

THE BLACK SASH

DIE SWART SERP

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DIE LAASTE STAND

DIT behoort nou duidelik te wees vir almal wat 'n intelligente belang in ons landsake stel dat die moontlikheid dat Suid-Afrika se apartheidbeleid kan slaag, nou feitlik verdwyn het. Drukkragte van binne en van buite werk saam om 'n beleidsverandering onvermydelik te maak, en dit is slegs 'n saak van tyd voordat 'n verandering plaasvind.

In die eerste plek wek apartheidswetgewing toenemende weerstand by sakelui — selfs by dié wat nasionaalgesind is. Onsekerheid as gevolg van maatreëls soos die Wet op Groepsgebiede, en werkafbakening, en besorgdheid oor die uitwerking van ontwikkeling langs die grense van die Reservate, is besig om belegging af te skrik en ons ekonomiese vooruitgang te strem. Ons word deur ekonomiese boikotte gedreig, en ons staan in gevaar om uiteindelik die voordele te verloor wat ons tans as lid van die Statebond geniet. Huidige beleide raak gedurig meer onvoordelig, en alle onvoordelige ondernemings moet uiteindelik laat vaar word.

In die tweede plek is ons politieke afsondering tans feitlik voldaan. Afgesien van klein groepe Blankes in naburige gebiede, is die

THE LAST DITCH

IT should now be apparent to everyone who takes an intelligent interest in public affairs that the chances of success for South Africa's apartheid policy have receded to vanishing point. Internal and external pressures are combining to force a change of policy, and it is only a matter of time before a change takes place.

In the first place, apartheid legislation is generating increasing hostility among the business community, including that part of it that is nationalist in sentiment. Uncertainty created by measures such as the Group Areas Act and job reservation, and anxiety about the effects of development on the borders of the Reserves, are discouraging investment and holding back our economic progress. We are threatened by economic boycotts, and we stand in danger of eventually losing the benefits we now enjoy as a member of the Commonwealth. Present policies are becoming more and more unprofitable, and all unprofitable ventures must ultimately be abandoned.

In the second place, our political isolation is now almost complete. Apart from small groups

wêreld vas teen ons gekant. Ons beleid word verwerp deur 'n meerderheid van die mense in ons land; dit is afskuwelik vir die ontwikkelende volke van Afrika: en deur die Westerse wêreld in die algemeen word dit as 'n verleentheid beskou in die stryd teen die Kommunisme. Om ons te verbeel dat 'n beleid ten spyte van sulke weerstand kan slaag, is inderdaad uiters onrealisties.

In die derde plek word dit steeds moeiliker om die etiese redenering teen rassediskriminerings te weerstaan. Mense sal 'n feitlik hopelose stand verdedig as daar diep in hulle die wete is dat dit 'n regverdige stand is; maar dié troos is ons huidige regeerders ontsê. Daar is te veel in hul beleide wat, om die minste te sê, moreel betwisbaar is. Ons kan nie daarop aanspraak maak dat ons regering op toestemming gevestig is nie. Ons kan nie met oortuiging aanvoer dat die twyfelagtige voordele van afsonderlike ontwikkeling vir die Naturelle in die toekoms, die onbekwaamhede regverdig wat hulle tans moet ly nie. Ons kan nie sonder verontrusting ons apartheidswetgewing met die hoogste beginsels van die westerse beskawing versoen nie.

TEN spyte van alles, het baie van ons mense besluit om 'n wanhopige laaste stand te steun. Hulle is vasbeslote om met apartheid voort te gaan, omdat hulle glo dat die enigste alternatief 'n swart heerskappy is. Hulle vind dit skynbaar psigologies onmoontlik om 'n grondwet te beoog waaronder die regte en vryheid van almal beveilig word, of 'n veel-rassige samelewing waarin die status van die individu alleenlik volgens verdienste bepaal word.

Die Swart Serp begryp die diepe vrees vir die toekoms wat vandag onder die Blankes in Suid-Afrika heers. Die Serp kan nie voorgee dat 'n verandering van beleid maklik of gerieflik sal wees nie. Maar wetgewing wat op die

A word in earnest is better than a speech.
—Charles Dickens.

* * *

When the state is most corrupt, then laws
are most multiplied.
—Tacitus.

of white people in neighbouring territories, the world is solidly against us. Our policy is rejected by a majority of the people within our borders: it is repugnant to the developing nations of Africa; and it is regarded by the Western world generally as an embarrassment in the struggle against Communism. To imagine that a policy can succeed in the face of such opposition is unrealistic in the extreme.

In the third place, the ethical argument against racial discrimination is proving increasingly difficult to resist. Men will rally behind a desperate cause if they know, deep down, that they are right; but this consolation is denied our present rulers. There is too much in their policies that is, to say the least, morally questionable. We cannot claim that our government is based on consent. We cannot argue with conviction that the problematical benefits of separate development for Africans in the future justify the disabilities they suffer here and now. We cannot reconcile, without misgivings, our apartheid legislation with the highest principles of Western civilisation.

DESPITE all this, many of our people have committed themselves to a desperate, last ditch stand. They are determined to persist with apartheid, believing that the only alternative is black domination. They appear to be psychologically incapable of envisaging a constitution under which the rights and liberties of all would be safeguarded, or a multi-racial society in which the status of the individual is determined by merit alone.

The Black Sash understands the deep fear of the future that exists among white people in South Africa today. It cannot pretend to

vrees gebaseer is, skep juis die euwels wat dit beoog is om te verhoed. Dit skyn buitendien asof blanke Suid-Afrika geen keuse het nie, en vroeër of later verplig sal word om sy beleid te wysig. Dit sou beter wees om nou 'n beleid te aanvaar wat moreel onberispelik is, en die gevolge tegemoet te gaan — wat hulle ook al mag wees — liever as om deur eiebelang beweeg te word om met 'n beleid voort te gaan wat vir die gewete van die mensdom afskuwelik is.

believe that a change of policy would be easy or comfortable. But legislation based on fear creates the very evils it seeks to avoid. In any event, it seems that white South Africa has no choice in the matter and will have to change its policy sooner or later. It would be better to adopt a policy, now, that is morally irreproachable, and face the consequences, whatever they may be, than to persist with a policy, on grounds of self-interest, that is repugnant to the conscience of mankind.



“There must not only be justice to the Black man in Africa, but also to the White man.”

—Cape Times.

The Essence of THE COMMONWEALTH

THE Commonwealth is an association of ten sovereign, independent States — the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Ghana and the Federation of Malaya, together with their dependencies. All are monarchies, owing allegiance to the Queen, except India and Pakistan, which are Republics with a President as Head of State, and the Federation of Malaya, of which the Head of State is a local Sovereign—the Yang di-Pertuan Agong.

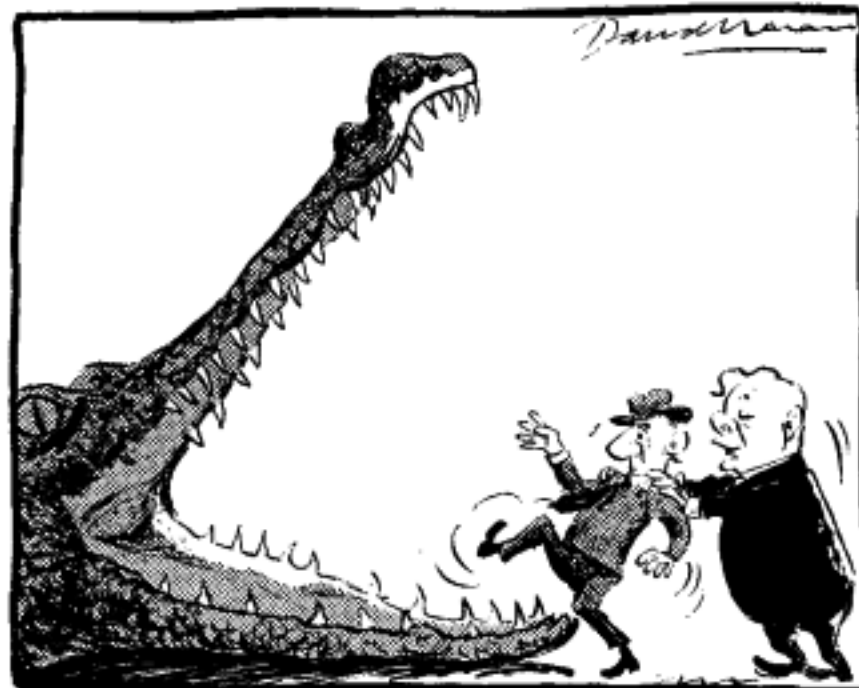
All, without exception, accept the Queen as the symbol of their free association as Members of the Commonwealth, and as such the Head of the Commonwealth. They have a broad community of interest arising in part from the fact that each was at one time the responsibility of the United Kingdom. They speak a common political language and, in spite of diversities of race and tradition, possess a broadly similar pattern of institutions, whether legislative, executive or judicial.

Complete Independence

The principles of self-government which led to the political independence of the Members of the Commonwealth derive from Lord Durham's Report, issued in 1839, on the causes of discontent in the Canadian colonies. His suggestions for overcoming the difficulties provided the starting point in a process of constitutional evolution that is still continuing throughout the Commonwealth.

Every one of the Member nations enjoys unfettered control of its own affairs. Thus it determines its foreign, domestic, and fiscal policies, defines its citizenship and immigration regulations, negotiates and signs treaties with other nations, maintains its own diplomatic service and decides for itself the issues of peace and war. Members are free to join international organisations irrespective of the decision of any other Member, and all have complete freedom on international issues.

In short, then, no Member of the Commonwealth can dictate to another in any matter whatsoever, nor is any Commonwealth nation under any obligation to underwrite the responsibilities undertaken by any other Commonwealth nation. It is, however, vital to



"Stop asking if you'll be inside or outside the Commonwealth. Once you're inside the Republic you'll see that that question is entirely irrelevant."

—Cape Times.

the maintenance of the Commonwealth relationship and to the influence of the Commonwealth in the world that on all matters of common concern there should be the greatest possible measure of community of view and co-operation in action. And in practice, as Commonwealth solidarity in two world wars has shown, there is a fundamental unity of ideal and principle which overrides all trivial and ephemeral differences of opinion. Moreover, the frankness with which these differences are discussed in the family atmosphere of Ministers' conferences and the comprehensive system of day-by-day communication and consultation that has developed between the individual Governments is one of the main sources of the strength of the Commonwealth association.

A Voluntary Association

Every sovereign independent Member of the Commonwealth is in the association entirely of its own choice. In 1947 Burma decided to become a republic outside the Commonwealth. A year later Eire chose the same path and became the Irish Republic. The new Republic was not, however, regarded by other Commonwealth countries as a foreign country, or her citizens as foreigners.

Lord Listowel, then Secretary of State for Burma, moving the Second Reading of the Burma Independ-

ence Bill in the House of Lords on 25th November, 1947, said: "We here do not regard membership of the Commonwealth as something to be thrust by force upon a reluctant people, but as a priceless privilege granted only to those who deeply desire it and are conscious of its obligations as well as its advantages. The essence of the Commonwealth relationship is that it is a free association of nations with a common purpose, who belong together because they have decided of their own volition to give and to take their fair share in a world-wide partnership." But the Members of the Commonwealth do not for the most part think in terms of the right to secede. If it were not a basic assumption that the Commonwealth is not only a voluntary and friendly but also a lasting partnership, long-term planning would be meaningless.

The Commonwealth is not a federation, for there is no central government, defence force or judiciary, and no rigid obligations or commitments. Nor is it comparable with a contractual alliance such as the United Nations. It is no easy task to convey at one and the same time the essential freedom and the friendly intimacy of the Commonwealth relationship; yet they are equally real. Speaking of this relationship, the late Mr. Peter Fraser, when Prime Minister of New Zealand, said: "It is independence with something added, and not independence with something taken away."

A Common Heritage

Like the United Kingdom, the Commonwealth has no written constitution, but all its Members have certain salient constitutional features in common. They are parliamentary democracies, their laws being made with the consent of a freely elected parliament after discussion in that parliament, and the executive government holding office because it has the support of a majority in parliament. Ministers are collectively responsible for the actions of the executive. With the exception of New Zealand, where the legislative Council was abolished from 1st January, 1951, Pakistan and Ghana, the parliaments are bicameral, but in the case of the upper houses the method of choosing members varies. The lower houses, elected by secret ballot on a basis of adult suffrage, are dominant, for it is on majority support in them that Governments rely for their retention of office, and since they alone can originate or amend financial legislation, they hold the "power of the purse".

At the head of each of the Governments and parliaments of the Commonwealth—except those of the Republics of India and Pakistan and the Monarchy of the Federation of Malaya—is the Queen, in whose name the administration is carried on. Although she is a constitutional sovereign and not

Continued overleaf

Quotes . . .

. . . . the main reason, in my opinion, why the Commonwealth can remain together, in spite of the changes and developments which have taken place, is that the Commonwealth has shown an ability to adapt itself to changing conditions in a changing world. . . . It respects freedom, not only freedom for all the members jointly but freedom for every member as distinct from the Commonwealth. It has the quality of adaptability.

—*Dr. Malan, in the House of Assembly, 11th May, 1949.*

* * *

The Commonwealth is held together not by formal words, not by written constitutions, nor by documents; it is held together by the spirit of fellowship and our common way of life which we all share.

—*Field Marshal Smuts, November, 1943.*

* * *

The Commonwealth association is of value to us because it unites us to countries who have the same system of law and the same system of parliamentary government as we have. . . . The Commonwealth can, I believe, become a pilot scheme for developing the most effective methods by which colonialism can be ended without revolution or violence and under conditions in which the former colonial territory still retains a close and friendly association with the former imperial Power.

—*Dr. Nkrumah, now Prime Minister of Ghana, addressing the last session of the Gold Coast Legislative Assembly, 5th March, 1957.*

* * *

In a difficult and dangerous world we must hold together for our mutual advantage. The Commonwealth is a great and vital force for the preservation of peace in the world. It is an association of powers bound together in friendship. Never has there been a time when it has been more important for friends to stand together, never has it been more important to put first things first and to remember not the lesser matters that may divide us but the great things that unite us.

—*Mr. Patrick Gordon Walker, U.K. Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, in Cape Town, 9th February, 1951.*

a ruler, she provides the element of continuity in the administration, and the importance of her influence would be hard to over-estimate.

The Queen is represented in each of the Member countries—except India, Pakistan and the Federation of Malaya—by a Governor-General, appointed on the recommendation of the Government of the country concerned. Throughout his term of office he acts on the advice of that Government, and is wholly independent of the Government of the United Kingdom. He is often a citizen of the country in which he holds office.

Neither the addition of sovereign States which have newly achieved independence, nor the secession of others, nor yet, as in the cases of India and Pakistan, the choice by two of the Members of a republican constitution, alters the basic pattern and the fundamental ideals. In the future more and more of the dependent territories will doubtless join the numbers of fully self-governing States, since the United Kingdom's colonial policy is to help the dependent territories to attain self-government within the Commonwealth.

A Way of Life

NATIONALISM is not a rational but an emotional phenomenon. Or, to put it in another way, nationalism is like a heavy wine. Taken in moderation it can not only make glad the heart of man but give him health and strength to accomplish great tasks. But taken in excess it incapacitates him and makes him an easy prey to the designs of others.

The Commonwealth stands for a free, democratic way of life in which each nation has full liberty to express itself. It stands also for international co-operation in the defence of these freedoms. Within the United Nations we hope that we may prove to be a cohesive force and perhaps even an example of how, while retaining their individuality, the nations of the world can live and work together for the welfare of mankind.

—From a lecture given by Sir Ashley Clarke, British Ambassador in Rome, at Florence, in May, 1957.

The Black Sash and the Republic

THE Central Executive of the Black Sash wishes to correct any erroneous impression that might have been created by the statement appearing in the leading article in the February issue of the Black Sash magazine that the Black Sash "would accept a democratic republic provided that a clear majority of the people—of all the people—desired it."

The policy of the Black Sash is as stated in the following resolution taken at a National Conference of the organization held in October, 1958: "While acknowledging that some members are not opposed, in theory, to Republicanism, the Black Sash, recognising the realities of the situation at the moment, emphatically rejects the demand for a Nationalist Republic."

This was amplified by the press statement issued at the end of the conference which read:—

"The Black Sash has considered the republican issue and emphatically rejects the proposals of the Government for a republic now, on the grounds that members of the Government have, through the Senate Act and other laws, proved that they respect neither the spirit underlying the Constitution nor the freedom of the individual,

nor the rights of minorities.

"We believe that any new Constitution, which requires the allegiance of all South Africans, must safeguard the rights of all, and should not be brought into being without the support of the overwhelming majority of all the peoples of South Africa. Whether this support is indeed a fact cannot be ascertained unless the exact proposals for the new Constitution are made public and time given for consideration thereof."

The Black Sash, as a movement, is not concerned with approving or rejecting, in theory, republican or monarchical forms of government. What it does say is that it would be politically immoral to make a change to a Republic (or any other form of government) without the explicit sanction of a clear majority of all the people of South Africa; further, that no such change could be politically moral unless it guaranteed civil rights and liberties to every citizen. The Black Sash would neither approve nor reject a republic which incorporated such principles; Sash members, as individuals, would support it or not according to whether they were monarchist or republican by conviction.

Were You on the Voters' Roll?

SASHERS IN ACTION

EARLY in the morning my friend and I set up a registration table in the middle of our shopping centre and waited for our first customers. We did not wait long. We were well known in our small town, so people stopped to chat. Soon business became brisk. We had our moments of fun and our moments of irritation. There were those who, when asked if they were on the voters' roll, tossed their heads and marched off without answering; and those who took it for granted and walked on without checking. Others thought it was all a huge joke.

Mrs. J, a thorn in our flesh at every election, satisfied herself that she was on the roll and then left in a huff because we refused to cross off her neighbour, who she was *sure* would vote for the republic! One woman went to great lengths to explain to her companion how to vote, but as the companion seemed bewildered, she rapped out: "Dolly, you *must* vote, and see that you vote properly. Remember, even ONE vote can get Verwoerd out and the Queen in!"

Very Indignant

An elderly woman became very indignant when she found she was not on the roll. "Born and bred here," she muttered, "lived here all my life." Questioning revealed that she had never signed a registration card. When the little green card was handed to her, she exclaimed angrily: "Ask for permission to vote? Never! Why should I? This government is really going too far." She stalked off, still muttering.

A flood of commercial college students who attended lectures near by suddenly poured round our table, gaping and whispering. "Any 18-year-olds?" we asked. "Here, here!" they cried, pushing a struggling youth towards us. The youth flushed and shuffled his feet while we assured him there was nothing to worry about. Finally he confessed that

"I know I really should have registered as a voter, but it's so difficult to find time. Mondays I always have my bridge club, Tuesday is the maid's day off . . ."
— *Cape Times.*



he hadn't any money. "But it's free," we explained. "Free!" The cry went up, and several students came forward to be "done". Thereafter whenever classes were dismissed we shouted: "Come and register! All 18-year-olds free!" and no doubt thinking they were getting bargain prices for the day only, many took the plunge.

An African came to register. I had known that it would happen sooner or later, but, cravenly, had hoped that someone else would be sitting there to cope with such a situation. I explained carefully that this was for registered voters only, and that it had nothing to do with us. But what could I say when he pointed out that he wanted to vote against the republic, and that this was his country? "Immigrants come across the seas and they can vote, but I, who was born here, cannot vote," he said. I was as uncomfortable as if I had personally deprived him of his vote. He went on arguing, and although I hated using the phrase "whites only" in the end I had to. There was no other way of convincing him that he could not fill in the card.

As he walked off, I thought how ironical it was that this man was pleading for the right to vote while the young students across the street had to be persuaded to make use of the vote they had.

— SHEILA NEWMAN.

I notice that a lot of people in the Press say that we are all small men in Parliament. Well, I think we represent the public and the Press pretty well, and, therefore, if we are small the people outside must be small, too.
— *Mr. R. A. Butler.*

More members tell why they joined the Black Sash



Nazi Germany

WHEN I was young I saw from far away what happened in Nazi Germany. I asked myself: couldn't people see it coming, couldn't they do something, didn't they protest? Some people did see it coming, many people did something and their protests took them into the concentration camps to die.

Things aren't as bad as that in this country. The millions of unwanted Africans, unlike the Jews in Germany, do not end up in gas chambers; they provide a much-needed labour force. Food isn't rationed with only selected persons able to procure it — anyone may buy it provided he has enough money left after the rent has been paid. Houses are available for those who qualify for residence. Jobs are there, provided there's no insistence on choosing what to do. The law is still there, although for whose benefit isn't always clear.

But it's all bad enough and it gets under your skin. It has got under mine and I find my nice home and garden, ample larder and safe place in the sun not so enjoyable. The contrast is too painful — the prospects are too bleak for too many.

Some women find party politics difficult to understand. I am one of these. I support the party of my choice, having examined its intentions, but I can't work up much enthusiasm about doing more. I *can* get enthusiastic about combatting injustice directly — even by way of a simple, silent protest. There are, in the Sash organization, many direct ways in which to help the oppressed; it depends on your talents and your time and your interest. You need not have a degree in Social Science; all you

need is a little compassion.

Even if our protest fails, if our whole structure in South Africa crumbles because our efforts were too weak or came too late, it's a good thing to have protested, to have cared about the broken homes, the terror caused by police raids, the lack of freedom, the feeling of being unwanted anywhere. That is why I joined the Sash.

— B. MURRAY.

An Individualist

I AM an individualist. I believe that governments exist for the individual and not the individual for the government. To me, a government is good and the laws are just only in so far as they respect and uphold the rights of the individuals of whom the state is composed. Today, far too often everywhere, this view is ignored and the individual is ruthlessly sacrificed in the interests of the state or such meaningless abstractions as "dictatorship of the proletariat", "white supremacy" or "baasskap".

The Black Sash appeared to me to be an organisation that would oppose the regimentation of the individual in the interests of a political theory.

I believe in Parliamentary democracy, but Parliamentary government cannot work without a strong, healthy, critical opposition. A great Parliamentary leader of the past said that it was the business of the opposition to oppose. The official opposition in the House of Assembly appears to have forgotten this, or never to have known it. Its feeble antics so infuriated me that I was prepared to join the Black Sash almost before it started to carry on the business of the opposition outside Parliament more vigorously than it was carried on within.

Long ago men and women struggled to build up a civilization which I inherited. This civilization has given me immense benefits. I am a debtor to the men and women of the past; to pay that debt I must pass on to my children this heritage undiminished. In the Black Sash I can work with other women conscious of their debt to the past and of their obligations to their children.

—MARY STOKY.

I hated these Ideas

I JOINED the Black Sash because four years ago I knew no other effective way in which I could protest against the outrages which the Nationalist Government was perpetrating in the name of South Africa. I hated the ideas which they were pledged to carry to ruthless extremes, and I despised the cynical irresponsibility of Opposition politicians who seemed unwilling or unable to make any stand against them on clear moral issues.

Men of the kind I had helped to elect to Parliament had, I felt, failed dishonourably in their duty, by not expressing more vehemently the disgust and indignation that was disturbing many ordinary people. In the face of the threatening evil I felt helpless, but I could not be content to remain passive.

I was in no doubt that the job I was doing, bearing my children and caring for my home, was my supreme task for the time being. But I knew I had a share of public responsibility as well.

Then the Sash came into being. The women who participated in its first dramatic demonstrations made it clear that they held the same ideals as I did. I could not take part in all they were doing, but I could associate myself with their courageous protests by merely joining the Sash. And that was what I did.

Quote . . .

South Africa has the most tyrannical political system masquerading as a democracy this side of the Iron Curtain.

—*Mr. Alfred Friendly, U.S. Editor.*

* * *

You may not be interested in politics, but politics is interested in you.

—*Sir De Villiers Graaff.*

At about this time I met Christopher Gell. His titanic fight in the cause of the oppressed, when he knew that he himself was dying, inspired my profoundest respect and admiration. I knew that I did not have the heroic qualities by which he had risen above his disabilities to become a living legend. But his example proved to me something I already suspected, that the old defeatist parrot-cry "What can I do about all this?" is nothing but a weak excuse for not doing anything.

Even if in the end the evil policies that threaten us prevail (and I do not believe that they will), I have at least the answer to my own conscience, and to my children's later questioning: "What were you doing while all this was going on?" I haven't been able to do very much. But I give my unqualified support to the Black Sash, which has done a good deal towards upholding standards that I cherish.

—MARGARET RAINIER.

A Splendid Job

WHEN the Black Sash first came into existence I took it to be a feminine edition of the *Torch Commando*, a praiseworthy demonstration — no more. Although I admired the women who stood in silent protest I did not join them because I felt that neither defence of a constitution which was already broken, nor mourning, was a constructive, forward-looking task.

Now that the Black Sash has taken upon itself the much more real task of preparing the ground for a new constitution, I feel no such hesitation. It is doing a splendid job on two fronts. On the one hand through functions like its Brains Trusts, and through its magazine, it is bringing to large numbers of white women a realisation of their country's problems; and, on the other, through its positive help to non-Whites in their troubles, it is building a body of goodwill between races which may well be the deciding factor in maintaining Western civilization in this country.

Black Sashers are not the only people engaged in such work, but women today form an important half of the body politic and the useful, sensible co-operation of Sashers with other organisations has won for them an important place among those who plan a better South Africa.

When I am an old lady, I know that I shall not be able to look back upon this time without a sense of shame if I do not actively associate myself with the Black Sash.

—B. M.

Why I am not leaving South Africa

I, too, am a Citizen

I AM a South African born of Indian parents.

My forefathers arrived in this country nearly a hundred years ago. They came at the request of the then legal Natal Government.

Both my forefathers and their offspring were promised equal rights with the people living in the country. That promise has now been broken.

It is largely through their sweat and toil that South Africa has her sugar industry today. As a result, the Union has the cheapest sugar in the world except Peru and Mexico.

Their thrift enabled them to make contributions in other fields in the country's economy.

We, their descendants, are faced with a new challenge to build on from where they left. We see our achievements in danger of being destroyed.

The Afrikaners tell us they have no other country to go to. They would be strangers in Holland. They say they are the only true patriots in South Africa.

Do they think we Indian South Africans, after three generations in South Africa, would be anything other than strangers in India, or any country

for that matter? More than 90 per cent. of the Indians were born in South Africa.

Many of us have abandoned the languages we brought from India. We speak one or the other of the Union's official languages. What more must a man do to show that he is a good South African?

I love this country. I love it dearly. I would deem it an honour to die for it.

I do not like to see my country attacked and despised in the outside world. I like to see her good name respected. I would like to see our sportsmen of all races winning glory for South Africa, because all the races have built up South Africa.

It hurts me to be told that I must not give of my best to my country, because I am not white. I feel insulted when I am told that I am an alien.

This fact, together with my love of this country, makes me determined to stay here and work by the side of those who want to make South Africa a country where free men would live.

The Whites very often do not know how hurting it is to the spirit to bring up our children. Everywhere they go, because of their colour, they are denied things that make for a child's happiness.

It is my duty to stay here and fight so that when my children grow up they will not know the frustration I knew.

All this might sound a bit sentimental, but that is how I feel. I am in no doubt about my feelings for the land that has fed me, clothed me and made me what I am today.

Continued on page 11



—By—

**RAMJEE
HARRY**

No Representation for Indians

A NATIONALIST member of Parliament, Mr. J. F. Nel (Port Elizabeth North) said bluntly in the Assembly that so long as the Nationalist Government was in power Indians would not get representation in either the Assembly or the Senate.

He was speaking in the resumed debate on the Senate Bill. He replied to an interjection by Dr. Frans Cronje

(U.P., Jeppe), who asked whether the Government intended excluding South Africa's 441,000 Indians permanently from political representation.

When Dr. Jan Steytler, leader of the Progressive Party, spoke in the debate he remarked that Indians were as much a part of the population as Afrikaners. Government members exclaimed "Disgraceful!"

NEWS FROM REGIONS AND BRANCHES

NATAL COASTAL

Cato Manor

PROPOSALS for Group Areas as they affect the Indian community are usually unjust. The proclamation of Cato Manor as a White Group Area is particularly foolish and heartless since Cato Manor has never been a White residential area, nor is it likely to become so in the near future. It is partly occupied by Africans living in temporary shacks, who are being steadily moved to other areas, and the rest is owned and occupied almost exclusively by Indians, many of whom have built substantial homes, and invested in temples, mosques, schools and burial grounds.

Public indignation against these proposals last year led to a mass meeting of Durban's White citizens, who were strongly supported by the Churches. As a result the Durban City Council was persuaded to reconsider its former acquiescence in the scheme, and make representations to have the Indian area of Cato Manor de-proclaimed. When the Group Areas Board turned down this request, Sash members rallied to the call and staged a demonstration outside the Post Office, our traditional place for demonstrations. Posters in English and Afrikaans stated "We Con-

Continued overleaf



I, TOO, AM A CITIZEN — Continued from page 10

But what about the present situation? I must admit it is gloomy. I am not allowed to do, learn, profess or believe what I want to.

I am not allowed to go, work or stay where I want to. In certain cases I am not allowed to think how and what I want to. In the very land of my birth, I am an outcast.

I am totally against the ideology of the Nationalist. It is based on hatred, fear and suspicion. It sets one South African against another and spreads conflict and insecurity.

I loathe those laws which are repressive and which are meant to keep the man of colour down. But I do not hate the men who make them. They are South Africans like I am.

Finally, I am in agreement with the millions of Blacks and many Whites who would like to see a change in Government. I have suffered so much from race prejudice, I wish to have nothing to do with it. I am for a non-racial government. My duty is to stay here and fight for it.

[This is a condensation of an article that appeared in the Port Elizabeth "Evening Post". Mr. Harry is an East London businessman.]

— *Natal Mercury.*
Some of the members of the Natal Coastal Region standing in protest against the Group Areas Board's "folly and injustice".

NEWS FROM THE REGIONS — Continued

denn Group Areas Decision" and "Indians Need Cato Manor". Leaflets were distributed stating:

"The Board's decision will mean the uprooting of thousands of Indians from their homes at a time when there is a serious shortage of houses for the Indian community. It will place a heavy burden of economic insecurity and loss upon this community at a time when the growing volume of unemployment is already seriously undermining Indian living standards.

"The Black Sash is filled with shame that the 50th year of Union and the centenary of the coming of Indians to this country should be marked by such flagrant and senseless injustice.

"We are also deeply concerned at the flouting of the wishes of the citizens of Durban as expressed to the Board by their duly elected City Council; and also by a public meeting of thousands of citizens in the City Hall last year in protest against the exclusion of Indians from Cato Manor."

A slight diversion was caused when the Postmaster appeared to ask us why we were embarrassing him. At his request, members moved quietly from the steps to the pavement.

Our demonstration met with the usual mixed reception. One Sasher, indignant at the remarks of certain passers-by, sent this letter to the press:—

"May I reply now to a remark many of us heard at different times during the Black Sash protest stand against the Cato Manor Group Areas decision, 'You'd think they had something better to do with their time'.

"We had all attended to the comfort and well-being of our families and were then ready to devote a little time, half an hour or an hour, to the well-being of our country. Most of us during our stand spend some part of the time in prayer and thought for our country.
BLACK SASH."

One of our most determined Sashers is 86 years old. Another elderly member was very angry that in an attempt to spare her the strain I had not informed her of this stand. If only we had as many equally determined younger women to back them up!

— J. F. HILL.

CAPE EASTERN

PROFESSOR PISTORIUS addressed a house meeting in Port Elizabeth early in December. Eighty men and women were in the audience, including the whole of Addo branch, which had been much impressed by the recording of the Professor's historic Cape Town address. This record, by the way, has been to Fish River (and let to the Women's Association), and to Alexandria, and will go to Salem.

Mrs. Pirie and Mrs. Ruth Brink accompanied members of the N.C.W. and the Distressed Areas Council to see the Native Commissioner regarding the reduction in some Africans' disability pensions. The 800 cases should have been inspected by the District Surgeon but were not, and the majority of these people are quite incapable of working. Through Mrs. Pirie, the matter will be taken up in Parliament.

During December fifteen members of the Sash collaborated with the N.C.W. to collect school books and equipment. These were all sorted on the 3rd of February (while listening to Mr. Macmillan's address!) and are to be distributed to African and Coloured schools in the Port Elizabeth area.

Members enthusiastically joined the drive for the registration of voters and offered their services to all interested organizations.

OBITUARY

IT is with deep regret that we report the death of Mrs. Estelle Harrison, a valued and hard-working member of the Port Elizabeth branch of the Black Sash. Much of her life was spent in working for worthy causes.

During World War I she served in Palestine as a member of the St. John Indian Nursing Services. In World War II she was a nurse in the Red Cross and St. John in Pretoria and Maritzburg.

After settling in Port Elizabeth about six years ago, she devoted much of her time to the Black Sash.

We extend our deepest sympathy to her husband, Major W. B. Harrison, her son, and her daughter Elizabeth, who is also a member of the Sash.