

THE **BLACK SASH**

DIE SWART SERP

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TALK POLITICS!

When bad men combine, the good must associate; else they will fall, one by one, an unpitied sacrifice in a contemptible struggle.

—Edmund Burke

THAT is all very well, but the trouble is that the bad men are always better at combining. In a democracy such as ours in South Africa there is a great tendency to take it for granted that the government is as democratic as we are. This is certainly not true at the moment. It is doubtful whether it is likely to be true within our lifetime. The pressures against a democratic government today or in the foreseeable future are enormous. The drift from democracy is likely to increase, whatever government is in power, but if we want to retain democracy at all, we will have to fight for it.

This means that every single person who is interested in retaining a democratic form of government will have to wake up and realise that it can only be caught now by the tail of its skirt, as it disappears round the corner.

But then comes the question: what can you or I do at any given moment to prevent the country from slipping into a police state? How is this going to be stopped by sitting over cups of coffee after committee meetings? Well, there are several answers to that one. The first answer is that a great deal can be done by talking over coffee cups, as long as they are in the right houses and on the right stoeps. There

PRAAT POLITIEK

Wanneer slegte mense verenig moet die goeies saamstaan; anders sal hulle een vir een val, onbejammerde slagoffers in 'n veragtelike stryd.

—Edmund Burke.

DIT is alles goed en wel, maar die moeilikheid is dat die slegtes altyd beter saamstaan as die goeies. In 'n demokrasie soos ons s'n in Suid-Afrika is daar 'n sterk neiging om dit as vanselfsprekend te beskou dat die regering net so demokraties is as onself. Dit is sekerlik nie op die oomblik die geval nie. Dit is twyfelagtig of dit binne ons leeftyd die geval sal wees. Daar is geweldige magte wat 'n demokratiese regering vandag beveg, en in die voor-sienbare toekoms sal bly beveg. Ondemokratiese neigings sal waarskynlik toeneem, watter regering ookal aan bewind is, maar as ons nog 'n mate van demokrasie wil behou sal ons daarvoor moet veg.

Dit beteken dat iedereen wat die behoud van ons huidige regeringsvorm op die hart dra, moet wakker word en beseft dat demokrasie aan verdwyn is en slegs met die grootste moeite in ere herstel kan word.

Nou kom ons egter voor hierdie vraag te staan: wat kan u of ek doen om te voorkom dat ons land geleidelik 'n polisiestaat word? Kan dit vermy word deur koffie te drink na komiteevergaderings? Nouja, daar is verskeie antwoorde op daardie vraag. Die eerste antwoord is dat veel verrig kan word deur koffie te drink, mits dit in die regte huise en op die

IN A TYRANNY, THE SMALLEST
ACT OF RESISTANCE GIVES
OTHERS COURAGE.

is no point in talking politics to the converted, but if you introduce the subject after dinner when everybody else is complacent the result can be electric and lasting. Talking politics, especially on occasions when it is unpopular, is one of the surest ways of getting people to think politics. In 1940 Mussolini ordered the removal of all the marble-topped tables from the cafes in Rome. He said that people sat around and talked politics, and this annoyed him. Needless to say his order was not obeyed, but the fact is interesting if only to show how scared he was of people merely talking.

The second answer is that an enormous amount can be done by a demonstration or a gesture. The Freedom Radio is a case in point. All law-abiding citizens must deprecate this gesture of defiance, but the fact remains that certain people have found it necessary to make it. The people behind this illegal activity did not wait for what is vaguely known as "a lead." They went right out and did something. We are not advocating similar activities, but we merely mention the Freedom Radio as an example of what can be done by a handful of people who are sufficiently moved to feel that they cannot wait.

One of the bugbears of democracy is conformity. Democracy relies on the theory that one should count heads instead of breaking them. That is perfectly true, but this theory carries with it the danger that one thinks that counting heads is all that is needed. It is also necessary to beat something into the heads that are going to be counted. And one cannot sit back and expect somebody else to do the work.

One of the creations of our time is an amorphous monster known as "They." "They" will look after it; "They" would never dream of allowing such a thing to happen; "They" will stop it before it goes too far; "They" will tell us when "They" want us to do something about it.

The fact is, there isn't any "They." "They" are you.

regte stoepe geskied. Dit help nie om politiek met bekeerdes te bespreek nie, maar as mens die onderwerp na aandete begin bespreek wanneer almal selfvoldaan voel kan die uitwerking dinamies en blywend wees. Om politiek te bespreek, veral by geleenthede wanneer dit onpopulêr is, verseker dat mense oor politiek sal begin dink. In 1940 het Mussolini beveel dat al die marmerbedekte tafels uit die kafees van Roma verwyder moet word. Hy het gesê dat mense aan daardie tafels politiek bespreek het, en dit het vir hom gehinder. Sy bevel is natuurlik nie gehoorsaam nie, maar die geval is interessant, want dit bewys dat die blote feit dat mense gesels het, vir hom bang gemaak het.

Die tweede antwoord is dat 'n betoging of gebaar veel kan bereik. Die Vryheidsradio is 'n voorbeeld. Alle ordeliewende burgers keur hierdie uittartende gebaar af, maar die feit bly staan dat sekere persone dit nodig geag het om die gebaar te maak. Die persone wat aan hierdie onwettige bedrywigheid deelneem, het nie gewag om te sien of andere leiding sou neem nie. Hulle het self opgetree. Ons bepleit nie soortgelyke bedrywigheede nie; ons haal eenvoudig die Vryheidsradio aan as 'n voorbeeld van wat 'n handvol mense kan bereik wanneer hulle reken dat sake so ernstig is dat daadwerklike optrede dringend vereis word.

Demokrasie berus op die teorie dat mens hoofde moet tel eerder as om hulle te breek. Dit is waar, maar die teorie bring die gevaar mee dat die tel van hoofde op sigself as voldoende beskou sal word. Dit is egter ook nodig dat iets in die hoofde geprop moet word voordat hulle getel word. En ons kan nie verwag dat andere hierdie werk moet doen nie.

Een van die skeppings van ons tyd is 'n vormlose monster wat bekend staan as „Hulle”. „Hulle” sal daarvoor sorg; „Hulle” sal nooit toelaat dat so iets gebeur nie; „Hulle” sal dit stopsit voordat dit te ver vorder; „Hulle” sal vir ons daarvan in kennis stel wanneer „Hulle” wil hê dat ons iets daar omtrent moet doen.

In werklikheid bestaan „Hulle” glad nie. „Hulle” is u.

APOLOGY

The Editor regrets that by an unfortunate chance the photographs of Mrs. Till and Mrs. Ohlsson in the August issue were transposed. We apologise sincerely for any confusion caused thereby.

“MADAM CHAIR”

WHEN the Black Sash has finished with us, we, the women of this country, will be considerably nearer the angels than we are at this moment. As, under the influence of our movement, we grow in mental stature and understanding, a host of new virtues will be added unto us and a new standard of female excellence will emerge!

Imagine the woman of the future! Truly feminine—and a shining example of the perfect housewife—in addition she will be logical, wise and well-informed—aware of her civic duties and competent and eager to exercise them. It will be nothing to her to take over the Chair at a difficult meeting. She will have her facts at her finger ends and the situation under control, and she will confound her opponents and disarm all criticism with “the sweet reason of her discourse.” She will rally to all good causes; prejudice and abuse will go down before the vigour of her approach and she and her sister will fight the good fight together in harmony and perfect accord!

Given time, the Black Sash will succeed in producing this new race of superwomen—no one can doubt that for a minute. We meanwhile have to struggle with present problems as best we can, so, before we lose touch with reality by too many glimpses into the Utopian future, let us look back a little and dwell with sympathy on the trials of that band of innocent enthusiasts—the original branch Chairs of the Black Sash movement!

In a moment of high resolve with the words of a Foley or a Sinclair ringing in their ears, they undertook to organise their districts and hurried home glowing with ardour to get on with the job. They may have been somewhat dampened by the family's reception of their news, but the glow probably lasted until after bedtime. Towards the small hours the potential branch Chair awoke—awoke to a clearer realisation of what she had undertaken! And with panic in her breast and her face buried in her pillow she explored all possible avenues of escape, from emigration to suicide, until the dawn broke. However, to do the poor creature justice she stuck to her guns and in any case things looked brighter in the morning light after a constructive chat with the right kind of neighbour. By lunch time, with a donation in her pocket and two unsolicited offers of help, life was positively worth living again!

WHAT SORT OF ANIMAL?

But queries and difficulties cropped up on every side. In the first place—What kind of an animal was a branch Chair? How did it conduct itself? From whence came its authority and how far did that authority extend? One could not go to bed as Mrs. So-and-so and wake up a branch Chair—some process of creation was clearly necessary, but it seemed that she herself must be the creator—she must call into existence first the branch—then the Chair—and combine the two in her own person! It was all too reminiscent of the first chapter of Genesis without

benefit of the Seventh Day, and it was cold comfort to reflect that she had brought these problems down on her own head.

Very soon she found herself ground between the upper and nether mill stones of executive enthusiasm and local apathy. From the executive came a stream of breezy directives, most of them beginning something like this—

“Branch Chairs will please make sure that . . .”
or

“Urgent . . . for the attention of Branch Chairs.”

Meanwhile, by the local firesides this kind of conversation was taking place—

SHE: “I've had **another** letter from Mrs. X! I suppose I ought to **do** something about it.”

HE: “You know my opinion of the Government—throw the lot out, I'd say! But I'm not prepared to see **MY WIFE** running over the countryside dressed up in a black sash!”

Sometimes the response was warmer, and so the branch took shape.

Some of the newly hatched Chairs, of course, were sufficiently experienced not to be harassed by their duties but the majority were apprehensive of the meetings they had to take and shied uneasily

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REMEMBER CHRISTMAS IS COMING

away from the thought of themselves as "Madam Chair." They had been prepared for plenty of hard work and even a mild degree of martyrdom, but it was disconcerting to find that it was not enough to be prepared to act as an individual on strong personal convictions, it was necessary to climb on to the nearest soap box and bear public witness of those convictions, however inadequately. The average woman wilts when she is faced with an audience and plenty of embryo Chairs lost their appetites and their beauty sleep at the thought of those initial branch meetings!

NUISANCE VALUE

Then again, from some points of view it would have been easier to have organised Timbuctoo or the North Pole rather than the immediate neighbourhood. In pre-sash days it had been possible to be a placid citizen of one's chosen plot, living on terms of friendly detachment with the neighbours. One was now committed to disturb the peace, to swoop down like a gadfly on all and sundry, to keep up one's shock tactics until the victim showed some positive reaction! Pleasant social contacts went by the board, a phone call from a branch Chair no longer meant a morning's tennis or a cosy expedition to town; it meant that she was preparing to make a nuisance of herself. Pity the poor branch Chair! She was only too conscious of her rising

nuisance value, but because she was over-keen, on edge, and missing her own relaxations anyhow, she could think of no better remedy than that of redoubling her gadfly activities, until even her best friends sighed when they saw her coming! Her own home was no longer a place of retreat. It was knee-deep in propaganda, the telephone shrilled incessantly and the family was beginning to wear that long suffering look that in her experience always preceded an ultimatum—she felt herself at one with Hamlet in his bitter lament—"The time is out of joint: O cursed spite, that ever I was born to set it right!" She had of course quite lost sight of the fact that no one person can ever put anything "right." One can only bear down heavily on what one believes to be the right side of the scale, and then stop fretting about possible results. If sufficient energy is expended to move a mountain and a few molehills result, one must learn to be grateful for the molehills! A sense of proportion is the redeeming possession of the person who sees that things are wrong and tries to do something about them, and when the Black Sash finally gets round to writing its hand-book on which the future Black Sash super-women will cut their executive teeth, the first chapter should surely be headed "A sense of proportion—and how to keep it."

A BRANCH CHAIR.

Queries From Enquirers

Middelburg, Cape, has sent us a set of eleven questions which they have asked the Black Sash to answer for them every month. This month we answer the first three.

Branches, Regions, or members who feel that they also have questions they would like answered are asked to send them in to the Editor. We do not guarantee to be able to answer all questions put to us, but we will do our best to oblige.

MIDDELBURG, CAPE, asks:

"What is a democracy?"

A democracy is rule of the people for the people by the people.

The operative word is PEOPLE.

In other words, the government should be chosen by all the people, and should truly represent all the people. A democratic government should concern itself with the well-being of all its people, and not that of privileged groups.

With the right constitution a democracy can exist:—

- (a) Under a king.
- (b) Under a president.
- (c) Under a prime minister.

A democracy can exist only:—

- (a) When its people can move about freely.
- (b) When its people can speak openly and fully.
- (c) When its people can associate freely.
- (d) When the people can express their opinions by voting.
- (e) When all its people are subject to the same just laws.

The Black Sash now asks a counter question: "Is South Africa a democratic country?"

MIDDELBURG, CAPE, asks:

How many votes were polled in the last general election?

- (a) By the Government?
- (b) By Opposition Parties?

The Government polled approximately
600,000 votes for **86 seats.**

The Opposition polled approximately
700,000 votes for **44 seats.**

Two Government seats were returned unopposed. Eighteen Opposition seats were returned unopposed.

South West African voters elected six members with votes worth **three times** as much as the South African citizens.

In round figures, estimating the unopposed seats, the Government won 94 seats with 639,400 votes, the Opposition 62 seats with 763,000 votes.

The Government represents less than half the white and less than one-tenth of the whole population of the country.

THE BLACK SASH asks:

"Is this a sane system of voting in a democracy?"

MIDDELBURG, CAPE, asks:

Has the Opposition a **fair** representation in the present Senate, and therefore Parliament?

The answer is "no", and the explanation as follows:

The old method of election to the Senate.

By the Senate Act of 1955 for elections to the Senate. Prior to that Act each Province elected eight senators, the electors being the M.P.s and the M.P.C.s for the Province sitting together and voting on the P.R. system. This ensured representation for the minority in each Province, except in the O.F.S. where the system of voting for M.P.s and M.P.C.s had prevented any party but Nationalists getting any seats.

The P.R. system was abolished by the Senate Act because under it the Nationalist Government could not get the necessary two-thirds majority at a joint sitting of the Assembly and the Senate to remove the Coloured voters from the common voters' roll in the Cape. The Senate Act abolished P.R. for the election of senators so that the Nationalists could give themselves all the seats in the Cape, the Transvaal, and the Free State, abandoning, as they had to do under this system, all the eight seats in Natal to the Opposition. In this way the Nationalists were able to get their two-thirds majority although at the election for Parliament they obtained 150,000 fewer votes than the opposition parties. That was the complete antithesis of a true proportional representation of the wishes of the electorate.

The new method of election to the Senate.

The Governor-General nominates sixteen Senators.

It increased the number of Senators to be elected in the Transvaal from eight to twenty-seven, in the Cape from eight to twenty-two, and left Natal and the Orange Free State with the original eight each.

It changed the method of election to **one non-transferable** vote for each elector. This means that an Opposition member, voting for his party candidate, loses the chance of using his vote again, when his choice is defeated, for a man acceptable to both groups.

It means that the Opposition is **not represented at all** in the Transvaal, Cape and Orange Free State, and that the Government is not represented at all in Natal.

The new Senate totals eighty-nine members, and the Opposition in it is represented by eight Natal Senators and possibly four Native Representatives.

No. The Opposition is **not** fairly represented in the reconstituted Senate.

Further, the new Senate's unbalance constitutes a negation of a democratic form of government.

Those Freedoms

BELOW we publish a list of those freedoms which are necessary for a healthy democratic nation. Beneath each one is printed the titles of those Acts which threaten to attack them, or have removed our enjoyment of them.

1. **Freedom of Speech.**
Riotous Assemblies Act.
Suppression of Communism Act.
Customs Act.
Criminal Law Amendment Act.
Public Safety Act.
Native (Urban Areas) Amendment Act.
2. **Freedom of Assembly.**
Riotous Assemblies Act.
Suppression of Communism Act.
Public Safety Act.
Amendment 1955 to Criminal Code.
Native Location Regulations.
3. **Freedom of Movement.**
Suppression of Communism Act.
Group Areas Act.
Passport Regulations Amendment.
Departure from the Union Regulation Act, 1955.
Natives (Urban Areas) Amendment Act.
New Deportation Bill.
4. **Freedom of Association.**
Industrial Conciliation Act (as now amended).
5. **Freedom of Employment.**
Natives (Urban Areas) Amendment Act.
Suppression of Communism Act.
"Locations in the Sky" Act.
6. **Freedom of Access to the Courts.**
Suppression of Communism Act.
Citizenship Act.
Public Safety Act.
Prohibition of Interdicts Act.
Natives (Urban Areas) Amendment Act.
7. **Sanctity of the Home and Family.**
Suppression of Communism Act.
Group Areas Act.
Population Registration Act.
8. **Freedom of Choice re Medium of Education.**
Transvaal Education Ordinance.
9. **Constitutional Infringements.**
"The Unmentionable Act."
S.A. Act Amendment Act.
Separate Representation of Voters Act.
Public Safety Act.
Separate Representation of Voters Amendment Act.

We shall discuss their operation, briefly, in further issues.

DIE KLEURKRISIS EN DIE WESTE

DEUR DR. B. J. MARAIS

MISKIEN is daar ten opsigte van rassebeskouings, oordele en vooroordele, geen enkele begrip waaromheen daar soveel dwaalleer en legende gewef is as rondom die begrip **bloed** nie.

Op baie maniere dui ons taalgebruik aan hoe fundamenteel die rol van bloed beskou word in die oordra van rasse-eienskappe en selfs nasionale kultuur. Op die een of ander misterieuse wyse sou al die dinge in die bloedstroom van 'n ras verborge lê en van geslag tot geslag oorgedra word.

Die bloedstroom van 'n familie, volk of ras word soms voorgestel asof dit min of meer die draer is van alle potensialiteite waartoe daardie besondere familie, volk of ras in staat is. Dit sou van die **bloed** afhang wat die moontlikhede vir ontwikkeling is. Ons praat dan ook graag van **blou** bloed, of van 'n **vol**-bloed perd, en in Engels van „half-bloods.” By ons sê ons selfs hy het **swart** bloed of **baster**-bloed of **gemengde** bloed in sy are. En dan voel ons dat dit van die betrokke persoon 'n bepaalde soort meerderwaardige of minderwaardige „tipe” maak. Die bloed is reg of dis nie reg nie. Onder ons ouer families is dit 'n term wat 'n mens bykans elke dag verneem. In diereteelt word die term ewe wyd en betekenisvol gebruik om minder- of meerderwaardigheid of gelyk- of anderssoortigheid aan te dui.

Gedurende die afgelope dekades is daar besondere nadruk gelê op hierdie misterie van bloedgebondenheid t.o.v. die rasseleer.

Selfs in wetenskaplike en sg. wetenskaplike kringe is daar op baie onverantwoordelike wyse oor hierdie onderwerp geskryf en gepraat. Rondom die bloedidee is groepe mense teen mekaar opgesweep of teen mekaar afgespeel. Agter alle uiterlike ooreenkoms of verskil sou daar die **bloed** wees wat beslis, wat saambind of verdeel. Die sg. bloedlyn van mense is tot by die derde en die vierde geslag nagevors om seker te wees dat daar nie êrens „onsuiwer” of „minderwaardige” bloed ingekom het nie.

Dit word dikwels voorgestel asof die **bloed** die besondere erfenis is wat die kind van die ouer ontvang, dat sy toekomstige lewenspatroon in 'n groot of selfs beslissende mate deur die bloed wat hy van sy ouers erf, bepaal word. Min bewerings behels minder waarheid en word tog so algemeen aanvaar en met soveel emosionele gloed in woord en geskrif aangewend.

Vir baie mense sal dit 'n verrassing wees om te verneem dat die wetenskap tot vandag toe nog hoegenaamd **geen** verskil in die bloed van verskillende „rasse” kon aandui nie. Die bloed van alle rasse is eenders en dieselfde. Die wetenskap word in hierdie verband vandag die prediker, en wat hy preek is die ou Bybelse woord. „God het uit **één** **bloed** al die nasies van die aarde gemaak.”

Natuurlik kan alle mense se bloed in vier bloedgroepe verdeel word (A, B, AB+O). maar dit het niks met kwaliteit te doen nie, bloot met kwantiteit. En hoewel die een of ander bloedgroep meer dikwels

by sekere volke voorkom, kom alle bloedgroepe dikwels by alle volke of rasse voor. Die wetenskap weet vandag dat daar, vir sover die mens kan vasstel, hoegenaamd geen verskil is tussen die bloed van verskillende rasse nie. Die bloed van alle mense is in alle opsigte dieselfde.

Professor H. S. Jennings van Johns Hopkins wys daarop dat die oorerwing van eienskappe nie so eenvoudig is as wat ons dit soms vir ons voorstel nie en dat dit nie deur die bloed bepaal of gedra word nie. „Characters are not inherited at all; certain material which will produce a particular character under certain conditions is inherited. There is no such thing as a unit carrier of characters.” Met ander woorde daar is geen fisiese predestinasie nie, iets wat altyd die hoop en fort was van die voorstanders van die rasseleer.

Behalwe die feit dat die bloed van alle mense eenders is, is daar die tweede, belangrike faktor om te benadruk, nl. dat **bloed geheel en al niks te doen het met die oordra van erflikheidseienskappe nie**. Die geloof dat die bloed die draer is van sekere rasse- of familie-eienskappe, het hoegenaamd geen werklikheidsgrond nie. Bloed het met die hele saak niks te doen nie. Dobzhansky en andere het hierdie feit bo enige twyfel gestel.*

*Vgl. Jacques Barzyn: **Race: A Study in Modern Superstition**, p. 14. “The blood of neither parent is directly communicated to the offspring.”

Daar bestaan hoegenaamd geen grond vir die ou bygeloof dat die bloed van die verwagte moeder oorgedra word in die kind nie. Daar is geen oorgang van bloed tussen verwagte moeder en kind nie. Die kind maak sy eie bloed en dit kan aangetoon word dat die bloed van die kind verskil van sowel die bloed van die vader as die bloed van die moeder.

Nie in bloed nie, maar in genes-distribusies lê die erflikheidspatroon opgesluit. Hierdie studierigting het reeds vër gevorder. Strandskov se verklaring vind vandag baie wye steun: „All in all, the study of human gene-distributions promises to be one of the most fruitful avenues of research which has been opened up in the field of human biology within recent years.”

Elke geslagsel van dieselfde individu verskil wat genes betref, en omdat daar so 'n verbasende verskeidenheid van genes bestaan en die verskillende moontlikhede en kombinasies so oneindig groot is, is dit baie onwaarskynlik dat twee individue, behalwe identiese tweelinge, ooit dieselfde kiemplasmas sal hê. Selfs broers en susters het verskillende oor-geërfde eienskappe.

Die ou rasseleer wat gegrond was op die opvatting dat 'n groep of ras sy erflikheidseienskappe deur gemeenskaplike bloed ontvang het, het in 'n tyd ontstaan toe mense nie geweet het van die bestaan van genes nie. Toe is geglo dat die bloed van die ouers „meng” en dat die bloed van die kind tussen

dié van die twee ouers lê. Namate ander bloedtypes met dié van 'n sekere groep vermeng deur ondertrouery, sou daar 'n gemengde groep of ras ontstaan. As 'n besondere groep egter vir 'n lang periode nie deur „bloed” van buite beïnvloed word nie, sou dit al meer eenselwig word en ontwikkel in 'n besondere tipe of 'n „suiwer” ras.

Om saam te vat: Daar bestaan met ander woorde nie so iets as minder- of meerderwaardige bloed nie, en die hele filosofie wat op bloed gebou is as draer van erflikheidseienskappe berus op sand, of minder as sand—dit berus letterlik op **niks**. Al wat die wetenskap die mens in verband met bloed kan leer, is 'n herbevestiging van die groot woord van die Nuwe Testament dat **alle** mense uit één bloed is, afgesien van ras, taal, kleur of kultuur. Ons het **dieselfde** bloed in ons are.

FANTASIE EN FEIT

FANTASIE:

Toe mnr. Strydom onlangs van Jan Smuts lughawe na Engeland vertrek het, was daar 'n man met 'n Vierkleur in sy hand. Toe 'n vreemdeling hom vra: „Watter vlag is dit wat u hou?” was die antwoord: „Dit is ons vlag, die Vierkleur, wat die Britte in 1902 van ons weggenem het. Ons sal nie rus totdat dit aan ons teruggegee is nie.”

FEIT:

Die man glo dat hy namens die Afrikanervolk praat. Het hy al ooit nagedink oor wat die Vierkleur werklik was? Die historiese feit is dat in 1899 met die uitbreek van die Anglo-Boere-oorlog, was die Vierkleur die vlag van één deel van Suid-Afrika, die Suid-Afrikaanse Republiek onder President Kruger. Die Vrystaat het sy eie vlag gehad, en die Kaap en Natal was kroonkolonies onder die Britse vlag. Op grond waarvan kan die Nasionaliste van die Transvaal beweer dat die Vierkleur die vlag is waaraan alle Afrikaners trou verskuldig is, en hoe kan hulle probeer om hierdie vlag op die hele land af te dwing? Die Vierkleur is nie die simbool van nasionale eenheid nie, maar wel van 'n valse sentimentaliteit wat deur Strydom en sy kliek gebruik word om die dominasie van die Transvaal in die Nasionale Party te bevorder.

Who are the "Black Sash"?

SOUTH AFRICAN WOMEN VOTERS WHO INHERIT DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS AND ARE THEREFORE PREPARED TO SHOULDER THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF DEMOCRACY, AND WHO STAND TOGETHER TO PROTECT THIS HERITAGE FOR THEIR CHILDREN.

REGIONAL REPORTS

PORT ELIZABETH

ON Friday, 10th August, Port Elizabeth had its first visit from Dr. Verwoerd. About 40 women lined up at the Port Elizabeth Airport to meet his plane. Forty is a far cry from the 16 we mustered last year at the same time to meet Senator De Klerk. We saw him off and, as it was Saturday afternoon, there were close on 50, with four from Addo, who had felt it most worth while to come 35 miles to stand with us on this occasion. The wind blew at gale force and as cold as the arctic, but no one complained or dropped out during the half-hour wait. Since we broke our membership up into branches in P.E., the arrangements seemed to go very smoothly indeed, for “sashing” these ministers. We noticed about four of the Minister's supporters seeing him off.

* * *

LOWVELD

Pilgrims Rest: It has been decided that Pilgrims Rest and Graskop will amalgamate into one branch, with Mrs. Loseby as Chairwoman, as Pilgrims Rest found it impossible to form a sufficiently strong committee after the loss of the Chairwoman, Mrs. Kuyper. Owing to the closing down of the mines, Pilgrims is losing members daily. Every effort is being made to discover their future addresses, which will be forwarded to their new regions. The amalgamation should be very successful, as Graskop was too far from Sabie for many members to attend meetings there.

OSCAR No. 2.

THIS month our congratulations go to the Natal Midlands Region, especially to Pietermaritzburg itself, on its magnificently organised Protest Meeting on 31st July. About 750 people were present in the City Hall, and heard speeches by Mrs. Nell Green, Acting-National Chairman of the Black Sash, Professor G. Durrant, General Selby, and Mr. Alan Paton.

To advertise this important event, local members of the Black Sash went from house to house distributing leaflets.

The spirit behind those who arranged this meeting was aptly described by Herbert in the early seventeenth century.:

Dare to be true: nothing can need a lie;

A fault which needs it most, grows two thereby.

The Editor regrets that Phyllis Lewsen's "Union" and the Hon. Justice Lucas' "Parliamentary Terms and Usages" have had to be held over for the October issue.

MEET THE BLACK SASH

Further Members of Northern Transvaal Regional Executive and Country Organisers



Mrs. TAYLOR



Mrs. LOMBARD

MRS. ZACKIE TAYLOR studied, and is a Demonstrator of, Domestic Science. She was the first woman to be elected Vice-Chairman of the Louis Botha Home, and is a Foundation Member of this home for orphans. She was organising Secretary for the W.S.A.P. at its inception and has worked for most charitable organisations in Pretoria.

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MRS. BETTIE LOMBARD was born at Bredasdorp in the Western Province, and came to live in Pretoria in 1933. She was educated at the Girl's High School in Pretoria and Potchefstroom, and afterwards worked at the Directorate of Demobilisation. She was married in 1946 and has one son of four months.

MRS. ESTELLE LANE grew up in the Eastern Free State and Basutoland. Marrying a Banker, she has lived in all the provinces of the Union, except Natal. Her first deep interest was the National Council of Women, and she became actively engaged in work for the S.A.W.A.S., Toc H and the S.A. Gifts and Comforts during the War. Her eldest son was wounded and captured at Sidi Rezegh, and her younger son, John, a S.A.A.F. Pilot, was killed in action over Alamein.

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MRS. BLANCHE MITCHELL is Chairman of the Tuinplaas-Settlers Branch. While her husband was on active service in World War II, Mrs. Mitchell ran their farm alone and educated their small son. At the same time she was Adjutant of the Nutfield Branch of the S.A.W.A.S. Since then she has served periods as Chairman and Secretary of the Women's Section of the Transvaal Agricultural Union in this area. Her son was awarded his M.A. degree at the beginning of the year.



Mrs. EALES



Mrs. SWART

MRS. YVONNE YORK EALES was born in Cape Town. During the war she was a Captain in the W.A.A.F. and held the responsible post of O.C.W.A.A.F. She assisted in the repatriation of wives and children of R.A.F. personnel, on the cessation of hostilities. For her services she was awarded the King's Commendation. Mrs. Eales, who has lived in Pretoria since her marriage, is the mother of two teenage daughters.

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MRS. M. E. SWART, of Potgietersrus, was born in London and educated at St. Felix School and Reading University. Owing to ill-health she left before qualifying for a degree and came to South Africa to convalesce. Here she met her husband, a farmer and also a worker at Zaaiplaats Tin Mine—so she is nowadays a farmer herself! She has been active in politics since the early days of the last war and joined the Black Sash soon after its inception. She has a grown up daughter and son, and two schoolgoing sons.



Mrs. LANE



Mrs. MITCHELL



MRS. MARGARET SIME was born in Johannesburg and educated at Roedeian School. She went to Studley College in England to take a course in Agriculture, returning later to manage her father's farm in the Northern Transvaal. She served in the W.A.A.F.'s for five years during the war, and then ran a small holding in the Cape Flats with three other ex-W.A.A.F.'s for a few years. She joined the Black Sash after an informal meeting held in an hotel bedroom by members from Pretoria after a first Black-Sashing of Mr. Strydom there—and has done magnificent work in the Northern Transvaal in opening up the country districts.

Mrs. LE ROUX

Mrs. CLOGG

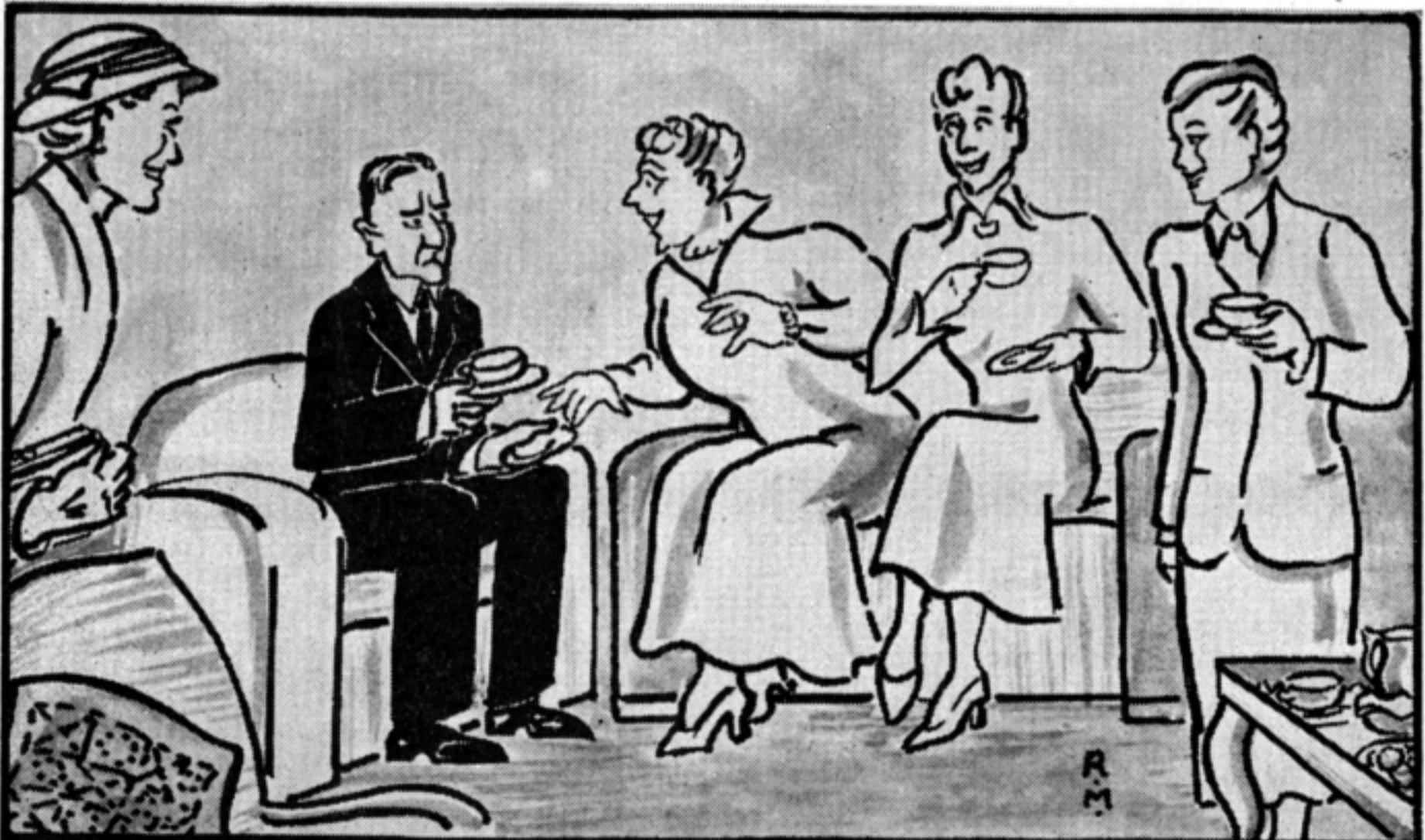
MRS. PHILIPPA LE ROUX. People are her main interest. Perhaps this is as well, for she is a journalist by profession and works in Pretoria on the local branch of a Johannesburg newspaper. Curious by nature, she likes to know what makes people "tick" and why they work, think and act as they do. She also has a deep love of music and art, and is a keen gardener. Her son is aged 5½ years.

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MRS. SHEILA CLOGG looks after the News Letter distribution in Pretoria and the Northern Transvaal. Until quite recently she ran a small art shop. She has three daughters.



Mrs. SIME



English Hostess: "Now Mr. Strydom do tell us all about the dear Black Sash..."

WHAT THEN SHALL WE DO?

To the Editor of the Black Sash

PARLIAMENTARY democracy has ceased to function in South Africa. Some people believe that this is for lack of a critical electorate, but this is only a small part of the truth.

The basic reason is that it never existed. At best, the Union had an elective oligarchy composed virtually of Europeans only. Sooner or later, parties elected by a white electorate, will appeal to the sectional, racial prejudices of such voters; and then even the limited virtues of benevolent paternalism (of Christian trusteeship), as it affects the unenfranchised majority of the South African population, will disappear. That has now happened. Differing only in degree, not kind, both main parties stand for white domination.

However, if this were all, it is conceivable—**t**heoretically, at least—that a pressure group or popular movement like the Black Sash, dedicated to the universal moral principles of a common humanity, could in time persuade a majority of white voters that their self-interest, no less than their professed ideals, requires a rather less immediately selfish approach to the problems of a multi-racial society.

But in South Africa today there is no chance of the will of such a majority of voters prevailing, even if, as is far from certain, they could be so persuaded. The main reason for this is the far more even spread of Nationalist voters throughout the country, compared to huge, useless Opposition majorities in a diminishing number of city areas. The loading of the vote against the towns adds slightly to this same end. Secondly, by its tight hold on the education of Afrikaner youth in Church and segregated schools, by its fervent appeals to blood, emotion and group-patriotic sentiments (the Blood River celebrations, the Voortrekker movement, the Pretoria centenary, etc.), by its calculated campaign against the un-South African (and un-Afrikaans) influences in Press, cinema, radio and its refusal to consider introducing television (whose programmes would have to be largely imported), Nationalist leadership has done much to isolate Afrikanerdom culturally. The effect of this shows in the much higher percentage of Afrikaner youth that is Nationalist than is the case with their parents. In time Afrikaners will pay a terrible price for the extent to which they have been cut off from the twentieth century world. But, for the foreseeable future, the grip of political Nationalism on the largest and most prolific of our white groups will not be shaken.

Finally, even if these two factors of the spread of voters, and Afrikaans political and emotional isolation, could be remedied in some unforeseen way, there is ample evidence to believe that the Nationalist Party would rig the vote—either by new delimitation

of constituencies, further loading, disfranchisement of “un-South African elements” or other forms of electoral gerrymandering—so as to prevent an adverse “will of the people” finding its expression in a parliamentary majority. For the present such measures are not at all necessary. The Government is immensely secure, in terms of votes, within the present electoral framework, and the United Party is deluding itself, if no one else, when it pretends to the contrary. As things now are, the Government can retain a bare parliamentary majority with as little as 35 per cent. of the total poll. In 1948 it obtained 42 per cent. In 1953, when the Opposition had more funds and enthusiasm than it ever had before and may ever have again, the Nationalists still advanced to 46 per cent. of the votes cast. Today there are good reasons for supposing they could top 50 per cent. The swing needed to get them out is enormous and unlikely to be achieved for many general elections.

Even if, therefore, there were more signs than there are that the Opposition really wishes to oppose **a**ll the immoral policies of the present Government, affecting non-whites as well as whites, parliamentary democracy is dead in South Africa today. For to be alive it requires, among other things, a reasonable possibility of ousting the Government by the normal electoral process. That is not a prospect before us today.

What then shall we do? To protest against every unjust and immoral law is necessary, however tedious, lest the nation's conscience succumb to the sheer weight of repetition and apathy. To try and convert the present parliamentary “shadow-boxing” into a real fight over fundamental principles, it is essential to force the United Party to cease “fence-sitting,” even at the risk of considerable immediate electoral injury. It cannot win anyhow. Its choice is between hanging on to its declining support and ambiguous policies, in which case it has a comfortable minority for the present and no future; or clearing the dead wood and ambiguity, losing some more ground now, and eventually earning a stake in the future.

This is the same choice that, in a different way, faced the Black Sash. Formally protesting against Government laws and Opposition weakness is not enough. If we are sincerely convinced that parliamentary democracy has broken down, we must seek extra-parliamentary methods of action, or deserve the Government we have got. Thus I am sure that the Black Sash has done right in following the logic of its initial stand against the Senate Act.

Exactly where this will lead you, and how, cannot now be foretold. You could not restrict your activities to issues concerning White and Coloureds alone, without betraying the whole moral basis of your

stand. The Torch Commando said that "what was morally wrong can never be politically expedient," but itself yielded to expedient timidity, as many feared you were about to do. You are surely wise to extend your operations to the whole field of government, central, provincial and municipal.

As you enter this new and wider political life, you will, of course, shed some members, who were prepared to fight for an all-white constitution (with token non-white representation) but not to incur the odium of standing up for non-white rights as such. You will encounter not only obloquy and abuse from expected quarters, but distrust from those with whom you now want to fight but who are not yet certain of your bona fides. You will also meet a number of new problems about which many of you will have, at best, very confused views. You will have to straighten out your ideas gradually. There will be new friends to help you, who have passed this way before, and who will be content to let you find your own pace, once they know you are travelling the same road. There is no need to fear the taunt of "fellow-travelling." You are returning to the main stream of Western, Christian civilisation, which South Africa has deserted.

Above all considerations, you will find in your own consciences a new freedom from all the tangles of

the past. It will not come at once, because new confusions will replace our "traditional" compromises with principle. But as these are resolved, it will come beyond doubt. I can best illustrate it by asking some of you to read the Hansard report of the debate on the Banishment Bill last session. There you will see not only the presumptuous and arrogant prevarications that served the Government for arguments, but also the split-mind of the official Opposition, even in one of its best performances. With these you can contrast the ease with which the tiny Labour and Liberal parties rebutted the Government's case, because their own basic assumptions were morally sound.

I would commend to you especially Mr. Hepple's calm acceptance of the term "agitator," on the grounds that all the rights and freedoms for which we fight today were won for us by the agitators of the past among our own ancestors. Now leaders of our non-white peoples are seeking those same liberties and rights, status and opportunities for their descendants. They, and we, are all "agitators" today. Let us accept the title in the hope that we shall prove worthy of it in the fight for the soul of South Africa.

C. W. M. GELL

THREADS FROM THE SASH

A writer from **Port Elizabeth** says: "I met a pro-Government gentleman yesterday, who said after quite some discussion, "Well now, I understand better. Why do you not put these aims of yours into the Afrikaans papers?" I said that no letter of ours had been accepted by "Die Oosterlig." He said his father worked in "Die Burger" and was sure that he would publish them. How to get our aims across to them is hard. He actually asked, "Why don't we wear a white sash for white unity!"

* * *

WRITING of a Black Sash tour of the **Transkei** recently, my correspondent says of a well-attended meeting at one town: "My friend and I had never in our lives spoken in public before, and we had not anticipated meeting more than three or four for an informal talk, so it was something of an ordeal. . . The response almost overwhelmed us . . ." Later, in a larger town, they were introduced to an audience thrice that number, but having gained courage at their first encounter they spoke out bravely! My correspondent says, "It was wonderful to see the interest in our audiences' faces—it brought out something unexpected in oneself, for normally I would have gibbered with nerves at having only my own voice sounding among all those strangers."

We of the Black Sash know well this metamorphosis from timid shyness to courageous public avowal—whether it be the wearing of a Black Sash or the public statement of our beliefs. South Africa will one day be as proud of our women, as we are proud of them now.

The **Cape Eastern Region** continues to forge ahead. We hear that new branches have now been formed at Plettenburg Bay and Redhouse, and that great hopes are being entertained about Jefferies Bay, Mossel Bay, and Oudtshoorn.

If you glance at a map and see the extent of the spread of the Black Sash from Mossel Bay to Grahamstown, you will realise why we so admire the dynamic group which controls this region!

* * *

ON one of our haunts an elderly lady from **Holland** said that she and her husband had immigrated out here, only to return to Holland after three years. Whilst they were there, they read about the Black Sash movement, and were very impressed with the cinema newsreel of their demonstrations. They became so enthusiastic that she said to her husband, "There is something that we can do. We will go back to South Africa, and I will join the Sashers!" And she did.

* * *

A MOST successful haunt, composed of members of **Estcourt, Mooi River, Ladysmith and Pietermaritzburg** Sashers, was held in Weenen when Mr. Sauer paid that historic little place a visit last month. It had to be seen to be believed to what lengths a Minister will go to avoid walking past the accusing eyes of Black Sash women. He not only avoided them by using the back entrance of the hotel, but even jumped into another car, and made the occupants of that car get out and get into his car from which the pennant was flying!

THE CITIZEN AS ELECTOR

BY PROF. E. F. W. GUY VAN PITTIUS

[Professor E. F. W. Gey van Pittius, of the University of Pretoria, is the author of "Aktuele Politieke Vraagstukke," from which this passage is taken by courtesy of himself and the publisher, J. L. van Schaik, Limited, Pretoria.]

AS the Afrikaner must reject any arrangements which control the citizen from the cradle to the grave, it is obvious that the ordinary citizen must play an important rôle in public life. It has already been shown that, according to our beliefs, the individual has not only duties, but rights too.

The citizen enjoys these rights not for self-glorification but in order to realize the best in him and so make the greatest possible contribution to the enrichment of the community.

From the nature of the case, the life of every man has two aspects. The one has to do with him as individual, as a man, as a thinking being. It concerns his private life. It is in this that one man is different from another: in this exists his value as an individual. The kind of house that he wants to build, the food he chooses, the furniture of his home, his church, his games—all these things centre round his personality. Whereas, in his office, in the factory, at an agricultural congress, he is but "one of many," in his home life or in his circle of friends he acquires more individuality. And this is one of our greatest blessings, in spite of our machine age that tends to make a man more and more a cog in the machine or a number. This soul-killing uniformity which is such a characteristic of the twentieth century is to a great extent responsible for the emergence of such tendencies as Fascism and National Socialism. Where the man in the street performs the same monotonous work day after day under strict supervision, where he returns home each night to a suburb in which the houses are so alike that he must look at the number to make certain he is not going into the wrong one, where he must furnish his home with the monotonous furniture that comes from mass-production, where his wages are low, it can well be realized that he seeks an escape from his soul-destroying existence by putting on some uniform or other after work, attending parades in the open air, and even holding some rank or other in the activity. All these things are a kind of compensation. It is precisely one of the most important tasks of the democracies to ensure the enjoyment of the highest degrees of personal freedom and individuality, which make life so rich and colourful.

In such personal matters there ought to be the least possible control from the side of authority. In such matters the conventions should be limited to the absolute minimum required for the general good. For example, as far as the materials of a dwelling house are concerned, and its lighting, and so on,

certain standards must be complied with, for the experience of years has shown that they are absolutely necessary for reasons of health. For the same reasons, a person could, for example, be forbidden to keep a cow in his back yard in a large town. However, when someone begins to lay down rules for other members of his family, everything cannot be left to his arbitrary will. Thus a father, who does not realize the value of education for his child and would rather see him go to work young, can expect that the state will force him to send his child to school. Similarly, if I like to make so much noise at night that my neighbours cannot sleep, I have no complaint if I am forced into silence.

This concept can be expressed thus in general terms: In my private life I have a right to the maximum of freedom, provided that I do not harm anyone thereby and that I do not invade the same freedom enjoyed by others.

When we come to the second aspect—the political rights of the citizen—matters become more involved.

The basis of a democracy—in which the people rule—is that the citizen shall have adequate information available so that he may be able to judge how to rule. From this it follows obviously that the citizen must attain a certain level of education. Experience shows that education avails most if a person is educated in childhood. Therefore every child of a certain age must go to school and reach a certain standard or age before leaving.

That is the general principle—teachers, as professional men, must work out the petty detail. Such education must be there for all citizens, whether they can afford it or not.

If this policy is properly carried out, it is idle later to decide that a person must have certain educational qualifications for the franchise—it is the state's duty to see that all citizens have those qualifications otherwise it is not carrying out its own educational policy.

As far as the political rights of citizens are concerned, the aim must be so to make provision that the citizen can take a full part in the country's politics and make his greatest contribution.

THREADS (Continued)

MEMBERS of Durban and Pietermaritzburg had a happy and informative morning during July when they had the privilege of meeting Mrs. Ballinger, M.P. We all envied those who had had this opportunity of talking to one of South Africa's most famous daughters.

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AT last Natal feels it will have an opportunity to demonstrate. The Nationalist party is holding its congress in Durban this month: Good haunting!

RESPECT FOR THE FLAG

ANNA came to see me the other afternoon bearing in her hand a cutting from an influential Nationalist newspaper. It had much to say about the necessity for teaching our children a proper respect for our South African Flag, and suggested a simple daily ceremony in our schools, of raising it and lowering it, and saying or singing our National Anthem. It implied that this was, of course, bound to be rejected by the Opposition and all un-South African elements!

Anna's blue eyes sparkled as they always do when she is excited. She felt deeply that all true South Africans should seriously consider this suggestion—anything that would help to heal the breach between our children should be examined with earnest care. "For consider my case," said Anna. "I, and my people of this generation have a deep and lasting attachment to our Vierkleur, which nothing will alter, for this was my nation's flag in my youth. The Free Staters must have the same warm attachment to their old Republican Flag, and Natal an equally deep feeling for the Union Jack. But our children have had their own Flag since the Act of 1927 and all of us have failed, because of older loyalties, to give them the same sense of devotion and loyalty to their emblem as we learned to give to our own!"

I looked through the book-case and took out "Statutes of the Union of South Africa 1927-1928," opened it at Flags of the Union of South Africa and read:

7. (1) The flags of the Union shall be:—
 - (a) The Union Jack to denote the association of the Union with other members of the groups of Nations constituting the British Commonwealth of Nations; and
 - (b) The National Flag of which the design is set out in Section 8.
8. (2) The design of the National Flag of the Union shall be—

Three horizontal stripes of equal width from top to bottom, orange, white, blue; in the centre of the white stripe the old Orange Free State Flag hanging vertically, spread in full, with the Union Jack adjoining horizontally spread in full towards the pole, and the old Transvaal Vierkleur adjoining horizontally spread in full away from the pole, equidistant from the margins of the white stripe. The flags shall all be of the same size and their shape shall be proportionally the same as the National Flag, and the width of each equal to one-third of the width of the white stripe.

Anna and I, both Transvaalers, both with forebears who could not lightly give up old loyalties even for such immense benefits as were envisaged at Union, know that the 1927 Flag Act was passed with great bitterness and much heartburning. But what has that to do with our children? Must we always pass on old hatreds, old resentments, old quarrels? Do we always intend to give our children stones instead of bread?

The next time I stood outside Jan Smuts Airport on a Black Sash assignment, I looked with great earnestness at our National Flag flaunting itself bravely in the cold south wind. There was the Vierkleur, emblem of Courage, Piety and Strength—there the Free State Flag—emblem of Wisdom, Individualism and Judgement—there the Union Jack—emblem of Justice and Compassion—what an inheritance for this small Nation—three jewels set in the centre of our national consciousness!

Could there be any harm?—surely there must be good—in all our schools, once a term, taking part in a simple ceremony in which the National Flag is raised, and where all the children say, with sincerity and quietness:—

"We salute this Flag as the national flag of South Africa, as the symbol of the undivided loyalty to our country expressed in our national anthem; as a token of a common patriotism transcending language or race,"—or "Ons salueer hierdie vlag as die nasionale vlag van Suid-Afrika, as die simbool van die onverdeelde trou aan ons vaderland waaraan ons Volkslied uiting gee; as die teken van 'n gemeenskaplike patriotisme verhewe bo taal en ras."

This is not flag-wagging—this is doing our duty by our children! America took a polyglot assembly of nationalities into her lands, and by as simple a ceremony built up a nation of Americans with a thousand diverse ways of living, but one undivided loyalty to one homeland. We should be able to do the same—we are not less able than they—or we have perhaps not the will?

The subject of flags having been broached, I began to wonder how the fusion of the flags of three nations—Scotland, Ireland and England, which we all know as the Union Jack, was taken by the people of those three countries at first! In 1801 the Union Jack became by law the National Flag of England, but I don't doubt, although all the history books I've looked into, are absolutely silent on the subject, that at least two generations of Scots and Irish would see no good at all in the "new flag" and remain loyal and loving to the flag of St. Andrew or St. Patrick as the case might be. Their children's children, however, thanks to thousands of forward thinking citizens, knew loyalty and love to one flag and one nation—I like to believe that the joining of our three flags will lead to as much greatness and glory as the union of St. George, St. Patrick and St. Andrew!

D.R.

I'M ARMED WITH MORE THAN
COMPLETE STEEL—
THE JUSTICE OF MY QUARREL.

(CHRISTOPHER MARLOWE, 1565-93)

THREE LITTLE LAWS

IN our July and August issues we printed the first two of this series. Here is the third. The uninformed and the politically apathetic constantly ask our Black Sash members: "But why are you so much opposed to this Government? What have they really done?" This series gives the answer in only one field. There are unhappily many more answers shouting aloud from other recent legislation, not concerned, as these three laws, solely with Dr. Verwoerd's department, or, as it has been called, his Empire.

The Natives (Prohibition of Interdicts) Act and the **Natives (Urban Areas) Amendment Act** are evil things, but they affect individuals. The third in the series has a much wider field, affecting as it does whole tribes as well as individuals. **Native Administration Amendment Act.** This Act amends, in a few clauses which at first sight appear unimportant, the Native Administration Act of 1927. Section 1 of the 1927 Act provides that "the Governor-General shall be the supreme chief of all Natives in the provinces of Natal, Transvaal and Orange Free State, and shall in any part of the said Provinces be vested with all such rights, immunities, powers and authorities in respect of all Natives as are vested in him in respect of Natives in the Province of Natal." The powers referred to are found in the Natal Code of 1891.

It will be noticed that the Cape Province was deliberately omitted from this Section. The original intention having been to allow the Cape Province to break down rather than to perpetuate the tribal system. Dr. Verwoerd has now decided otherwise, and the amending Act extends to the Cape Province the power of the Governor-General as Supreme Chief (which means in effect the power of the Minister of Native Affairs).

The Act extends to the Cape the powers of the Natal Code to punish chiefs for disobedience to the Minister's orders, without intervention of the Courts, and, in certain circumstances, without trial, and to impose collective fines on tribes or individuals without trial.

In addition, it empowers the arrest, detention or imprisonment of Africans "dangerous to the public peace." There is no power by any legal process to stay any act under this Code. Even more than the Prohibition of Interdicts Act it means that an official, authorised by the Minister, can punish an African at any time and the African will have no legal redress of any sort.

Further amendments contained in the Act are:

(1) It gives the Governor-General power to order the removal of a whole tribe, and whereas, under the original Act, such removal had to have the approval of both Houses of Parliament before it could take place, now it will be possible to carry out the removal **prior** to Parliamentary approval.

(2) Under the original Act notice of any such order had to be given to the persons concerned. This protection is now taken away. This is a further step calculated to exclude recourse to the Courts, which in any event have very limited powers under this Act.

(3) Another Section of the Act enables orders under the Act to be effective without serving them personally; it is enough to leave a copy at the person's last place of residence. True, such provisions do exist in matters of ordinary civil process between citizen and citizen, but it is undesirable to extend this to matters involving the liberty of the subject. It can too easily result in arbitrary official action of which the person affected will not be notified in advance.

These three terrible laws coming one hard on the heels of the other, constitute a shocking assault on human dignity. Removal, ejection, fines, banishment, mostly without prior notice and with little or no recourse to the Courts—what a blot on the name of a nation which claims to uphold Western civilisation and the dignity of the human being. All three Acts add up to one thing—ever greater power in the hands of one man, and that man is Dr. Verwoerd.

M.E.F.

FACT AND FICTION

FICTION:

When Mr. Strydom left Jan Smuts Airport for England recently, a man, holding a Vierkleur, was approached by a foreigner and asked: "What is that flag you are holding?" The reply was: "This is our flag, the Vierkleur, which the British took away from us in 1902. We will never rest until it is restored to us."

FACT:

That man believed that he was speaking for the Afrikaner people. Had he ever stopped to think what the Vierkleur was? The historical fact was that in 1899 when the South African War broke the Vierkleur was the flag of only one portion of South Africa. The South African Republic under President Kruger. The Orange Free State had its own flag, the Cape and Natal were Crown Colonies under the British flag. How, therefore, can the Nationalists of the Transvaal claim that the Vierkleur is the flag to which all Afrikanerdom owes allegiance, and how can they seek to impose that flag on the entire country? The Vierkleur is the symbol, not of a national unity, but of a false sentimentalism played upon by Strydom and his clique, bent upon furthering Transvaal domination within the Nationalist Party.

M.E.F.

ARE WE IN EARNEST?

IN the last issue of the "Black Sash" we were told once more to "see that you are on the Voters' Roll." If you have not seen to it, then you have no right whatsoever to complain about the legislation and actions of the present Government, but appear to approve of all that is being done. Without a vote you have no chance of registering effective opposition. Let that be very clear indeed. If you have any difficulty in finding out what to do in the matter, even at this late hour, any political organisation will help you.

The Sash Movement exists, because of the opposition of its members to the desecration of our Constitution, and the taking away of ordinary democratic liberty from our people. The movement has made it clear that it is determined to help in removing the present government from power, and that its members will use their votes to that end.

If we are to achieve success certain essential features have to be born in mind.

(a) After an election the Governor-General asks the leader of the party that holds the majority of the seats to form the government. He can ask the Leader of ONE PARTY only—or of a coalition of course—to do so. It is quite useless, from the point of view of ousting the Government, if all the opposing parties TOGETHER gain that majority. The Governor-General must ignore that. He can deal with one Leader only.

(b) In the past "ghost voters" have appeared on the roll, sometimes in fairly large numbers. Every Black Sash member in her own area can be of enormous help in discovering these, and having them removed from the roll. A few examples can illustrate this.

(i) A man has died but his name may still be on the roll. It is essential that the attention of the electoral officer concerned is drawn to this whenever such a case occurs, so that the name may be removed. If not there is the opportunity for someone to impersonate that voter.

(ii) There is a home in your neighbourhood which could at most house 5 voters, but 14 are registered there. Not an unheard of occurrence! Why? A large number of voters has been known to be registered on a vacant plot! The Electoral Officer concerned cannot be expected to know this; the people who live in the neighbourhood can.

(iii) You may say there has just been a new biennial registration which would have altered all this. You mean **should** have altered all this. But an enumerator who was too tired to visit all the homes in the area allocated to him or her may be one who took a chance, and did not make sure. We raise our voices soon enough if someone forges a signature on a cheque. Forging signatures on registration cards is a greater crime, for it may affect the whole country. Remember a seat can be won by a majority of one vote. It may be yours!

What can we do about all this, you may ask?

1. Form numerous small vigilance committees—especially in the marginal areas.

2. As soon as the provisional voters' roll is available have your committee WORK at the voters' roll. Please note the emphasis is on **work**. Any political organisation will show you how to do this.

The members of the Sash have fearlessly demonstrated their opposition to the deeds of the Government. Now there is the opportunity for real sacrifice and effort, for setting aside personal grievances and excuses and helping to return a Party with a sufficient number of seats to oust the Government. Nothing else will avail us.

Are we in deadly earnest and prepared to do everything in our power to achieve this?

A WORRIED MEMBER.

The Voice of the Church

We have invited leaders of the major Church groups in South Africa to declare their Churches' attitude to the problems of race and colour which beset our Society.

In the July issue the REV. DR. WEBB spoke for the Methodist Church. This month the RIGHT REVEREND AMBROSE REEVES speaks for the Anglican Church of the Province of South Africa.

AS a self-governing province of the Anglican Communion, the Church of the Province of South Africa, takes its stand in racial matters on the statement issued by the Bishops of the Anglican Communion at the Lambeth Conference which declared, "that all men, irrespective of race or colour, are equally the objects of God's love and are called to love and serve Him. All men are made in His image; for all Christ died; and to all there is made the offer of eternal life. *Every individual* is therefore bound by duties towards God and towards other men, and has certain rights without the enjoyment of which he cannot freely perform those duties. These rights should be declared by the Church, recognized by the State, and safeguarded by international law." For this reason the Anglican Church believes that the only national policy which is morally defensible is one that gives the fullest measure of development to the members of all racial groups. We believe that it is morally wrong to follow a policy which has as its object the keeping of any particular ethnic group in a permanent position of inferiority, and are persuaded that racial discrimination in this country is directed to this end. Because of these convictions the Anglican Church cannot approve of apartheid.

While it is true that linguistic and geographical reasons mean that many of our African and European members normally worship in different places, this does not mean that we approve of the principle of segregation. No one has any authority to exclude any church person of any race from any one of our churches if such a person presents himself there for that purpose. Further, those of every race are to be found sitting together in our Synods and on our boards and committees taking their full share in framing legislation for the conduct of church affairs and in shaping the policy of the church. Our clergy of all races meet together regularly in our clerical societies, and from time to time preach in one another's churches. The Bishop is equally the Father-in-God of all churchpeople in his diocese, whatever may be their colour. There are 750,000 Africans in the Anglican Church in South Africa, double the number of white people. It is small wonder that in such a church there has been, and still is, an uncompromising condemnation of South African racialism.

An examination of the charges delivered by the Bishop in these last years, as well as many resolutions of both Provincial and Diocesan Synods shows

clearly that the church is very sensitive to the needs of any who are underprivileged, irrespective of the colour of their skins. This is inevitable, for as the Provincial Synod declared in 1950 "We are a multi-racial church." We know that when some of our members suffer we are all involved, and are therefore deeply concerned with the needs of our neighbour, irrespective of the racial group to which he may belong.

In particular the Anglican Church has been deeply concerned by the constant stream of legislation which has discriminated between the white citizens and the rest of our South African community, to the serious disadvantage of the latter. This we consider to be one of the most disturbing features of our times, for we believe that one of the basic requirements for any healthy community life is that all men shall be equal before the law, and that men shall not be discriminated against because of their colour. The Anglican Church is firmly convinced that the day must come when every racial group must have some effective voice in the government of our country, and be enabled to make the fullest contribution of which they are capable to its welfare. For the coming of that day we shall not cease to work and to pray.

REGIONAL CHAIRS AND SECRETARIES

BORDER.

- C. Mrs. D. Curry, 3 Carisbrooke Road, Stirling Ext., East London.
- S. Mrs. E. Wiggell, 4 Sandgate Road, Stirling, East London.

CAPE EASTERN.

- C. Mrs. A. Pirie, 68 Westview Drive, Port Elizabeth.
- S. Mrs. Ollson, Box 306, Port Elizabeth.

CAPE MIDLANDS.

- C. Mrs. M. Gilfillan, Glen Heath, Conway, C.P.
- S. Mrs. J. Southey, Manorholme, P.O. Schoombie, C.P.

CAPE NORTHERN.

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

CAPE WESTERN.

- C. Mrs. M. Henderson, Cranborne House, Salisbury Road, Wynberg, C.P.
- S. Miss F. Thorne, 1 Kildare Road, Claremont, C.P.

LOWVELD.

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

NATAL COASTAL REGION.

- C. Mrs. S. Osborne, 626 Essenwood Rd., Berea, Durban.
- S. Mrs. C. J. D. Harvey, 12 Manor Crest, Manor Drive, Durban.

NATAL MIDLANDS.

- C. Mrs. M. Corrigall, Midhouse, Swartkop Road, Pietermaritzburg.
- S. Mrs. O. Forsyth, 2 New England Road, Pietermaritzburg.

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- C. Mrs. N. von Geusau, 44 Lawly Street, Waterkloof, Pretoria.
- S. Mrs. A. Rethman, 190 Lisdogan Ave., Arcadia, Pretoria.

ORANGE FREE STATE.

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

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