

THE BLACK SASH

DIE SWART SERP



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OUR RED NATS

THERE is a joke about Communism which was a good deal funnier when it was first told about twenty years ago than it is to-day. The story is that a certain Soviet official claimed to have the best job in Russia. "It is my duty," he said, "to sit on top of the Kremlin with a telescope and watch for the World Revolution. I reckon I've got a job for life." One could make the same joke about South Africa and the man whose job it is to sit on top of the Union Buildings and watch for English-speaking South Africans joining the Nationalist Party.

The business of drawing parallels between our Nationalists and the Russian Communists is not, however, a humorous exercise. There are far too many serious likenesses for it to be pleasant.

If anybody were to tell Dr. Verwoerd that, in action, his administration bore a striking resemblance to the Russian regime, he would probably be highly indignant, but it is the truth nevertheless. Let us take a few instances.

The resemblance to Communism is, of course, much more noticeable if you are a non-European. We Europeans are still more or less free, but the African majority is living in a "Police State" of the most rigorous kind. Pass and liquor raids soon convince the African of that, and if he is in any doubt about it, he discovers that, if he is gaoled for some technical offence, he may easily find himself bundled off to serve his sentence by working

ONS ROOI NATTES

DAAR is 'n grap omtrent Kommunisme wat geensins so prettig is soos dit was toe dit oorspronklik, twintig jaar gelede, vertel is. Die staaltjie het met 'n seker Sowjetbeampte te doen wat beweer het dat hy die beste werk in Rusland gehad het. „Dis my plig,” het hy gesê, „om bo-op die Kremlin met 'n verkyker te sit sodat ek die koms van die wêreldrewolusie kan bespeur. Ek reken ek het 'n lewenslange baantjie.” Mens kan die grap op Suid-Afrika van toepassing maak deur te verwys na die man wat bo-op die Unie-gebou moet sit om te sien hoedat Engelssprekendes by die Nasionale Party aansluit.

Om ons Nasionaliste met Russiese Kommuniste te vergelyk is egter geen grap nie. Hul trek soveel na mekaar dat dit glad nie prettig is nie.

Dr. Verwoerd sou waarskynlik uiters verontwaardig wees as iemand aan hom sou sê dat die bedrywighede van sy regering mens aan die Russiese regime herinner, maar dit is nietemin waar. Laat ons 'n paar voorbeelde aanhaal.

Die ooreenkoms met Kommunisme is natuurlik nog meer duidelik as mens 'n nie-blanke is. Ons wat blankes is, is nog min of meer vry, maar die nie-blanke meerderheid is onderdane van 'n „polisiestaat” in die egte sin van die woord. Pas- en drankklopjagte lewer spoedige bewys daarvan dat dit die geval is, maar indien die nie-blanke nog twyfel ontdek hy dat as hy vir die een of ander tegniese oor-

for a European farmer. Life on a Bethal mealie farm is probably not as rigorous as forced labour in Siberia, but it is our South African equivalent and the intention is the same. Or if he is a chief who does not conform exactly to Dr. Verwoerd's ideas of what a chief should be, he is liable to be exiled to some remote part of the country. This, too, is not as bad as the salt mines, but the principle is the same. Recently a Johannesburg magistrate, who had to convict some African women for taking part in an illegal procession told them that they had been guilty of subversive activity. In other words, according to the magistrate, protesting against Government policy is in itself subversive. Mr. Krushchev would heartily agree. Because we are Europeans we of the Black Sash can still get away with it—but only just.

There is an Iron Curtain round South Africa. Not a very efficient one so far, but it is improving. Both Whites and Blacks who annoy the Government too much find that they cannot leave the country. Some people, like the Rev. Michael Scot, cannot get in. If an African wins a bursary to study abroad, he is prevented from leaving South Africa—he might learn too much. Our reading matter is censored for us, not for common law offences, but for political reasons. If an Afrikaner university professor speaks out against Government policy, he is hounded by the Nationalist Press and socially ostracised. The Russian intellectual would recognise this situation immediately.

The political theory and practice of the Nationalists are appallingly like Communism. In Russia the Communist Party is a small elite, a fraction of the population, who do all the political thinking for the masses. In South Africa the Broederbond clique is a small elite, a fraction of the population, who claim to be quite capable of doing all the political thinking that is necessary, treat the rest of the population with contempt and ruthlessly take all power into their own hands. The republic, if it comes, will intensify the process. A ghostly Parliament will exist just to applaud the clique and "thank the Minister." Even for Europeans the Nationalists have no more intention of permitting the reality of democracy than the Russian Communists have. For the other races, of course, the idea is unthinkable.

treking tronk-toe gestuur word, hy sommer maklik weggestuur kan word om sy vonnis in diens van 'n boer uit te dien. Omstandighede op 'n Bethalse mielieplaas is vermoedelik nie so straf soos gedwonge arbeid in Siberië nie, maar dit is die Suid-Afrikaanse ekwivalent daarvan en die bedoeling is dieselfde. As hy toevallig 'n naturellehoofman is wat hom nie aan dr. Verwoerd se bevele onderwerp nie, sal hy hom moontlik in 'n verafgelei deel van die land as banneling bevind. Dis nie so erg soos die soutmyne nie, maar die beginsel bly dieselfde. Onlangs het 'n Johannesburgse landdros naturellevrouens, wat voor hom verskyn het op aanklag dat hul aan 'n onwettige optog sou deelgeneem het, daarvan verwittig dat hul hul daardeur aan ondermynende bedrywighede skuldig gemaak het. Die landdros het met ander woorde beweer dat 'n protes teen die regering se beleid op sigself ondermynend is. Mnr. Kruschchev sal hiermee hartlik saamstem. As blankes kan lede van die Swart Serp veroordeling nog vryspring—maar dit gaan ook maar naelskraaps.

'n Ystergordyn omring Suid-Afrika. Tot dusver was dit nie baie doeltreffend nie, maar dit vorder steeds. Blankes en nie-blankes wat die regering te kwaai lastig val, vind dat hul die land nie kan verlaat nie. Andere, soos eerw. Michael Scott, kan nie toegang verkry nie. As 'n nie-blanke 'n beurs vir oorsese studie verwerf, word hy 'n paspoort geweier—hy sal dalk te jael leer. Leesstof word om politieke redes gesensor en nie kragtens gemenerereg nie. As 'n Afrikaanse professor die regering se beleid aanval, word hy deur die Nat.-pers vervolg en van die gemeenskapslewe verban. Die Russiese denker sal hierdie toestand onmiddellik herken.

Die politieke teorie en handelwyse van die Nasionaliste kom skrikwekkend met Kommunisme ooreen. In Rusland bestaan die Kommunistiese Party uit 'n klein deeltjie van die bevolking wat die politieke denkwys van die massas voorskryf. Die ooreenkomstige liggaam in Suid-Afrika is die Broederbond, weer 'n klein deeltjie van die bevolking wat daarop aanspraak maak dat hul tot al die nodige politieke denke instaat is, wat die res van die bevolking met veragting bejeën en op 'n meedoënlose wyse alle politieke mag inpalm. Indien dit ingestel word sal die republiek die proses verskerp. 'n Skynparlement sal

EDITORIAL (Continued)

But, you will say, in the economic field at least this Government is staunchly in favour of private enterprise and against socialism. Is it? Under this Government private enterprise is being more and more dragooned in the name of apartheid, and, under a republic, it would be twisted and regimented to the financial advantage of Nationalist supporters. There is not the slightest doubt about that. Private enterprise, in the true liberal tradition, is in the gravest danger in South Africa.

Finally, it is in their basic philosophy that the Nationalists most resemble the Communists. Like the communists they are devotees of the damnable doctrine that the end justifies the means. Just as the Communists say that Communism justifies anything—even concentration camps and their savagery in Hungary—so the Nationalists believe that apartheid justifies anything. Any injustice, meanness or sophistry, any breaking of solemn pledges is permissible provided it advances the cause of apartheid and the Nationalist Party.

The next time a Cabinet Minister is heard denouncing Communism, it might be a good idea to ask him why, if he dislikes it so much, he imitates its methods so closely.

REDAKSIONEEL (Vervolg)

bestaan om die Broederbond-klied toe te juig en „die minister te bedank.” Selfs wat die blankes aanbetref is die Nasionaliste net so min van plan om demokratiese metodes te huldig soos die Russiese Kommuniste is. Vir die ander rasse is demokratiese behandeling natuurlik ondenkbaar.

U sal nou moontlik beweer dat die regering darem tenminste op ekonomiese gebied sterk ten gunste van privaatondernemings en teen sosialisme is. Maar is dit wel? Die regering meng hom alhoemeer by ons nywerheidsaangeleenthede in om apartheid te laat geld. As 'n republiek geskep word sal dit alhoemeer gekonkel word om tot die voordeel van Nasionaliste te strek. Ons bestaande besigheidstradisies verkeer sonder twyfel in ernstige gevaar.

Dit is ten slotte t.o.v. hul basiese denkwysse dat die Nasionaliste die sterkste ooreenkoms met die Kommuniste toon. Nes die Kommuniste glo hul aan die laakbare leer dat die

doel die middel heilig. Netsoos die Kommuniste beweer dat Kommunisme alles—selfs konsentrasiekampe en hul wreedheid in Hongarye—regverdig, so glo die Nasionaliste ook dat apartheid alles heilig. Ongeregtigheid, gemeenheid, valse redenering en die skending van beloftes is dubbel en dwars toelaatbaar solank dit apartheid en die Nasionale Party begunstig.

By die volgende geleentheid waarby 'n minister Kommunisme weer aanval kan ons gerus vir hom vra waarom—as dit vir hom so onsmaklik is—hy Kommunisme se metodes so deeglik naboots.

Gems From Hansard

Spotlighting the Standard of Debate . . .

MR. M. J. VAN DEN BERG: I think that if there is any such thing as “unctuous rectitude,” we should look at hon. members opposite who have taken unto themselves the right to express judgment from on high. They are always criticizing our youth, but they are all perfect. Once again, I think you will allow me, Mr. Speaker, to pay an imaginary visit to the Groote Kerk. Two people enter. The one is an 18-year-old and he sits down in a very proper manner, deep in thought, with his hands over his eyes. We know what the thoughts of such a person usually are. He is humbling himself. Another person, a member of the United Party and also a member of the Church enters. When he sees the 18-year-old he probably says in the words of the person in olden times: “Thank the Lord that I am not an irresponsible ill-doer like this young person.” You see, we are now just going back to the people of David, that is to say, the young people. The people of Saul are the older people. David defeated 10,000 whereas Saul only defeated 1,000. Hon. members can imagine how embittered the United Party would be if they had been there the day the young people and the women sang: “Saul defeated 1,000 but David defeated 10,000!” This young child who could not even vote! Together with the Minister of the Interior this entire party says that it welcomes this measure. The Minister of the Interior is not personally responsible. Every member on this side of the House bears his share of responsibility . . .

MR. COPE: I was intrigued by the reference to David and Goliath, and I would just say this to the hon. member: perhaps he has forgotten that at the time of David and Goliath the voting age was 40, not 18. In those ancient days only the elders took part in the counsels and only the elders voted. So I cannot see what point he made with that allusion.

—(Debate on Electoral Law Amendment Bill, Hansard 6, 1958, pp. 2058-9).

Report of the Chairman of the Central Executive to the Annual National Congress

Review of Black Sash Since its Inception

AFTER writing a factual and rather dull Chairman's Annual Report, of which you will have been given copies, it seemed inadequate to mark the end of an era, the end of the three and a half-year period since May 1955 when the Black Sash was born in Johannesburg. It flourished and grew with phenomenal speed and has inspired popularity and hatred, admiration and scorn in the public and a deep and devoted loyalty from thousands of women.

On the eve of the transfer of the leadership, as embodied in the Central Executive, from Johannesburg to the Cape, I felt that a more penetrating assessment was needed of what has inspired us, what we have done and what we still hope to do. I therefore sat down when everyone in the house was asleep to analyse and try to put into words the emotional history of our movement rather than the factual one, which you all know so well. I looked for the driving force behind the organisation.

There can be no doubt about the fact that emotion rather than cold analytical thinking first inspired us and has kept us going, has provided the driving power, even though much honest thinking has given direction to that drive. In the 3½ years many members have left us and some new ones have joined us, and the hard core of members now with us are women whose deep love of South Africa and of justice have forced them to think as well as feel. The conclusion at which these women have arrived is that what is right and just co-incides with what it is wise to do for self-preservation. But in spite of this possibly rare and yet happy co-incidence, what needs doing is neither easy nor popular.

But to get back to our history: I can still feel a flush of indignation whenever I think of the Senate Act, but undoubtedly the sharpness of the emotion has faded with time. But as I thought back the other night and re-traced all we did and felt, the whole picture became clear. There is a very definite link between the subsequent development of our movement and the anger which first moved us. This link in my opinion explains the vehemence of our indignation and makes it more imperative than ever that we go on until the disgrace of the Senate Act has been wiped out and we are citizens of a country to be proud of.

Do you remember the absolute rage which filled you at the thought of the calculated, cynical suggestion that an innocent provision, which allowed for an increase in the size of the Senate, if it were considered necessary after at least 10 years of practical experience of Union, should suddenly, 45 years later, be invoked to cook up a spurious 2/3 majority? Were you not horrified at the sudden

change in the method of electing Senators, to make quite sure that all the 'right' men would get in? Was it not thoroughly undemocratic? We then said to ourselves, "Do the Nationalists in power really think we are such spineless, stupid fools that we shall let them get away with it? Surely the Law Courts will see to it that our Constitution is not destroyed! What can we do to stop this?" It was that anger and indignation that brought us into being and gave us our popularity. But the Nationalist leaders ignored all protests, even from their own followers. They had taken legal advice beforehand and were pretty sure that the unsuspecting founders of Union had left a loophole through which they could wangle their way to domination. Relentlessly they went on and the Senate Act was pronounced "legal".

But what made them so sure that the opposition would stand for it, would themselves play ball by appointing Senators to the Silly Senate, would go on pretending that Parliamentary democracy was still functioning properly, would go on meekly paying their taxes and set about forgetting the iniquity, while they increased their profits?

The answer lies in the fact that the Nationalists had a pretty shrewd idea that however unpopular the mean trick might be, which they had so cleverly played, the piece of legislation which demanded that mean trick, i.e. the removal of the Coloured people from the common roll was not so very unpopular with many of South Africa's voters. That was why they dared to take the risk and that was why they got away with it and why they got an increased majority at the last election.

But the Black Sash realised very soon that if we opposed the Senate Act on moral grounds, we must with equal determination oppose other immoral legislation. If we, through our traditional South African attitude and our apathy, had led the Nat. leaders to believe and rightly to believe, that they could get away with cheating as soon as the rights of Non-Europeans were to be removed, then we were equally to blame with them. It is the old story of who is more blameworthy, the man who buys on the blackmarket or the man who sells on the blackmarket?

Our first duty, we realised, was to clear our own minds, educate ourselves and then try to get all voters to see the issues clearly. If these same leaders now believe that they can take away symbols like the Union Jack and God Save the Queen, dear to one section, freedom to own property and to trade from another group, freedom of speech and assembly from all of us, without losing their popularity at the polls, is it not our fault? Are we not so privileged,

so comfortable, so afraid of losing our material advantages that we will not protest at injustice until it touches us; and then it is too late and our protests ring hollow. Is it not becoming apparent that we non-Nationalists are the spineless, stupid selfish fools the Nats believed us to be? Was part of our indignation not a disguise for guilt?

We must now ensure that disgraces such as the Senate Act and all the other unjust legislation do not go on being hung around the neck of our poor country like a whole string of dead albatrosses, to make people of other countries turn away from us with fingers to nostrils. We must disillusion the dictatorial leaders about the lack of opposition they will meet if they go on running the country by enforced injustices. But first we must know that we want justice for all and that we are not spineless. We must be strong enough in our resolve to follow up our demand for justice-for-all to its logical conclusion where that justice is enshrined in a Constitution which simply cannot be twisted to suit the narrow party-political ends of one privileged section.

South Africa is privileged above other countries in having great mineral and industrial wealth and is at present enjoying considerable prosperity. It has an excellent climate and with modern methods of irrigation and agriculture can greatly increase its yield in food. When it comes to human resources a greater proportion of its population has been brought up with knowledge of, and a respect for western standards of civilisation than has that of most other countries in Africa and it has a greater proportion of adherents to the Christian faith and a higher rate of literacy than most African states.

We have in our population first-generation South Africans from all the European countries, members of many African tribes in their millions, second and third-generation Indians, our own Coloured people who are specifically South African and then white South Africans of both language groups, thoroughly intermingled, who are mostly good hybrids with the blood of most European groups in their veins.

The stage is therefore set for South Africa to be an experiment on a small scale, of a problem which the whole world has to face today — that of a relationship between colour groups. At present the whites hold all the political power and between the whole lot of us, English and Afrikaans-speaking, white, brown and black, we share the economic power and are economically completely interdependent. If we can persuade ourselves and the majority of other whites to be intelligent, civilised and far-sighted enough to devise a peaceful means of sharing political power, then it should be possible to work together in a society which maintains standards of living and standards of morals of which we could be proud.

Not only could the Christian West then be proud of us, but morally honest, decent people all over the world could admire us and would stop looking at us as a fruitful field for agitators. Trying to divide the country artificially by enforcing inhuman

repressive legislation, which is the White Nationalist policy of the present government, will prove impossible and will bring about disaster. It is deliberately encouraging Black Nationalism and at the same time instilling hatred into Non-Europeans. What could be more dangerous to the future of our children? It is also making us despised and hated in the world.

We are all responsible for the government we have and we must get to grips now with government in all its aspects and tackle the problem on every front. It is this conviction that has grown in all of us during the last three years and I am convinced that in handing over the day-to-day control, through the Central Executive, to a new Region, the Cape Western Region, we are leaving it in the hands of competent, energetic and sincere leaders.

But, as always, it is the individual, thinking members who count most, and make or break movements and governments, and it is to individual members that I say, "The responsibility for the future rests upon every single one of you." Our members must increase until the Black Sash is really a force to be reckoned with. We must become women who have the courage to face facts and the guts to work for their country's good name. But above all we must have the dogged determination, the imaginative daring, the audacity to tackle a job that is really too big for us. Our early indignation has settled down to a grim resolve to defend the future of our children. The instinct of self-preservation and the determination to protect our young will keep us going. Small animals, in the defence of their young have been known to tackle and rout very large beasts. Let us rout the prejudices, race-hatreds, the short-sightedness and the apathy all around us, because they will inevitably destroy our country and all its children. By so doing we shall create a happy South Africa, and make a valuable contribution to civilisation instead of denying civilisation either by our actions or our apathy.

That civilisation should expand and grow is important to us. Our only hope of survival is to be courageous and civilised and to work for justice for all in this country. By cringing behind the walls of enforced apartheid we whites may postpone the end, but when it comes we shall have deserved our destruction by our inhumanity and not many in the outside world will mourn us.

If we bring about peaceful co-operation and good government there will be neither the need nor the desire to destroy us.

N. GREEN.

The Black Sash extends its very sincere sympathy to Mrs. Pat. Causton, former editor of this magazine, in the loss of her husband, who died suddenly on Saturday, 29th November, 1958.

FROM OUR POSTBAG

"The Group Areas Act"

The Editor, **The Black Sash**,

I should like, as a member of the Editorial Board at the time when Mr. Bond's article was passed for inclusion in the magazine, to associate myself with the apology of the Editor for publishing his memorandum without first asking his permission to use it for publication. We appreciate the spirit of forgiveness shown by Mr. Bond in returning to the fray in his letter, and as one who cannot accept that "the Group Areas Act is not necessarily inherently evil" may I challenge some of Mr. Bond's statements in that letter?

He says that "each race would like to have some areas exclusively its own." The Group Areas Act does not select a few isolated areas where the timid of each race can live surrounded by "their own", but it aims at eventually parcelling out and labelling every square inch of South Africa with its appropriate colour; and since only the whites have any say in that parcelling out and labelling, one can imagine just how fair an allocation is likely to result.

Have we any proof at all that there was freedom, in the good old days before the Group Areas Act, for Indians to own property in Sophiatown or Vrededorp, that they yearned to exclude non-Indians and were miserable because they did not have an area exclusively reserved to themselves?

That a certain section of all groups likes the assurance given by being surrounded by neighbours of like appearance or language or skin colour may be true and accounts for the voluntary and very partial segregation whereby Emmarentia is more Afrikaans-speaking, Lr. Houghton more Jewish and Rivonia more Polish than other suburbs. And in so far as segregation is purely voluntary no-one can quarrel with it. But the whole idea of racial zoning is in my personal opinion completely out of date in a modern state and can only be enforced at the cost of frightful suffering and injustice.

If the Black Sash accepts that the Group Areas Act is right in principle and only badly implemented, then it accepts that people are not human beings, but merely ciphers in the Population Register with no feelings or individuality or diversity of tastes except as laid down by various Ministers according to the colour of their skins, the curliness of their hair or the shape of their noses.

I believe that the Black Sash cannot use the Act for good. It may possibly shame our rulers into relinquishing some of the worst excesses of inhumanity, greed and selfishness, planned by the Group Areas Boards viz. the uprooting of thousands, the destroying of their means of livelihood and the dumping of voiceless peoples out of sight of the superior herrenvolk. Reducing this misery slightly is at best only a palliative.

The Black Sash, November, '58

The only way to improve the Group Areas Act is not to apply it at all. We **must** develop a more civilised attitude towards people, allowing economics, normal municipal by-laws, personal taste and social sanctions as regards good behaviour to regulate our residential habits, not inhuman legalised perpetuation of primitive and completely outdated prejudices. People who talk about political morality cannot support the Group Areas Act and all its arbitrary regulations.

N. GREEN.

* * *

The Editor, **The Black Sash**,

I really was astonished at the outburst over the article on Group Areas—which struck me as being very fair and unbiassed. In any case, why not publish some opposition views from time to time? It would make the magazine more interesting if nothing else. I am all for the principles of free debate, as I think it makes both sides think a little more deeply, and we will never get peace in South Africa unless the two extremes can somehow be made to choose a more moderate line, and grant concessions to each other.

A devil has got into me and I'd love to write some really contentious articles for the magazine—something really to stir up the hornet's nest. How about it, Madam Editor?

P.W.

* * *

This procedure

The Editor, **The Black Sash**,

A few weeks ago my wash girl (wife of my cook) told me she wished to go home to the Northern Transvaal for a holiday. On her way back—although she had her return half ticket—she was arrested at Nelspruit, where she had to wait a day to catch the Lourenco Marques train for Johannesburg. She spent three days in gaol and paid a fine of 15/-, with, of course, no receipt given. On her return my cook asked to go on his holiday and said his old mother wished to go with him to Benoni to visit a married daughter there Knowing of the troubles his wife had had, I thought I had better make enquiries at the Native Affairs Department in Albert Street, and was told, as my cook had his new reference book, he would be all right if I endorsed it, but his mother would need a special permit showing she lived in Johannesburg in order to return.

So one morning I set off for the Native Affairs Department in Albert Street, and my cook went to Jeppe Station to collect his wife and mother from the Dube train and we all met at the Native Affairs Department. I was here advised to get both the women to apply for their permanent permits as these were being issued in Johannesburg to those applying for them. I was told to go to the old Pass Office in Market Street where these permits were being issued and then bring the permits back to be stamped at the Native Affairs Department.

We started on foot up Delvers Street to Market Street and down it to the old pass office. Here two Native policemen had never heard of Native women's permits, so I walked in and went upstairs and wandered round looking into rooms until I saw a gentleman at a desk—he thought Native women's permits had been issued "yesterday but not to-day." I suggested he try and find out, and after some very reluctant telephoning he said permits were being issued across Bezuidenhout Street. We four crossed the road to a filthy old building with wooden stairs, and on an upper floor at last found the right spot. While the women were being photographed I found a Blankes' bench and gratefully sat down. About ten minutes later my cook came to me to say that the photographs cost 3/6 each and they had only 3/- between them, so I paid up, wondering why Natives had to pay the municipality 3/6 for photographs that white people got from any photographer for 2/6. When all the finger prints, form filling and inspection was at last over, we marched back up Market Street to Delvers Street and down to the Native Affairs Department in Albert Street to get the new documents stamped

(In an authoritarian state, is one better off if it is (a) efficient or (b) inefficient?—Ed.)

* * *

The Editor, **The Black Sash**,

At one of our monthly meetings, the enclosed cutting from the *Cape Times* was discussed:—

Cape Times, 29th April.

INTERDICTS ACT IS SUSPENDED

The application of the Natives (Prohibition of Interdicts Act, as proclaimed in March last year, has been withdrawn by a proclamation in the *Government Gazette*.

The Prohibition of Interdicts Act provides that when an African has been ordered to leave an area or to be removed from one area to another, or to be arrested for removal from an area, no interdict or other legal process shall be issued for the suspension of the order.

An appeal against the order shall not have the effect of staying the order.

STAY REMOVAL

On March 12 last year, by proclamation in the *Government Gazette*, the Act was made applicable to warrants issued by a magistrate or Native Commissioner against Africans convicted of illegally entering urban areas under the Natives (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act.

The proclamation in Friday's *Gazette*, withdrawing this, means that Africans who are now ordered to leave an urban area by a magistrate or Native Commissioner under this law may apply for an interdict, or may appeal, and this will stay their removal.

The *Cape Times* correspondent in Pretoria reports that, according to Mr. C. W. Prinsloo, chief information officer of the Department of Native Affairs, the proclamation was issued originally mainly because of a case in which a

certain African woman, Katrina Molefi, had continually asked for interdicts, and so protracted the matter. The proclamation was issued to stop the series of interdicts.

The woman had now, however, won her case on appeal, and, since the proclamation no longer served any purpose, it has now been withdrawn.

Can our Government, by a proclamation in the *Government Gazette*, withdraw an application of an Act? And does this mean, that at some later date, it can be re-applied?

(Mrs.) F. S. Jackson—Secretary, Matatiele Branch of the Black Sash.

(Legal opinion is as follows—Editor).

This is the provision which relates to the withdrawal of proclamations by the Governor-General:

"Act No. 64 of 1956.

5. (1) This Act shall apply only in respect of such orders or classes of orders and with effect from such date as may from time to time be specified by the Governor-General by proclamation in the *Gazette*.

(2) The Governor-General may at any time in like manner alter or withdraw any proclamation issued under sub-section (1)."

The words "from time to time" suggest that the Governor-General may re-apply the Act to a specific type of order even after he has withdrawn the application of the Act.

Any comments which you intend to make upon the abuse to which this Act may be put seem to me fully justified.

F.K.

Candid Comments

It is a sad commentary on the level to which South African political life has dropped that when the Black Sash Conference sounds a note of moral protest it echoes as a small and lonely voice.

Means to action, growth and conversion of others must be found.

From leading article in *Cape Argus*, October 16.

Role of the Black Sash.

The Black Sash has brought something elemental into our political life, a means of participation which shows the woman in the street that she need not be solely a passive onlooker in the struggle for the future of this country. In the many-sided activities of modern politics it is not necessary that everybody interested should be a leader of the Opposition or a Member of Parliament to be politically effective. Human ingenuity has always been able to develop additional means of proper action at any time of deep concern.

The Black Sash represents one of the most striking such developments South Africa has yet produced.

From leading article in *Cape Times*.

HISTORY AND OUR CHILDREN WILL DEFEND US

RECENTLY in Cape Town the Black Sash held its second National Conference in four months. From this Conference, leaders returned to their districts, urban and rural, inspired to continue their work with unflagging determination.

The public of South Africa will ask, "What is this work?" The Black Sash, which started three and a half years ago as a protest against the Senate Act, has been led, by the unceasing spate of inhuman and immoral legislation, to expand its programme from protest alone, which is largely negative, to positive action, for the Black Sash has settled down to the long uphill struggle to restore democracy in South Africa, realising that the fundamental assertion of democracy is the subordination of politics to morality.

Detailed study of many Acts of Parliament has proved that they are immoral and therefore impossible of humane implementation.

Through constant watchfulness on village, town and city councils, the women of the Black Sash are exerting pressure on their elected representatives. For example, in Johannesburg numerous requests to the City Council and interviews with them strengthened the Council's decision eventually to grant permission for the holding of a protest meeting against increased Native Taxation, despite police advice.

The courageous attitude of the Press in taking up the cudgels for freedom of speech and of assembly, together with the Sash's request to Dr. Verwoerd for a deputation to discuss the full implication of the ban, resulted in the lifting of the ban on meetings of more than ten Africans in the Witwatersrand area.

In Cape Town during the recent session of Parliament, members of the Cape Western Region of the Black Sash interviewed numerous Members of Parliament and Senators, seeking their views on controversial measures and trying by reasoned argument to influence them.

Pressure of this kind is being brought to bear by groups of Black Sash women all over the country at all levels of Government and Administration.

Coupled with this pressure is an intense programme for bringing vital issues to the notice of its own members and of the public of South Africa.

Through its monthly magazine, lectures live and recorded, Brains Trust interviews, and public meetings, members of the Sash have learnt all points of view.

Whether in crowded halls in the cities or among courageous handfuls on the platteland, the Black Sash continues to stir the conscience of South Africa.

Decisions taken at Conference.

Discussions at Conference ranged over South Africa's political field and therefrom emerged an even wider programme for the immediate future.

First and foremost came practical ways and means of implementing the Black Sash aim to restore moral government and to enshrine civil rights and liberties. Continued pressure on all public representatives is obviously one method. Among others the Electoral Laws of South Africa will be studied with a view to preventing abuse and maintaining the secrecy of the ballot.

Government proposals for a republic were rejected by the Conference on the grounds that the Government has not respected the spirit of the existing Constitution, the freedom of the individual and the rights of minorities.

After lengthy discussion of a living wage and the political factors underlying the bitter poverty of many people in South Africa, the Black Sash decided to work towards the removal of those political factors which help cause poverty. The Black Sash also decided to investigate and consider the need to ensure that people arrested for 'political' offences (especially in out of way places) can avail themselves of bail.

The Sash furthermore determined to make every effort to prevent the political indoctrination of children in schools.

Other resolutions showed how alive the Black Sash is to the danger of South Africa becoming a police state. The Sash will resist in the future, as it has from the beginning, encroachments on South African rights and liberties.

The Headquarters of the Black Sash will now be situated in Cape Town, with the following office bearers who have been drawn from the dynamic Cape Western Region: national president, Mrs. M. C. Petersen; national vice-presidents, Mrs. R. Foley, Mrs. H. Spottiswoode, and Mrs. E. Stott; members of Central Executive, Mrs. M. Birt, Mrs. D. Berman, Mrs. B. Willis, Mrs. E. West, Mrs. M. Smith and Mrs. N. Day.

Mrs. Jean Sinclair is now the Chairman of the large Southern Transvaal Region where the Black Sash was born. Obviously in this, the largest urban area in the country, the work of this Region is destined to become ever more strenuous.

The Black Sash movement consists of women only, because, as the *Cape Argus* said in a recent leader, "women have always been the first to see that to compromise between right and utility is to imperil the highest values our civilisation enshrines."

The eyes of Black Sash members, many of whom were not previously interested in politics, have seen "a vision of excellence". Through their work, unrewarding as it may seem, they are trying to realise that vision, and, in the words of the Black Sash Dedication, "history and our children will defend us."

JEANETTE DAVIDOFF.
MURIEL FISHER.

FACT AND FICTION

FICTION:

"I think it is a very good thing that African women will have to carry reference books." (Mrs. Average South African Housewife.

FACT:

Practically every Black Sash woman is a housewife. We can even remember our first "haunting" of a Cabinet Minister, when Mr. Eric Louw thought we were the Housewives' League. But we are housewives who have learnt to think in terms of political morality, and to think in a wider sphere than that of our own trivial domestic troubles. We have all suffered from the petty theft of a sheet or two, the absconding "nanny", the unreliable "girl." That, however, does not blind us to the significant principles involved in the attempt by this Government to force millions of African women to carry what the Government politely terms a "reference book", but which is commonly known as a "pass".

The first principle is one against which the Black Sash has striven since its inception—deprivation of rights and liberties. Whatever the African peoples may have suffered under European rule, at least their women have been free from the bondage of a "pass". That freedom is about to be taken away. The Black Sash knows that freedom is indivisible. What affects one section of the population affects all sections.

The second great principle involved is that of common humanity, or should we rather say "inhumanity"? The African woman must carry her reference book with her with every step she takes. What if she chances to leave it behind one day? Do you, Mrs. Average South African Housewife, when you leave your home, always remember to carry your money, your keys, your cigarettes, your powder, your cheque book, and in the near future, will you remember your identity card? Very well, you send your African servant to the shop on the corner to buy some vegetables. She leaves her reference book in her room. A policeman stops her. No book— instant arrest, off to gaol. For you, no vegetables, for her, humiliations, indignities and insults, and even worse, what of her children at home in the township? Who will care for them when their mother does not come home? What of her husband, distraught with anxiety? And what of the pitifully small amount of family life which the urban African is still able to enjoy?

Now you, Mrs. Average South African housewife, may accidentally leave your identity card at home. You will not be bundled into a pick-up van to spend a night, or nights, in gaol. You will be given seven days in which to produce your identity card, because, you see, you do not carry a reference book.

Are you still satisfied with your fiction that it is a good thing for African women to be forced to carry reference books, when two of the greatest principles of Christian, Western teaching are outraged by wholesale deprivation of liberty and "man's inhumanity to man"?

M.E.F.

FEIT EN FANTASIE

FANTASIE:

"Dis myns insiens 'n baie goeie ding dat naturelle-vrouens verwysboekies sal moet dra." (Mev. Gemiddelde Suid-Afrikaanse Huisvrou.

FEIT:

Byna die laaste Swart Serp-lid is 'n huisvrou. Ons kan selfs onthou dat toe ons vir die eerste keer 'n minister „bespook" het, het mnr. Eric Louw onder die indruk verkeer dat ons die Huisvrouebond was. Ons is egter huisvrouens wat geleer het om in terme van politieke moraliteit, en met 'n groter omvang as ons huislike moeilikheidjies, te dink. Ons het almal as gevolg van die wegloper-kindermeid en die onbetroubare huisbediende gely. Ons is almal af en toe besteel. Ten spyte hiervan is ons terdeë bewus van die belangrike beginsels wat op die spel is as gevolg van die regering se poging om alle naturelle-vrouens te verplig om 'n verwysboekie (of platweg 'n pas) te dra.

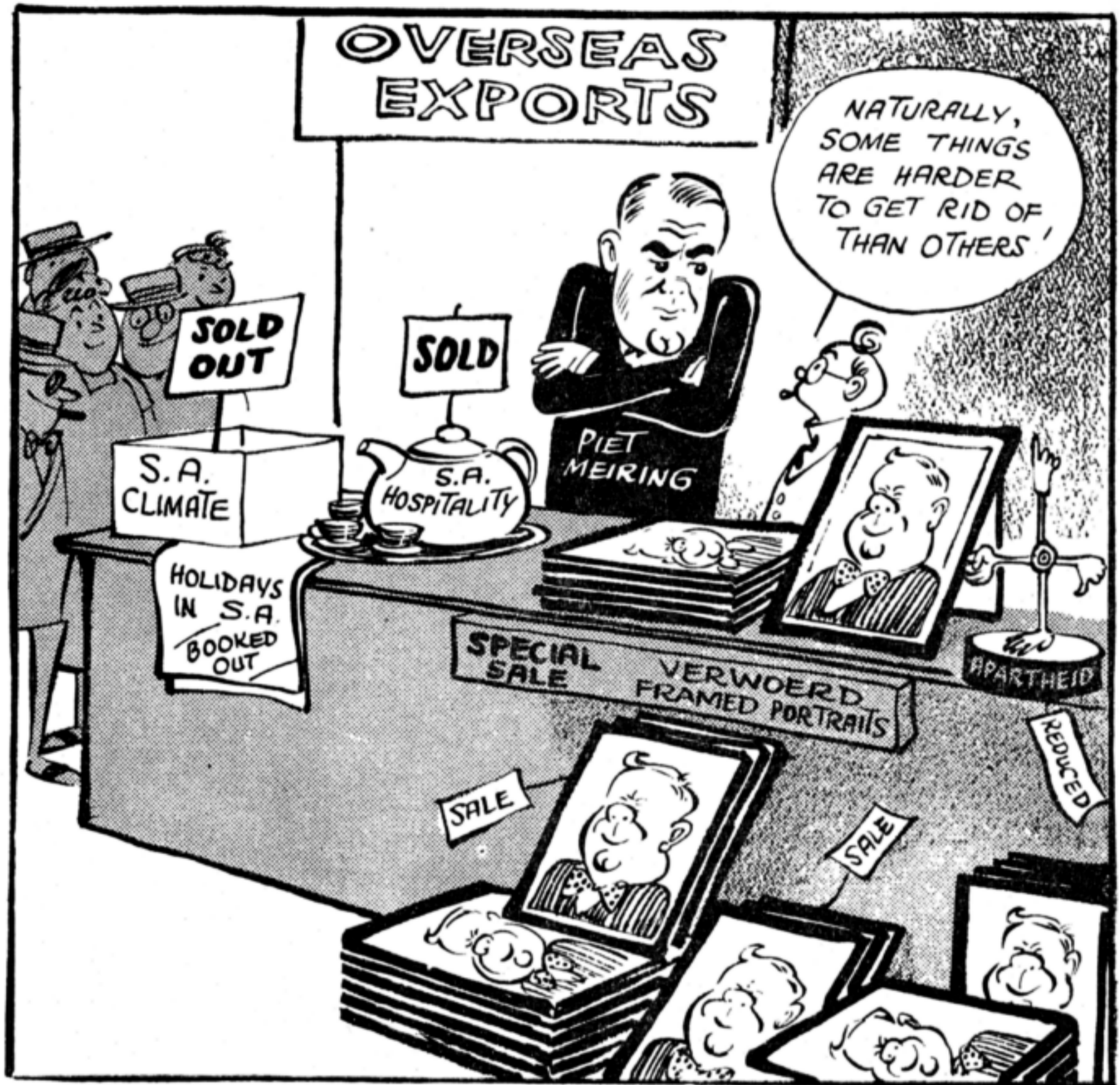
Die eerste beginsel is een wat die Swart Serp uit die staanspoor beveg het—die ontneming van regte en vryhede. Die naturelle moes dit deurgaans onder blanke heerskappy ontgeld, maar die vrouens is ten minste nie die las van 'n pas opgelê nie. Hierdie vryheid word hul eersdags ontnem. Die Swart Serp weet dat vryheid onverdeelbaar is. Wat die een bevolkingsgroep raak, raak almal.

Die tweede groot beginsel is gewone menslikheid, of eerder onmenslikheid. Die naturelle-vrou moet gedurig haar verwysboek byderhand hê. En wat gebeur as sy dit per abuis tuislaat? Onthou u altyd, mev. Gemiddelde Suid-Afrikaanse Huisvrou, u geld, u sleutels, u sigarette, u poeier, u tjekboekie, en sal u binnekort u persoonskaart onthou? Nouja, u stuur u bediende winkel-toe om groente te koop. Sy vergeet om haar verwysboekie saam te neem. 'n Konstabel ondervra haar. Geen boekie nie— onmiddellike arrestasie, tronk-toe. Geen groente vir u nie, en vir haar—vernedering, smaad en beledigings. En wat van haar kinders by die huis? Wie sal vir hulle sorg? En haar vreesbevange man, wat van hom? En wat van die gesinslewe, alreeds so gering, wat die stedelike naturel nog kan geniet?

U, mev. Gemiddelde Suid-Afrikaanse Huisvrou, sal dalk u persoonskaart per abuis tuislaat. U sal nie in 'n polisiewa tronk-toe vervoer word nie. O nee, u sal sewe dae gegun word om u persoonskaart te toon, want u dra mos nie 'n verwysboekie nie.

Bly u nog tevrede met u mening dat dit 'n gesonde ding is dat naturelle-vrouens verplig moet word om verwysboekies te dra wanneer twee van die hoof-beginsels van die Kristelike leer en die Westerse lewensbeskouing daardeur geweld aangedoen word?

M.E.F.



A VALUABLE BOOKLET

We wonder if our members know of the Race Relations booklet, "Thought". This is a journal of Afrikaans thinking for the English-speaking, which Race Relations publish quarterly.

It is designed for those of us who are cut off from Afrikaner thought by language difficulties; and it also seems to be designed for those of us who do

not have time (or inclination!) to read long speeches and reports.

Clearly and briefly, and logically ordered, the booklet presents the Afrikaans standpoint in most readable form—and it goes without saying that it is quite unbiased.

It is obtainable at £1 a year from The Editor, S.A. Institute of Race Relations, P.O. Box 17, Johannesburg.

South Africa's New Boss

From The Economist

WHEN South Africa's new prime minister, Dr. Verwoerd, was editor of a Nationalist party daily newspaper in Johannesburg, he achieved something which may be unique in newspaper annals: during the months that King George VI and his family spent in South Africa on an official tour, his newspaper, as a matter of deliberate policy, did not once mention their presence in the country. Nor did it publish a single picture of an event which the rest of the South African press regarded as of first-rate news value. This is typical of the man: as a whole-hogging republican he put his politics before journalism. No matter what the cost to his newspaper, it was more important to strike a blow for republicanism.

Nearly thirty years before this incident, the iron had first entered into the soul of the young Verwoerd, then the schoolboy son of a Dutch Reformed Church missionary in Southern Rhodesia. When a pupil at a Bulawayo school he was offered a scholarship to continue his studies in Rhodesia. But the boy wanted to get back to South Africa with his parents and turned down the offer. "What do you want to go back to that nest of rebels for?" his headmaster asked. His reply was polite but unequivocal, and this, according to the story as Dr. Verwoerd himself tells it, so angered the headmaster that he kicked him twenty feet down the passage.

Later he turned down the offer of a bursary which would have taken him to Oxford, and went to Europe instead. More than twenty years afterwards, Dr. Verwoerd's newspaper waged a bitter struggle against the Union's participation in the war against Nazi Germany. Another newspaper accused it of falsifying news in its support of German propaganda. Dr. Verwoerd sued the critic but lost the action, the judge finding that he did in fact knowingly support Nazi propaganda in his paper. Last year, when this incident was recalled in the Senate, Dr. Verwoerd aroused bitter resentment by saying that one of the reasons why he had not appealed against the judgment was because he knew how difficult it was for the Bench to mete out justice in the face of government interference.

When the Nazis were overrunning Europe, a committee of Nationalists drew up a draft constitution for the South African republic that many of them thought they would obtain from Hitler's victory. It was as authoritarian a document as any that has ever been responsibly propagated in South Africa. The president was to be answerable to God alone; the English language was to be relegated to an inferior position. Dr. Verwoerd's newspaper published the draft with the comment that it "very precisely interpreted" the Nationalists' ideology. Since then many Nationalist leaders have disowned or repudiated the draft, but Dr. Verwoerd has been far less emphatic than anyone else.

He has, moreover, sometimes spoken disparagingly of South Africa's parliamentary system as being "British-Jewish-Liberalist," and he has a vulnerable anti-Semitic record. In 1936, when he was head of the department of psychology at the University of Stellenbosch, he was a member of a deputation which protested to the government against the admission into the Union of Jewish refugees from Germany. Later, as editor of *Die Transvaler*, he again campaigned against Jewish immigration, and gave frequent other evidence of his anti-Jewish feelings, at the same time complaining that the Jews did not advertise in his paper. When Dr. Verwoerd was faced with this past after he had become prime minister, he replied soothingly that he would adhere strictly to the policy of his predecessors.

Dr. Verwoerd has been in Parliament for ten years, only four months of which he has spent in the House of Assembly. He was tenth out of fourteen in cabinet seniority when he was chosen to succeed Mr. Strydom, and the author of more contentious and undemocratic legislation than any other man. When he joined the cabinet in 1950 he caused a minor revolution in the department of native affairs. He nationalised African education. He took power, under certain circumstances, to prohibit religious worship by whites and non-whites together. He has fantastic powers of control over the lives and movements of all Africans. Under the Prohibition of Interdicts Act he can ensure that if an African is moved from an urban area wrongfully, he may not seek a court interdict restraining his removal until he has been moved. And in the Native Reserves, the so-called homeland of the Africans, Dr. Verwoerd is absolute and undisputed master. It is almost a state within a state that this hard-working, single-minded, stubborn but very clever man has fashioned—and all with the object of ultimately separating white and non-white and establishing beyond dispute the paramountcy of the Afrikaner. More passionately even than Mr. Strydom, he believes in white *baasskap* and in *baasskap apartheid*, all within a republican framework wholly divorced from the Commonwealth.

Does Dr. Verwoerd stand any chance of getting nearer his twin goals, republicanism and apartheid, than either of his predecessors, Mr. Strydom or Dr. Malan? He certainly is more dedicated, more determined and far more ruthless than either of them, has more drive and energy, and is a younger man. Above all, perhaps, he has absolute faith in himself and his mission, almost a complex of infallibility, that has both astonished and frightened people who meet him for the first time. He told an interviewer last year that he did not worry or fret because he had no nagging fear that his policies might be wrong. With this almost Messianic belief in himself and his theory he combines an uninhibi-

ted attitude to the Deity which would be far better suited to a theocracy. He said publicly that the solution of the Nationalist party's leadership problem had been God's decision, and that the voting had been a manifestation of God's will. This, no doubt, he sincerely believes.

With his authoritarianism he combines an idealism which has at times puzzled his followers as much as his opponents. He has, for instance, built more houses for urban Africans than any of his predecessors—a remarkable achievement. At the same time he justifies his colour philosophy in these terms: "Instead of having an intermixed society you should have a society in South Africa in which there is separation, giving the fullest opportunities of development to one race just as to the other . . . Just as we want supremacy in our areas, so we are prepared to grant the same supremacy to the Bantu in his area. We don't want for ourselves what we are not prepared to cede to others." He has made no progress in implementing this aspect of his policy—in fact, he turned down the only comprehensive blueprint ever drawn up for race separation, the Tomlinson report. Nor does the proof that economic facts make nonsense of the theory of apartheid worry him in the slightest. He believes that it will one day be possible to separate White and non-White, even if it takes a couple of centuries.

Dr. Verwoerd's first few weeks in office have shown that he has no intention of rushing in where his predecessors have found it prudent to tread with discretion. He is going slowly and circumspectly, pacifying, mollifying, consolidating his position in the government and in the party, where his election caused almost as much shock as it did in the country. Unbending, unrepentant, unconcerned, he knows where he wants to go, and has the almost blind determination to get there if he can.

But it would hardly be in the character of this remarkable man to remain patient for any length of time. In the words of one critic:

"If Dr. Verwoerd the prime minister is going to be a projection of Dr. Verwoerd the minister of Native affairs, this country is faced with a disaster. At no time less than now could this country afford a government based on regimentation, fanaticism and authoritarianism. Unless his wider powers and responsibilities change him, Dr. Verwoerd's appointment may mark the transition in South Africa from an easy-going, elastic, more-or-less democratic parliamentarianism to a rigid regimentation backed by a tyrannical party machine on the lines of the regimes which brought some European countries to ruin."

South Africa has its fingers firmly crossed: it suddenly finds itself on the back of a tiger headed for heaven alone knows where, and there is nothing it can do except hope and pray—for a miracle that will save it from the worst excesses of fanatical racism as expressed in the person of a dedicated man.

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Johannesburg Campaign Against Reference Books

THE Southern Transvaal Region have asked permission to hold a public meeting on the Johannesburg City Hall steps to discuss the issue of reference books to African women. They have given their reasons for protesting in the following statement issued to the press:—

"The Black Sash is opposed to the issue of Reference Books to African women.

"It is not yet obligatory for African women to carry Reference Books, but many thousands have already been issued.

"The Pass System for men has been defended on the grounds that it promotes law and order; but in fact it has contributed substantially to racial tension and to the creation of an unstable society.

"Pass Laws for men have served the purpose of familiarising hundreds of thousands of people with the inside of jails too early and too often. The distinction between criminals and law-abiding citizens who have merely committed technical offences has been lost.

"In 1955 nearly half a million men were convicted on pass offences of one kind or another.

"It is intolerable to contemplate the increase in this figure, and the consequent hardship, indignity, misery and fear which will be caused if this system is extended to African women. The extension of the pass system to women will carry with it not only the heavy disabilities suffered by African men but will also result in an unprecedented disruption of family life. Women will be subject to summary arrest, deportation, jail sentences or fines and extra financial burdens. They will be forced to desert their families or take babies and young children with them to jail. Juvenile delinquency is closely related to insecure family life and lack of parental supervision. Is it suggested that African children can withstand social ills with which we admit European children cannot contend? The extension of Reference Books to women must hasten the rapid disintegration of African family life and therefore increase the growth of tsotsism.

"There are fundamental differences between Identity Cards for Europeans and Reference Books for Africans. Europeans are not subject to summary arrest if they cannot immediately produce an Identity Card on demand. The holders of Identity Cards are not required to supply information on their cards which enables hosts of petty officials to exercise constant control over every movement and activity.

"In spite of circulars sent to householders by the Native Commissioner we cannot emphasise too strongly that it is not yet obligatory for African women to carry passes.

"Because the Black Sash believes that good government must be based on political morality and respect for the rights and liberties of all South Africans, it condemns the issue of Reference Books to African women.

"We call on the government to stop the issue of these books immediately."

CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUE — SOME OFFICIAL ATTITUDES

In this series we invite members to examine the policies of the chief political Parties and constitutional authorities in the country.

Constitution series No. 1:

THE UNITED PARTY

1. The violence that the Nationalist Party has done to our constitution has exacerbated racial tensions and gravely endangered political stability in South Africa.

Consequently, confidence in our country among the once friendly nations of the world has been further shaken, and deep concern has arisen within our borders.

By the creation of the present inflated Senate, the Nationalist Party has achieved its nefarious aim of depriving the Cape Coloured people of their century old franchise rights. It has simultaneously made it impossible, with the Senate as now constituted, to entrench any rights whatsoever.

The United Party's plan for constitutional reform makes possible the *de facto* entrenchment of rights and will for the first time guarantee white political leadership in South Africa.

2. *The United Party's plan involves, firstly, the composition of the Senate.*

We will reduce its size from the present swollen proportions to reasonable and practical numbers; in fact, to a Senate more or less equal in numbers to the pre-1948 body.

At least three-quarters of our proposed Senate will represent the European electorate of South Africa; not more than one-quarter will represent non-Europeans.

All Senators will be Europeans.

The Senators who represent the European electorate will consist of an equal number for each Province elected by the European voters of that Province on a proportional basis. In other words, the number of votes a political party polls in each Province will determine the number of Senators allocated to that party for the Province; if, for example, the United Party polls 75% of the votes cast in the Transvaal, it will have 75% of the Transvaal representatives in the Senate.

* *European Senators* representing the *Coloured people* will be elected by Coloured persons holding the necessary qualifications.

* *European Senators* representing the *Native people* of the Union will number six (in accordance with the provisions of General Hertzog's 1936 legislation). The procedure for electing these senators will be altered so as to give the responsible class of Native a more direct say, in accordance with the Party's 1954 Policy statement and its intention to encourage the growth of the responsible class.

* The Government in power will be entitled to nominate a limited number of Senators.

* All Senators will be required to satisfy appropriate educational and/or property qualifications.

3. *How the new Senate will legislate:*

Any legislation coming before the Senate will fall into one of three classes, namely, "ordinary" bills, "special" bills, or *money* bills.

For any "ordinary" bill passed by the House of Assembly to become law, it will have to be passed by the Senate also, and will require at its third reading in the Senate not only a majority of all Senators, *but also a majority of the Senators representing the European electorate plus the senators nominated by the Government.* If there is disagreement between the Senate and the House of Assembly on any "ordinary" bill, that is, any bill not affecting certain changes in the Constitution, franchise rights, or any other specially defined or prescribed matters, the disagreement will be resolved by a majority vote at a joint sitting of both Houses.

"Special" bills, i.e. bills affecting certain constitutional matters, franchise rights, or any other specially defined matters will require, to be passed by the Senate, *firstly a majority of the elected members representing Europeans* (excluding the Government-nominated senators), and secondly, a majority of all senators. (Bills of this sort account for only one per cent. of total legislation). If there were to be disagreement in such matters between the House of Assembly and the Senate, such bills would simply lapse. *There would be no joint sitting in such cases.*

Money bills will, as is the case at present, remain the sole concern of the House of Assembly. Money bills will therefore not need to be passed by the new Senate, and any government which is able to pass a budget in the lower House will be able to govern.

4. *How the scheme will work:*

By way of illustration, let us assume that the new Senate will consist of about fifty members. Roughly *thirty-three* or *thirty-four* will then be elected by the Europeans, possibly *five* will be appointed by the Government, and *ten* or *eleven* will represent the non-Europeans.

Now if a Government sought to enact a law which might endanger the position of the Europeans, it would require:

(i) a *majority* among the elected Senators representing the Europeans (excluding nominated members). Therefore at least *seventeen* out of *thirty-three* senators *representing Europeans* would have to vote for it.

(ii) an *overall majority* in the Senate. Assuming that the eleven representatives of non-Europeans voted for the bill, at least *fifteen* members representing Europeans (*including* the nominated members) would also have to support it before it could pass. (11 N.E. plus 15 E. = 26 out of 50)

Otherwise the Bill would lapse.

If a Government sought to pass laws like the Separate Representation of Voters Act, the Senate Act, and the Native Laws Amendment Act, with its odious "Church Clause", it would similarly require an *overall* majority plus a *majority* among the elected members representing Europeans.

To get an overall majority, 26 out of 50 votes would be necessary. The 11 non-European representatives would presumably vote against the bill, so that it would not receive an overall majority unless *at least twenty-six* of the thirty-nine "European" Senators voted for it. (This is the "decisive" majority or *de facto* entrenchment to which we refer in this document.)

5. *What the Scheme will achieve:*

* *The scheme will for the first time guarantee European political leadership in South Africa.* As has been explained, bills endangering European leadership cannot become law unless they have the support of the majority of the elected senators representing the White people.

* *The scheme will protect non-European rights* in that there can be no reduction thereof unless two-thirds of the elected and nominated Senators representing Europeans support it.

* *The scheme will achieve greater political stability for South Africa.* The new Senate itself would be virtually entrenched in that any change in its constitution would be subject to the agreement of an overall majority in the Senate *plus* a majority of the elected senators representing the Europeans.

6. *The Coloured People and the Common Roll:*

The United Party in accordance with the policy advocated by Gen. Hertzog, believes that it is highly desirable to regard the Coloured people as an appendage of the Europeans and to retain their goodwill and support instead of alienating them into a possibly hostile anti-European bloc. It is for this reason that the Party has always stood for the retention of the Coloured voters on the common roll, and has opposed the immoral and illegal efforts of the Government to remove them. In 1953 and 1954, Joint Sittings of Parliament held in terms of the provisions of the Constitution, rejected the bills aimed at effecting Separate Representation for the Coloured people. The final act of the Government in creating an artificially large Senate in order to get them off the roll, made any promise of future entrenchment of their voting rights impossible. The United Party has now, through its proposals to reconstitute the Senate, made such promise of future entrenchment possible, and the Party therefore undertakes to restore the Cape Coloured voters to the Common Roll for the purpose of electing members to the House of Assembly. The franchise is retained for the Cape and Natal Coloureds only (i.e. is not extended to the Orange Free State and Transvaal Coloureds, and persons on the roll in 1951 will be restored to the common roll.

In respect of all future applications for registration upon the common roll, higher and more stably applied qualifications (at the moment a man may be

on the roll one year and off in another because he has lost his job) which are more realistic in the light of present circumstances, will be fixed after consultation with the leaders of the Cape Coloured people.

This South Africa

"When Mr. Swart recently made some startling statements about the critical situation facing South Africa and the sacrifices that would have to be made to meet it, he was asked by a reporter to explain his remarks. He replied mildly that he did not remember speaking of a critical situation and that he had had no particular sacrifices in mind.

When Dr. Diederichs, who is shortly to become Minister of Economic Affairs, was reported (in the Nationalist Press) as saying that South Africa must not become a refuge for foreigners and that the Nationalist Party had saved the country from falling into the hands of capitalists, he told an interviewer afterwards that he had not used the expression "a refuge for foreigners" and that he was in fact not opposed to immigrants or capitalists at all.

When Dr. M. S. Louw was chided for saying that if Afrikaners did not get a greater share in the economy they might take refuge in nationalization, he was much aggrieved at the suggestion that he had been using language that might be interpreted by investors as a threat.

All this is very confusing."

The Star, November 5, 1958.



"Jerry, you report the Minister's speech and you, Joe, get the revised version of it later."

Poverty and Politics

by Stanley Uys — "Sunday Times", October 26, 1958.

IS poverty a matter of political morality? The Black Sash asked itself this question, and decided—yes, definitely!

Poverty, says the Black Sash, demoralises; and in South Africa it is also undeniably political.

The point is an important one as far as the Black Sash is concerned because the primary aim of this organisation is to uphold political morality.

Once it decided (at its national conference in Cape Town a week ago) that poverty fell within its sphere of interest, it was obliged to try to do something about it; and the resolutions which it adopted show just how far this body of South African women has advanced along the path of political realism.

The Black Sash is sometimes compared with the now extinct Torch Commando. Both became mass organisations, cutting across several party-political barriers, and both were born out of the anger of ordinary people.

There is an important difference, however. Whereas the Torch Commando foundered on the rocks of the racial question, the Black Sash has undergone the same ordeal and survived.

Three Points

Take the question of poverty. Having decided that it merited serious attention, the Black Sash conference adopted a resolution "to work towards the removal of those political factors which are responsible for poverty in South Africa."

Now see the specific factors condemned by the conference:

The failure of the Government to establish a minimum wage rate above the poverty line.

Discriminatory laws which prevent people from earning higher wages purely because of their race.

The denial of the right to all South Africans to have effective trade unions.

The conference agreed, I understand (the discussions were in private session), that it was too much to expect employers to tackle the question of the poverty of their non-White employees on their own; and that it was the Government's duty to establish a national minimum wage which would cover even ordinary African manual labourers.

The conference felt that, in return, productivity should—and would—increase, because the labour force would be a happier one.

The second point of the resolution, calling for the abolition of discriminatory laws, is in fact an attack on the industrial colour bar.

In some ways, this is one of the most far-reaching resolutions ever adopted by the Black Sash.

Third, the Black Sash voiced its support of the principle that Africans should be allowed to establish "effective" trade unions. The use of the word "effective" can mean only that the Black Sash wants these unions to be officially recognised.

Rights

Several other important decisions were taken by the conference, and these must be read in conjunction with the decisions taken at the special national conference last June.

They include resolutions:

(1) To undertake practical work among those deprived of their civil rights and liberties—for example, by providing bail funds for African women arrested under the law which prevents many of them from making their homes with their husbands who are in regular employment in the Western Cape, and by investigating Group Areas Act proposals and proclamations (some Black Sash regions have informed their town councillors of cases where citizens' rights have been threatened).

(2) To approach those concerned with the making and implementing of laws "to persuade them to use justice and moral principle as the basis on which to act."

(3) To contribute to the improvement of relations between the racial groups "by bringing together people of different political outlooks in gatherings where controversial subjects can be discussed in an atmosphere of courtesy and reasonableness."

New Constitution

The special national conference of the Black Sash last June decided to work for a new constitution "in which the fundamental rights of all will be effectively safeguarded." This is now the organisation's main target.

The decision shows the determination of the Black Sash to keep pace with political events. Any group that can take a decision like this must inevitably take a hand in shaping the new South Africa.

Exactly how the Black Sash will go about campaigning for a new constitution remains to be seen.

—Continued on page 16

Resignations

The Black Sash, of course, has not come this far without its troubles. During the general election it lost some members who believed that any activity of the Black Sash would harm the United Party's election chances. Some of these members may return to the organisation.

Judging by the Cape Town conference—which delegates agreed was the most successful and enthusiastic the Black Sash has ever held—the present members are in the organisation to stay. They are clear in their own minds what they want.

And they are not perturbed by the criticisms that have been thrown at them.

One criticism is that the Black Sash is an "embarrassment" to other Opposition groups.

The Black Sash retorts that it is waging a fight to uphold political morality in South Africa, and that if any political party is "embarrassed" by this fight, then there is something wrong with that political party, not with the Black Sash!

Also, the Black Sash is accused of being too "liberal."

Their answer to this is that, if a campaign for political morality has to be branded as "liberalism," then it is high time there was more "liberalism" in South Africa.

BRAIN'S TRUST IN CAPE TOWN

During the recent Black Sash conference, the Cape Western Region captured the public interest with a Brain's Trust on Constitutional Reform. All shades of political opinion were ably (and most entertainingly) represented by a Nationalist (Mr. A. Burger), an African (Mr. Jordan Ngubane), a leader of Coloured opinion (Dr. R. E. van der Ross), the leader of the Federal Party (Maj.-Gen. A. R. Selby), and an independent authority on constitutional law (Mr. D. B. Molteno, Q.C.): and a United Party member took part, although this Party did not send anybody officially.

A surprising feature of the Brain's Trust was that everybody agreed the franchise should be qualified and that assurances were needed that no group of the population would be swamped by any other.

Members of the team were asked whether Union had failed or succeeded, what they thought of universal suffrage, monarchy, the commonwealth another National Convention, and whether it would be necessary to employ extra-parliamentary means to oust the Nationalist Government from power. Discussion was lively, but the brightest suggestion came at the end from the Question-Master, Mr. Gordon Bagnall — "I advocate proclaiming this Peninsula an independent principality, which will conduct and finance itself rather on the lines of Monaco!"

REGIONAL CHAIRS AND SECRETARIES

BORDER.

- C. Mrs. D. Curry, 3 Carisbrooke Road, Stirling Ext., East London.
- S. Mrs. M. G. Pollock, 106 Devereux Avenue, Vincent, East London.

CAPE EASTERN.

- C. Mrs. A. Pirie, 68 Westview Drive, Port Elizabeth.
- S. Mrs. D. Davis, 196 Main Road, Walmer, Port Elizabeth.

CAPE MIDLANDS.

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

CAPE NORTHERN.

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

CAPE WESTERN.

- C. Mrs. M. Petersen, Beacon House, Klaassens Road, Wynberg, Cape.
- Acting S. Mrs. M. Hendersen, 1 Kildare Road, Claremont, Cape Town.

LOWVELD.

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

NATAL COASTAL REGION.

- C. Mrs. M. Scott, 16 Chelmsford Road, Durban.
- S. Mrs. J. F. Hill, 27 Meyrich Avenue, Durban.

NATAL MIDLANDS.

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

NORTHERN TRANSVAAL.

- C. Mrs. A. Findlay, 296 Mears Street, Pretoria.
- S. Mrs. J. C. Brink, 1,082 Pretorius Street, Hatfield, Pretoria.

ORANGE FREE STATE.

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

SOUTH-EASTERN TRANSVAAL.

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

SOUTHERN TRANSVAAL.

- C. Mrs. V. Sinclair, 11 The Valley Road, Westcliff, Johannesburg.
- S. Mrs. D. Grant, 21 Victoria Avenue, Sandringham, Johannesburg.