Give an example of its use in South Africa?

Answer: A direct vote by the electorate on a specific issue. Natal accepted Union by referendum in 1909.

Reference: Walker, History of S.A., page 534. Shorter Oxford Dictionary.

Lets Talk About Delimitation

YOU may think that this is a subject that should be left to the people responsible.

When you have read this article you may change your mind.

An Act of 1952 provides that the Governor-General must appoint three Judges of the Supreme Court to act as a Delimitation Commission to sit before each general election. Their job is to divide each of the four Provinces into enough electoral divisions to ensure that each of 150 members of Parliament is elected by approximately the same number of voters in each constituency.

They use a mathematical formula first to find out the number of **seats** that each Province gets. The formula is:

$$\frac{\text{Number of Voters in Province}}{\text{Total Number of Voters in Union}} \times 150$$

In 1952 the Cape was given 54 seats, Natal 15, the Transvaal 68 and the Orange Free State 13.

Next, the Commission works out approximately how many voters in each Province should elect one representative. They divide the total number of voters registered in the Province by the total number of seats for the Province. In 1952, the Cape quota was 10,242 voters per seat, Transvaal 10,193 voters per seat, Natal 10,376 voters per seat and Free State 10,508 voters per seat.

So far, so good.

Now comes the tricky part. The South Africa Act of 1909 says: "Each Province shall be divided into electoral divisions in such a manner that each such division shall, subject to the provisions of Sub-Section 3 of this Section, contain a number of voters as nearly as may be equal to the quota of the Province."

That seems completely fair and reasonable. But let us examine Sub-Section 3. Sub-Section (3) of Section 40 provides as follows: "The Commissioners shall give due consideration to—

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

All the Delimitation Commissions, hitherto, seem to have accepted the principle that rural seats were **as of right** entitled to a substantial unload at the expense of a heavy loading of town seats. The ninth Delimitation Commission of 1948 pointed out, however, that rural seats are **not** as of right entitled to an unload at the expense of urban seats. The considerations laid down in Sub-Section (3) have largely become outdated. Means of communication are excellent, good cars and good roads have overcome distance or physical features, and population sparsity as a handicap to voters in elections. Existing electoral boundaries have been altered so often that they

cannot be deemed to be an important factor. In fact, only community or diversity of **INTEREST** should have any consideration by the new Delimitation Commission of 1957!

Its starting point should be **EQUALITY** as between **ALL ELECTORAL DIVISIONS!**

By reason of loading and unloading the rural constituencies under the 1948 Delimitation in effect **GAINED SIX SEATS** at the expense of the urban constituencies. In other words, had there been no loading, there would have been **SIX MORE TOWN SEATS** and **SIX LESS COUNTRY SEATS**—a difference of 12 seats in all!

When we come to the South West African seats and compare the Orange Free State quota of 10,508 voters to elect **one** member to Parliament, and approximately 3,800 voters of S.W.A. to elect **one** member to Parliament the anomaly is even more marked!

Yet very few South African citizens appear to be disturbed about this—perhaps they did not know? Perhaps we have not really realised the fact that a man's vote can vary in quality **between one country constituency and another**; that it can vary even more greatly between **country** and **town**, and that it varies most between **South Africa** and **South West Africa**. It is better to be a foreigner in S.W. Africa than a citizen of the Union, for a resident of S.W.A. has a vote **THREE TIMES** more powerful than that of a South African!

Is it not time that the citizens of South Africa demanded their rights?

One citizen—one vote!

Each citizen—the **same** vote!

It could surely never have been intended or even contemplated by the framers of our Constitution that a **minority** of the electorate should be enabled, by means of a loading and unloading of the vote, to elect a **majority** of the representatives of the people? In the 1953 elections 763,316 people voted against the present Government and 639,406 people for it. If each citizen had an **equal vote** (which I believe the founders of Union fully intended us to have) the Nationalist Party would not have been the majority party. We have heard a great deal in the past nine years about the Volkswil. The voice of the people was **against the Nationalist extremists**, and though it is muffled by delimitation, it is **still against the policies which are being carried out in its name!** The only way in which the people can speak clearly is when they are given **equal rights**, and I believe that now is the time for all intelligent citizens to demand them! We should demand that each registered citizen should have the same vote, wherever he lives, town or country, Union or South West Africa, and we should go on demanding this until **WE ARE HEARD!**

D.R.

FACT AND FICTION

FICTION:

On 10th September at Bloemfontein, the Prime Minister, Mr. Strijdom, said that South Africa had never before in her history been as prosperous as now.

FACT—SEVERAL FACTS:

Since the War there has been tremendous expansion in South Africa's industrial development, which began as a result of the war and continued in spite of the change of Government in 1948. Economists all agree, however, that the past two years have revealed a slowing down of this development. The Government talks of "consolidation," but economists call it "recession."

Cost-of-living has been rising steadily in the past nine years. Statistics indicate a rise of about 42 per cent. in South Africa, compared with 14.4 per cent. in America, 10.5 per cent. in Belgium, 24 per cent. in Canada. Ask the salaried man if his income has risen accordingly.

Can a country be considered prosperous when the number of civil summonses being issued against its ordinary people is approaching 500,000, as is the case here?

The Government has plenty of money, taken from the taxpayers, of course. They budget for surpluses, £97,500,000 in nine years. Consider how many people in our small white population pay income tax and work out what each one has contributed to this fictitious prosperity.

Cost-of-living allowances were pegged in 1953, but the cost-of-living has continued to rise steadily, so that the aged and the pensioner, whose meagre pensions are worth half their former value, eke out miserable existences in lonely back rooms.

In one year—last year—the value of investments on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange dropped by £219,000,000. Is this prosperity, Mr. Strijdom? Before this Government came into power, a stockbroker's right was worth £5,000. To-day it can be bought for £500. The value of industrial stocks in recent years has gone up 203 per cent. in the United States, and 52 per cent. in Great Britain. In South Africa during the same period, the value has fallen, not risen, by 40 per cent. Is this prosperity?

One Cabinet Minister tells us we need £80,000,000 of foreign capital invested in this country, another feels we can make do with £40,000,000. In fact, last year we got £1,000,000.

Another fact: if the country is so prosperous, why is the Receiver of Revenue so hard at work collecting income tax, when the ink is barely dry on the unhappy taxpayers last cheques? Citizens of a truly prosperous country should not have to pay income tax twice in one year. And what will happen when all that has been squandered by this Government? When will the next assessment come?

(Continued on next page)

FANTASIE EN FEIT

FANTASIE:

Op 10 September het die Eerste Minister, mnr Strijdom, te Bloemfontein beweer dat Suid-Afrika nog nooit in sy geskiedenis so welvarend was as wat nou die geval is.

FEIT—ETLIKE FEITE:

Sedert die oorlog het daar geweldige uitbreiding in Suid-Afrika se nywerheidsontwikkeling plaasgevind. Die oorlog het dit aan die gang gesit, en dit het ten spyte van die verandering van regering in 1948 voortgeduur. Ekonomie is dit egter eens dat die tempo in die afgelope twee jaar afgeneem het. Die regering praat van „konsolidasie,” maar die ekonomie bestempel dit as „agteruitgang.”

Die lewe het in die afgelope nege jaar al hoe duurder geword. Die syfers wat beskikbaar is dui 'n verhoging van ongeveer 42 persent in Suid-Afrika aan vergeleke met 14.4 persent in Amerika, 10.5 persent in België, 24 persent in Kanada. Vra vir die gesalariëerde man of sy inkomste tot dieselfde mate gestyg het.

Kan 'n land moontlik welvarend wees wanneer dagvarings vir skuld byna 500,000 bedra?

Die regering het volop geld—natuurlik afkomstig van die belastingbetalers. Hulle begroot vir oorskotte, £97,500,000 in nege jaar. Dink maar net na oor die getal mense in ons klein blanke bevolking wat inkomstebelasting betaal, en bereken dan hoeveel elkeen aan hierdie fiktiewe welvarendheid bygedra het.

Duurtetoelae is sedert 1953 onveranderd, maar die lewe het deurentyd duurder geword, met die gevolg dat die oues en die pensioentrekkers, wie se karige pensioene slegs die helfte van hul vorige waarde het, 'n ellendige lewe in eensame agterkamers lei.

Binne een jaar—verlede jaar—het die waarde van beleggings op die Johannesburgse aandelebeurs met £219,000,000 gedaal. Is dit dan welvarendheid, mnr. Strijdom? Voor hierdie regering aan bewind gekom het, was 'n effektemakelaar se reg £5,000 werd. Tans kan dit vir £500 gekoop word. Die waarde van nywerheidsaandele het in die laaste jare met 203 persent in Amerika, en met 52 persent in Brittanje gestyg. Gedurende dieselfde tydperk het die waarde in Suid-Afrika gladnie gestyg nie—dit het met 40 persent gedaal. Is dit welvarendheid?

Een Minister beweer dat ons beleggings ten waarde van £80,000,000 uit die buiteland nodig het; een van sy kollegas meen dat £40,000,000 voldoende sal wees en hoeveel het ons verlede jaar ontvang? 'n Karige £1,000,000.

Nog 'n feit: as ons land dan so ryk is, hoe verklaar mens die feit dat die Ontvanger van Inkomste so ywerig is om belasting in te vorder wanneer die arme belastingbetalers se laaste tjeks skaars weggestuur is? Burgers van 'n welvarende land behoort nie verplig te word om tweekeer in 'n jaar belasting te betaal nie. En wat gebeur wanneer al hierdie geld deur die regering verkwis is? Wanneer kan ons die volgende eis verwag?

(Vervolg op volgende bladsy)

Die Stem Van Die Dode

(Hierdie brief is op die dag van sy dood deur die Aartsbiskop van Kaapstad aan die Eerste Minister gerig).

Geagte Mnr. Eerste Minister,

Ons, die biskoppe van die "Church of the Province of South Africa," nader u, liever as die Minister van Naturellesake, omdat ons meen dat die kwessie wat klousule 29(c) van de Wysigingswetsontwerp op Naturellesake bring, nie as bloot Naturellesake beskou kan word nie.

Dit kom ons voor dat, vir sover dit de Anglikaanse Kerk betref, die kerke en gemeentes in elke stedelike gebied in die Unie, selfs dié wat hoofsaaklik deur blankes besoek word, deur hierdie klousule getref sal word.

Voorts is ons die mening toegedaan dat die klousule die kwessie van godsdienstvryheid in die gedrang bring, en veral vryheid in verband met die beoefening van die godsdienst en ons verstout ons om te betoog dat dit 'n saak van wyer omvang as net Naturellesake is.

Ons wil verklaar dat ons die bogenoemde klousule beskou as 'n skending van godsdienstvryheid, deurdat die vergunning van die Minister van Naturellesake 'n voorwaarde gemaak word vir:

- (a) Die voortbestaan van enige kerk of gemeente wat na 1 Januarie 1938 in 'n stedelike gebied, behalwe in 'n lokasie, in die lewe geroep is, wat nie Naturellesake van die openbare erediens uitsluit nie;
- (b) Die hou van 'n diens in enige kerk in 'n stedelike gebied, behalwe in 'n lokasie, waar 'n Naturel toegelaat word indien hy daar aankom en toegang versoek;
- (c) Die bywoning deur 'n Naturel van enige sinode of kerkvergadering in 'n stedelike gebied buite 'n lokasie.

Die Kerk kan nie die reg erken nie van 'n beampte van die wêreldlike owerheid om vas te stel of en waar 'n lid van die Kerk van enige ras (wat nie 'n straf wat sy vryheid van beweging beperk, uitdien nie) sy godsdienstige plig van deelname aan die openbare erediens moet nakom of om aan die leraar van enige gemeente opdragte te gee omtrent wie hy mag toelaat as lid van dié gemeente.

Voorts maak die "Statute of the Church of the Province of South Africa" voorsiening vir die sinodale bestuur van die Kerk. In dié sinodes word biskoppe, priesters en leke verteenwoordig sonder inagneming van ras of kleur. Klousule 29(c) maak die hou van sulke sinodes afhanklik van die toestemming van die Minister van Naturellesake.

Ons besef die groot ernstigheid van ongehoorsaamheid aan de wet van die land. Ons glo dat gehoorsaamheid aan die wêreldlike owerheid, selfs in sake waarin ons van mening verskil, 'n bevel is deur God aan ons opgelê.

Dog ons word beveel om aan die keiser te betaal wat die keiser toekom, en aan God wat God toekom. Daar is derhalwe sommige sake wat aan God behoort

(Vervolg op bladsy 16)

Where Ignorance Is Bliss

Dr. Verwoerd, congratulations!
For, all protests proudly spurning,
You have achieved your dearest wish—
To disinfect our seats of learning;
These, no more, shall authorise
Concepts foreign to our land,
For tolerance and brotherhood
And fellowship, you've firmly banned.

Even the school-child you will save
When nothing shall be left to chance,
No white child meet a child of colour,
No English child, one Afrikaans;
Their ignorance about each other
Should early teach each parted breed
That no South African exists,
Just groups who hate, as is decreed.

Later, though subjects are the same
As those in other colleges,
We're safe, for first upon the list
Is one to prove that knowledge is
A gift to us that must be based
On skin-hate, racial-hate and heart-hate;
Learning is but dust and ashes,
Gleaned apart from true **apartheid**.

Thus shall our seats of learning be
The schools of ignorance as well,
Where those of different race and creed
Tread separate roads that lead to hell;
For is there any other goal
When sign-posts all along the way
Read "Prejudice," "Suppression," "Hate" . . .
Let those who authorise them, say.

TARANTULA.

FACT AND FICTION—(Continued)

It is customary for a Government to present its Budget before a General Election. This Government has decided not to do so in 1958. Can't it be that they dare not? Prosperity, Mr. Strijdom?

M. E. F.

FANTASIE EN FEIT—(Vervolg)

Dit is gebruikelik dat 'n regering sy begroting voor 'n algemene verkiesing moet indien. Hierdie regering het besluit om dit in 1958 nie te doen nie. Durf hulle dit miskien nie doen nie? Welvarendheid, mnr. Strijdom?

M. E. F.

BOOK REVIEW

"THE AFRICAN GIANT." The Story of a Journey.
By **Stuart Cloete** (Collins, 1956). This Book is
in the Johannesburg Public Library.

IF you enjoy travel books, this trip through Africa will hold you entranced. It is full of anecdote and detail, conversations with real people, and descriptions of customs as well as being well illustrated with maps and photographs.

But this is more than a travel book. Mr. Cloete says in his dedication: "I have told the truth as I saw it. Others might see it differently, but what I present is one facet of the transition of a continent from the iron age into the present."

For anyone interested in the development and future of the natives in the Union, Mr. Cloete's trained observation of their treatment, their work, their reactions, in other parts of the continent must be intensely interesting. It delivers a shock to the somewhat parochial outlook so many of us have, with the sudden revelation of the immensity and diversity of the question.

The summing up in the last chapter leaves one thinking deeply.

"The overall picture seemed dark, like a night sky illuminated here and there by stars of faith, honour and incorruptibility. I met Africans I should be proud to call my friends. I met others, highly educated men, who were pretentious fools. I moved

for months in a world of paradox, of devotion, of beauty and horror."

"I had thought that the white man was the black man's problem. I was wrong. The African's problem is to get on without him."

Need I quote more? This book is exceptional and I am sure will be appreciated by any thinking South African.

L. E. F.

DIE STEM VAN DIE DODE—(Vervolg)

en nie aan die keiser nie, en ons meen dat die sake wat in klousule 29(c) behandel word, onder laasgenoemde is.

Dit is omdat ons dit glo, dat ons verplig voel om te konstateer dat, indien die wetsontwerp in sy huidige vorm wet word, ons self nie in staat sal wees om dit te gehoorsaam nie of om de leraars en lede van ons kerk aan te raai om dit te doen nie.

Ons doen derhalwe 'n beroep op u, Meneer, om ons nie in 'n posisie te stel waarin ons sal moet kies tussen gehoorsaamheid aan ons gewete en gehoorsaamheid aan die wet van die land nie.

Die uwe,

(Onderteken namens die Biskoppe van die Church of the Province of South Africa.)

(Signature)

Aartsbiskop en Metropolitan.

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.

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

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- C. Mrs. M. Corrigan, 306 Alexandra Road, Pietermaritzburg.
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- C. Mrs. C. M. F. Lang, 91 Manning Street, Colbyn, Pretoria.
- S. Mrs. A. Rethman, 190 Lisdogan Avenue, Arcadia, Pretoria.

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- Acting C. Mrs. J. Ollemans, 18 Peter Crescent, Bloemfontein.
- S. Mrs. R. Kruger, 4 Van Heyningen Street, Bloemfontein.

SOUTH-EASTERN TRANSVAAL.

- C. Mrs. E. Gouldie, Marievale Mine, P.O. Marie shaft, Transvaal.
- S. Mrs. E. Salters, 8 Excelsior Court, Boksburg.

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- C. Mrs. D. Hill, 41 The Valley Road, Westcliff, Johannesburg.
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