

# THE BLACK SASH

# DIE SWART SERP

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## Die Volgende Vyf Jaar

**D**AAR is seker min kiesers wat nie gedurende die afgelope paar weke gewonder het wat die toedrag van sake in Suid-Afrika oor vyf jaar sal wees nie. Die mening dat die politiek gerus aan beroepspolitici oorgelaat kan word is tot onlangs taamlik algemeen aanvaar, maar dit is nou vinnig aan verdwyn. Daar is 'n oorweldigende besef, wat die feite inderdaad regverdig, dat die verloop van die geskiedenis gedurig versnel en dat sake al hoe vinniger beweeg. Hierdie verkiesing vind plaas in 'n atmosfeer wat bewys hoedat kiesers besef dat toestande kritiek geword het en die tyd kort raak.

Onder die omstandighede lyk dit asof die stemreg 'n besondere verantwoordelikheid meebring, en daar is duisende Suid-Afrikaners, veral vroue, wat die stemreg opnuut ondersoek. Waarvoor bestaan hierdie reg nou eintlik?

In lande soos ons eie, wat 'n tradisie van fatsoenlike demokratiese regering het, is daar sekere basiese vereistes wat niks met die party-politiek te maak het nie en wat ons geneig is om sonder meer aan te neem. Onder hierdie vereistes sorteer eerlike administrasie, 'n onafhanklike regsbank, 'n staatsdiens wat nie omgekoopt kan word nie, 'n leer en polisiemag wat binne die perke van onvoldoende uitgawes redelik doeltreffend is, 'n regverdige belastingstelsel en, in die algemeen, vryheid van beuselagtige dwingelandy. Hierdie dinge is fundamenteel en behoort outomaties te bestaan, maar 'n algemene verkiesing bied nietemin 'n geskikte ge-

## The Next Five Years

**T**HERE can scarcely be a voter who has not thought during the past few weeks: "What will the South African scene be like in another five years' time?" The opinion, common enough not so long ago, that politics could safely be left to specialists and busybodies, has now very nearly vanished from this country. There is a widespread feeling, most justifiable on the facts, that history is speeded up and that events are moving much faster. There is an air of urgency, of "it is later than you think" about this election.

In these circumstances the possession of the right to vote seems to convey an extra responsibility, and there must be thousands of people in South Africa, especially women, who are looking at the vote with fresh eyes and examining it almost as if they were seeing it for the first time. What is the vote really for?

In countries such as this, with a tradition of decent democratic government, there are certain basic, non-party requirements that we sometimes tend to take for granted. Chief among them are honest administration, an independent bench of judges, an incorruptible civil service, an army and police force as efficient as can be expected for the money spent on them, a reasonably just system of taxation and, in general, freedom from petty tyrannies. Those things are fundamental and should go without saying, but a general election is a good opportunity nevertheless for running over them in the mind and deciding how the Government in



leentheid om oor hulle na te dink en te probeer vasstel in welke mate die regering aan die vereistes voldoen het.

Na hierdie basiese vereistes kom daar die groot gebied van onuitgemaakte beleidspunte, waar menings uit die aard van die saak hemelsbreed kan verskil, en dit is na aanleiding van hierdie gebied dat die meeste mense stem.

Daar is verskeie eenvoudige maniere waarop mens kan besluit hoe om te stem, en die meeste kiesers gebruik dan ook een van hierdie metodes. Ons kan volgens die neigings van ons bloed stem, m.a.w. op 'n blote rassebasis; ons kan volgens gebruik stem deur eenvoudig die party te steun wat ons in die verlede altyd gesteun het; ons kan volgens persoonlikheid stem, omdat A meer sjarmant as B is of beter opgevoed; ons kan volgens 'n wrok stem, omdat ons ons vererg oor iets wat die regering gedoen het; en ons kan ons stem deur vrees laat beïnvloed, wat beteken dat ons deur die massa gelei sal word. Veel moeiliker is dit om ons stem op 'n basis van suiwer redenering uit te oefen—en veel meer interessant.

Dit sou vir die Swart Serp maklik wees om kiesers eenvoudig aan die regering se skandelijke optrede tydens die konstitusionele krisis te herinner en alle lede van die beweging te versoek om hul beslissing op grond daarvan te maak. Dit was tog inderdaad die konstitusionele stryd wat die Swart Serp laat ontstaan het. Ons meen egter dat iets meer opbouends en progressiefs vereis word. Ons versoek gevolglik ons lede, terwyl hul die verlede nie mag vergeet nie, om selfs nog meer ernstig oor die toekoms—die volgende vyf jaar—te dink.

Lede van die Swart Serp-beweging het 'n groter politieke bewussyn as die meeste ander stemgeregtigdes. As dit nie die geval was nie, sou hul nie lede van die beweging wees nie. As gevolg van hul stryd gedurende die afgelope paar jaar het ons vroue deur bittere ondervinding geleer dat politieke werk moeiliker is as wat die meeste mense besef. Wetgewing is nie 'n towerstaf wat die wêreld in 'n kits kan verbeter nie. Dit is wel waar dat regerings binne 'n beperkte tydperk groot skade kan aanrig, maar hul vermoë om planne op 'n langtermynbasis te beraam word beperk deur die historiese raamwerk waarin hul optree. Enige regering wat nie met die vinnige verloop

power has measured up to expected standards on each point.

After those primary requirements there comes the whole vast field of arguable policies, on which opinions can and must vary enormously, and it is on these debatable points that most people vote. There are many easy ways of voting and, to be frank, most voters choose one or other of these easy ways. We can vote with our blood, which in South Africa means just ordinary racialism; we can vote from habit, which means supporting the party we have always supported without giving it another thought; we can vote on personality, because A has more charm, or is better educated than B; we can vote out of pique, because we are annoyed by some little thing that the government did; and we can vote from fear, which means running with the pack that we happen to be in at the moment. But voting with a clear head and considered judgment is much harder—and much more interesting.

It would be easy for the Black Sash in this election merely to recall the Government's evil record in the constitutional crisis and to ask all Black Sash members to vote accordingly. After all it was the constitutional issue that brought the Black Sash into existence. But we think that the times call for something more constructive and forward-looking than that. So we ask our members, while not forgetting the past, to think even more earnestly about the future, the next five years.

Members of the Black Sash movement are much more politically conscious than the ordinary run of voter. If this were not true, they would not be in the organisation. As a result of their experience over the past few years Black Sash women have learned the hard way that political work is not so simple as it appears to the outsider. Legislation is not a fairy wand that can alter the world for the better overnight. Governments can do a great deal of damage in a short time, it is true, but their capacity for long-term constructive planning is strictly limited by the historical framework in which they operate. Any government that does not live and think with the times is doomed to failure. Perhaps a classical example of this defect, and one that might well go into the textbooks, is our own Government today with



# A MINISTER OF THE CHURCH SPEAKS

**Dr. Ben. J. Marais, Minister of the Pretoria East Dutch Reformed Church, in his penetrating analysis "Colour Unsolved Problem of the West", which we recommend heartily to all our readers, concludes his book with 44 theses, which, says he, "I have formulated as my conviction in the light of the facts."**

**We publish eight theses below in the hope that they will stimulate an appetite for more, and that the reader will go to the book itself**

**Thesis 9:** Nowhere on earth is the colour problem so complicated and dangerous for Church and State as in South Africa.

**Thesis 11:** It is dangerous and hazardous in a time of emotional tension, where the clash of colours is acute, to tamper with the rights of groups of people, except where it means a patent increase of those rights and is accepted as such by the group concerned.

**Thesis 20:** Very few whites in South Africa, English or Afrikaans speaking would be in favour of equality or racial crossing.

**Thesis 21:** But more and more people feel that right and justice must be given to the non-whites and

that an arrangement should be made in which the non-whites will also have the hope of full development and a reasonable livelihood for themselves and their children.

**Thesis 27:** A policy of segregation, as long as there is economic integration can never be applied consistently and with decency.

**Thesis 31:** A policy of integration that is fully applied, will and must in the long run lead to the loss of white leadership in Church and State. Only large-scale white immigration could possibly avert it.

**Thesis 40:** No. *quick or final* solution of our colour problem is possible. In the meantime it is essential that no step be taken without proper consultation. Such consultation must not take place on a party basis.

**Thesis 44:** It is now time for a great plan or for great forward steps to stop the feeling of futility that is becoming more acute on both sides of the colour line, and to prevent the position where fear and hate have taken possession of the thoughts of eleven million people.

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## REDAKSIONEEL—Vervolg.

van sake kan bybly nie, sal sonder twyfel ten onder gaan. 'n Klassieke voorbeeld van hierdie gebrek, en een wat gerus in die handboeke opgeneem kan word, is ons eie regering met sy langtermyn apartheidsplan, wat kastig teen die einde van die eeu verwesenlik sal word. Hier het ons 'n logiese plan, pragtig op papier ontwerp, wat deur hedendaagse gebeure alreeds verydel is. Waar enigeen poog om sonder inagneming van wêreldgebeure te regeer, is die gevolge noodwendig rampspoedig.

Wat verwag ons dan van 'n regering in die vyf jaar wat voorlê? Dit is geensins ons doel om 'n beleid hier neer te lê nie, en nog minder om bepaalde punte in 'n program te konstateer nie. Wat egter lewensbelangrik is, is dat Suid-Afrika 'n regering moet hê wat verstaan hoe spoedig sake ontwikkel en wat die vermoë het om vinnig by veranderde omstandighede aan te pas. By tye is konserwatisme 'n deug, maar nie vandag nie. Die belangrikste eienenskap wat 'n kandidaat in hierdie verkiesing kan besit is die kuns om hom by die geskiedenis aan te pas—wat ookal die party mag wees wat hy ondersteun.

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## EDITORIAL—Continued.

its long-term plan of total apartheid, due to mature at about the end of the century. Here we have a logically constructed plan, beautifully conceived on paper, of which current events are making mincemeat before our eyes. Government is the art of the possible, and if you try to govern without reference to the course of contemporary history, the result is going to be disastrous.

What then do we ask of any government over the next five years? It is not our purpose here to lay down any one course and still less to state definite points in a programme. But one thing does seem vital and that is that South Africa should have a government of men who understand how fast events are moving in this country and have their minds geared to change. There are times when conservatism is a virtue, but this is not one of them. The one quality that the thinking voter might well look for in a South African candidate at this election is a mind capable of moving with history—whatever party he belongs to.

# What Is Western Civilisation?

By W. A. Phillips

We thank the Editor of the Forum for permission to reprint this article.

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"WORDS," said the celebrated 17th-century English thinker Thomas Hobbes, "are wise men's counters, they do but reckon by them: but they are the money of fools."

Hobbes was attacking the habit, all too common in his day, of mouthing words and phrases as shibboleths, of using them as magic charms to dispel any need for serious, sustained and honest thought on their proper meaning. By committing the intellectual sin of refusing to examine the content of words (Hobbes contended), speaker and audience were frequently led into mental muddles, confusions, dilemmas, and it was only too easy for knaves to play intellectual confidence tricks on the foolish.

## Magic Formula

The words "Western civilisation" as used by many people nowadays are one such phrase deserving of Hobbes's taunt. In "cold-war" Europe the concept of Western civilisation is coming under valuable, critical examination by a number of scholars; but, more often, it is used—especially by politicians and woolly thinkers—as an invocation designed to stifle thought. Similarly in this country the phrase runs like a leit-motif through Nationalist thought. The Prime Minister can hardly make a speech without mentioning the magic formula "Western civilisation" in his efforts to clothe his naked policy in decent garments.

Yet it is very evident that economic, political, social and religious structure of South Africa differs in significant aspects from that in many countries which cannot be denied the labels of "Western" and "civilised." To an extent Mr. Strijdom realises this—as witness his constant reiteration that the rest of the Western world (and especially England) is out of step with South Africa. It is, however, hard to see how he can reconcile these inconsistent views of his of South Africa as part of Western civilisation and yet significantly different from the rest of Western civilisation.

## Banner-phrase

In fact, one is not surprisingly led to suspect that he uses the words "Western civilisation" as a banner-phrase illegitimately to rouse his audience's emotions and to still any critical thoughts they might have—all part of the "rally" technique. Once the audience pauses to ask the 64-dollar question: what do you mean by these words, they may go on to give the rest of the Nationalist propaganda close inspection and, like the little boy in the fairy-tale, discover that the Emperor has no clothes on at all.

What, then, is "Western civilisation?"

Is "Western civilisation" the Venus de Milo or Jayne Mansfield? Is it rock-'n-roll or Beethoven's sonatas, Elizabeth Schwartzkopf or Tommy Steele? Charles Dickens and John Stuart Mill or Superman and the Daily Mirror? The Houses of Parliament or the Fascist Grand Council? The Gospel according to St. Mark or the Gospel according to Karl Marx? John Locke, the 18th century philosopher, or Bobby Locke, the 20th century professional sportsman? Is it the Acropolis at Athens or the Empire State Building in New York? The Louvre or the Metro Cinema? Is it Hitler or Churchill, Roman law or the dictatorship of the proletariat? P.C. 49 or the N.K.V.D.? Imperialism or the Commonwealth of Nations? Sputniks or Shakespeare? Rural village or industrial city? Harwell or Hiroshima?

How far back does Western civilisation extend? Twenty or thirty years ago, this was a fairly simple problem. Most thinkers saw Western civilisation as springing from the Middle East, swelling to a river in the Greek city states, flowing into the River Tiber at Rome, irrigating the Middle Ages with a revivifying Christianity, and reaching the open sea of modern times by way of science, industrialism and liberal democracy. The three main ports of call where valuable cargo was taken aboard were Athens for its rational thought, Rome for law and order, and the Middle Ages for its religion.

To-day, however, it does not seem to be quite such plain sailing. The open sea is not so open nor so calm, as the optimistic belief in an unbroken life-line of progress from the 5th century B.C. has been gnawed away by doubt; as it is realised (with Freud and others) that human action and thought are as much irrational as rational; as it is recalled how tragically law and order have broken down on recent occasions; and, as it is noted that to-day more Western people live under autocratic regimes than under democracy.

Not so long ago, it was held that the species, Western cultured man, had evolved through an old-fashioned evolutionary process by means of which the best of traditional characteristics were always preserved while slow change for the better was effected. Now it seems more likely that at various times vast mutations have occurred, altering the species out of all recognition or even creating new ones. How could this not be, considering the tremendous radical changes that followed the year fourteen ninety-two "when Columbus sailed the ocean blue," or those coming in the wake of 19th-century industrialisation and 20th-century mass democracy? In this modern world of ours medieval man would feel as out of place as a man from Mars.

## Technology is at the Basis

Ask a student from the underdeveloped countries of Asia or Africa what Western civilisation means to him and 99 times out of a 100 he will answer:



technology. And he will be right. James Watt with his steam-engine and the physicist with his atom-splitting are more important than Plato with his philosophy and Shakespeare with his plays to the Asian or African student—and, for that matter, to us, also. Technology is at the basis of all civilisations: it shapes the chairs we sit on, the papers we read, the houses we live in, the entertainments we enjoy, the work we do, the governments we live under and all the furniture of civilised life. Comfort and leisure—the two attributes without which no civilisation can exist—depend vitally on technology.

### Not Enough

But by itself, like patriotism, technology is not enough. Technology provides means to less tangible ends. Honestly and meaningfully used, the words "Western civilisation" connote not merely machines making modern industry possible, filing systems shaping modern administration, cities dominating modern social habits. Fundamentally, this shorthand phrase indicates also certain values that go to make up what is for the modern civilised man the "good life." Tolerance; responsible self-government; fair and equal justice administered in impartial courts; the four freedoms of the Atlantic Charter; beauty and the pursuit of happiness; faith, hope and charity—all these would be among the high values which every Western democrat or civilised man would hold to strenuously. And in them would be subsumed the Venus de Milo, Charles Dickens, Beethoven; Jayne Mansfield, Tommy Steele, Bobby Locke; the policeman, the judge, the M.P., the local councillor; the car, the wireless, the telephone; free education, a proper health service, a free press; and so much else of a like kind. Above all, would be a certain happy concept of human beings, not all that different from that put forward by Jesus Christ.

When Mr. Strijdom talks of "Western civilisation," he may have in mind certain of these things. But, he cannot have them all in mind. For, it is certain that he himself is first and foremost thinking of White baaskap—and more especially Afrikaner baaskap—the aim of which is to preserve and extend as far as possible the Afrikaner folk with its trinity of Calvinist Church, Afrikaans and Nationalist Party. Clearly, this restricted vision cannot qualify to be called "Western civilisation"—though it may bear some resemblance to certain concepts that once passed in limited circles as such. Were he candid in his use of language, the Prime Minister would not hesitate to say that he is striving to create and preserve a civilisation with values not completely acceptable to modern Western civilised man and that he thinks these values to be worthwhile and worthy of acceptance by others. His audience would then be free to judge properly on the merits of the case. He knows, however, that this standing on his own feet would be fatal to his aims. It would bring the cat out of the bag, and the cat would be seen to be not at all the pleasant, domesticated animal Mr. Strijdom wants it to appear.

### Lazy-minded

So he tries to influence the lazy-minded with illegitimate use of words. He tries to offer to the foolish, currency which he has done much to debase. The

## This South Africa

(Readers are invited to submit contributions to this feature. A prize of 5s. will be awarded each month to the reader submitting the first-mentioned contribution.)

We find that 635,725 votes sent 94 Nationalists to Parliament, and 717,888 returned 64 Opposition members. In other words, while 6,763 votes were sufficient to put a Nationalist into Parliament, 11,578 were needed to secure a seat for a member of the Opposition.—*Rand Daily Mail*, 22/3/58.

This is the tragedy of the South African scene to-day—the pathetic misplacement of confidence in measures taken ostensibly to preserve white supremacy but in fact positively undermining it. Here is white supremacy buying short-term security in ponderous instalments that hopelessly mortgage its future.—*Rand Daily Mail*, 19/3/58.

With the coming of the Population Register . . . "a wise administration has decided that there will be no persecution unto the third and fourth generation."—*Rand Daily Mail*, 17/3/58, extract from the *Burger*.

With no capital coming in and with transfers of money to countries abroad for Stock Exchange and other dealings, the Union's net balance of payments is seriously in the red. The rather black picture this reveals would quickly change if the Union could attract investment capital in reasonable amounts from abroad. South Africa's inherent economic soundness would then be given scope in which to develop.—*Star*, 12/3/58.

We can no longer tolerate a state of affairs where family units are deliberately broken up by Government decree. The family is the basic Christian unit—in truth not Christian only; it is the natural biological unit—and any body that of set purpose wrecks the family is fighting against God.—*The Bishop, Star*, 13/3/58.

The Council is to put full apartheid into effect on the Newlands (bus) route after March 30 . . . "The extra cost will be enormous," said the spokesman. It will mean doubling the service and employing European drivers and conductors. In valley periods—when few people use the buses—European crews will have to be employed. It would be ideal if we could employ non-European crews for the non-European buses. But that is too much to hope for. The Johannesburg Municipal Employees' Association will no doubt be against employing non-Europeans on buses. The extra cost will have to be borne by the ratepayers.

wise democrat and civilised man will fight hard against this debasement. He will refuse to accept such currency; since if he does he will be losing sight of what are true democratic and civilised behaviour; and, by the inevitable operation of Gresham's law, good money will be driven out by bad. And, as Hobbes noted 300 years ago, wise men's counters will then become the money of fools.



# Rasseverhoudinge In Die Verenigde State Van Amerika

Deur F. J. VAN WYK,  
Assistent-direkteur, S.A. Instituut vir  
Rasseverhoudinge

## DEEL II

**I**N my vorige artikel het ek u iets vertel oor die lewenswyse van die Negers in die Verenigde State. In daardie artikel het ek reeds melding gemaak van die bestaan van 'n rassevraagstuk in die V.S.A. en ek wil u nou kortliks vertel hoe daardie vraagstuk vir ons voorgekom het.

Ofskoon daar groot verskille bestaan tussen die vraagstuk in ons eie land en in die V.S.A., bly die aard van die probleem maar dieselfde: vooroordeel teenoor mense wat van jou verskil wat hulle kleur betref. En dit is veral waar van die probleem soos hy hom in die V.S.A. openbaar. Daar is die Negers, soos ek reeds aangedui het, vir alle praktiese doeleindes Amerikaners. Hulle lewe op 'n redelik hoë kulturele en ekonomiese peil, hulle praat Engels, e.d.m. En tog bestaan daar vooroordeel onder die blankes teenoor hulle, skerp vooroordeel in die „Deep South” en meer subtiële vooroordeel in ander dele van die V.S.A.

By 'n mens se aankoms in die indrukwekkende New York word jy dadelik getref deur die blykbare volkome afwesigheid van 'n kleurgevoel. In groot winkels, banke, e.d.m. tref jy Negermans en -vroue agter die toonbanke aan waar hulle op 'n absolute gelyke basis met hulle blanke werksgenote verkeer. In busse, treine, in restaurants en hotelle, in bioskope en teaters, ja oral word jy deur hierdie verskynsel getref. Oral, bv. in winkels en op busse word Negermans as „Sir” en Negervroue as „Madame” aangespreek. Sondae word kerke soos die pragtige Riverside Kerk by die Columbia-universiteit deur groot getalle blankes en Negers bygewoon en is daar geen aanduiding van kleurbewustheid nie. Wat skole betref, in Philadelphia het ons 'n beroepskool besoek waar sowat 1.000 van die leerlinge—meisies en seuns—uit 'n totaal van 1.800 Negers is. Sowel in die klaskamers as op die speelgronde was daar, vir sover ons kon sien, geen tekens van kleurgevoel onder die leerlinge nie. Die universiteite in die Noorde is natuurlik ook heeltemal veelrassig. Wat die intiemer sosiale lewe betref, byv. die huislike lewe, is daar nie veel kontak tussen Neger-en blanke gesinne nie, maar ons het nogtans dikwels gesinne in hulle huise besoek waar die vriendekringe uit sowel Negers as blankes bestaan het en waar die twee groepe met die grootste gemak en vriendelikheid met mekaar verkeer het.

Hierdie beskrywing sal miskien die indruk skep dat daar geen kleurprobleem in die Noorde bestaan

nie. Dit sou 'n verkeerde indruk wees want daar is wel 'n probleem en dié probleem spruit veral uit die volgende omstandighede: die algemene patroon van behuising is dat daar aparte woongebiede vir blankes en nie-blankes is, let wel, nie deur wette bepaal nie, maar omdat ekonomiese faktore en ou gebruike dié posisie n die verlede feitlik 'n instelling gemaak het. Hierdie aparte woonbuurt stelsel skep in 'n land wat segregasie verwerp het, op sy beurt 'n hele aantal nuwe probleme wat „desegregasie” bemoeilik, byv. wat die onderwys betref, is die V.S.A. in geografiese skooldistrikte verdeel en woonbuurtskeiding lei dus ook tot skooldistrikte wat óf geheel-en-al Neger is, óf geheel-en-al blank. Op dié wyse is daar wel skoolsegregasie ook in die Noorde. Besliste stappe word gedoen om dié toestand te verander, maar daar is nogal heelwat teenstand aan die kant van die blankes teen die algehele opheffing van woonbuurtskeiding. Woonbuurtskeiding het natuurlik ook die uitwerking dat dit maklike sosiale kontak bemoeilik.

In die Suide—en veral in die „Deep South”—is die prentjie heeltemal anders. In dié gebiede is segregasie nog die algemene reël liever as die uitsondering: daar is aparte woonbuurtes, aparte skole, aparte universiteite, hotelle, restaurants, e.d.m.; ook is daar weinig of geen sosiale kontak tussen die twee groepe nie. Enige poging om dié toestand te verander, word heftig teengegaan deur die meerderheid van die blankes. Die uitspraak van die Amerikaanse Hooggeregshof in 1954, dat alle skole „met opsetlike haas” moet „desegregeer” het geweldig teenstand uitgelok en sommige Amerikaanse sosioloë is die mening toegedaan dat dié hofbeslissing die ontwikkeling van „natuurlike desegregasie” baie vertraag het. My vrou en ek is die mening toegedaan dat daar in die vyf belangrikste „Deep South”—state geen skooldesegregasie sal plaasvind tydens die volgende vyf-en-twintig jaar nie.

Daar is egter ook in die Suide, en veral in die sogenaamde „border states,” byv. Kentucky, Noord-Carolina, Missourie, Arkansas, ens., baie aanduidings dat die hele teenstand teen desegregasie begin verswak. Oor die redes vir hierdie „verswakking” wil ek graag in my volgende artikel uitwy, wanneer ek u een en ander sal vertel oor die faktore wat verantwoordelik is vir dit verbetering van rasseverhoudings in die V.S.A.



### **THOUGHTS DURING A BLACK SASH VIGIL, UNION BUILDINGS**

*Symbol of the dream of a rare people  
Vanquished—but not defeated;  
Deeply the dream of a just people  
Victorious—but repentant.  
"Together we shall build a wise and virtuous  
Nation."*

*Columns of beauty soaring skyward  
Tranquil—timeless—expectant;  
Rooted in honour, probity and faith,*

*Waiting the Hour that tolls the death of  
hatred,  
Waiting the birth day of the longed-for Nation.*

*Tho' rats squeak in the halls and the dream is  
tarnished,  
In a deep vision I see the children climbing,  
Hand reached to hand; obstacles hugely  
conquered;  
Courage and faith and the sun of honesty  
shining  
About this lovely hill, and on the symbol of  
our future.*

## **THREADS FROM THE SASH**

One of our oldest members of the Sash was approached by a member of the Special Branch while she was attending a multi-racial conference recently in Johannesburg. "Madame, may I know your name," he said brusquely. "Pardon me, but I don't believe we have been introduced," she said severely. He departed hastily and was no more seen.

Just after the East London by-election, a man refused the pamphlets offered to him by a Black Sash woman at her Saturday morning Information Table. He said that he had voted for us and that was quite enough!!

A member of the Central Executive recently received a letter from a friend in Walla Walla, Washington, U.S.A., almost halfway round the world, thanking her for a gift of the Black Sash book. "We were both simply fascinated by the book. We are surely more interested than ever in South Africa, if that's possible. We were terribly impressed by the response and following Black Sash had brought forth. The seventieth anniversary book put out by

the Rand Club arrived the same day at Black Sash, so we had a big session of losing ourselves in South Africa, past and present!"

My correspondent from GEORGE writes: "I had a letter from a friend in England who has never visited South Africa, asking me if I would send her our magazine every month, as she had found the ones I had sent her so interesting." She adds: "I do think they are most awfully good—I feel very proud of our South African women." Thank you. What a heartwarming thing is a little appreciation!

*"Courage ought to be guided by skill, and  
skill armed by courage. Neither should hardi-  
ness darken wit, nor wit cool hardness. Be  
valient as men despising death, but confident  
as unwonted to be overcome."*

*—Sir Philip Sidney.*

# PERSONALITY PARADE

THIS month we introduce with pride Mrs. Eleanor M. M. Russell, wife of the late W. A. D. Russell, M.E.C. She has been on the Executive from the very inception of Black Sash, and how fortunate we have been in having such an experienced and wise member. She has packed a full life with an amazing variety of interests, but Pietermaritzburg remembers with greatest pride her term as Mayor,



from 1943-1947. When the Royal Family visited Pietermaritzburg, Mrs. Russell wore the robes of the first citizen, and how proud we were to be so ably represented.

Born in England, and educated first at the Bedford High School, and graduating at London University (M.A. Hons.), Miss Columbine, as she was then, came to South Africa, and from 1913-1926, was Headmistress of the Girls' Collegiate School in Pietermaritzburg. She still retains her affection and interest in all her old girls. In June, 1926, she left to be married, and from then till now she has given

unstinting service to the public. Listed below are some of the positions she has held:—

Member Pietermaritzburg City Council, 1930-1948.  
Chairman, National Administration Commission for nine years.  
Deputy-Mayor, 1930-1940.  
Mayor, 1943-1947.  
Member Natal Education Commission, 1936.  
Member of Government Commission on Kaffir Beer Profits, 1945.

## No. 6.

**Mrs. ELEANOR M. M. RUSSELL**

She is a member of the:

National Council, Y.W.C.A.;  
Grey's Hospital Advisory Board;  
Executive Committee, S.A. Institute of Race Relations;  
Executive, Governor-General's War Fund;  
Past-President, National Council of Women, South Africa;  
Chairman, Private Schools' Association;  
Member of St. John's High School Council;  
Chairman of the Fairfield Home;  
On the Board of Trustees, Natal Museum;  
Vice-President, Historical Association;  
Member of the Voortrekker Museum Commission.

Not content with all that, Mrs. Russell has just become National President of the University Women's Association. Her great gift as a public speaker can be gauged by the many posts she has held, and it is indeed a joy and privilege to have the opportunity of hearing her on any platform.

## CONFERENCE IN CAPE TOWN

AS one of the four delegates from the Black Sash, I have been asked to write a short report on the Group Areas Conference held in Cape Town on 21st and 23rd February, 1958. I should like to say how proud I was to belong to one of the four Sponsoring Bodies who called this Conference. It is most rewarding to realise that the Black Sash is able to participate practically in an endeavour to suppress the implementation of this most cruel and unjust Act.

Invitations to attend the Conference were sent to Churches, Ratepayers' Associations, Industrial and Commercial Organizations, Professional Associations and Welfare Bodies and there were over 100 delegates and observers present. Delegates from Non-European bodies predominated and it was an education, to one who has not much opportunity of coming in contact with the intellectual Non-European, to

hear competent speakers put their points of view in such an able and restrained manner.

After much discussion, conclusive evidence was given that the implementation of the Group Areas Act would lead to economic destruction of the Indian community, and cause unnecessary hardship to all sections of the Non-Europeans, particularly as far as education is concerned. The following resolutions were passed:

1. To establish a fighting fund to conduct a campaign and form a panel of lawyers.
2. To form local and area committees in affected areas.
3. To hold public protest meetings and demonstrations.



4. To call on all political parties and organizations to work for the withdrawal of the Act.

5. To ask the organizations concerned not to submit plans of group areas to the board and not to assist the Group Areas Board voluntarily in the implementation of the Act.

The present Committee, consisting of representatives of the Institute of Race Relations, The Co-ordination Committee on Group Areas, the Civil Rights League and the Black Sash, was authorised to co-opt members of any other body or association willing to assist in the carrying out of the resolutions. Among the Committee's plans, is one to set up a liaison committee on a national basis and to open an office where people who are threatened by the act can get legal advice on how to defend their homes and livelihoods. It also hopes to produce a documentary film showing the efforts of the Act.

It was felt that though protest meetings and demonstrations had failed in the past to make any impression on the Government, a concerted non-stop effort should be made to bring home to all sections of the population the iniquities of this Act; that it would not only affect the lives of the Non-European, but

the Europeans would suffer as well. Concrete examples were brought to light where this Act has wrought economic, social and educational destruction to communities of 50 years standing, rendering the result of many years of extensive labour and ambition useless.

The Government has claimed that the Group Areas Act would lessen racial tension. Just the opposite effect has been achieved. In fact it is an encouragement to corruption. As an illustration of this, Mr. Doman, a teacher at the Athlone Primary School reported that an offer had been made to him of a brand new 1958 motor car, if he would submit proof that a friend of his was coloured. It seemed to me that Mr. D. van der Ross summed up the feelings of the Conference very accurately, when he described the Act as "A sorry failure, carrying a terrific potential for racial mischief."

There can be no doubt that the Conference was worth while and constructive and is the first step in a non-stop, nation-wide fight against the Group Areas Act.

R. M. COSSER.

Pinelands Branch.

## Candid Comments From The Contemporary Press

### A Historian

A pass for natives was first introduced by the Transvaal Republican Government in 1870 "for the PROTECTION of those natives desiring stable residence and employment . . . Holders of such passes shall be considered to be SUBJECTS of the STATE and shall be entitled to the full PROTECTION of the LAW and the GOVERNMENT like any other subject."

Last year more than six hundred thousand natives spent a night in GAOL as a result of police activities under the pass laws.

### An Afrikaans-speaking Mother

Why are our children being educated to think that the world is full of enemies?

It begins with their history lessons.

### A Wage-earner

Very few people understand taxation and finance. What they DO understand is that in spite of being called a prosperous country the people struggle to live decently, and that millions of pounds are being spent to carry out ideas that seem to them to be crazy and unnecessary.

### A Social Worker

What a dilemma! The native school feeding scheme has been abandoned. But the money thus saved will be spent twice over on hospital treatment for malnutrition! Is it not time that some practical people, not obsessed with party politics, examined the whole problem properly? After all, the taxpayers, and that's us, have to provide the money.

### A Teacher

At the Teacher's Association Conference in June at Sea Point it was revealed that only 13% of teachers turned out by Cape Training Colleges were qualified to teach through the medium of both languages. 73% were qualified to teach in Afrikaans only. Yet at the same time penalties of loss of pension and dismissal of an entire town council without the right to be re-elected have been recently introduced in the Transvaal for not being completely bi-lingual.

### A German Immigrant

A man loves his mother. On reaching manhood he marries and loves his wife. Because of this must he now stop loving his mother?

A man loves his country. When he is grown he emigrates and loves the country of his adoption. Must he now stop loving the country of his birth?

The two loves are quite different and can exist simultaneously with great benefit.

### A Student

The thing that I find more and more disagreeable about the new laws that are being, and have been passed, is that the people affected are NEVER CONSULTED.

For instance, the University of Cape Town had never been consulted, nor had the Committee of University Principals—as one of course would expect in a democratic country—when the Government introduced the University Apartheid Bill. The deputation which saw the Minister was informed that "the Government will not be diverted."

# FROM OUR POSTBAG

To the Editor, *The Black Sash*.

## MY VOTE

I know that only after years of bitter struggle women were at last given the vote in England in 1920. In South Africa we acquired this "privilege" six years later.

I ask myself to-day, in all seriousness, what *use* is this privilege that I now enjoy? "What have I gained and in what way have I been able to express my wishes?"

I have lived for ten years in a "safe" seat and have not been able to use my vote in two desperately important elections. I shall be equally voiceless in the third.

So I have tried to assess the value of this vote of mine—this great privilege which is kept for me and others like me (but which is denied to three-quarters of the population of my country).

And I have come to this conclusion:

I believe that any nation, if it is to pursue a responsible policy, must do so because of responsible opinion—in other words, if the Government is to take orders from the people, it must be from responsible people and not irresponsible ones!

It follows, then, that the vote, like the exercise of any other form of authority, should only be entrusted to those fitted for responsibility. It is fatal to allow a single group *simply because it is the largest* to outvote every other national interest.

Any Government which bases power purely on numbers is opening the door wide to the tyranny of one group—and that group is usually the least enlightened.

During the 1953 election I was checking the voters' roll in a part-rural part-urban constituency. Almost three pages in one section showed registered voters of no settled occupation.

Now, I contend that people who have no known occupation in a prosperous society are not *responsible* members of society; and I resent the fact that people like these—people like the thousands who desert their children, or are brought up in our courts for ill-treatment and neglect of their children every year—people who for one reason or another do not pull their weight in society, can, and frequently do, drown out more sober and responsible views. There is, alas, nothing to be done about this in South Africa. *All* adult white men and women not mad, mentally defective, or known criminals have the vote, and will continue to have it. No political party would *attempt* electoral reform now, not even the Liberal Party. There is no way out of this dilemma except to make all South Africa voters responsible persons!

And who will undertake this gigantic task?

The professional party politician?

Alas, too often he encourages the unthinking and the unintelligent in the hope that they will vote for

pandering to their most foolish wishes; though he stays in power only by implementing suicidal policies; it is enough *if by any means* he retains his seat.

There is no help there.

So we come back to ourselves—and the vote—this very great privilege which responsible members of our society should be able to put to good use, and which so few of us have been able to use for our greater good.

What can *we* do?

What do we usually do?

We 'Somer So' vote for a PARTY.

Do we choose the party which most closely follows our broad ideals of what a governing party should be—or do we vote "because our husband votes that way" or because "the family has always voted that way"?

Hearing the talk in South Africa over a number of years it seems to me that most people vote *against* a party and not *for* something constructive in their own party's programme. Party political promises are seldom carried out after the elections and the electorate shows little reaction to this betrayal—which must mean that the voters seldom vote *for* a policy; only *against* a party!

Having "chosen" our party, then, we vote for a CANDIDATE. Do we know who he is; what his background is; why he stands for Parliament?

Do we bother to make sure that he is a man of principle and character? After all, the job *is* rather important!

Do we realise that we *may* be electing the next Prime Minister and that his character will profoundly affect the lives of ourselves and our children and grandchildren?

If we find out that our chosen candidate is less than we hoped for, do we make any concerted attempt to bring about his withdrawal?

Do we join a branch?

Do we vote at Electoral Colleges?

Do we?

No, we usually vote for a party candidate without knowing his name (until the last), his background, or his capabilities!

Do we go to his meetings?

Do we accept as gospel every promise he makes?

Do we ever vote him in for something he could not under any circumstances do—e.g. "high salaries for everyone and shorter working hours!"

In other words—*how responsible are we as voters?*

In a few weeks—or days' time—we shall be facing a general election. Our children's future may hang on the decisions we make, and the thought we give to our own vote and our responsibility. I believe that the outcome of this election will prove that we *have* grown in responsibility since 1948—(how



## POSTBAG (Continued)

him; though he achieves his ambition only by much I do not yet know) that is still to be shown—but if I am proved to be wrong, then I cannot complain. We shall deserve to perish. I cannot record *my* vote. But what of all the thousands of the privileged?

DOREEN RANKIN.

\* \* \*

## NOWHERE ELSE TO GO.

To the Editor, *The Black Sash*.

I have just finished reading a book written by an Afrikaner, Prof. P. V. Pistorius, who was one of the thirteen Pretoria University Professors who protested against the Senate Act, a completely unbiased and objective statement of the political situation existing in South Africa to-day. The author sketches briefly the social and political causes of our present difficulties. History, he says, shows that, although man has been remarkably successful in conquering nature, he has been as singularly unsuccessful in coming to grips with the problems of human relationships. Man has been prepared to face innumerable dangers and physical discomforts rather than force himself to adjustment to social surroundings which have become uncongenial to him. History is studded with examples of trekking away from social troubles—the exodus of the Jews from Egypt, the colonisation of America by the Pilgrim Fathers, the coming of the Huguenots to South Africa, the Voortrekkers leaving the Cape. And for us who live in South Africa, as indeed in the rest of the world, there is now no further trek, for the simple reason that there is nowhere else to go, no large areas left unknown and uninhabited. If we wish to survive, therefore, we are faced with the problem of conquering human relationships here in our own land.

Human relationships in South Africa are clouded and blackened by fear—fear, not of a common enemy which would have a unifying effect upon our nation, but group fears which disrupt us. Not only does the whole white group fear the non-white group and vice versa, but Afrikaans-speaking and English-speaking citizens fear each other. And “Fear,” says Prof. Pistorius, “is something dynamic. There may be good reason for fear. But it never ends there. Fear always goes further than the factors which cause it. It is creative and dynamic in the sense that it basically changes its victim. It destroys reason, even humanity itself.”

This pattern of fear in South Africa has led to group nationalism and sectional interests which are emotionally fostered by extremists in all groups. Can we overcome the seemingly insoluble problems that beset us and build a strong nation, or is it already too late? How are we to solve our social and political difficulties? The author presents us with the basic requirements for a solution, and even the consideration of these requirements can hardly fail to make every reader of this book pause to think. “No Further Trek” is depressing, but it presents a challenge to us who wish to see a nation arise in our troubled multi-racial country. It is a book which should be read by all thinking South Africans.

HILDEGARDE SPOTTISWOODE.

## REGIONAL REPORTS

**M**OST regions are in recess until the general election is over, but we publish news from a few regions “pour encourager les autres!”

**Southern Transvaal** writes: “During 1957 twelve hundred women took part in more than 20 haunts and demonstrations . . . The Pretoria vigil and routine airport haunting were operated most successfully on a voluntary roster scheme. 200 women volunteered for duty on the airport roster and there were 160 names on the roster for the Pretoria vigil at the Union Buildings. Since this vigil was inaugurated in July, 1955, it has never once been cancelled. It has been an arduous duty, as members have had to travel to and from the Reef, Rustenburg, and Johannesburg, and this has meant spending a whole day away from home, for many months. In spite of the hardships, all who took part say that they returned home each time with a feeling of renewed strength.

In some constituencies members of the Political Pools started canvassing in the middle of January, 1958, and the scheme came into full operation in February. Groups of workers are busy in the various constituencies with canvassing and postal vote work, and all branches have sent workers regularly to assist in the offices of the United Party, where they are busy tracing removals and engaging in all kinds of routine election work. Black Sash women have also been provided for various tasks for the Liberal, Labour and S.A. Bond parties.

In January 20,000 pamphlets on education were sent out to marginal seats, and 20,000 on apartheid in February. The branches are to be congratulated on the sheer hard work and excellent organisation which have made this activity such a success. Many replies to the pamphlets have been received, and these will be made available to opposition candidates to give them an idea of the reaction of people in their constituencies.”

\* \* \*

**Natal Midlands** writes: “Kokstad branch held a very successful Summer School on 13th February, 1958. The first session began at 4.30 p.m. and was addressed by Mrs. Russell, whose subject was the Bantu Education Act. After discussion, a finger supper was provided, and the second session was addressed by Professor Durrant who spoke on the Press and Politics. Altogether 100 people attended this school and questioning was lively during the discussion periods.”

\* \* \*

**Cape Western** writes: “A questionnaire has been drawn up for residents at Windemere along the lines of that for Cook’s Bush, but far more detailed. The Sash was not committed in any way, but the information obtained would be sent to the *Cape Times*, and perhaps to prominent Nationalists, to make them aware of the tragedy of the forced removals from that area. Members of the Sash could volunteer to carry out the survey. Windemere is an unhealthy collection of pondokkies abutting on the National Road. It lies within the area of the City Council, which has begun to order Africans to remove to a location, as Windemere is scheduled to be a Coloured area.



# SCHOOLING FOR ALL WOMEN IN KENYA

*Miss Miriam Janisch, O.B.E., is a distinguished educationist who is currently visiting Johannesburg and who has some very pertinent observations to make on her fifteen years' service as Assistant Director of Education in Kenya. In the following interview she reports on the gradual growth of secondary education for women and girls in East Africa and on the emergence of an educated class of women who are having a great stabilising influence on developments in their country. What she has to say goes a long way towards dispelling the bogey of integration, the terrors of which are so ruthlessly exploited by the Nationalists.*

**WHEN** Miss Miriam Janisch arrived in Kenya in 1943 entrusted with the task of organising education on all levels for girls of all races, there was virtually no secondary education for girls in East Africa and primary education was provided only by the missionaries. When she left last year it was with the proud knowledge that high schools for European, Asian, African, Goan and Arab girls were established, and that post high-school training was now available to girls at Makerere College and at nursing institutions.

This, in brief, was her achievement, and it was for her services to education that she received the O.B.E. from the Queen at Buckingham Palace last November.

Miss Janisch is a graduate of the University of the Witwatersrand and of Cambridge, where she took her degree in Anthropology. On her return to South Africa she taught at the Jeppe High School for Girls, was a lecturer in English at the Johannesburg College of Education, and was for eight years a welfare worker in the Department of Non-European Affairs in Johannesburg.

In 1943 she was invited to go to Kenya specifically to organise education for girls of all races. It is not generally known in the Union that education in Kenya has to embrace the European, Arab, Asian, African and Goan races, and it was this formidable task that confronted Miss Janisch. Even for European girls, secondary education had to be organised almost from scratch, because up till the outbreak of the Second World War, it had been customary to send all the European children overseas to complete their schooling. There was no compulsory education for girls of any race.

## Few Facilities

For the non-European races there were fewer facilities still. African girls were at primary standard only and a small number of Asian and Arab girls were at the Aga Kahn high schools. The vast majority of girls were receiving no secondary education at all and were leaving school at about 12 years of age.

*Miss Janisch's territory was vast, as it covered all the East African territories, and for the first year she did nothing but travel throughout Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda and Zanzibar trying to break down the suspicion of the parents towards the whole idea of education for girls.*

Conferences were arranged for her by the local missionaries or district commissioners, and at these she would meet the fathers of prospective pupils. It was largely a case of assuring them that good care would be taken of their daughters, and it was necessary to arrange that every girl was met and escorted to her school from the nearest centre.

Gradually a trickle of applicants began to arrive. The urgent problem was, of course, the training of teachers to take on this first batch of girls who were prepared to risk the experiment of secondary education.

Three important milestones in the successful creation of a system of teacher training were a generous grant from the Colonial Development and Welfare Vote, the donation of some buildings from an Anglican Mission near Nairobi, and the gift of a piece of land at Kikuya from the Church of Scotland.

## Marriage Age Raised

The authorities started African teaching training with girls who were trained at post-primary level, but had not passed to secondary level. After a two years' course they began to filter back to the primary schools as teachers. Now teachers of most races start their training at post-school-leaving certificate level, and every year the age of leaving school is lowered and the marriage age is raised. As one girl said to Miss Janisch: "I wish to serve my people before I get married."

*The importance of this body of trained and intelligent women coming out of the schools and colleges of East Africa cannot be over-emphasised, says Miss Janisch. They will all in a few years' time have a vote and so elect their own representatives to the Legislative Council. They are sane and intelligent, and socially will be a stabilising influence on the whole of East Africa.*

They are marrying the leaders of the community and so, indirectly too, their influence will make itself felt. Health, care of children and welfare work in general are claiming their attention, and they hold it in their hands to achieve a great future for their respective peoples.

We will sell, or deny or defer, right or justice to no man.—Magna Carta.



### No Embarrassment

There is no embarrassment in the mixing of the races in Kenya, Miss Janisch found. The girls' high schools compete with each other in sport and the matches are run with courtesy and formality. Last year an African school won the open choir competition, and recently a young Asian man was awarded the Oscar in an inter-school drama competition.

After a group of European girls had been invited to an Indian girls' school to watch an exhibition of Indian dancing, they came in a deputation to ask Miss Janisch whether they might learn this type of dancing too. She replied: "No, because you were not born with 'lotus hands' and that particular form of flexibility in your bodies, but I am delighted that you are sufficiently objective to recognise great art when you see it, no matter by what race it is executed."

Girls who have had such experiences as these, Miss Janisch maintains, must inevitably play a tremendous part in bringing together and creating understanding between the various races once school is left behind them.

Speaking of what Kenya residents generally call "the emergency," Miss Janisch said that her chief impression was the tremendous courage of those Kikuyu who remained loyal. Those with whom she

came in contact were largely mission-trained, and the very fact of their being connected with a mission automatically endangered their lives, but they never faltered in their resistance to the Mau Mau.

### Social Revolution

As a result of the uprising a social revolution has come about in a matter of a few years which would otherwise have taken several generations: that is the gathering into villages of the Kikuyu, who formerly lived in scattered groups. It is consolidation of land at its best and has great advantages for the women, not the least being that they have water laid on in pipes to each village.

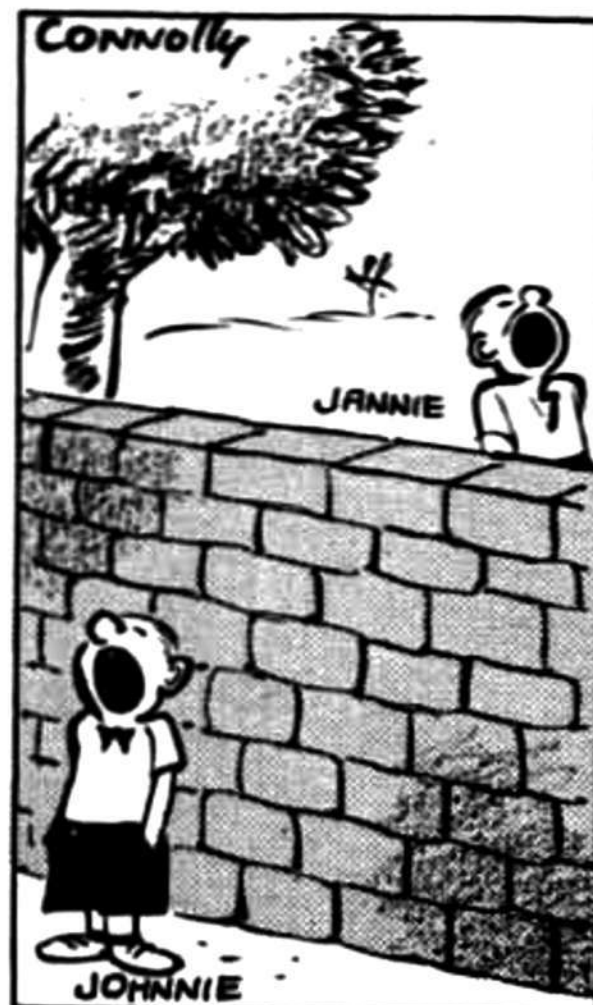
Miss Janisch is going back to Kenya to settle on some land she has bought just outside Nairobi. She plans to be "just a settler," but with her unique experience, her wide knowledge and understanding of the other races, it is inevitable that she will very soon be drawn into yet further developments in this multi-racial society, on which the eyes of Africa are so intently turned.

P. CAUSTON.

Nothing is so firmly believed as what we least know.—Montaigne.

## We Thank The Minister

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



# THE PRETORIA VIGIL

**T**HE story behind the Pretoria Vigil, maintained daily without a lapse since July, 1955, by four members of the Black Sash, is one worthy of telling, and it is my privilege to do so.

When the decision was taken to stand four members, wearing sashes, at the Minister's entrance to the Union Buildings, every day from Mondays to Fridays, during the months when Parliament was in recess and the Ministers in residence in Pretoria, I do not believe anyone realised the responsibility they had taken upon themselves. They knew too that once they had set course, there could be no turning back.

At first a roster of Branches was formed, and each allocated a day of the month when it had to provide the four members, then as time passed this became unwieldy and Regional Committee introduced the present system. Four members formed a sub-Committee and they called for volunteers and thus formed a new roster. Members were informed well beforehand of the day they had to go on vigil, who would accompany them, and that transport had been arranged. This was a most arduous undertaking, as can be imagined. Last minute breakdowns in domestic arrangements had more often than not to be met—but they were, and with the same efficiency as before.

Certain other aspects of this demonstration of the Black Sash's disapproval of the present Government's unconstitutional behaviour, also underwent minor changes with the passing of the months. At first the vigil began earlier and was interspaced with a morning and afternoon slow-march half way round the amphitheatre, below the pillars where the members normally stand. After a year this was curtailed. The hours now are from 12.30 to 1.15 p.m., 1.45 to 2.30 p.m. and from 3.45 to 4.30 p.m., these being the most auspicious times for the arrival and departure of Ministers.

On reading this a stranger may ask why we stand four members, or for that matter, why we stand at all. We stand four members as a symbol of the four provinces of the Union. We stand, because in conformity with our policy of silent protest, we hope that we are an ever-present reminder to those who need reminding that we mourn and we deplore certain political actions perpetrated by the Nationalist Government in that they are an outrage against every canon of humanity and civilisation.

Since the inception of the Pretoria Vigil as accurate an estimate as possible has been kept of the number of women who have taken part, and the approximate number of hours spent standing there. I can assure readers both these figures, if anything, are on the modest side. It is assessed that 1,000 women have taken part, and spent 18,600 hours there. It is not for me to make any further comment.

This is the statistical side of the picture. I want to give the personal and human side as well. If anyone had ever told me that so divergent a number of women could work so harmoniously together for so long, outside Army discipline, I would have been openly sceptical. But in this, as in all our activities, we find the spirit of co-operation uppermost. It is of necessity a complex individual story, and if I err on the dispassionate side it is in full keeping with our policy of silence. There are those who for many reasons besides modesty, would rather I did not mention their names, but let me say here, but for whom this tremendous task could never have been maintained, let alone fulfilled. Theirs it is to make up the daily roster for each month, to find substitutes for the always-present last minute changes, and to arrange transport. To give the reader an idea of the size of this task—it takes four members all the time they can spare to devote to Sash matters and the most enormous amount of telephoning. To these I pay the highest tribute—these "Backroom Boys" without whom no organisation can function successfully—and I would print their names in Block Capitals. I could not write this article without paying tribute too, to the S.E. Transvaal Region and Pretoria and faraway Rustenburg for their help. Pretoria has taken responsibility for every Wednesday, and despite their limited number of members has never failed. A warm thank you to all those who have helped and thus greatly relieved the main burden which for numerical reasons as well as others, must of necessity fall on the Johannesburg members. I must also include in our gratitude the husbands, children, grandparents, friends and employees, without whose sacrifice, help and faith very few of us would have been able to persist in this our silent protest against the inroads this Government has made and is making upon the rights and dignity of all South Africans.

From July, 1955, to December, 1957, is a long time in hours and days, but not long to wait on an ideal or a point of honour. The Black Sash in that daily vigil at the heart of our Government has Kept Faith. Within that concept of the Union Buildings stands a magnificent monument to the South Africans who died for Liberty in two World Wars, and our tribute to them is "Let their ideal be our heritage." In some intangible way I feel those four silent sashed figures linked with that ideal with hoops of steel. It matters not whether one is a President, a Chairwoman or just an ordinary member—each one is a servant of the movement to which we belong, and thus each one holds equally in reverence and respect the ideals for which that body stands. It is in this spirit that I pay tribute to the greatest and the humblest who, standing equal, have stood vigil in Pretoria.

Were Satan himself to tempt me, I would not take anything to forfeit my right to say "I was one of them."

F. M. BATE.



## FANTASIE EN FEIT

### FANTASIE:

„Diegene wat teen die Nasionale Party stem, pleeg verraad teen die blanke beskawing.” (Mnr. M. C. de Wet Nel in 'n onlangse toespraak te Pretoria-Noord.)

### FEIT:

Hierdie stelling, wat in verskeie vorms deur mnr. Schoeman, Minister van Spoorweë, dr. Otto du Plessis, L.V. vir Stellenbosch, en ander vooraanstaande Nasionale gemaak is, is geensins die gewone soort verdigsel wat ons maandeliks in hierdie rubriek aan die kaak stel nie. Dit is 'n tragiese en siniese onwaarheid wat doelbewus ontwerp en voortgeplant is deur persone wat met die waarheid vertrou is en nietemin poog om die Afrikanervolk te bedrieg d.m.v. 'n beroep op die laagste elemente van rassegevoel, 'n beroep op die bloed, 'n primitiewe roering van die stamtamboer.

Hierdie siniese politici, die skaamtelose verbrekers van ons grondwet, is blykbaar bereid om die grofste oneerlikheid te pleeg in hul roekelose poging om aan bewind te bly. Mnr. de Wet Nel se woorde is nog boonop 'n laakbare belediging, nes mnr. Schoeman se onlangse verklaring dat Afrikaners wat nie aan die Nasionale Party behoort nie „van die soort is wat hul taal en kultuur verwaarloos en hul volks-geskiedenis verag.”

Laat ons nou die beskuldiging van verraad ondersoek:—

Is dit verraad om eenheid tussen die blankes in die Unie te probeer skep?

Is dit verraad om 'n mede-Suid-Afrikaner se taal, kultuur en tradisies met agting te bejeën?

Is dit verraad om te begeer dat jou kind beide landstale magtig moet wees?

Is dit verraad as 'n Christenvolk verlang om in vriendskap met sy bure om te gaan?

Is dit verraad om die groot voorbeeld van Afrikaners soos Louis Botha en Jan Smuts te volg en te poog om 'n nasie eerder te bou as af te breek?

Is dit verraad om nie-blankes by te staan in hul strewe om die Westerse beskawing deelagtig te word?

As hierdie dinge verraad is, dan was die meerderheid van Suid-Afrika se kiesers vir tien jaar en twee verkiesings aan verraad skuldig. Dit is immers 'n eienaardige verskynsel as 731,522 nie-Nasionaleste deur 659,105 Nasionaleste van verraad beskuldig kan word!

Ons is 'n ander mening toegedaan. Ons meen dat Suid-Afrika se saak beter bevorder sou wees as veertien veragtelike politici aangekla kon word—diegene wat die blanke beskawing verraai het deur die blankes se belofte te skend, wat twis en vyandskap tussen blanke Suid-Afrikaners laat ontstaan het, wat op 'n slinkse manier kindertjies probeer beïnvloed het, en wat die Geloof wat hul bely verraai het.

Dit is die verraaiers en ons vertrou op die gesonde verstand van die Afrikanervolk om toe te sien dat hul nie deur die slagkrete van sulke persone en hul handlangers mislei sal word nie. Die beskuldiging van verraad is inderdaad 'n verspotte dog sombere verdigsel.

## FACT AND FICTION

### FICTION:

“To vote against the Nationalist Party is treason against White civilisation.” (Mr. M. C. de Wet Nel at Pretoria North recently.)

### FACT:

This statement, which has been made in different forms by Mr. Schoeman, Minister of Railways, Dr. Otto du Plessis, M.P. for Stellenbosch, and other leading Nationalists, is no ordinary fiction such as we have exposed each month in this column. It is a tragic and cynical untruth, deliberately designed and propagated by men who know the truth, yet seek to blind the Afrikaner people by a call to the worst elements in racial feeling, a call to the blood, a primitive beating of the tribal drum.

Is there no limit to the depths to which these cynical politicians, these shameless breakers of our Constitution, will sink in their desperate efforts to keep themselves in power? What an insult, too, are these words and Mr. Schoeman's recent statement that Afrikaners who do not belong to the Nationalist Party are “the kind that neglect their language and their culture and despise the history of the people.”

Let us examine this charge of treason:

Is it treason to seek unity among the White people of South Africa?

Is it treason to respect another South African's language, culture and traditions?

Is it treason to wish your child to speak both official languages?

Is it treason for a Christian people to wish to live in friendship with their neighbours?

Is it treason to follow the great example of Afrikaners like Louis Botha and Jan Smuts and seek to build a nation, rather than to destroy one?

Is it treason to help a non-White people towards the goal of Western civilisation?

If these things be treason, then for ten years and two elections the majority of the voters of South Africa have been guilty of treason. What a curious phenomenon when 731,522 non-Nationalists could be arraigned for treason by 659,105 Nationalists.

We think differently. We think South Africa's cause would be better served if fourteen wicked men were arraigned for treason, those men who have betrayed White civilisation by breaking the White man's pledged word, men who have sown discord and hatred between White South Africans, men who have dared to tamper with the minds of little children, men who have betrayed the Christianity they pretend to profess.

These are the traitors and we leave it to the good sense of the Afrikaner people not to be misled by the parrot cries of such men and their underlings. This charge of treason is indeed a silly, sad fiction.

M. E. FISHER.



## SPUTNIK

*Long ago they took a Calf—  
(At least the calf was made of gold!)  
And made obeisance at its shrine—  
So I've been told.*

*Great Moses down the mountain came  
After communing with his God  
Bringing the Tables of the Law.  
He took his rod*

*And drove his people from their shrine  
And lectured them for dillyness.  
But thirty centuries later we  
Can cap their arrant silliness.*

*We set a dead dog in a ball  
Spinning away in outer space  
Make THAT the Symbol of our need  
Our Sign of Grace.*

*Alas, no Moses leads us out  
To wisdom and to sanity  
Scientists continue following "truth"  
In truth consumed by vanity.*

*The first great sin was arrogance  
The last great sin is still the same.  
When we have blown our world to bits  
The dead won't care who was to blame.*

## Definitions and Dogmatisms

UNITED PARTY: I beseech you be careful what captains you choose; a few honest men are better than numbers. (Cromwell.)

NATIONALIST PARTY: Thy glorious day is o'er but not thy years of shame. (Byron.)

FEDERAL PARTY: By division we are united.

LIBERAL PARTY: He was the first man who declined the old tract.

DOMINION PARTY: Not a dog barked at their going.

CONSERVATIVE PARTY: A gaggle of geese.

S.A. BOND: I propose to fight it out on this line if it take all summer.

LABOUR PARTY: A house divided against a house falleth. (St. Luke.)

BLACK SASH: Behold how great a matter a little fire kindleth. (Epistle St. John.)

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