

THE BLACK SASH

DIE SWART SERP

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Vital Work To Be Done

DURING the election campaign the Black Sash will refrain from holding vigils at functions attended by Cabinet Ministers. The organisation reserves the right, however, to resume this method of protest if "something untoward" happens. That means, as the National Chairman, Mrs. Jean Sinclair explained, something of which the Black Sash disapproves.

This decision to abstain from vigils does not mean that the Black Sash is going out of politics for the duration of the election campaign. Very much the contrary. Black Sash women are going to be up to their eyes in political work, now more than ever before. Although the Black Sash is essentially a political organisation, it is non-party, or rather it would be more true to say all-party. Members, whatever their party allegiance may be, are encouraged at this time to work within their own party organisations for the same ideal that moved them to join the Black Sash in the first place that is, first and foremost, the defence of our Constitution. Those members who do not already belong to a political party or have never done party work before are urged to join a party, or at least to offer their services to some party organisation.

A vast number of our members—probably as many as ninety per cent.—are already helping with election work, the value of which cannot be overestimated. Make no mistake about

Belangrike Werk Moet Verrig Word

TYDENS die verkiesingsveldtog sal die Swart Serp geen betogings hou wanneer Ministers optree nie. Die beweging behou egter die reg voor om sy gebruiklike metodes weer in die lewe te roep indien „onvoorsiene omstandighede” dit vereis. Daarby word bedoel, soos mev. Jean Sinclair, die Nasionale Voorsitter, verduidelik het, iets wat Swart Serp afkeur.

Die besluit om betogings te laat vaar beteken geensins dat die Swart Serp gedurende die verkiesingsveldtog van die politieke toneel gaan verdwyn nie. Lede van die beweging gaan meer as ooit tevore aan politieke werksaamhede deelneem. Hoewel die Swart Serp 'n politieke beweging is, is dit aan geen spesifieke politieke party verbonde nie. Die lede behoort egter aan verskeie partye en hulle word aangemoedig om in hierdie belangrike dae binne hul partye te werk vir die ideaal wat die Swart Serp verpersoonlik, wat by uitstek die bewaring van ons Grondwet is. Diegene wat nog nie aan 'n politieke party behoort of aan partybedrywighede deelgeneem het nie, word aangeraai om by 'n party aan te sluit, of tenminste hul dienste tot die beskikking van 'n party te stel.

Die grootste gedeelte van ons lede—waarskynlik nie minder as 90% nie—doen reeds verkiesingswerk, die waarde waarvan aansienlik is. Die invloed van hierdie werk sal groot wees, uit 'n morele sowel as 'n praktiese oogpunt.

it, the effect will be considerable, both morally and practically.

In the first place Cabinet Ministers who have been accustomed to seeing the Black Sash women on their public appearances will realise that the women are absent, not because they have given up the campaign of protest, but because they are working to make their protest through the ballot box, where it will hurt most.

Secondly the work being done by the Black Sash in this election is vitally important for the purpose of bringing the greatest possible percentage of voters to the polling stations. The appearance of a large number of Black Sash women in the party organisations is the best guarantee that this will not be "just another election." The Government are appealing to voters on the strength of their record in office. But this can be a double-edged weapon. If they deliberately choose to draw attention to their record, then they cannot complain if the creation of the present monstrous Senate and the wrecking of the Constitution of Union are thrown in their faces. If they want to point to their record in office, then they are pointing straight to that shocking breach of faith.

There is not the slightest doubt that the Government would very much like to forget all about the Senate Act during the election campaign; and the public memory being as short as it is, they would stand a very good chance of getting away with it, if it were not for the activities of the Black Sash. On a recent occasion when a Cabinet Minister found a vigil of Black Sash women awaiting his arrival, he said plaintively: "Are they still harping on that?" What he and his colleagues would dearly love would be to find the great open-hearted public deciding to let bygones be bygones and all kiss and make friends. But the Black Sash is determined that they shall never be allowed to forget their crime against a united South Africa.

Apart from their election work, which is equally valuable whether it is clerical assistance in the "back room" or canvassing out in the field, Black Sash women can make their influence felt during the election by word-of-mouth propaganda here, there and everywhere. What the Government chiefly needs for their own purposes is a quiet election, in which the Opposition's natural talent for apathy will have full scope to keep the voting figures low. A great part of the work of the Black Sash must

Eerstens sal die Ministers, wat aan die teenwoordigheid van Swart Serp-lede by geleentheid van hul vergaderings ens. gewoon geraak het, besef dat die vroue afwesig is, nie omdat hul veldtog geëindig het nie, maar omdat hulle druk besig is om hul sienswyse te laat geld waar dit tans die grootste invloed sal hê—naamlik d.m.v. die stembus.

Tweedens is die Swart Serp se werk in hierdie verkiesing uiters belangrik i.v.m. die poging om soveel kiesers as moontlik na die stemlokale te bring. Die teenwoordigheid van 'n groot getal Swart Serp-lede in die geleedere van partye is die beste waarborg dat hierdie verkiesing uitsonderlik sal wees. Die regering soek steun op grond van sy optrede sedert hy aan bewind gekom het. Indien die regering egter doelbewus op sy optrede aandag wil vestig, moet hy nie kla wanneer daar na die belaglike Senaat en die verwoesting van ons Grondwet verwys word nie. Deur op sy optrede staat te maak stel hy hom bloot aan veroordeling weens hierdie skandelike misdaad.

Die regering se ondersteuners hoop ongetwyfeld dat die Senaatswet tydens die verkiesingsveldtog vergete sal raak. Die Swart Serp se bedrywighede het egter daarvoor gesorg dat dit nie die geval sal wees nie. Toe 'n Minister onlangs deur 'n Swart Serp-betoging begroet is, het hy klaend gevra: „Dweep hulle nog altyd daarmee?" Hy en sy kollegas koester die hoop dat die kiesers dit alles oor die hoof sal sien. Die Swart Serp is egter vas van plan om te sorg dat hul misdaad teen 'n verenigde Suid-Afrika nooit vergeet sal word nie.

Afgesien van hul waardevolle verkiesingswerk in partykantore en as stemwerwers, kan Swart Serp-lede hul invloed laat geld deur kiesers gedurig daaraan te herinner dat die toekoms van ons volk op die spel is. Die regering hoop dat die verkiesing stil sal verloop en dat die opposisie se bekende gebrek aan belangstelling daarvoor sal sorg dat groot getalle hul stemme nie sal uitbring nie. Die Swart Serp moet dit ten alle koste vermy. Die regering en sy ondersteuners moet tot die besef gebring word dat hul misdade nie ongestraf sal bly nie, en dat die grofste misdaad—die skending van die Grondwet—vir ewig met die diepste afkeur deur elke Swart Serp-lid onthou sal word.

WHAT THEN CAN WE DO?

In a booklet entitled "South Africa the Possibilities in an Impossible Situation," Edgar H. Brookes, M.A. D. Litt., has with quiet wisdom and courage stated the problems facing all in South Africa today. We print below an excerpt in the certainty that readers will want to buy and read the booklet for themselves.

"What then can we *do*?" we ask ourselves in this situation which, despite some mitigating factors, is one of impossibilities. We see with frightening clearness the situation that we are in. We see the inefficacy of many of the so-called remedies. Are we merely helpless? Is there nothing that we can do except "cultivate our garden?"

We feel our helplessness. We realize also our blindness, for none of us can foresee what the best plan for South Africa two hundred years hence would be. The prison walls enclose swirling mists. If we may change the metaphor, none knows where or what journey's end may be, but perhaps we can see enough to start on the right road.

TO my mind there are three things which we who care for South Africa can do and must do—be honest in our thinking, be courageous in our speaking and do sincere and creative work in whatever sphere lies open to us.

Let no man feel that these three things, because of their very simplicity, form an anti-climax in this discussion. They lie within our own power. No authority on earth can stop us from doing them. They are rare virtues, and they are sorely needed. Perhaps they will find the gateway that leads out of our prison when all our attempts to scale the wall have failed.

That South Africans should be honest in their thinking would indeed be a major victory. Few countries are so riddled with dishonesty as the Union. The proportion of deliberate hypocrites among us is no higher than in other countries; but the amount of self-deception is staggering. We are so used to the "easy speeches" that "comfort" not only "cruel men" but bewildered and frightened men. Thus it is possible for one leader to enunciate his faith in *apartheid* when he knows in his soul firstly that *apartheid* is impossible except by the setting aside of far more land for Africans and secondly that he has no intention of imperilling his political career by telling thousands of European voters that they must give up their land. It is possible for another (of a different political party) to tell us that the Indian question will be solved by repatriation, when he knows with absolute certainty that compul-

EDITORIAL—Continued.

be to see that this does not happen. The Government and their supporters must be made to realise that their crimes will find them out, and that chief amongst their list of misdeeds is the one that the Black Sash has most at heart—the rape of our Constitution.

sory expatriation is impossible and that the Indians will never voluntarily expatriate themselves; and he says this thing not only knowing it to be nonsense, but surely knowing that we know this too, that we know that he knows it, that we know that he knows that we know it. Yet half his auditors go on repeating it and half-believing it because it would be so unpleasant if it were untrue.

We use terms like "justice" and "democracy" without any real intention of being just or being guided by democratic principles. We say that the Group Areas Act will be administered fairly, and hurriedly suppress inner certainty that it will not be and cannot be so long as one race only is judge as to the fair racial distribution of land. We seize without undue examination on any scientific theory which appears to justify discrimination. It would not matter so much if we realised that we meant to be dishonest in distributing the land of South Africa, that we could never follow President Kruger's advice in the case of a disputed succession to a farm, to let the elder son divide the farm into two halves and let the younger son have the first pick. We are determined to do both the dividing and the picking, but even this would not matter so much if it were not that we deceived ourselves into thinking that we were honest fellows and were generous in giving the younger son the small portion that we have allocated to him; anyhow, he would never farm the land properly.

Even if we could never sum up the courage to express our honest convictions it would be an immense gain if we just knew starkly what they were. "Clear your mind of cant. You may say to a man, 'Sir I am your obedient, humble servant.' You are *not* his obedient, humble servant." It would be so great a victory just to know that the lie which we were uttering to achieve a political end or escape social disapproval was simply a lie, even if we told it nevertheless. The crime of deceiving others, bad though it is, is far less evil, certainly far less dangerous, than the crime of deceiving oneself.

There is for South Africans moreover the self-deception which comes from conforming to the accepted habits of behaviour of the country, acquiescing in the majority and apparently successful opinion. Mean-spirited though it is to conform to what we feel is wrong for self-protection or self-advancement, it is not at all so dangerous as gradually coming to believe that the wounding customs are gracious or that the false theories are true. There is a battle to be fought and won in the inner citadel of truth, and perhaps few who are not South Africans realise what a battle it is.

But surely we must go beyond this integrity of spirit and learn to speak out boldly the faith that is in us. There is so much in the South African situation that from the superficial standpoint calls for restraint; but from the depths of a purer wisdom we can see that valour is the better part of discretion. It is important that those who think on these matters should not be intimidated into silence. When the heart says "Protest," the head must not be allowed to add, "Wait for a better opportunity."

WHERE IS THE POOR WHITE?

EVERYBODY in South Africa knows what a Poor White is. The term came from the Southern States of America where white people, poor in health, in mind and in character, were referred to as "poor white trash". They were, of course, terribly, desperately poor, **not** because there was no honest work for them and reasonable pay, but because most of the work they could do, and should have done, was considered "nigger's work". And so they didn't do it. The work which they felt could be done by "whites" was beyond them because they had neither the education, the strength, nor the will to do it. They were, and they are, a great problem in America but I do not intend to discuss them further. What I want to talk about is the Poor White in South Africa.

In 1936, a Carnegie Commission which had been asked by the Government to undertake a survey of the Union on the problem of poor whiteness in South Africa presented its report. Two of the many points made in the Survey were:—

- (1) In a total population of approximately two million whites, there were then 300,000 poor whites—almost 15 per cent. of the nation were valueless as producers, and a complete drain on the rest of the people.
- (2) No government should deliberately encourage the growth of poor whiteness just because the poor whites make good voting material.

The Carnegie Commission Report has been pigeon-holed and has been gathering dust for twenty years.

No Problem in South Africa?

In those twenty years the "bywoner" as a class has ceased to exist. He flocked in thousands to the towns; he was absorbed into the Railways, Postal Services and into Industry; his children have received schooling in free schools; and there are many charities to supply his needs. So we say "There are no more Poor Whites in South Africa to-day. The problem has been solved." But are we right?

To be a Poor White is not necessarily to belong to one group, to be very poor, to have had few or no advantages. To be a Poor White you must have a particular **attitude of mind**; you must be lazy of mind and body; you must be too proud to work, but not too proud to beg; you must have no code of honour or behaviour; you must do

I am only ONE
But still I AM one
I cannot do everything
but still I can do something
And because I cannot do everything
I will not refuse to do the
something that I can do.

nothing, be nothing, and detest those who strive to be and do. Especially you must hate the non-white, because he is "inferior", he works, and he is a danger to yourself.

Have we no Poor Whites in South Africa to-day? I think we have, and further, I think that they have **poisoned the thinking of the whole of South Africa!** To-day we are all beginning to think like Poor Whites, and our Government encourages us by every means in its power to continue to do so. It is wholly to their advantage. "A Government which deliberately encourages the spread of poor whiteness because the Poor White makes good voting material is wholly to be censured."

Apathy the Root Cause

What we call apathy—what is it but laziness of mind? When we say "I've put a government into power—let it get on with the job and leave me in peace!" What is that but being too proud to "work"—to accept responsibility—and when we go, we business men, to the Government we despise, and ask for concessions and favours for ourselves, what is that but being "not too proud to beg!" When we allow laws to be passed that are dishonourable, like the Senate Act; when we permit discrimination against the non-European; when we see all our freedoms attacked, or already removed and do nothing about it—what is that but having no code of honour or behaviour.

Last, and worst of all, when we accept that sickness which is fear of the non-European as normal—that basic fear and hate which is poor whiteness—when we cover this fear with talk of "saving white civilisation" of "bringing law and order" by new and harshly repressive laws against the non-European—what is that but thinking like a Poor White? Cover it as we will, it is clear to see that the government and the citizens of this country, in spite of every advantage, in spite of wealth, social position, education and knowledge, are basically Poor Whites in outlook.

The Poor White, as he used to be, was greatly to be pitied. Malaria and bilharzia had drained him of physical strength, and had left him with a dulled mind. He was poor and ignorant and he was forever afraid of the more vigorous African who withstood tropical disease and poor conditions of living better than he could. One can understand how he came to be what he was.

A Spreading Disease

But the Poor White of to-day—this peculiar creature in the wealthy suburbs of the city as well as the poorer ones; inhabiting great farms as well as small holdings; established in all the dorps and towns of South Africa; having been educated, apparently civilised and sane—this is another kind of being! It is **impossible** to understand the reasons for his existence! Nothing in his conditions of life can excuse his monstrous pre-occupation with the "threat of the black races."

PERSONALITY PARADE

MRS. HERRIES BAIRD is the Chairman of the Scottsville, Park Rynie and Umzumbi Branch of the Black Sash. She was educated at Wycombe, England, Roedean and Jeppe High School for Girls, Johannesburg, and then began a varied career, which has included journalism, commerce and hotel manage-

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MRS. J. W. HERRIES BAIRD

ment. During the war, Mrs. Baird did V.A.D. work and transport duties in Durban, and since the war has done a good deal of non-European welfare work. As light relief, she dabbles in things theatrical.

Mrs. Baird joined the Black Sash on the first protest march in Durban. (She maintains that her red hair makes her a "natural" at protesting). Is very conscious of her good fortune in being associated with women of the calibre of the members of the Black Sash.



WHERE IS THE POOR WHITE?—Cont.

Unless we have hidden the true Poor White deep in the body of the nation and have been corrupted by him because he wields excessive voting power, I can think of no reason why we have degraded our national thinking to his level. I can think of no reason why government propaganda should be directed always to a people, whom it obviously considers "poor white trash", unless we are a people thinking on that level! At a meeting at Lichtenburg on a good-will tour undertaken by the Black Sash, a young man, well-dressed, neatly-bearded, apparently intelligent and educated, poured forth a flood of hate and fear of the non-European that shocked and stunned his listeners. This young man and his friends, nodding in agreement with his sick pre-occupation with miscegenation and other evils, looked to have every advantage in life. What made him, what made his friends, harbour such degrading thoughts, unless something or someone is corrupting the youth of the nation? What did he learn at school, at home, at political meetings to turn him from sanity and health and good living to the dark obsessions that obviously plagued him? What is the nation about that it cannot see that this sick thinking

will lead to insane actions in the future, and that the whole of South Africa is in the gravest peril?

Children must be Guided

It is clear that the women of South Africa have an immediate task to perform! Their children are gradually being trained to become uncivilised barbarians. This **must not** be allowed to continue to happen. Women must take the initiative and protest energetically when they find their children returning from school with tales of feuds between Afrikaans- and English-speaking South Africans; when they hear stories of old hates, resentments, and fears, brought back from the history lesson; when they see their children learning, or being taught, discourtesy to the non-European who serves them.

They cannot afford to rest until their children are safe in the hands of teachers to whom integrity and decency are commonplace realities of life, and who look upon their charges as a sacred trust. It is not enough that we should see to it that there is a land for our children to inherit; we must also see that they are worthy inheritors of that land!

D.R.

OUR DUAL INHERITANCE

The British Heritage In South Africa

II.—English Literature

"For don't you mark, we're made so that we love
First when we see them painted, things we have passed
Perhaps a hundred times nor cared to see;
And so they are better, painted—better to us,
. . . Art was given for that—
God uses us to help each other so,
Lending our minds out—"

—Robert Browning, *Fra Lippo Lippi*.

WHAT Browning wrote of painting is equally true of his own art, that of writing. The artist, while sharing in the common life around him, is at once more sensitive, and more articulate, than others. Insofar as he is able to comprehend and point out a universal significance in particular events, his work has lasting value.

Not only is art an avenue leading us to a wider view of the world of men and nature, but it is also an illumination of our own personalities. In the troubled modern world it is more urgently necessary than ever that we should endeavour to see ourselves and others clearly, and to understand something of the way in which human beings behave—or why they misbehave.

What sort of thing do we, English-speaking South Africans, read? What, particularly, do we read for pleasure? The choice open to us, censorship apart, is enormously wide, for our language is rich in great books, old and new. Much we read which originated in our own country has a direct importance and an immediacy of impact which cannot be achieved by anything comparable which is "imported". Fortunately, the imaginative literature, the novels, plays and poems, being produced by our compatriots are, in the estimation of the most exacting critics, able to stand comparison with the best in the language.

Human Creatures the Vital Element

Inevitably, nearly all South African writers of our own generation are to some extent preoccupied with the social and racial problems which obtrude themselves upon even the least politically-minded of us. Few are rash enough to put forward wholesale solutions to our difficulties; and hardly two might agree about the details if they tried to do so. But one thing our novelists, dramatists and poets have in common is that in every situation they see the human creatures, noble, base or mediocre as they may be, as the vital element, and the real subject. Instead of prating of topical issues in abstract terms, they express their beliefs in some more or less dramatic form. By weaving stories and creating characters which show us fellow human beings involved in a

variety of situations, they engage our interest in general issues, and remind us that ultimately it is the fate of each separate man that matters, and not any theoretical system, however apparently perfect.

A Truer Estimate of Moral Value

Thus, *Cry, the Beloved Country*, by Alan Paton, and *Episode*, by Harry Bloom, are concerned the one with a murder, the other with a location riot. But these acts of violence are treated merely as vehicles for unfolding stories through which we are able to understand and to share the experiences and emotions of people, many of them African natives, whose real lives are in actuality strange to the majority of readers. Hamlet also committed murder. Brutus participated in a political assassination. Yet Shakespeare not only makes their actions intelligible, but even shows their characters as more than ordinarily attractive. Literature can provide a truer estimate of moral values than do statistical reports and police investigations, and when it does so, it is primarily by stressing what is personal and unique that it enables one to see beyond the easy certainties of law and convention.

Our poets use the same approach, using concrete images to imply general views about social and racial problems. Guy Butler, for example, finding his Cape Coloured batman in a drunken sleep, seizes the moment to demand a broadening of human tolerance. A glance backward at the man's probable ancestry, which included, conceivably, "a pirate Javanese . . . a Negress from the Cameroons", besides a Namaqua bushgirl, and English, Dutch and Portuguese, turns the delinquent for an eternal moment into a symbol of the whole "pathos of the human race".

I have not space, and indeed it is hardly necessary, to enumerate other examples to establish the point that this is a dominant note in our literature today. However, whether it is also the most important and most lasting element in this literature is debatable. Art which aims directly at bringing about some practical change in affairs seldom outlasts the cause which inspired it, except in so far as it has also universal validity. Little, for example, written in the thirteenth century by the first South African English poet of note, Thomas Pringle (he was Scottish, of course), who was also Secretary to the Society for the Abolition of Slavery, and whose strong philanthropic views permeate most of his work, seems to me comparable for sheer poetic vigour with Mary Barber's lovely lyric in praise of the Kaffirboom, beginning

"Oh, glorious Erythrina tree
Haunt of the sunbird and the bee . . ."

Olive Schreiner is remembered because her *Story of an African Farm* unfolds profound truths, rather than because she was in the forefront of the suffrage movement, and other important but limited political activities.

This Harsh Extraordinary Continent

There is, however, no lack of modern South African writing which is created for its own sake alone, and not primarily to express a practical message. To attempt to name all our important writers in such a brief article as this would only be as invidious as it would be rash. Their works are easily accessible, and should be well-known by all who care deeply about life as well as books.

One theme, however, recurs so increasingly often in our literature that it cannot be passed over. This is, the uneasy equilibrium in the hearts and minds of all South Africans of European origin, drawn simultaneously by the complex, mature northern civilisations, whose influence we do not wish to escape, and, in a diametrically opposite direction, by the primitive force of our beloved homeland, this harsh, extraordinary African continent which seems to cast some potent spell over men and women in the least degree responsive to such influences.

Laurens van der Post elaborated this motif in *Venture into the Interior*, which, largely for this reason, is more than yet another book of travel. Anthony Delius broods over the same idea in *Birth-day Eve*. Here the aeroplane journey leads his thoughts directly from the south

“ . . . to the mesh
of all the history that's hid
in the stone-wombed pyramid”

beyond which he steps out

“upon the lovely chessboard of my father's home,
the aged houses and the shining grass.”

After experience of England, and Italy rich in classical association, the return flight “into the great mosquito-nets of heat” brought him again to

“where slept in discontent
my country
and my continent.”

A similar idea is fundamental to the title-poem of Guy Butler's volume *Stranger to Europe*. More recently, in the new periodical *Africa South* (Vol. I, No. 1, Oct.-Dec., 1956) Prof. Butler has published an important poem called *Home Thoughts*, which is another, and more profound, effort to understand the ambivalence within himself, the division between the realms of Apollo, and “our vital if untamed abyss”. Declaring “I have not found myself on Europe's maps”, and yet not trying to deny Europe's magnetism, he hints at the magnitude of the human transfiguration which might spring from a fusion of our diverse African and European elements.

Here, surely, is a pointer for the future of civilisation in Africa. Not the politicians, but the poets, have the vision. Can it be realised, before it is smothered for ever by meaningless sectional strife?

MARGARET KANNEMEYER.

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.)

“One cannot view with Mr Naude's complacency the tremendous increase in the current account expenditure. Much of it is justified, but extravagances like population registers and other apartheid liabilities are not. Eliminate these and we would have more to invest in essential services.”—*Rand Daily Mail*, 29/1/1958.

“In the interests of harmonious race relations the Minister should drop his plan to force ‘open’ universities to put up the shutters to non-Whites. In fact, it would be better if the Government were to drop the question of university apartheid entirely.”—*The Daily Dispatch*, 14/1/1958.

“In industry the cost-of-living allowance for Europeans has risen during the past year by between 2½d. to 3d. per hour. During the same period the cost-of-living allowance for Native labour has fallen from 4½d. to 4¼d. per hour.”

“Mr. Louw's task at the Fort Beaufort meeting was to woo the English-speaking voter. . . . Mr. Louw remarked that the Torch Commando had been formed to put ginger into the United Party—and the Black Sash ‘to put starch into Strauss's breeches’.”—*Rand Daily Mail*, 6/3/58.

“It is clear . . . that the Language Ordinance in the Transvaal is still being used in a high-handed way to dictate to parents the language in which their children shall be educated.”—Leader in *The Star*, 3/10/57.

“Alcoholism is rapidly becoming a greater problem in South Africa than in any other country in the world.”—Mr. Jan de Klerk, Minister of Labour, reported in *Rand Daily Mail*, 2/11/57.

“Sixty-three out of a possible sixty-seven insurance companies have agreed to raise their rates on household insurance by one-third in Johannesburg.”—*The Star*, 3/11/57.

“In my view, the English Press in South Africa does not always reflect South Africa as she really is.”—Dr. Otto du Plessis, M.P. for Stellenbosch, quoted in *Evening Post Comment*, 14/9/57.

The Republican form of Government is the highest form of government; but, because of this, it requires the highest type of human nature—a type nowhere at present existing.—*Herbert Spencer.*

Rasseverhoudinge In Die Verenigde State Van Amerika

Deur F. J. VAN WYK,

Assistent-direkteur, S.A. Instituut vir Rasseverhoudinge

We have pleasure in presenting this, the first of three articles by Mr. Van Wyk on the Deep South.

* * *

MY vrou en ek het die voorreg gehad om 'n tydjie gelede vyf maande in die V.S.A. en Kanada deur te bring. Die doel van ons besoek was om eerstehandse kennis in te win oor rasseverhoudings in die V.S.A. en om iets te leer oor die verhoudings tussen Engels- en Frans-sprekendes in Kanada. Ek wil probeer om u in drie kort artikels 'n paar van ons indrukke te gee oor die rassevraagstuk in die Verenigde State.

Soos u weet, is die totale bevolking van die V.S.A. omtrent 180,000,000 van wie sowat 18,000,000, d.w.s. omtrent 10%, Negers is. Dan is daar ook omtrent 450,000 Indiane onder wie ons sowat drie weke deurgebring het—by die Cherokee-Indiane in Noord-Carolina en by die Navaho-Indiane in Nu-Meksiko. Dis interessant om daarop te let dat die Negerbevolking van die V.S.A. nie eweredig oor die hele land versprei is nie: omtrent 70% van hulle woon in wat die Suidelike State genoem word en die digste Negerbevolking word aangetref in die „Deep South,” nl. Suid-Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana en Mississippi. In hierdie State vorm die Negers tot 50% van die totale bevolking en in sommige van die distrikte („counties”) tot selfs 80%, bv. Macon County in Alabama.

Hierdie feit is belangrik aangesien ons baie gou ontdek het dat daar 'n besliste verband bestaan tussen die digtheid van die Neger-bevolking en die houdinge van die blankes teenoor hulle; waar die Negerbevolking die digste is, daar is die rasseprobleem die skerpste.

Op die oomblik vind daar 'n verstaanbare verskuiwing van die Negerbevolking plaas, uit die Suide na die Noorde en na die Weste. Hiervoor is daar twee hoofredes: ten eerste is die Suide op nywerheidsgebied nog geensins so ver ontwikkel as die Noorde en, in 'n mindere mate, as die Weste nie; ten tweede is die verhoudinge tussen die Negers en die blankes ook aansienlik beter in die Noorde as in die Suide. Hierdie verskuiwing van die Negerbevolking gaan minstens twee interessante gevolge vir die V.S.A. hê: ten eerste sal dit bes moontlik 'n

gunstige uitwerking op rasseverhoudinge in die Suide hê omdat dit die blankes van hierdie gebied sal laat voel dat al die Negers nie in hulle gebied gekonsentreer is nie; ten tweede bring dit die blankes van die Noorde dikwels vir die eerste maal in aanraking met die Neger en op dié wyse is die rasseprobleem dan nie langer 'n blote teoretiese probleem vir hulle nie. Terselfdetyd is daar reeds tekens dat die verskuiwing 'n nadelige uitwerking op die industriële groei van die Suide gaan hê deurdat dit 'n tekort in die nodige werkkragte skep.

Ons was in die gelukkige posisie om oral in die State—en veral in die Suide—direkte kontak met Negers van baie stande te maak, bv. professors, studente, godsdienstige en politieke leiers, besigheidsmanne asook die werkersklasse. Ons het soms Negergesinne in hulle huise besoek en maaltye by hulle genuttig; dan weer het ons tuisgegaan by Neger-universiteite, e.d.m. Wat ons voortdurend diep getref het, is dat die Amerikaanse Neger in alle opsigte 'n Amerikaner is: sy taal is Engels (of Amerikaans!); sy naam en van is tipies Amerikaans, so ook sy hele lewenspatroon, aspirasies, ens. In die algemeen leef hy op 'n redelike hoë kulturele en ekonomiese peil, ofskoon daar op plekke, veral in die Suide, nog groot armoede en selfs agterlikheid onder hulle heers.

Nog 'n feit wat 'n indruk op ons gemaak het, is die godsdienstigheid van die Negers. Ons het dikwels dienste in Negerkerke bygewoon en dit was vir ons altyd duidelik dat die Negers in die algemeen baie toegewyde Christene is. Byna 100% van die Negers in die V.S.A. behoort aan Christelike kerke, veral aan die Baptiste-kerk, en hulle innige godsdienstigheid word duidelik weerspieël in hulle hele benadering van die rassevraagstuk. Hulle glo byna deurgaans dat hulle hul volle regte as Amerikaanse burgers uiteindelik sal verkry deur lydelike verzet („passive resistance”) en nederigheid eerder as deur geweld of skerp agitatie. Die Kerk en die Negerpredikante speel 'n geweldige groot rol in die Negers se lewe en 'n goeie voorbeeld hiervan is die sukses waarmee die lydelike verzetbeweging teen bussegrasie in Montgomery, Alabama, onder leiding van die bekende Negerpredikant, dr. Martin Luther King, bekroon is. Ons was toevallig in Montgomery toe die Negers daar in hul duisende hierdie sukses na 'n jaar van verzet gevier het en ons het die voorreg gehad om dr. King in sy huis te besoek.

FROM OUR POSTBAG

CATCH THEM YOUNG

To the Editor, Black Sash.

MOST people are now rather belatedly turning their thoughts to the General Election. Simultaneously Black Sash women are beginning to wonder whether they should continue the movement, or they are resigning to do more for their political parties.

Somehow the Black Sash has been unable to overcome the public apathy that persists even at this eleventh hour. Apparently we have not been able to awaken the conscience of the present generation of grown-ups. Should we not perhaps turn our attention to the **future** generation of grown-ups—the present school-children. “Catch them young,” as Martin Luther said. The Communists do it, the Afrikaner Nationalists do it, why not the democrats?

Whatever the outcome of the General Election, I think we should devise a scheme to tour the high schools (possibly monthly) giving instruction in civics, and the whys and wherefores of democratic government. Very few people are at all public spirited and every one of us ought to be—it is not the M.P.'s or M.P.C.'s or City Councillors who govern us, but every one of us who is responsible for electing our representatives. Several well-known schools in Cape Town run annually what they call a Citizenship Course. Could we not instigate something similar?

Everybody should be aware of the fact that he or she has some **responsibility** towards the community.

Rasseverhoudinge In Die Verenigde State Van Amerika—Vervolg.

Nog iets wat ons getref het was die sukses waarmee die Negers hulle eie besighede—winkels, restaurants, banke, assuransiemaatskappye, e.d.m.—beheer. So het ons bv. in Durham, Noord-Carolina, 'n Negerbank besoek wat ongeveer 150e op die ranglys van sowat 1,100 groot Amerikaanse banke staan. Hier het die hele baie groot personeel uitsluitlik uit Negers bestaan. Dit was vir ons baie interessant om te verneem dat die totale inkomste van die Negers in die V.S.A. in 1951 toe hulle 16,000,000 getel het, dié van Kanada met sy 16,000,000 mense in daardie jaar oortref het! In 1951 was die per kaput-inkomste van die Amerikaanse Negers omtrent \$1,000, d.w.s. omtrent £357!

In my volgende artikel sal ek u iets vertel oor die aard van die rassevraagstuk in V.S.A. en in die derde een hoe die Amerikaners dié vraagstuk die hoof bied.

I think it is simply dreadful that a comparatively few people (mostly women) have to spend hours every day (voluntarily) checking the Voters' Rolls, etc., for the “couldn't care less's.”

E. YOUNG.

* * *

SOUTH AFRICA IS MY HERITAGE

To the Editor, Black Sash.

IN reply to Marie Deelman's article “Why I left South Africa,” I cannot, alas, refute the criticisms she levels at “white South Africans,” nor can I deny the desperate unhappiness that exists in this country. It is all only too true. But I can, and do, disagree most strenuously with the reasons she gives for leaving.

I, too, am a South African born and bred. I, too, have children; and I, too, share Mrs. Deelman's fears for their safety and their future. But, far from feeling it “imperative to leave for my conscience's sake,” or finding it “impossible, morally, to return,” my reaction is the exact opposite. I love my country too deeply to desert her. South Africa is my heritage, and my children's heritage, and South Africa desperately needs every son and daughter of goodwill to strive with all their might to right the many wrongs we all know exist, and to rescue her from the dangers which threaten to engulf her—she needs us to have the courage to **remain** and fight the good fight, and make this lovely country of ours a home of happiness for every human soul she embraces. I find it morally **impossible** to leave my unhappy land—and I could find no “peace of mind” nor “in-describable lifting of the spirit” by removing myself and my children to safer shores. I, and they, owe our beloved South Africa our unswerving loyalty—and our implacable determination not to rest content until, by personal endeavour, we have piloted her and our varied people to safety and to the place in the sun which is so rightfully theirs

V. TUNBRIDGE.

Whether you be men or women, you will never do anything in the world without courage. It is the greatest quality of the mind—next to honour.

—James Allen.

FICTION:

From a report in "The Star" of January 28th, 1958. "Dr. Verwoerd speaking in the Senate, said: 'The FACTS showed it was untrue that Native women objected to being issued with Reference Books'."

FACT:

We publish excerpts from "Women and Passes" an article written by Helen Joseph and published in the January-March issue of "AFRICA SOUTH." Many of these incidents received wide publicity in the Press.

"From the first dramatic protest of two thousand women of the Transvaal at the Union Buildings in Pretoria on October 27th, 1955, to the historic and unparalleled demonstration of twenty thousand women from all parts of the Union on August 9th, 1956, women demonstrated all over the country against passes, gathered in their thousands at the offices of Native Commissioners, crying, "Women don't want passes!"

Thousands of protests were presented to Native Commissioners to be forwarded to the Minister of Native Affairs . . . these protests had one and all gone no further than the Security Branch of the Police. . . . Meanwhile Verwoerd began the issuing of passes. The little town of Winburg was the first—Winburg, where forty years ago the women had defied the pass laws. Quietly, unannounced, the pass unit arrived in March, 1956; soft spoken officials praised the passes, and many women . . . accepted the reference books and hung them around their necks. But swift awakening followed; the granddaughters of those earlier women of Winburg marched to the Magistrate, and when he refused to take back the passes, burnt hundreds of them in a sack outside the courtyard. The women were arrested and charged with theft

. . . . The women of Balfour were threatened with dire consequences if they refused passes. They were told by the police that their husbands would be dismissed from their work, business licenses would be cancelled; they were told that doctors would refuse to attend the sick, even in death the pass must be carried, for they were told that the dead could not be buried. And when the women went to the Location Superintendent to protest, they were dispersed by a baton charge

In Uitenhage where indignant women burnt their passes they met with brutal violence at the hands of the Police; pregnant women were batoned, the Police declaring that "they had to protect themselves against these women"

In Standerton more than a thousand women were arrested for an allegedly illegal procession of protest against passes

In Lichtenburg, when women burnt three sacksful of passes an hour after taking their decision at three

The Black Sash, March, '58

FANTASIE:

In „Die Star” van 28 Januarie 1958 is berig dat dr. Verwoerd hom as volg in die Senaat uitgelaat het: „Die FEITE het bewys dat Naturellevrouens geen beswaar gehad het teen die uitreiking van Bewysboekies nie.”

FEIT:

Hieronder volg uittreksels uit „Vrouens en Passe,” ’n artikel deur Helen Joseph wat in die Januarie-Maart uitgawe van AFRICA SOUTH verskyn het. Van etlike insidente waarna sy verwys is destyds in die pers melding gemaak.

„Van die eerste dramatiese protesbetoging van twee duisend Transvaalse vrouens by die Unie-gebou Pretoria op 27 Oktober 1955, tot die historiese en ongeëwenaarde betoging deur twintigduisend vrouens uit alle dele van die Unie op 9 Augustus 1956, is deur die ganse land heftig beswaar gemaak teen die uitreiking van passe. Duisende vrouens het in die kantore van Naturellekommissarisse saamgedrom met die slagkreet ‚Vrouens verwerp passe!’

. . . . „Duisende proteste is voor die Naturellekommissarise gelê met die versoek dat hulle na die Minister van Naturellesake aangestuur moet word . . . geen van hierdie proteste het verder gevorder as die veiligheidsafdeling van die Polisie nie . . . In die tussentyd het Verwoerd die passe begin uitreik. Die dorpie Winburg was eerste op die lys—Winburg, waar vrouens hulle veertig jaar gelede teen die passwette verset het. Sonder enige bohaai het die paseenheid in Maart 1956 ingetrek; amptenare het die passe lof toegeswaai, en baie vrouens . . . het die bewysboekies aangeneem en om hul nekke gehang. Ontnugtering het egter spoedig ingetree; die kleinkinders van daardie Winburg-vrouens van vroeër dae het by die Magistraat aangeklop. Toe hy weier om die passe terug te neem het hulle honderde daarvan in die omgewing van die binneplaas in ’n sak aan die brand gesteek. Die vrouens is in hegtenis geneem en van diefstal aangekla.

. . . . Die vrouens van Balfour is gewaarsku dat die gevolge ernstig sou wees indien hulle sou weier om die passe aan te neem. Die polisie het gesê dat hul mans ontslaan sou word, dat handelslisensies teruggetrek sou word, dat dokters sou weier om krankes te behandel, en dat begrafnisse belet sou word. Toe hulle by die lokasie-opsigter wou protesteer is hulle deur die polisie uitmekargejaag.

Toe verontwaardigde vrouens te Uitenhage hul passe verbrand het, is hulle op gruwelike wyse deur die polisie mishandel; swanger vrouens is met polisie-stokke gemoker met die bewering dat dit vir selfverdediging geskied het.

In Standerton is meer as ’n duisend vrouens gearresteer in die loop van ’n protesbetoging wat as onwettig bestempel is.

Toe vrouens drie sakkevol passe te Lichtenburg verbrand het—’n uur na hulle om 3 vm. by die grafte

FACT AND FICTION—(Continued)

o'clock in the morning at the graves of their tribal ancestors, twenty-five were arrested under the Criminal Laws Amendment Act. They were sentenced to £100 fine or twelve months' imprisonment.

To the little village of Putfontein in the Western Transvaal came the Native Commissioner on March 6th to issue passes. Most of the women refused, despite threats of the loss of their old-age pensions. And on March 18th a woman, reputed to be at least one hundred years old received nothing, and was given no reason why her pension had ceased. Three helpless blind men received no pension, their wives and daughters had refused passes

. . . . "There is no aspect of the pass system which has aroused more bitter resentment amongst the African people."

Either Dr. Verwoerd is kept ignorant of these matters by his department, or he wears extra large dark glasses and can see nothing he does not wish to see. This does not mean that all South Africans need follow suit!

A man should BE upright, not be KEPT upright.—*Marcus Aurelius Antonius.*

FANTASIE EN FEIT—(Vervolg)

van hul voorouers besluit het om dit te doen—is vyf-en-twintig kragtens die Wysigingswet op Strafwette in hegtenis geneem. Hulle . . . is skuldig bevind en 'n boete van £100, met twaalf maande tronkstraf as alternatief, is opgelê.

By die dorpie Putfontein in die Wes-Transvaal het die Naturellekommissaris op 6 Maart aangedoen om passe uit te reik. Die meeste vrouens het die passe geweier, ten spyte van die bedreiging dat hulle hul ouderdomspensioene sou verbeur. En op 18 Maart het 'n vrou, wat na bewering minstens honderdjaar oud was, niks ontvang nie. Geen rede is vir die verlies van haar pensioen aangevoer nie. Drie hulpelose blindes se pensioene is gekanselleer; hul vrouens en dogters het passe geweier.

. . . . „Geen ander aspek van die passtelsel het sulke skerp verontwaardiging onder die Bantoe veroorsaak nie.”

Daar is net twee moontlikhede: die eerste is dat dr. Verwoerd se amptenare hom nie oor hierdie sake inlig nie; die tweede is dat hy 'n ekstragroot donkerbril dra wat hom nie toelaat om raak te sien wat onaanneemlik is nie. Dit beteken geensins dat alle Suid-Afrikaners dieselfde moet doen nie!

BOOK REVIEW

No Further Trek

By Professor P. V. PISTORIUS

THIS short book is quite unlike any other dealing with the appalling problem of human relations in this country, for it is a clear, objective and unemotional statement of the issues involved.

It is a book that everyone must read, particularly during the current election campaign when politicians are making it their business to confuse and obscure the vital issues that face us. A certain amount of wry humour may be had comparing its statements with those of our politicians!

Professor Pistorius' theme is that our racial problems must be solved **now**. We see our doom approaching, but, paralysed by fear and inability to think, we do nothing to avert it. He states that the gods of **our making**, not the God of love, have first made us insane and will now destroy us. The truth of this is shown in his brilliant analysis of the patterns of fear in our racial groups and in his examination of group ideology and the national approach.

In conclusion, he states that the "problem of living together and of finding unity in essential diversity has become insistent and demanding. We must either overcome or be overcome. We must choose between the call of South Africa and the call of the group."

Read this book and you will realise that there is indeed "No further trek."

I. CALDER.

"A gradual change there must be; for no other kind of change is compatible with the maintenance of order, without which there is no society, no government, no justice, no common good. But a change must come, for otherwise our country faces a disastrous future. That change could be initiated immediately if the ingenuity and energy now expended on apartheid were devoted to making South Africa a happy country for all its citizens. The time is short. The need is urgent . . . Obviously no South African government can attempt such a change without the consent of the White citizens. On their shoulders lies squarely the burden of responsibility. Let them examine their conscience in the light of Christ's teaching."—*Statement on Apartheid by the Roman Catholic Bishops of South Africa.*

Candid Comments

Taken from the Newspapers

1. A Voter:

In these days most South Africans look to Parliament with fear and foreboding, not with hope and satisfaction.

2. An Industrialist:

The real reason why South Africa is not any longer considered as a country for investment by overseas industrialists is because they are not sure of a regular supply of labour; the position might change overnight. The labour force might be moved elsewhere by the Government, and increased transport costs would have to be borne by the employer. Dr. Verwoerd seems to be unaware that his moving of populations here and there is having any effect on our prosperity.

3. A Taxpayer:

The Senate is costing the taxpayer £1,000 per hour when it sits. What has it done for this enormous sum?

4. A Patriot:

The vision of the men who constructed the Union and who passed it on as a sacred heritage to posterity, rested on the hope that the two races would meet each other half way, both giving up something for the sake of realising the greater ideal. Let each one look into his heart today and ask himself if he has kept faith with those great men.

5. A Priest:

Dr. J. B. Webb, of the Southern Transvaal Synod of the Methodist Church, said in Germiston in July: "Integration, as I see it, belongs to the heart and core of reality. We must be one world or one family, or we have a home which is not worth living in. We have one word for integration, but on a deeper level. It is salvation, or wholeness, of health."

OBITUARY

It is with deep regret that we announce the death of Mrs. Monica Gertrude Mary PALFRAMAN on Friday, 14th February, at her residence, 16 Tulbach Street, Uitenhage, C.P. She leaves a husband six small children.

Mrs. PALFRAMAN was Chair of the Uitenhage Branch and worked tirelessly for the Black Sash. She went on the Cape Convoy, and up to the time of her death attended all Regional Conferences. She will be sadly missed by the Region and affectionately remembered by all who knew her, for her unfailing good-humour and helpful co-operation at all times.

We extend our deepest sympathies to her husband and children.

REGIONAL CHAIRS AND SECRETARIES

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- 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 MIDLANDS.

- C. Mrs. Conroy, Watergift, Box 53, Beaufort West.
- S. Miss Conroy, Watergift, Box 53, Beaufort West.

CAPE NORTHERN.

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

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- S. Mrs. Stoy, 1 Kildare Road, Claremont.

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

NATAL COASTAL REGION.

- C. Mrs. M. Scott, 16 Chelmsford Road, Durban
- S. Mrs. A. G. Haysom, 28 Ridge Road, Kloof.

NATAL MIDLANDS.

- C. Mrs. M. Corrigan, 306 Alexandra Road, Pietermaritzburg.
- S. Miss D. Anderson, Box 293, Pietermaritzburg.

NORTHERN TRANSVAAL

- C. Mrs. C. M. F. Lang, 91 Manning Street, Colbyn, Pretoria.
- S. Mrs. Wright, 9 Victoria Avenue, Waterkloof, Pretoria.

ORANGE FREE STATE.

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

SOUTH-EASTERN TRANSVAAL.

- C. Mrs. M. Fourie, Box 222, Springs.
- S. Mrs. E. Gouldie, Marievale Mine, P.O. Marie shaft, Transvaal.

SOUTHERN TRANSVAAL.

- C. Mrs. D. Hill, 41 The Valley Road, Westcliff, Johannesburg.
- S. Mrs. W. Grant, 2 Hope Hall, 20 Von Weilligh Street, Johannesburg.