

THE BLACK SASH

DIE SWART SERP

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Die Brokkies Word Opgetel

DIE ramspoedige algemene verkiesing is verby en ons is nie van plan om aan die Rekenkunde-oorlog deel te neem nie. Die een reeks syfers na die ander verskyn op die toneel en geen reeks klop met enige ander reeks nie. Elke reeks word veronderstel om te bepaal of die Nasionaliste die ondersteuning van 'n meerderheid van kiesers geniet aldan nie, en of setels deur oortuiging of afbakening verower is. Die een ding wat syfers nie kan weerlê nie is die feit dat ons voor 'n verdere vyf jaar van Nasionale Party-bewind staan.

Voordat ons die toekoms bespreek is dit die moeite werd om ons aandag te wy aan 'n aspek van die verkiesing wat vir die Swart Serp-beweging besonder belangrik is. Die Nasionale Party het sy bereidwilligheid getoon om op grond van sy optrede tydens die afgelope tien jaar deur die kiesers beoordeel te word. Sodoende het hy hom aan 'n verpletterende aanval blootgestel. Die Swart Serp is daar deeglik van bewus dat hierdie optrede uit gebroke beloftes bestaan het, uit politieke oneerlikheid en uit 'n hele reeks skendings van ons land se grondwet. Om een of ander rede het die Verenigde Party verkies om die stryd nie op die basis van die Nasionaliste se optrede aan te knoop nie. In plaas daarvan het hy sy aandag byna uitsluitlik aan ekonomiese punte bestee. Min is gesê oor die verraaiing van die ware gees van Unie, die skending

Picking Up The Pieces

THE disastrous general election is over and done with, and we have no intention of joining in the subsequent Battle of Arithmetic. There has been a flood of figures, no set agreeing with any other set, but all designed to show whether the Nationalists won or lost the total poll, or whether seats were captured by persuasion or delimitation. Nothing alters the fact that we have to face another five years of Nationalist Government.

Before turning to the future, however, it is worth noting one aspect of the election campaign that is of particular interest to the Black Sash movement. The Nationalist Party went to the country on its record over the past ten years, thereby laying itself open, one might have supposed, to a most devastating attack. As the Black Sash knows only too well, that record was one of broken promises, political immorality and attack after attack on the constitution of our country. For some reason, however, the United Party did not choose to take the Nationalists at their word and fight them on their record. Instead, the United Party campaigned almost entirely on economic or bread-and-butter issues. Little was said about the betrayal of the spirit of Union, the broken pledges to the Coloured People, the trickery of the Senate Act, or the farce of the High Court of Parliament. Time and again we have said that it was the fervent wish of the Nationalists that those things should be

van die beloftes wat aan die kleurlinge gemaak is, die kullery van die Senaatswet, of die klug van die Hoë Hof van die Parlement. Ons het keer op keer daarop gewys dat die Nasionaliste nie daaraan herinner wil word nie. In die verkiesingstryd is aan hul begeerte voldoen. Hul sondes, hoewel nie vergete, was op geen stadium in die kalklig nie. Vermoedelik het opposisie-kandidate so af en toe daarna verwys, maar dit was geensins 'n hoof trek van die Verenigde Party se aanval nie. Dalk was die party reg as mens die saak bloot uit die oogpunt verkiesingstaktiek benader. Wie weet? Dalk was dit voordelig om die lewensbelangrike morele strydvrage in die agtergrond te hou, maar die gehalte van die verkiesingsveldtog is beslis daardeur verlaag. Moontlik was die onselfsugtige besluit van die Swart Serp-beweging om as liggaam nie aan die verkiesing deel te neem nie, deels daarvoor verantwoordelik. Hoewel hierdie besluit onaanvegbaar is, het dit beide partye toegelaat om die mees kontensieuse politieke strydvrage van die afgelope tien jaar links te laat lê.

Die volk se geheue is swak, en dié van politici nog swakker—wanneer dit hul pas.

Daar lê vir die Swart Serp veeleisende dae voor. Die beginsels wat die beweging onderskryf word blykbaar as onbelangrik beskou, en die opvoedingswerk wat verig is het weinig vrugte afgewerp. Ons moet egter nie moedeloos word nie. Die beginsels van die beweging bly gesond, en wanneer die verkiesingskoors verdwyn sal die volk miskien bereid wees om aandag te skenk aan 'n stem wat verstandigheid bepleit en die eerbare optrede van politici in sake wat bo partygeskille verhef behoort te word. In hierdie dae is dit uiters noodsaaklik dat daar 'n beweging moet wees wat die volk daaraan kan herinner dat moraliteit in die politieke lewe onontbeerlik is en dat verontagsaming van hierdie feit tot die ondergang van die land sal lei. As ons hierdie geloof kwytraak is ons almal verlore. In die afgelope weke het politieke standaarde in Suid-Afrika tot 'n lae peil gedaal. Die Swart Serp kan 'n gewigtige teëmiddel verskaf. Sy belangrikste taak is om Suid-Afrika daaraan te herinner dat geen verkiesing, hoe geslaagd dit ookal mag wees, wat sondig is heilsaam kan maak nie.

quickly forgotten. In the election campaign they had their wish. Their sins were, if not forgotten, then passed over. No doubt these blots on the Nationalist record were mentioned by Opposition candidates now and again, but certainly they were not made a major feature of the United Party's attack. Perhaps the Party was right from the point of view of election tactics. Who can say? It may have been expedient to play down those vital moral issues, but the standard of the election campaign certainly suffered as a result. Perhaps the self-denying decision of the Black Sash Movement to take no part as an organisation in the general election, necessary and correct as it was, had the unhappy result of allowing both parties in the contest virtually to ignore the most controversial political issue of the past ten years.

HE WHO CREATES A TRIBAL GOD
WILL PERISH BY THE TRIBAL GODS OF
OTHERS.

—P. V. Pistorius.

The memory of the public is short and of politicians even shorter—when it suits them.

This is a testing time for the Black Sash. So little of what the Movement stands for seems to have been taken into account recently, and so much of the work of enlightenment undertaken by the Black Sash seems to have gone for nothing. Nevertheless, it is not a time for defeatism. The moral basis of the Movement remains as strong as ever, and when the passions of the election have died down the public may be ready to listen once again to a voice asking for sanity and honourable conduct by politicians in matters that should be above party conflict. The country, especially at a time like this, sorely needs a Remembrancer to remind the people that there is a moral purpose in politics and that a nation that ignores it is on the way to self-destruction. Unless we have the courage to cling to that faith we are all lost. The past few weeks have seen the standards of South African politics sink to a low ebb. The Black Sash can do much to retrieve the position. Above all the Black Sash can remind South Africa that no election, however successful, can turn a wrong into a right.

This is the first of two companion articles in the series

OUR DUAL INHERITANCE

Wat Die Afrikaner Bygedra Het

VOLGENS die beroemde Stellenbosse Manifest van 1941 verskil die tradisies van die Afrikaner, wat vryheid, regverdigheid en demokrasie betref, nie veel van dié van die Engels-sprekende nie. Ek stem saam. Die Afrikaner het egter twee groot gawes aan die Suid-Afrikaanse volk gegee wat hom heeltemal eie is, nl., sy taal en sy letterkunde; en dit is oor een gedeeltetjie van hierdie bydrae dat ek vandag wil gesels.

Gedurende die laaste vyftig of sestig jaar was daar in Engels drie skrywers (aldrie digters) van die aller-grootste grootte, nl., D. H. Lawrence, T. S. Eliot en W. B. Yeats. Ons klein landjie met sy twee of drie miljoen opgevoede mense het miskien nog nie 'n skrywer van daardie gehalte opgelewer nie. (Daar is mos miljoene en miljoene meer mense in Brittanje en Amerika saam as hier in Suid-Afrika.) Maar ons het 'n paar uitstekende skrywers, wat besig is om aan die Afrikaanse taal iets van dieselfde diens te bewys as wat Edmund Spenser, b.v., in die sestiende eeu aan die Engelse taal bewys het. Hulle is besig om, deur dit pragtig en lewendig, ryk en poëties, geleerd en tog idiomaties te skrywe, die taal te verryk, vergroot, verfyn en suiwer. Die digter wie se werk ek vandag in hierdie verband effens wil bespreek is Uys Krige, aan wie die Universiteit van Natal vanjaar 'n eregraad geskenk het.

Uys Krige is op sy oupa se plaas, Bontebokskloof in die distrik Swellendam gebore. Twee van sy agtergrootooms was die beroemde Vortrekkers, Piet Retief (aan sy vader se kant), en Piet Lafras Uys (aan sy moeder s'n). Sy vader was die beroemde rugby held van die allereeste Springbok span, Japie Krige (nou 'n afgetrede magistraat); sy moeder het na haar sestigste jaar, toe haar kinders algar volwasse was, self skryfster geword en haar eerste bundel kort-verhale onder die skuilnaam „Sannie Uys” uitgegee. („Ek is nie Uys Krige se ma nie,” het sy altoos gesê. „Ek is Sannie Krige.”) Uys het heerlike, gesonde, gelukkige kinderjare in verskeie Karoodorpe en te Stellenbosch deurgebring: hy gee ons 'n skitterende beeld hiervan—'n weerkaatsing vol onverwagte dieptes—in sy pragtige Engelse verhaal, *The Dream* (die naam-verhaal in sy tweede Engelse boek, *The Dream and the Desert*), waar hy terloops baie noukeurig uiteensit presies hoe om die ander kêrel in die spel „Spring en Skop” op die doeltreffendste manier te skop. Sulke aanwysings kon alleen gegee word deur iemand met 'n liggaam wat hy goed verstaan, wat hom altyd gehoorsaam was en hom altyd genot verskaf het!

Nadat hy sy graad (B.A. Regte) te Stellenbosch behaal het, was hy vir anderhalf jaar junior ver-

slaggewer aan *The Rand Daily Mail*, en sodra hy genoeg geld verdien het is hy met vurige haas Europa toe om die land van sy kunstenaar-helde, Cezanne and van Gogh, Daudet en du Maupassant, te aanskou. Hy het maar 'n stuk of sestig pond in sy sak gehad, dus moes hy na 'n kort tydjie weer begin verdien om homself aan die lewe te hou; hy het skottelgoed opgewas, les gegee, en vir 'n tydlang het hy rugby vir Frankryk se beste span, Toulon, gespeel. Hy was toe, vertel hy, reeds beroemd, 'n jaar of wat voor een enkele van sy gedigte nog gedruk was, want sy foto het in daardie dae elke dag in die koerant verskyn—op die voetbal-bladsy! Vyf jaar lank het hy in Provence, België en Spanje rond geswerwe. Partykeer was hy so arm dat hy 'n tydlank in Barcelona, byvoorbeeld, onderhou was, uit dankbaarheid vir 'n bewese guns, deur 'n man wat op sy beurt deur beroeps-bedelaars onderhou was.

Toe die oorlog in 1939 uitbreek het Uys Krige by die Suid-Afrikaanse leërmag aangesluit. Sy familie was altyd van vanmelewe se dae af „nasionaal,” maar Uys, met sy demokratiese insig en sy vryheids-liewende hart, kon die Nazis tog nie laat seëvier nie. Hy het dus oorlogskorrespondent geword, het sy vuurdoop ondergaan, en was op die slag by Sidi Rezegh gevange-geneem. Van hierdie ervaring het hy onlangs twee van sy skitterendste en mees roerende verslae in die nuwe Kaapse koerant, *Weekblad*, gegee. Die oorlog is ook die onderwerp van baie van sy beste gedigte, byvoorbeeld, in die bundels, *Rooidag*, *Hart Sonder Hawe*, en *Die Einde van die Pad*. Van sy gevangenskap het hy nog nie, sover ek weet, geskrywe nie, maar die verhaal van sy ontsnapping na die oorgawe van Mussolini, word boeiend in sy eerste Engelse boek, *The Way Out*, vertel. Hierdie boek is vol spanning, humor en menslike gevoel, en die beskrywing van die berglandskap waarin hy hom bevind het is so pragtig dat dit in jou verbeelding bly asof jy dit self ervaar het. Sy moeder, „Sannie Uys”, het my eenmaal vertel hoe sy die nuus van haar seun se ontsnapping eers ontvang het. Vir nege maande was hy verlore—geen woord omtrent Uys het uit Italië gekom nie. Sy moeder het 'n soort ekseem op haar hande en voete gekry omdat sy so angstig was. Een dag sit sy in een van Kaapstad se voorstedelike treine. Die trein is stampvol; mevrou Krige sit tussen twee groot mans soos 'n sardientjie in 'n toebroodjie. Een van die mans het 'n koerant, maar alhoewel dit net voor haar neus is, kan Mevrou Krige dit skaars lees, want sy het nie haar bril op nie. Maar langamerhand begin sy besef dat daar iets bekends in daardie dik swart letters onder „Stop Press” lê. Sy spits haar aandag op

die woorde toe, en daar lees sy, „Stop Press: Uys Krige escaped. Arrives Mersa Matruh.”

Na die oorlog het Uys, saam met Eberhardt Planje, die tweetalige tydskrif *Vandag* in die lewe geroep. Dit sou „'n venster op die wêreld” wees. Die kwaliteit was uitmuntend, die leesstof vol lewe en gedagte, maar die geld het ontbreek, en die blad het jonk maar lustig in die bloei van sy jeug gesterwe.

Sedert dié tyd is Uys Krige voortdurend besig met skrywe. Hy het reeds sewentien boeke in Engels en Afrikaans uitgegee, en het meer as sewentien amper kant en klaar; hulle wag meer of min net op die drukker. Hy het ook 'n hele spul toneelstukke gemaak. Een van die mees suksesvol was sy genotvolle komedie, *Die Ryk Weduwee*, wat vir ons Nasionale Skouburg, toe hulle daarmee op toer gaan, vier-en-twintig duisend pond verdien het.

Hierdie komedie is een van die mooiste blomme van ons Afrikaanse samelewing. Dit is eg Afrikaans in die beste sin van die woord—dit spieël 'n tiepiese Afrikaanse, en veral Kaapse, gemeenskap. Dit handel nie oor die Engelse (of Boere-) oorlog nie—politiek verskyn nie daarin. Die karakters is modern-beskaafd, fyn-opgevoed, talentvol, gevoelig,

vol humorsin; die dialoog is eg bolands, vol lewe en karakter; die taal vloeiend, buigsaam, skilderagtig, lugtig of swaar volgens die spreker se stemming. Ja, Uys Krige is 'n kosmopolitaan wat oral rondgeswerwe het en 'n dosyn verskillende tale kan praat. Sy werk is wêreld-bekend, en hyself het poesie-vertalings uit allerhande vreemde tale gemaak. Sy vertalings van die gedigte van Lorca is besonder pragtig—ja, ongeëwenaard. Maar hy bly Afrikaans tot in sy murg. Skryf hy Engels of Afrikaans, hy bly 'n Afrikaner; en niemand het meer gedoen om die naam van Afrikaner hoog te hou nie. Die wat Uys Krige se boeke lees (in sy mooi Engels sowel as sy nog mooier Afrikaans), sal die Afrikaner beter leer verstaan, en sal goed besef dat ons nie almal aan die Dr. Verwoerd tipe behoort nie. Party van ons, nes Uys Krige, het die soete son in ons are; geniet die lewe; het ons medemens, wit of swart,—en die regvêrdigheid,—lief; bemin ons land, nie net op die verhoog nie maar in die diepte van ons private lewe; en is glad nie vrees-mal nie, nog besete met wat 'n ander Afrikaner pittig bestempel het as „naargeestige swartrokkigheid.”

CHRISTINA VAN HEYNINGEN.

SPACE RELATIONS

DOCTOR KOMONSENS, eminent visitor from Saturn, when interviewed by our Special Correspondent at the end of his six months' survey of Union health, said that he took a very serious view of the epidemic of FEAR and FOLLY now raging in every province. His structures on the present Government, “which,” said Dr. Komonsens, “instead of undertaking therapeutic measures to curb infection, actually ENCOURAGED the spread of such conditions,” were severe.

Dr. Komonsens, as my readers know, has been sent by his government to study the endemic diseases which afflict the human race, and which, so far, have not penetrated as far as Saturn. “The Gods forbid that they should ever do so,” is the Doctor's sober comment.

Our correspondent had a two hours' interview with the Doctor before his Space Ship left, and we publish some of his reflections and comments.

“It is strange to me,” said the eminent physician, “that you have for centuries concentrated on the ills that afflict the BODY and BRAIN, and have, medically speaking, totally disregarded the more serious ills that afflict the SOUL. I found in your South Africa a tolerable state of bodily health, and less permanent affliction of the brain than I had been led to expect; but the diseased condition of your PERSONALITY is a shock to one unaccustomed to gruesome sights. In the six months of careful enquiry into conditions and factors governing health conditions here in South Africa, I found throughout the Union that the superior pink-skinned races suffered diseases of the personality in endemic form, more acutely than did the brown-skinned ones. I cannot go into details at this stage—my book to

be published next year will discuss all angles of the problem—but I feel that the quality of “contentment with small happinesses” has largely contributed to the more stable personality health of the brown races. I found that about 85% of the pink tribes were subject to two recurrent low fevers called Suspicion and Distrust. These, continuing to rage among the people for decades, have left the tribes so depleted that they are a natural prey to the epidemics of Hate, Greed, Envy, Malice and Spite which sweep the country from time to time. The present death-rate from these causes is as much as 65% of the total population, and those which have survived are permanently crippled or scarred.

“Saturnians will, I know, be only too eager to give all help to succour your unhappy people. I shall arrange immediately on arrival home to send back, by special Space Ship, a large consignment of SANITY and SENSE. Clinics should be set up immediately, and the whole population inoculated. This will have to be done several times before there is any improvement, but immediately the fevers have been controlled, I would recommend steady and repeated doses of GOODWILL to tone up the whole organism.

“The permanently crippled, alas, are beyond our aid. I would earnestly recommend, however, that these sources of re-infection should be isolated with firmness and despatch. They constitute a terrifying threat to any healthy group, and should be removed from amongst you as though they were lepers—which, spiritually speaking, they are. I cannot too strongly condemn your present practice of electing them to seats in the Houses of your governing body.”

(D.R.)

Our Three Most Cherished Spheres

IN America and England and other civilised countries the clearest consequences of giving women the vote has been to make the FAMILY UNIT the primary unit in political society.

The whole range of FAMILY RESPONSIBILITIES has become more and more a matter of public concern.

In the high enterprises affecting the HOME, the SCHOOL and the COMMUNITY, Government has become an indispensable partner.

BUT NOT IN SOUTH AFRICA! Women form the largest unorganised group in our political structure, and their needs *though they are fundamentally the same* whatever political party they favour, are largely ignored by the politicians unless they can cajole them to party political activity by conceding minor demands.

An example of this tendency by Governments to ignore woman's more serious demands was the friendly reception a few years ago accorded the Housewives' League with its petition for "free" margarine (which incidentally brought about a rise in the price of butter and margarine which put both essential fats outside the buying capacity of the very poor) and the cold refusal of the Prime Minister in 1955 to meet a deputation of Black Sash women on a matter of grave National importance, which brought with it petitions signed by 100,000 women from all over South Africa.

The parties have shown clearly that they do not want politically conscious women—they want workers who will exert themselves to obey orders without too close questioning about motives and policies.

But the time is fast approaching when women will no longer agree to be the catspaws and "slaveys" of political groups, and mindless powers in party political battles.

All women, even if they find themselves by whim of circumstances supporting one of the two major political parties—i.e. without greatly enquiring into programmes and policies they automatically vote for their "traditional" party—all women, I repeat, whatever their party loyalties, have the same basic NEEDS and INTERESTS.

First, and most important in this list is the HOME.

Political irresponsibility, political extremism, political corruption can, and do, affect the fundamental security of that institution. The HOME is the NATION and when the home is adversely affected the nation is unhealthy.

Where we see—and where do we not see it—hate of one section of the Nation encouraged as the basis of everyday thinking; when we enter homes where a grandfather will not allow the children of his son to enter because their father does not belong to his political party; when we find a wife afraid to express any view or opinion con-

trary to her husband's, we see the breeding places of racial suicide. The children of these homes will have a long training in hate, distrust, self-inferiority, and they will be, because of this crippling in character, incapable of greatness.

I have seen these children and young men in the dorps and the cities, trained in such fashion, and they are a woeful and tragic sight. The blame must be placed squarely on the political thinking of to-day, which refuses to accept the fact that adherence to a party does not entitle anyone to foster in children hate of others; that to encourage greed, malice, ingratitude and all uncharitableness in the sacred name of Party Politics is to destroy the very foundations of the home and the nation.

Second, and equal in importance to the home, stands the SCHOOL.

All women are concerned about their children's education. It must be the best possible. It must build character and encourage wide knowledge and understanding.

All women hope that their children will be great and do great things. So the SCHOOL, like the HOME is where all women meet together on a common ground.

NOT FAILURE, BUT LOW AIM IS
CRIME.

—Lowell.

When the schools teach racial bitterness—and we are increasingly aware of this tendency—when the schools encourage false pride, false nationalism, false values, all mothers are affected. This is EVIL that they do to our children!

Any group, or party, which jeopardises the future of our children by encouraging an education designed to make them narrow, bigoted, and poor in spirit, should not be tolerated for an instant!

If any woman of South Africa concurs in this policy, the worse for her. But how incomparably the worse for her children!

Third, and ranking with Home and School, comes the COMMUNITY.

All women know the value of neighbourliness; the give and take of friendship; the sorrow lightened, the joy shared.

It is impossible to have these things while a reservation is made "we won't talk politics—or religion—or education—or sense" lest we upset this precarious "toleration" of each other.

Women know that this is not true neighbourliness—just the armed truce that exists between enemies—and that no sound community life can exist without security based on mutual trust and affection. While political thinking keeps people

of the same nation apart, there will be no healthy growth of National pride, no value in community existence, no future security for our children.

I repeat from the first paragraph of this article.

"In civilised countries . . . in the high enterprises affecting the home, the school, and the Community **GOVERNMENT HAS BECOME AN INDISPENSABLE PARTNER.**

But not in South Africa.

Not for nothing has it been said that the price of freedom is eternal vigilance!

We women have failed to notice what has been done in our three most cherished spheres. And if we continue to ignore what is being done, our children will pay a heavy price in the future.

Now there are certain things which we must have if there is to be any hope of security in the future.

The first is political decency. We cannot have legal tricks used to achieve party ends; only men who understand honourable obligations and are prepared to abide by them should sit in the houses of Parliament. It is not very much to ask. Men unscrupulous enough to use a party for their own ends, men who destroy a Constitution for an idea, should not be allowed in our governing body in any capacity whatever.

Of late years the political life of the community has presented a melancholy spectacle. We have seen a group of men swept to power by a party which they have used for their own ends, and whose deepest beliefs they have destroyed; men who have lightly destroyed a Constitution which was written with the prayers and goodwill of a whole people, by men of vision and courage. We have seen leaders in opposition failing to make clear and unequivocal statements on State matters which were difficult or dangerous. We have seen a dangerous deterioration in the relations between white and white citizen, and between black and white inhabitant of South Africa. And the blame must lie wholly with the present government whose headlong and rash policies are driving us to disaster.

This might perhaps, be faced with equanimity—after all, the people always get the government it deserves!—but as practical women we know the payment for stupidity will not be made by us, but by our children.

How can we set about achieving the security we need and must have if the future is to be safe for our children?

We are the largest voting group in the country but we are shorn of strength because we vote for **PARTY** and not for **POLICY**.

We should form a **WOMAN'S BLOC** to which all women would belong, irrespective of party loyalties. That **BLOC** would be concerned to scrutinise all policies affecting the **HOME**, the **SCHOOL** and the **COMMUNITY**, and report its findings to its members. Those members should work through their own parties to achieve the aims of the Women's Bloc which are in effect, security, sanity, peace.

What is the use of having power if you don't use it?

What is the use of being sane, and letting lunatics rule us?

What is the use of bearing children, and letting them be sacrificed?

D.R.

FACT AND FICTION

FICTION:

Dr. Albert Hertzog at an evening meeting at Ermelo on Friday 21st March said: "Our enemies have always grasped at one thing—the Black man . . . The Black man is being used now to bring an end to the Afrikaner."

FACT:

Let us examine the meaning of Dr. Alberts' words. "Our **ENEMIES**"—what enemies? Foreigners seeking to overthrow and destroy our nation? No. What Dr. Hertzog meant, and what his hearers understood him to mean was the English speaking and the Afrikaans speaking South African who did not belong to the Nationalist Party.

Now on the voting figures of the 1953 election there are 717,888 of these "enemies" plotting against 635,725 Afrikaner nationalists. In other words, the South African nation is the minority group. Really, Dr. Hertzog!

So this English-Afrikaans majority group is "using the Black man to bring an end to the Afrikaner."

This would be race suicide if it were true, but is it true? What group introduced legislation which has dangerously irritated and annoyed the non-white until he has been driven to defend himself by joining protest organisations and taking part in boycotts?

What group has consistently removed the few rights left to the non-European and hemmed him in with one foolish restriction after another?

What group has conferred occasional reluctant benefits, but withheld respect?

What group has frightened its followers into hysteria with talk of the black peril?

What group is so concerned with the evils of mixed blood that it has no time to deal with the evils of breaking race relations?

What group has deliberately and callously played on its adherents inherited fears of the Black races, and climbed to power on the backs of these poltroons?

Dr. Albert Hertzog has said: "The Black man is being used now to bring an end to the Afrikaner." His words are absolutely true if they refer to his own group and its deeds; and the history of this country in the future will underline that tragic statement.

FROM OUR POSTBAG

THE LEGISLATORS ARE WRONG

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

I do not agree with "D.R." in the article on "Where is the Poor White". In particular I disagree with the paragraph stating that apathy is the root cause. To me it is quite correct to say "I have put a government in power—let it get on with the job." That is what we elect legislators for. The trouble in this country is that it is the legislators who have the wrong attitude. They have entirely the wrong idea of what government means and have left democracy far behind in their emulation of Fascist and Nazi dictators. The present pre-occupation with politics is entirely wrong and has been forced upon us, Churchmen, housewives, school-teachers, social-workers or whatever we may be, by a small section which has gained power, entrenched itself and is now bent upon forcing its will by whatever means it chooses upon the entire country.

The fact that we have allowed things to go as far as they have does not reflect to our credit but can be laid at the door of our not believing that people could stoop so low rather than Poor White thinking.

RUTH HALL.

ONS IS NIE DIE ENIGSTE LAND MET 'N RASSEVRAAGSTUK NIE.

Geagte Redaksie,

Met die grootste belangstelling het ek die eerste van mnr. F. J. van Wyk se drie artikels gelees oor die besoek wat hy en sy vrou aan die Verenigde State van Amerika gebring het.

As 'n mens self kan gaan kyk na toestande in ander lande en onder ander groepe mense, is dit seker die allerbeste, maar as dit nie moontlik is nie, is dit 'n groot voorreg om die indrukke te lees van iemand, wat 'n mens ken en op wie se oordeel 'n mens kan vertrou. Van mnr. van Wyk weet ons dat sy opinie objektief sal wees, gegrond op feite en getoets aan 'n deeglike kennis van toestande in ons eie land, sodat hy weet wat ons sal interesseer en waardevolle vergelykings kan maak.

Ek hoop al ons lede, wat nog sukkel om heeltemal tweetalig te word, sal dit lees, want dit is regtig die moeite werd en elke Swart Serp-vrou, wat haar eie land beter wil verstaan, sal dit waardeer. Ons kla altyd dat niemand ons probleme verstaan nie, maar ons is nie die enigste land in die wêreld met 'n rassevraagstuk nie en ons kan die ondervinding van ander lande aanpas by ons besondere toestande en daaruit leer.

Ons is baie dank verskuldig aan mnr. van Wyk vir die voorreg, wat ons tydskrif geniet om hierdie artikels te mag gebruik. Ek verlang al na die volgende een en die gedagte kom by my op, of dit nie moontlik sou wees nie om 'n serie artikels te

kry, geskrywe deur 'n vreemdeling, wat ons land besoek, omtrent sy of haar indrukke van ons eie rassevraagstuk. Probeer wat u kan doen, Redaksie!

Die uwe,

N.G.

* * *

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

One does wonder what will happen after the election.

I am convinced that the Sash will be needed more urgently and desperately than ever! I know you all need a real and long rest desperately badly after all the gruelling work you have put in—and you must indeed take it—but some means must be found of keeping the movement alive even if resting.

The Black Sash has undoubtedly awakened a new consciousness in the women of this land—but that consciousness is still an infant of tender years and still needs guidance and encouragement. With help and encouragement it will undoubtedly grow into an enormous power for good.

On the other hand if **not** cared for I fear this newly-awakened consciousness in the majority is likely eventually to sink back with almost a sigh of relief, to admit that all this thought about the ethics of government is rather beyond it, and prepare to concentrate rather on its women's work of making a home, caring for husband and children, or a business etc., etc.

I don't know, but I think it's rather human nature to want to turn one's head away from the contemplation of unpleasant things and the uncomfortable inner proddings they produce, and to busy oneself with what concerns one's own immediate surroundings.

I don't feel that the Sash can possibly fold its tents and steal away until its ideals have more or less been achieved.

It's rather like having adopted a child—one has to keep on supporting and caring for it until it reaches the age and development when it can take over things for itself.

M. HAZELDEN.

North Shepstone.

* * *

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

Our thoughts are constantly reverting to South Africa just now and of course we read every word appearing in the daily press about South African affairs.

By the time this reaches you the long awaited elections will be over and the results known. No doubt you will have been right and the Nationalists will be in again to continue their destructive labours in your internal affairs and most surely isolating South Africa in external relations. It is a sad business, and as mad as it is sad.

(Continued on page 9)

WHAT WOMAN CAN ACHIEVE

BY MRS. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

WOMEN have one great common purpose and are groping to find ways in which they can work together throughout the world and to use every bit of machinery and power that they have to move forward towards the achievement of the effort to grow towards a peaceful world.

We might as well face the fact that it is the men who bear the major responsibility. There are few women in any part of the world who have positions of power today to do the things that have to be done if we are going to move forward to a more peaceful world.

So we have to recognise that we, as women, in nearly all cases are underpinning the men. We are giving them the courage, perhaps the backing, to do things that they might not be willing to do unless we gave them the feeling that there was a great spiritual strength in the women behind them. And women are learning to work more with men. Here and there, there are women who are in important executive positions who are able to take their share of responsibility in making decisions on the policies that are being formed in governments in different parts of the world. But whether they have these positions or not, the power of women is very great even in the areas of the world where they still are not supposed to have much power. They still have in their homes a good deal more power than is ever understood.

I think we must, as women, try to give women more confidence, to give them the feeling of the value of the work which they do. Those of us who can should back the women who are willing and able to work for the common goal. We should be willing to follow them and get backing from women in every country for whatever work the women who are willing to be leaders are asking of the women in their own countries.

I think that what we need more than anything else is the feeling of inspiration for the dream of the future. Many of us, when the United Nations first came into being thought of it as something that would accomplish the things we wanted very quickly. We knew, of course, when we stopped to think, that signing a charter, starting the machinery to accomplish certain ends, was not going to accomplish those ends immediately. But possibly not many of us realised how much work, steady work, year in and year out, and how much courage would have to go into going on—with rather meagre achievements sometimes—but still moving forward inch by inch, never giving up that determination to keep on, which is one of the most difficult things for some people to do.

I think the thing we will have to do everywhere is to have a sense of responsibility for each other, to face the fact that we have undertaken to bring about the salvation of the human race instead of its destruction. That is a very tall order.

And that is going to call for a great deal of reliance on power far beyond what we, as individual human beings, will ever feel that we have. In our groups, in ourselves, we are going to ask over and

EVERY LAW NOT RATIFIED BY THE PEOPLE THEMSELVES IS NULL AND IS NO LAW.

—Rousseau.

over again for the gift of strength far beyond our own. We are going to learn to pray as we live, not just in spots, but as we live, because the task is tremendous.

It is a very wonderful period in which we live, a period of the greatest possibilities for good or for evil. There are people who care, who are concerned, who think of the future because of their love of children. Women are going to think about this everywhere in the world, perhaps more than the men who will be doing a great deal towards the final decision of how the world grows.

The women must see that what they do sets the picture so clearly before the countries in which they live and the world in which they live that these decisions will be those that the women have planned. Because it is given to us to be very practical and to see very clearly.

Sometimes you hear people say women are not as practical as men. But that's not true. Women deal with the details of life and they are very practical people. They are also as a rule very clear thinking and they know from experience that it is often better to prevent things from happening than to try and remedy them after they have happened. And so women will look forward, will try to see what the next step is.

Now, we can have great influence if we develop ourselves as individuals and work in our voluntary organisations, give support to our women when we put them in government positions, and back or push our governments to deal with the questions that we think are vital for the lives of our children in the future.

And I think that women, perhaps not being so old in the tradition of doing things certain ways, are possibly going to find it easier to deal with new things as they come up and to develop new avenues of approach among themselves and among the peoples of the world.

I hope that we can get over the fears that have assailed us. I hope we can grow in confidence in ourselves and in our powers of accomplishment. And I would like to add the hope and the prayer that you will never be satisfied, that you will always

try to do a little more than you think you can possibly do. The people who only do what they think they really can do never accomplish all that they have it within them to accomplish. Try for something more than you think you possibly can achieve. And may you be given vision and dreams to think of things as you would like to have them in the future. And as you have the dream, may you have the courage to work for the dream's accomplishment.

* * *

Note: This article is excerpted by permission from a speech by Mrs. Roosevelt to the National Council of Women of the United States and their guests from the International Council of Women.

(Continued from page 7)

But all honour to those who are trying to enforce a little sanity into South African thinking, and to this end I hope the Black Sash movement will go from strength to strength.

We are enormously impressed by the quality and force of the contributions to your magazine, and even if the publication were for some reason to cease, you will always (and with you, many thousands of others) know that a clear and unequivocal voice was raised to prevent the political disasters that seem now to be absolutely certain.

B. SHAW.
Devon, England.

The Bantu Child

*In the squalid township, a Bantu child
Clothed in tattered rags, runs completely
wild*

*Alone, his parents having left at four
To be on time to start their daily chore.
His only playground is a dusty street,
He wanders up and down on shoeless feet;
He has not had a proper meal for hours,
Nor has he shelter from the wind or
showers.*

*He may not spend his mornings at a school,
Nor can be trained to use a tool;
He only has one pair of pants and shirt,
He must forever live a life of dirt.
His home is but a shack of flimsy build
His hope of better things must e'er be
stilled;*

*His sole possession is a rusty tin,
And probably his end will be in sin.
He'll loaf like this until he is of age,
To go to work and earn a meagre wage;
And all his children will in this same way,
Have naught to eat, nor any place to play.*

By J. Kingsley-Jones. (Aged 16)

We Thank The Minister

(With acknowledgements to Bob Connolly and the Rand Daily Mail)



Manual Labourers' Metropolis

ON the afternoon of Wednesday, the 25th July, 1956, about thirty women were conducted by bus through the Sophiatown-Newclare district of Johannesburg, and through the Orlando complex of native locations. The latter includes Orlando East and West, Moroka, Dube, Jabavu, Shanty Town and many other areas.

The type of housing and facilities vary in the different areas. In parts of Orlando and Dube are some well-built houses of European style standing in their own small fenced plots, some served by waterborne sewerage and with, in a very few cases, electricity. But the overall impression was one of extreme overcrowding, insanitary conditions, and appalling slums. The breezeblock shelters of Shanty town, for example, on 20 ft. x 20 ft. sites are single rooms originally built by the Municipality with blocks of compressed ash, without windows and with roofs held down by stones. In this area there are communal taps and latrines serving groups of houses and there are practically no other facilities whatever. In Moroka, the overcrowding is so intense that if each inhabitant had his own bed there would literally not be room to accommodate that area of beds over the whole area of the location.

Face to face with miles and miles of similarly ghastly conditions of human habitation the reaction of normal people must be two-fold. Firstly, how can such a situation have been allowed to develop, and, secondly, a feeling of helplessness as to how a problem of such magnitude can ever be solved.

During and after the war years Johannesburg experienced a tremendously rapid industrial and economic expansion resulting in a fantastic influx of natives into the areas. The increase of housing lagged far behind the increase of the native population. The Johannesburg Municipal council failed to apply for financial grants obtainable from the National Housing Commission. Meanwhile, what was originally thought to be merely migrant labour, has since proved to be permanent. Development of Gold Mines in the Free State have not in fact affected the native population of Johannesburg, which continues to increase as a result of natural and other causes.

In 1952 a start was made in tackling the problem and 1,000 native houses were built in that year within the Johannesburg Municipality. Later, in an attempt to save time and money, the Government evolved a substitute for housing, namely a site and service scheme. It was incumbent upon the Johannesburg Municipality to implement this scheme in default of which the Minister would refuse funds for native housing. The site and service area has been surveyed and private latrines with waterborne sewerage and water taps have been provided for each site. However, before the building of a house can begin, it is necessary for the occupants to be already resident on the site. As a result of this condition, materials from existing shelters are moved free of charge and the old shelters re-erected on the new site. Even after a house is built on the site the shelters remain and in effect a new slum goes up. This site and

service scheme does in fact slow up provision of houses and is relatively more costly than other schemes. The houses are not necessarily on adjacent sites and thus the economic advantages of mass production are lost.

Today houses, of a kind, are being completed at the rate of 15 each day. It is probable that up to 30 houses a day could be built if the necessary funds were available. Another most serious obstacle in the way of an early solution for this problem of housing shortage is "Ideological Legislation."

If a vote were taken it is probable that the vast majority of both Europeans and Non-Europeans would agree that residential segregation is desirable. The main point of contention is the way in which this is to be accomplished with a minimum hardship to both sections of the community. In the present circumstances of acute housing shortage, the Government has insisted on abandoning one and a quarter million pounds worth of inhabitable houses in Sophiatown. Here the residents enjoy a community life with tarred roads, shopping centres, electric light and freehold rights. Now all these facilities must be abandoned over-night while far worse slums in other areas continue to exist. Driving through Sophiatown some gaps were seen where houses had been demolished under the Western Areas Removal Scheme, but the fact remains there are today more non-Europeans resident in Sophiatown than ever before. When Dube township was first established the inhabitants were allowed to obtain land with 90 year leasehold rights. Under the present Government the leasehold rights have been cut down to 30 years which is considered to be the normal lifetime of a house.

Further aggravating the present housing shortage, the Group Areas Act decreed that the removal of "locations in the sky" must proceed at once despite the unfinished state of alternative accommodation, particularly the Dube Hostel. This Hostel consists of rows upon rows of barrack-like huts, each accommodating sixteen bachelors and will ultimately provide adequate facilities for the men who live there. Electric light is to be installed and transport facilities are to be increased; recreation and other facilities will be provided but today while Africans are moving in, the hostel is far from complete. There is considerable consternation amongst residents of the Dube township and Orlando West as to the effect of having 5,000 bachelors of **only one ethnic group** situated right in the middle of a family residential area. Furthermore if a person is forcibly moved from the area in which he works to a distant area it would seem logical and ethical for the additional cost of transport to be met by the Government. This could be done by heavy subsidy of transport but in fact transport costs are being met largely by the natives or their employers.

Johannesburg Municipality is faced with the prospect of housing over half a million natives, exclusive of Alexandra Township which falls outside the Municipal area. Assuming the average native family

This South Africa

South Africa has her Amalekites—not because of their different language . . . different race, but because of their different soul. . . .” “A man who places another country's above his own, speaks another's language before his own and honours another nation *together with his own* acts like an Amalekite.”—Rev. G. J. J. Boshoff—recently honoured by the Afrikaans Literary Society for services to Afrikaan sculture.—*Natal Daily News*, 3/4/58.

Dr. Geyer foresaw that the time was coming when the Bantu in South Africa would enjoy full political rights.—*Die Burger*, 17/12/57.

The person who thinks that political rights can forever be denied to the Native shows thereby that he does not grasp the realities . . . As General Hertzog declared in 1921, and Dr. Geyer in 1957, the granting of political rights to Natives is inevitable.—“Time is Running Out.”—*Die Burger*, 19/12/57.

Die Volksblad (17/12/57) saw in the formula “live and let live” the only solution for the problem of race relations in South Africa.

South Africans were represented to the world as “blood thirsty oppressors when we only wish to uphold apartheid from a Christian standpoint, just because we do not stand for permanent subordination (of the non-whites) and would like to give them the opportunity to develop to the highest pitch of which he is capable in his own area.”—*Die Vaderland*, 11/12/57.

(Editorial comment: these are not the views of the hated “liberalists” but those of the exponents of white Baaskap!)

to be five in number at the present time, there is a shortage of housing for approximately 250,000 natives.

The enormity of this problem is obvious and calls for bold and realistic administration. There can be no place in local government for political prejudice.

“FIAT JUSTITIA RUAT CAELUM.”

J. PRICE.

(Editorial comment: If the 30 women had been 30,000 women, and they had all seen what the writer of this article saw, I feel sure that there would be 30,000 voices saying “Away with this horror!” We cannot sufficiently thank Sir Ernest Oppenheimer, whose efforts have resulted in 3 million pounds being made available for native housing in Johannesburg. We hope that our Municipal Council will concentrate wholly on the destruction of these slums and the decent housing of the non-European workers of Johannesburg, and leave the implementation of such acts as the “Locations in the Sky Act” etc. to the people who passed them.)

The Black Sash, May, '58

FEIT EN FANTASIE

FANTASIE:

Op 21 Maart het dr. Albert Hertzog in die loop van 'n vergadering te Ermelo die volgende woorde kwytgeraak:—

„Ons vyande het nog altyd na een ding gegryp—die naturel . . . Die naturel word nou gebruik om die ondergang van die Afrikaner te bewerkstellig.”

FEIT:

Laat ons dr. Albert se woorde ondersoek. „Ons VYANDE”—watter vyande? Uitlanders wat ons volk wil verdelg? Nee. Wat dr. Hertzog bedoel het, en wat sy toehoorders verstaan het, was die Engels- en Afrikaanssprekende Suid-Afrikaners wat nie aan die Nasionale Party behoort nie! Volgens die syfers in die 1953-verkieping is daar da n717,888 van hierdie „vyande” wat teen 635,725 Nasionaliste saamspan. Die volk is dus 'n minderheidsgroep!

Regtig, dr. Hertzog!

Die Engels-Afrikaanse meerderheid gebruik kastig die naturel „om die ondergang van die Afrikaner te bewerkstellig.” Indien dit waar is het ons met rasseseelfmoord te doen, maar is dit waar?

Watter groep het wetgewing ingedien wat die nie-blanke sodanig verbitter het dat hy verplig gevoel het om hom te verdedig deur by protesorganisasies aan te sluit en aan booi-kotte deel te neem?

Watter groep het die nie-blanke se karige regte weggeneem en hom aan die een onsinnige beperking na die ander onderwerp?

Watter groep het 'n paar onwillige voordele toegeken maar agting deurgaans geweier?

Watter groep het by sy ondersteuners histeriese vrees ingeboesem deur sprake van 'n swart gevaar?

Watter groep is so begaan oor menging van bloed dat hy geen tyd aan die skending van rasseverhoudings kan afstaan nie?

Watter groep het doelbewus en koelbloedig sy ondersteuners se ingebore vrees vir die swart rasse uitgebuit en hom sodoende deur hierdie lafaarde aan bewind laat stel?

Dr. Albert Hertzog sê dat „die naturel gebruik word om die ondergang van die Afrikaner te bewerkstellig.” Sy woorde is volkome waar as hul na sy eie groep en die optrede daarvan verwys, en die geskiedenis van ons land in die toekoms sal hierdie tragiese bewering onderstreep.

QUOTATIONS

If you don't get what you want it is a sign either that you did not seriously want it, or that you tried to bargain over the price.—R. KIPLING.

The humblest citizen of all the land, when clad in the armour of a righteous cause, is stronger than all the hosts of Error.—W. J. BRYAN.

IGNORANT SOUTH AFRICANS

MY abiding impression of the South African history I learnt at school is that the Afrikaner people were solely responsible for subduing the savage races, spreading Christianity and civilisation, developing trade and commerce and establishing the rule of law; and that the English merely hindered them in their great task. Since it is the story I was taught, I believed it and was ashamed to think that Englishmen had done only evil since they arrived here in 1795.

This is not an unusual impression among South Africans and it has had two appalling results. First, English speaking people have had to look beyond the seas for heroes of their own language—Boadicea, Alfred of the Cakes, Nelson and Wellington. Where else could they look, for there were apparently none in this country? Second, this view of history has led to the development of an exclusive Afrikaner Nationalism which believes fervently that only their ancestors deserve to be remembered and honoured. Hence the cult of the Voortrekker.

The Afrikaner nevertheless accepts the presence here of English speaking people. Our Prime Minister, in a statement after the election, pledged himself to work for closer unity between the two language groups.

This is a laudible aim, and it is everyone's duty to work for it.

But unity will never be achieved until Afrikaans people and English people alter their disgraceful attitude to each other.

The Afrikaner must accept with pride and thanksgiving the noble achievements of English people in this country while the Englishman must shake off his sloth and make it his duty to find out what his ancestors have achieved here. When he has done this he will be so proud of their fantastic achievements in all fields of endeavour, that he will no longer need to draw inspiration from England. Once we accept each other's contributions, we will have a South African nation. There is no room in this nation for Englishmen who know only "the old country" or for Afrikaners who know only the Vierkleur, Blood River and the Voortrekkers.

This happy state can be achieved in two important ways.

First, South African children must be taught history in which the courageous and noble pioneering work of English and Afrikaans people must be emphasised.

Secondly, everyone who dares to call himself a South African should make it his business to read the late John Bond's book, "They Were South Africans." The Englishman will find in it just cause for pride and perhaps one or two will be sufficiently inspired to delve deeper into a subject only outlined by Mr. Bond—the contributions to our country of a host of forgotten heroes. The Afrikaners will realise, perhaps, they are unjust in their view of English people, and perhaps one or

two may be inspired to spread this message for it can only do good.

That the role of the English in developing this country has been neglected and forgotten is the fault of all of us for we have been too idle, too superior and too complacent to remember and cherish our ancestors and their work.

Perhaps you may have read George Orwell's frightening book, "1984", in which, among other things, he prophesies the rewriting of history to suit the ruler, Big Brother. This has already happened here in South Africa to the detriment and shame of Afrikaans and English speaking people, particularly the latter.

I. CALDER.

Candid Comments

An Afrikaans Citizen

Although the government tells us that it is using every means in its power to unite our Nation and keep us safe, the constant stream of young Afrikaners going north to Rhodesia continues. Before it is too late we must solve this riddle.

A Taxpayer

State Information spent £280,000 in 1956. In the years before this Government came to power, South Africa was well known, well-liked, and had no need to spend money—taxpayers' money—on advertising itself. Yet now South Africa has NO friends overseas.

An Economist

Personal savings decreased £22 million last year. Government expenditure is rising too rapidly. That, of course, is where the personal savings are going.

A Housewife

In 1942 our family of four spent a month's holiday at the sea in comfort and style. The bill? £33 8s. 1d. for the month.

A Housewife

Such a waste of time and money! After all the apartheid battles in Parliament there are more natives in the white areas than ever before. Our housewives and industrialists are as dependant as ever on native labour. We could have spent these nine years and those millions of pounds on getting more prosperous ourselves, and enjoying building up a nation instead of building hate and mistrust.

A Nationalist

"I have always been a supporter of Afrikaner Nationalism" writes Mr. S. L. J. van Zyl in a letter to the "Daily Mail" on 14/5/57, "but I never wished to be controlled and regimented by party dictatorships. I have no time for sectional cliques."

Reply To Mrs. Deelman

MRS. DEELMAN'S article "Why I left South Africa" in the February issue of "The Black Sash" will have awakened sympathetic echoes in many of our hearts. But it is hardly a model of clear thinking, and it does our country and our people a particular disservice in giving fresh currency and credence to the bad old popular fallacy that we can pay Peter (African advancement) only by robbing Paul (white living standards).

Having accepted the premise that "white South Africa is fundamentally unjust", she adds: "Nor, we believe, do the majority of you view with any pleasure the possibility of a new, really fair deal for the Africans. It would mean a drop in your standard of living, and while no one in a responsible job fears competition in his own field from the African for many years to come, yet there are obviously many who do in fact only hold their place in the social strata by reason of their white skins. . . . There has been a major, if unwillingly recognised, revolution in England, and the hitherto privileged classes are struggling for very existence . . . The same sort of thing, with different participants, will come in South Africa. The white-skinned aristocrat will be the sufferer, and one can scarcely blame him for trying to arrest things now, while power is still in his hands."

If it is indeed true that the progress and liberation of the African is possible only through the impoverishment of the white South African, then the latter cannot fairly be described as "unjust" in attempting to maintain his own standards at the expense of the black man. Indeed the writer seems to concede this in the concluding words of the passage just quoted. What she has overlooked, however, is the fatal effect of this concession on her criticisms of the moral standards of white South Africans.

But of course her thesis itself is incorrect. There is no reason at all why a "new and really fair deal for the African" should threaten the white standard of living.

In the social and economic sphere the fundamental injustice to the African and the major source of his poverty consists of an apparatus of laws and administrative practices whereby restrictions are placed on his opportunities fully to develop and employ his faculties. Restrictions on his rights to acquire or hire fixed property, to move freely in search of employment and to live with his family at his place of employment, together with denial of adequate educational and training facilities and of the ordinary rights of the industrial worker, such as collective bargaining, all contribute to reduce the African to the status of a low paid, under-employed, inefficient, casual labourer. The removal of this multiplicity of restrictions on African employment, and the adoption of positive policies aimed at the full employment of members of all racial groups and the development of their skills and efficiency, would certainly not threaten the standard of living of white South Africans in general. On the contrary, it would raise the

standard of all racial groups by increasing the productive potential of the community as a whole.

And in turn, this "releasing" of resources, when coupled with a Treasury policy designed to outlaw under-consumption, would ensure the expansion of home-market demands which alone, in the middle of the 20th century, can guarantee us a really reliable stimulus to further industrial development.

True enough, there are certain minority interests that may benefit from restrictive and repressive policies. But it is not correct, and it is dangerously destructive of support for an intelligent political programme, to identify such interests with white South Africa as a whole. The latter could suffer economically by reason of improved opportunities for Africans only if all the material resources of the country had been fully developed and were incapable of yielding further wealth through the application of additional labour and improved techniques. In a comparatively undeveloped and immature economy such as South Africa's, there is no possibility that such a saturation point will be reached in the foreseeable future.

And it is precisely this latter consideration which makes so unreal Mrs. Deelman's comparison between white South Africa and the former privileged classes in Britain. Britain is comparatively small in area, comparatively over-crowded, and possesses the oldest industrial economy in the world. The potentialities for development of that economy may well be near the point of exhaustion, at all events as long as present world economic conditions persist. Indeed, since the outbreak of World War II, notwithstanding a régime of full employment, Britain has suffered seriously from loss of export markets and foreign investments which formed the heritage of her former world industrial pre-eminence. In such a situation it is inevitable that some degree of redistribution of wealth is the only means whereby economic improvement and social security can be achieved by the working classes.

No relevant characteristic of the British economy applies to South Africa. Our population, available skills, technical experience and level of internal savings are inadequate for the development of our material resources. Britain, in short, is more or less limited, as things are, to a re-sharing-out of the existing cake, a far-from-inadequate cake, an excellently large cake baked by a people who learned long ago that "cheap labour" is in no wise cheap, and many other things that we have still to learn. We, on the other hand, can almost limitlessly increase the size of our cake: we could double, even treble it within a generation.

If Mrs. Deelman wanted to draw oversea comparison, a truer one would have been with the United States before the First World War, rather than with Britain after the Second. In America during the 19th Century and the early 20th, the standards of all sections of a cosmopolitan population were simultaneously raised through the development of vast untapped resources. (Backslidings there were—through failure to match consumer

power to production-potential: productive capacity had been none the less adequately enlarged.)

But there is really no need to draw such comparisons at all. Even despite the restrictive and repressive policies of recent South African governments, the earning capacity of members of all racial groups has steadily and simultaneously risen since the early 1940's—indeed since long before then. And the process is still continuing. Progressive policies in relation to the African would not hinder this process: on the contrary they would immensely strengthen and hasten it.

In conclusion let me say that I can think of nothing more fatal to all hope of bringing the majority of White South Africans to see reason in the field of race relations than to tell them, as in effect Mrs. Deelman does, that improved race

relations can be achieved only at the expense of their own material future and that of their children. Not only is such a contention demonstrably incorrect, but it justifies Nationalist propaganda, which is wholly based upon it.

(Mrs.) MARGARET ROBERTS.

* * *

(I have deliberately confined myself to the economic aspects of Mrs. Deelman's article because, apart from considerations of space, it is apparent that on those aspects mainly rests her contention that the outlook for South Africa is hopelessly irremediable. The moral and ethical problems raised will in due course, I trust, be more fully handled by other Sashers.)

REGIONAL NEWS FROM GRAHAMSTOWN

DURING the recess before the General Election, Albany being an uncontested constituency, the Grahamstown Branch of the Black Sash thought it a good opportunity to comply with requests from several country branches to arrange some kind of a "get-together". As we are a University centre, we decided upon a discussion on "Education in South Africa", and were delighted at the ready way most of the experts we approached agreed to our requests to speak. Unfortunately our efforts to obtain the Afrikaans point of view did not succeed.

On March 27th we hired a hall for afternoon and evening, and our hospitality committee arranged a supper at the Secretary's house, where speakers and visitors could meet local members. This was a most popular part of the day's entertainment. Professor K. D. White of Rhodes University very kindly took the Chair, and Professor Irving (Sociology) opened the discussion with an address entitled "Who Are to be Educated?"

This was a lengthy and closely-reasoned paper based on the statistical figures that of the European population, 8 out of every 1,000 attend a university; Bantu university students number .1 per 1,000; Asiatic, .2 per 1,000, and Coloured .4 per 1,000 of population. "Logically" said Prof. Irving, "education which acts as a device for allocating status by distributing cultural skills, cannot, in full and equal measure be transferred to other racial groups without creating a failure, or at least a confusion of status roles. Education is thus instrumental in maintaining the power structure." The Tomlinson Report puts economic status in a nutshell with the following figures on the division of labour in this country:

Skilled labour:

European	85%
African	5%
Others	10%

Semi-skilled:

European	30%
African	40%
Others	30%

Unskilled:

European	1%
African	85%
Others	14%

After tea, Lady Agnew (M.A. Edin.), acting head of the Geography Department at Fort Hare University College spoke on "Some Aspects of the Bantu Education Act." She disclaimed expert knowledge of the workings of the Act, and said she would put some facts before the meeting and give reactions to them which she had discovered from direct contact with teachers in training, the complaints of parents, and her own life among the people affected by the Act.

She said she thought it important for a symposium of this kind to touch a good deal on Bantu education because they are in a majority, and while white children endure education, black ones revere it. Missionaries had always been sensitive to African needs and aspirations. They tried to expand their facilities, but their finances were entirely inadequate. There was much to commend in the old missionary system. They educated as many as they could and cherished the talented child. It is doubtful whether they ever posed the question 'What are we educating the African for?' but they did visualise a multi-racial society in which there is opportunity for each person according to his gifts. There might have been a smooth evolution under a sympathetic government from the tribal systems to western civilisation, but now an entirely different situation has arisen with the Bantu Education Act.

In the history of education there has always been the problem—are we educating for the fullest opportunity, or are we educating for a status? This Government has opted for the second, and maintain theirs is a realistic approach. We think it unrealistic, because the old tribal ways have gone. The transfer of Education to the Native Affairs Department was a psychological error, and was deeply wounding to the Bantu. The Act means the elimination

of all private schools unless they can do without subsidy; it makes compulsory the registration of every school under a threat of fine; it establishes local School Boards and Inspectors; it gives the Minister inordinate powers of controlling Bantu education.

The changes in the curriculum do not affect the higher standards as yet, but teachers fear that it eventually will do so. What is the basis of this fear? Teaching must be in the vernacular. But the African is measured in Western society by his ability to understand English. English and Afrikaans are introduced on an equal basis. They feel they are learning two foreign languages as **languages** and not as a medium of instruction. All children receive education for four years; at Std. II there is a test with only one chance against being weeded out, and another at Std. VI, with no second chance if they fail once. These things feel worse when they do not apply to all sections of the community. The Government did not accept the Eiselen recommendation to increase the budget for Bantu education each year, so it became necessary to dismiss more teachers, over and above the 356 dismissed in one year as *persona non grata*. It cannot be denied that a veneer of schooling is better than none at all. Money is saved at the expense of teacher's effort (Double Session) but the reduction from five to 3½ hours' schooling has been very badly received by the parents. In the large centres, there are practical difficulties over vernacular instruction. There are often three, sometimes six language groups. This medium of instruction must handicap the African very strongly in his later years.

This address aroused much interest and discussion. An Inspector of Bantu Education raised several points of disagreement with the speaker, from which it seemed that the rural communities were not so hardly pressed upon by the Act as the urban centres, but Lady Agnew maintained that a wave of dismay and hopelessness had overwhelmed the African teachers. She knew personally of 18 fully qualified graduates from Fort Hare who had left the Union for other parts of Africa, thereby creating a financial loss as well to the Government which had subsidised their training.

The evening session took the form of an open Forum, presided over by Professor White. Mr. A. T. C. Slee, speaking on "Education and the State" pointed out that education spreads downward through the community from the Universities. Therefore the Universities have the most important role, and those attending them now, are the future teachers, and administrators, and the values they acquire would determine the course of South Africa tomorrow. The universities which believed that the function of education was to develop critical minds, and to seek objective scholarship, were those which were being interfered with by a State which had not merely indicated its preference for a particular type of higher education, but had also taken the first step towards implementing it.

In a lively address "Can English Survive?" Mrs. M. E. McKerron said that during the last 25 years the decline in the standard of English had been alarming. She was not going to consider bilingualism as the scapegoat, but to give specimens from examination papers from English centres. Her examples, which caused much amusement, would have been laughable if one could have disregarded the seriousness of the underlying situation. Some of the factors responsible for this decline were the cinema, sport, time spent listening to certain wireless programmes, and the present-day worship of science. The speaker appealed to all who took pride in the heritage of English language and literature to arrest this decay before it was too late to prevent English becoming a poor dialect of the noble parent language.

In the discussion which followed, Professor G. Butler, head of the Department of English at Rhodes University, expressed the opinion that this decline was due to English-speaking people being too pre-occupied with the fleshpots to enter the schools to present the English point of view. It is possible, he said, for students illiterate in the English language to get a matric certificate.

The last speaker was Professor Winifred Maxwell (R.U.) who spoke on "History—And All That". She said that the substitution of the so-called "social studies" course for history in the schools had produced a subject which was neither social studies nor history. "History," she declared, "is seen as something in a book, and the child must

FACTS ARE STUBBORN THINGS.

—A. R. LeSage.

be taught the book, the whole book, and nothing but the book. The book was inaccurate both in content and in emphasis, it was extremely dull, revealing only the letter and nothing of the spirit, and it was highly tendentious". She quoted from "What we owe to the ancient world", and in ten lines about Law and the Emperor Justinian, pointed out five errors of fact. Later she quoted the surprising statement that "Sennacherib's methods of irrigation have been adopted in the Vaal Hartz scheme.' As well as distortion there is dullness. In all the exciting and dramatic history of this country, not one really breath-taking narrative is to be found. The Eastern Frontiers, the Great Trek are not treated with the tragedy and heroism they deserve, and the magnificent epic of the Battle of Blood River is presented in three misleading and desperately dull sentences.

The Chairman posed the question "Where do we go from here in the discussion of these problems?"

The audience took an interested part in the discussions, and the following suggestions emerged: An investigation of the failure of the radio to protect English as it should be spoken; "listening teams" to point out howlers, correct mistakes; abolition of classics and Bible stories in "comic" form; raising the standard of university entrance.

BOOK REVIEW

“A Life for a Life”

“AHA,” you will say on spotting this title, “just what I need to read on a wet Sunday—an exciting murder story.” You will then buy it and rush off home, only to discover that you are mistaken because it deals with what happens to the murderer after his arrest, the part of his career that is generally neglected by novelists.

Should he, or should he not be hanged? What factors should be considered before deciding to hang him, reprieve him or incarcerate him for life? Is the death sentence a deterrent to murder? Is it civilised, is it Christian, is it moral?

Sir Ernest Gowers, the author, was Chairman of the Royal Commission on Capital Punishment 1949—1953. The Commission was asked to assume that Capital Punishment would continue and to “consider and report whether the liability to suffer it should be ‘limited or modified’, and if so to what extent and by what means?” Sir Ernest admits that the Commission was a failure, though a qualified one in that it collected valuable opinions and evidence. He has written this book because the Commission’s report is voluminous, often irrelevant and expensive to boot. People who are

interested in the problem may therefore be grateful to him.

Whether your approach to the question is moral, ethical or religious or simply one of interest, this is an absorbing book.

The origin and history of hanging is outlined and the views of great men of our times are given—statesmen like Sir Winston Churchill, great judges like Lord Chief Justice Goddard, notable Home Secretaries like Lord Samuel, and the leaders of the Church of England.

One forms the impression that no group of men was able to agree with the other, and that members of the various groups were unable to agree amongst themselves. Sir Ernest, who started off being against abolition, ended up as a confirmed abolitionist. He gives his reasons, and very good ones they are. The trouble is that equally good reasons exist for the opposite viewpoint.

Personally speaking, while I now know all the arguments for and against hanging, I am no nearer than I ever was to reaching a conclusion.

I. CALDER.

THE BOON OF FREEDOM IS WORTH
MANY SCARS.

—Rousseau.

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