

THE BLACK SASH

DIE SWART SERP

Registered at the G.P.O. as a newspaper.

Vol. III, No. 13

DECEMBER 1958

Price 6d.

MORALITEIT

HIERDIE uitgawe van die Swart Serp-tydskrif sal lesers tussen Geloftedag en die nuwejaar bereik — dus tydens die tradisionele wapensstilstand in die Suid-Afrikaanse politiek. Daar is 'n ooreenkoms, wat nie altyd gehuldig word nie, dat die bitterheid van die partypolitiek in hierdie dae opsy geskryf word. Diegene met 'n siniese uitkyk beweer dat politici hierdie tydperk gebruik om uit te rus en om die aanvalle wat hul in die komende jaar geen hul opponente wil loods, te beplan. In werklikheid bly die politici waarskynlik stil as gevolg van die wete wat die public tydens Kersfees geen belank in hul uitlakings stel nie.

Daar bestaan gevolglik 'n goeie geleentheid om politieke probleme tydelik links te laat lê en om die doel en bestaansreg van die Swart Serp weer in oënskou te neem.

Die Swart Serp is aan 'n kruistog toegewy. Die woord „kruistog” is deesdae ongewild. Dit word met eiegeregtigheid, inmenging, prekery en dwepery vereenselwig. Morde meerderwaardigheidsgevoelens is geensins die mode nie, en die strewe om andere op te hef is geensins so kenmerkend van godsdienstiges soos dit 'n een geled was nie. Dit het nog nie in onbruik veral nie, maar dit word oorskadu deur die teorie dat handeling op grond van hul raadsaamheid beoordeel moet word en nie hul moraliteit nie. Mense bestempel deesdae 'n handeling wat hul afkeur as dwaas en nie sondig nie.

Wat politieke- en rasseprobleme aanbetref,

MORALITY

THIS issue of the Black Sash magazine will be in the hands of readers during the time of the traditional armistice in South African politics between the Day of the Covenant and the New Year. There is a convention — not always observed — that during this season the bitterness of party politics is laid aside.

Cynics say that the period of rest is merely used by politicians for recuperation and for planning the onslaughts they propose to make in the coming year. The truth probably is that the politicians keep silent because they realise that over the Christmas season the public are in no mood to listen to them.

This is a good opportunity, therefore, to stand aside for the moment from the hurly-burly of immediate political problems and look once again at the spiritual purpose of the Black Sash movement and the justification for its existence.

The Black Sash is dedicated to a crusade. The word “crusade” is unpopular nowadays. It carries a suggestion of moral righteousness, religious interference with other people, missionising and even Bible-thumping. Moral superiority is unfashionable today and the dynamic drive to uplift other people, which was such a marked characteristic of religiously minded Europeans a hundred years ago, has slackened.

It is not dead — far from it — but it now takes second place to the theory that one should judge other people's actions by their advisability

toon Suid-Afrikaners 'n sterk voorliefde vir hierdie moderne houding. Ons is geweig om hierdie uitkyk te aanvaar in 'n poging om die noodsaaklikheid van 'n morele uitspraak vry te spring. Mense beweer byvoorbeeld dat die regering se beleide onwys, gevaarlik en selfs noodlottig is. Hul aarsel egter om prontuit te sê dat die beleide immoreel is. Die opposisiekoerante neem almal hierdie materialistiese houding in. Die Engelse koerante het wel i.v.m. die Senaatswet, en die stryd om die grondwet in die algemeen, die Nasionaliste se beleid as immoreel bestempel omdat dit die beloftes teenoor die kleurlinge en die Unie-verbond geskend het. Met die res van hul beleide — en dit is vir praktiese doeleindes apartheid en die republiek—berus die opposisie se saak op materialistiese stellings. Dit beweer dat die republiek geen voordele vir Suid-Afrika gaan oplewer nie en dat apartheid nutteloos is en om ekonomiese redes skipbreuk sal ly. Selde sê die pers dat apartheid, soos dit deur die Nasionaliste uiteengesit en toegepas word, laakbaar is. Daar word slegs aangevoer dat dit onprakties is. As gevolg hiervan word al die geestelike pleidooie en morele stellings aan die Nasionaliste oorge- laat. Dit sê ons maar padlangs.

In teenstelling met die Opposisie spreek die Swart Serp rondborstig en opelik 'n morele oordeel uit. Met uitsluiting van die kerke is die Swart Serp so te sê unieke in Suid-Afrika as die enigste liggaam wat die regering se beleide as sondig bestempel. Die Swart Serp stem saam dat die beleide dwaas en gevaarlik is, maar dit voer die saak verder en verklaar dat hul immoreel is.

Daar is verskeie redes waarom apartheid, soos dit deur die regering toegepas word, voordeel kan word, maar die besondere een wat hom by Kerstyd voordoen is die wreedheid daarvan en die onmenslikheid wat dit teenoor diegene toon wat onmagtig is om dit te bestry. 'n Paar voorbeelde sal bewys hoe ongevoelig die voorstanders van apartheid geword het.

Die ondersoek wat ingestel word om 'n persoon se rassegroep vas te stel, lei tot soveel ellende dat ons dikwels maar probeer vergeet dat dit nog steeds plaasvind. Gesinne word versplinter, kinders word hul sekuriteit ontnem, mense word aan fisiese ondersoek blootgestel, spioenasie word aangemoedig — dit alles ter bevordering van 'n beleid. 'n Bekende

(Vervolg op bladsy 11)

rather than their morality. Nowadays many people prefer to say that an action of which they disapprove is stupid and not that it is immoral.

This modern attitude is very prevalent among South Africans in relation to their pressing racial and political problems. Many of us take this line in trying to escape from the need to make a moral judgment. People say, for instance, that the Nationalist Government's policies are misguided, dangerous and even suicidal. But they hesitate to say, straight out, that these policies are wicked and immoral.

The Opposition newspapers all take this materialistic, common-sense line. Over the Senate Act and the great constitutional crisis as a whole the English newspapers did, admittedly, condemn the Nationalist policy as immoral in that it broke solemn pledges to the Coloured people and repudiated the pact of Union.

But with the rest of the Nationalist policy — which really means apartheid and the republic — the Opposition chiefly relies on a materialistic argument. It says that a republic will bring no advantages to South Africa and it condemns apartheid as useless and doomed to failure for economic reasons. The newspapers seldom say that apartheid, as practised and preached by the Nationalists, is immoral. They just say it won't work. One result of this is that all the spiritual appeals, all the moral standpoints are left to the Nationalist Press. But that is by the way.

The Black Sash, on the other hand, candidly and frankly makes a moral judgment. Apart from the Churches, the Black Sash is probably unique in South Africa as being the only organisation that openly condemns the present Government's policies as wicked. The Black Sash agrees that they are stupid and dangerous, but it goes further and says that they are immoral.

There are several grounds for passing judgment on apartheid, as put into force by this Government, but the one that cries out at this season of goodwill is the cruelty that it involves and inhumanity with which it treats people who have no redress. The indictment is a long and shocking one, but a few items will suffice to show how callous the practitioners of apartheid have become.

The colour inquisition to determine a person's

(Continued on page 12)

UNIVERSITY APARTHEID

Summarised, with acknowledgments, from an article in 'Die Burger'

IF a choice were left to the Coloured people whether they wished to attend their own university college or the so-called open universities, they would be able to wreck the entire policy of university apartheid, according to a letter written by the late Mr. J. H. Viljoen, when he was Minister of Education, Arts and Science.

The letter was sent to the Moderator of the N.G. Dutch Reformed Mission Church of South Africa, the Rev. J. A. J. Steenkamp, after the Church had put its viewpoint to the Minister.

The correspondence was submitted to the synod of the Church, held at Worcester, Cape.

Mr. Steenkamp and the scribe of the Church's education commission, the Rev. D. P. Botha, wrote to the then Minister on March 20, 1957.

The letter said that the Church approached the matter in the same light and spirit as that in which the N.G. Kerk approached the founding of the Mission Church in 1881, when it set out to provide separate facilities for spiritual development among the Coloured people without compulsion.

In view of the Church's success in the spiritual sphere, the same principles should be capable of application in the sphere of university education.

No Choice

The Minister replied *inter alia* that it was intended to remove the non-Europeans to their own universities, but they would not be removed until the non-European universities had been established.

No date in this connection would appear in the Act.

Thereafter it would not be feasible to give the non-Europeans a choice. They would have to attend their own universities.

"The reason for this is that large numbers of non-Europeans are greatly susceptible to influence by elements who deliberately oppose Government policy and who would without doubt persuade them to choose European universities."

The synod noted the correspondence without comment.

(D.R. Mission Church Synod, page 9)



"Well, that is the statement. You'd better not publish it till I've had an opportunity of considering a denial."



Councillor M. Honikman addresses the meeting arranged by the Cape Western Region to protest against job reservation. Other speakers are: Mrs. M. Petersen (left), Mrs. E. Stott (in the chair), Councillor A. S. A. East and Councillor E. Deane.

Fight to save jobs for Coloured people

CITIZENS of Cape Town were asked to join members of the Cape Western Region of the Black Sash at a meeting held in the Banqueting Hall, Cape Town, on September 30 to protest against the reservation for Europeans only of the jobs of traffic police, ambulance drivers and firemen.

The speakers emphasised the need for a firm stand against job reservation, which they described as an iniquitous piece of legislation.

Mr. Deane, a Coloured Councillor, in a forthright speech, told of the bitterness and disillusion that the Coloured community felt under the impact of such laws.

At the end of the meeting the following resolution was carried unanimously:

"This meeting regards with grave concern the re-

commendation of the Industrial Tribunal to the Minister of Labour to reserve jobs as traffic police, ambulance drivers and firemen for Europeans.

"As citizens of Cape Town, we know from personal experience the faithful and courteous service performed by Coloured traffic policemen, who have proved themselves thoroughly competent for the job.

"We are strenuously opposed to taking away this employment from them and we ask the City Council to resist by all means in its power this interference in the domestic affairs of Cape Town by the central government.

"In particular, we ask the Council not to be a party to any so-called compromise that will deprive these citizens of some of the very few jobs open to intelligent and educated Coloured people."

DEBATE THAT MADE HISTORY

This full report of the Sash's multi-racial Brains Trust in Cape Town on Constitutional reform is published as a result of requests from many Sash members

By "REPORTER"

NEVER before — certainly not in South Africa — has there been such a debate.

That was the verdict of the Question Master, Mr. A. Gordon Bagnall, on the recent "Brains Trust" on constitutional reform organized by the Black Sash at their national conference in Cape Town. To judge from the applause every one of the 500 people of all races in the audience agreed with him.

On the platform were a prominent Nationalist (Mr. A. Burger, a Cape Town advocate), an African (Mr. Jordan Ngubane, vice-chairman of the Liberal Party), a Coloured leader (Dr. R. E. van der Ross), a United Party spokesman (Mr. D. Fourie), the leader of the Federal Party (Major-General A. R. Selby), and an independent authority on constitutional law (Mr. D. B. Molteno, Q.C.).

Mrs. Molly Petersen said the "Brains Trust" was the result of a decision by the Black Sash to work for a South African constitution which would safeguard the rights of all. For this end it was necessary to find out the genuine and reasonable political wants of all sections of the community. The panel could be regarded as a representative cross-section. The Black Sash hoped it would be the first of many.

'Accursed Thing'

Mr. Bagnall introduced Mr. Ngubane as representing "that accursed thing liberalism". Mr. Burger, he said, represented "that accursed thing nationalism". Mr. Fourie would speak for the United Party, "which, as most people know, represents both those accursed things". Having created the sort of atmosphere in which everybody could be completely frank without giving offence, Mr. Bagnall put the questions.

This is a summary of what followed.

MR. BAGNALL: *After 50 years' experience would you say Union has failed or succeeded?*

MR. MOLTENO: Union has failed. A mistake was made in ever attempting Union. I do not mean there should have been no organic connection. But it should have taken a federal form.

MR. NGUBANE: People on my side of the colour line feel Union has been a failure. Most of them thought at the time that it would lead to a pulling together of labour, capital and natural resources for the good of the whole community. After 50 years we see only disruption.

DR. VAN DER ROSS: My view of history does not permit of a judgment. At a certain time, certain forces were mustered in South Africa and resulted in Union. To take the view that a mistake was made can only lead to incriminations. If we are sufficiently advanced since then we may be ready to take a fresh step.

GENERAL SELBY: I believe Union has failed in its intention of drawing Dutch and British closer together. The country has prospered materially, but human relations are much worse than they were in 1910. The National Convention did not take enough factors into account. It tried to throw together two groups which were too far apart in outlook.

MR. BURGER: Smuts and Botha went into Union with their eyes open. They had cogent reasons for advocating Union in preference to federation. Had the National Convention decided on federation there would still have been the same political set-up as to-day. But material progress would have been slowed down.

I cannot agree with the last speaker that relations are worse. From what my parents tell me they were far worse in 1910. (Exclamations of disagreement from the audience.) The people here cannot appreciate that because they were not in a political minority then. Before the English-speaking people were in a political minority they would not even have questioned the success of Union. (English-speaking member of the audience: He's quite right.)

MR. FOURIE: The question is misleading. What determines the success or failure of a Government is not so much its form as the constitution under which it operates. We have achieved a great deal under our constitution since 1910. But since 1948 events have proved that the constitution was not foolproof.

MR. BAGNALL: *Was it wrong in 1910 and is it wrong now not to allow the vote to citizens irrespective of race?*

DR. VAN DER ROSS: As far as I know the vote was given in some form to all races in 1910. But I would say that it is wrong not to give the vote throughout the Union to all people who can conform to certain fixed qualifications. This, I would say, is one of the cornerstones of democracy.

MR. FOURIE: If race is the sole criterion it is wrong. All the people who are capable of enjoying the benefits and shouldering the responsibilities of democracy should have the right to vote. But we have to face the fact that South Africa is a multi-racial country and that at the outset the people least likely to have been capable of carrying the responsibility of democracy were those who had no previous experience of democracy.

Right to vote

Since then the position has changed. As these people achieve the ability to appreciate the principles of democracy they should be given the right to vote. Then, too, the qualifications must be applied equally to those people who at the outset were given the

vote without restriction.

MR. NGUBANE: Yes, it is wrong. Ours is a mixed country with broadly five race groups. The most important thing is to project one unifying loyalty which would mean the same thing to people on both sides of the colour line.

The danger in giving one meaning to citizenship on one side of the colour line and another meaning on the other side is that we encourage the African to work for the disruption of Union. We get him to look outside the country for allies and to reject democracy.

GENERAL SELBY: To say it was wrong at the time of Union is to say that the National Convention should have taken into account factors and modes of political thinking that have only evolved subsequently. But the thing we have to face now is that if we are to have a contented country all sections must have a voice in the Government.

I do not know how this can best be done without creating the danger of one group being dominated by another. But we will have to evolve a system of government and franchise to meet our present conditions.

MR. BURGER: I subscribe to the view that every man should have a vote who is qualified to use it. If, however, you give all people the same voting rights you might reach the position where the Whites will no longer have any say in the government. The vote will have to be arranged in such a way as to prevent the White man being swamped.

Votes for all

MR. BAGNALL: *Is universal franchise a boon? Can "one vote one value" be applied successfully in a multi-racial country?*

MR. BURGER: I have made my point.

GENERAL SELBY: We have yet to find one country in the world where there is universal franchise.

DR. VAN DER ROSS: This is the most dangerous thing one can speak on. I do believe that whatever arrangement is arrived at, there will have to be guarantees of some form of security for every group. I think there would have to be some form of group representation. People should be allowed to choose members from whatever group they like to represent them.

MR. MOLTENO: Universal franchise is greatly overrated. Every dictatorship has arisen from universal franchise. Even in comparatively homogenous societies there is great danger from frenzied masses. In a plural society with distinct divisions, can any minority group dare to give universal franchise?

Minority groups should be given some protection. Otherwise I do not see how a system of universal franchise can do other than lead to group determination.

MR. NGUBANE: To me, ultimately democracy can have no meaning unless everybody has a vote. As a realist, however, I can see that there must be a very real fear of swamping on the part of minority groups. At the same time, it will serve no purpose to adopt negative policies and to frustrate the desire

for self-determination.

Such policies foster the very conditions which give rise to the fears they seek to avoid. We should guarantee the rights, not of groups but of individuals. Then we would think not as groups but as South Africans owing a common allegiance to a common fatherland.

What guarantee is there that the African would not continue to think as a group?

Since 1912, when the African National Congress was founded, the line of development has been towards a non-racial democracy. The trend has been away from racialism.

What has happened in French Equatorial Africa, where the African peoples chose to retain the present set-up under French rule, encourages me in this view. There may have been pressures but I think the real meaning of their choice is that the Africans desire a unifying loyalty.

Nkrumah has made it clear that the African personality is complex. The climate is towards non-racial democracy. No guarantees can be given. But we have reason to believe that we are safest where democracy means the same on both sides of the colour line.

GENERAL SELBY: There is a fear on one side that extension of the franchise will result in Black domination. There is a growing resentment on the other side. I do not think we can count with certainty on the emergence of this raceless democratic society. I am not prepared to risk the future on any theoretic assumption.

My experience in the Middle East is that the races do not want to come together. They want to preserve their separate identities. I fully agree that the franchise must be extended. But I do not think extension to everybody is the answer.

I think we must work out a system to protect each group from domination by any other.

MR. FOURIE: I believe there should be a qualified franchise. The criterion should not be the colour of a person's skin but the stage of development.

You would have on the one hand the enfranchisement of those who are capable of exercising the privileges of democracy. At the same time you would have the disenfranchisement of those who are not really capable and who are forcing their demands on the people. The constitution should be dynamic to cope with evolving conditions.

Federal system

MR. BAGNALL: *What are the advantages of a federal system?*

GENERAL SELBY: Under a unitary system power is concentrated in the central government. In the federal system it is divided between the central government and the governments of the provinces or states.

It is inherent in such a system that the powers of the states are derived from the constitution and not delegated by the central government. They cannot, therefore, be interfered with.

Unitary government has been successful in compact

and homogenous countries. It has not been satisfactory where you have countries which are multi-racial or which are of such great extent that they cover a wide diversity of interests.

MR. FOURIE: I do not think that if we had a federation we would have been without the problems we have to-day. We would still have had the same alignments within the states or provinces constituting the federation.

MR. MOLTENO: Union gives rise to a Parliament which is all-powerful and leads to the domination of the governing party. We are approaching that position now. In a satisfactory system we have checks and balances. A Government cannot become the instrument of any particular group or party. A federal system is less likely to lead to tyranny.

DR. VAN DER ROSS: I am not married to this idea I am going to put forward. It only came to me recently, but I will try to describe it for what it is worth.

If we had a federation on a territorial basis would we not have a series of problem states? But how would it be if we had a federation on a group or racial basis with each racial group enjoying block representation in a sort of federal Parliament? Supposing then that the constitution could not be changed without a majority of every group agreeing to it. That would give every group a veto right and the necessary guarantee.

MR. BURGER: I am not married to this idea either. But I must confess I have been flirting with it for more than a year. Territorial federation will not alleviate our problems because the diversity of interests is on racial lines.

The monarchy

MR. BAGNALL: *Should the constitution entrench the monarchy and the Commonwealth connection?*

MR. NGUBANE: No. It is a question of emotionalism. I know there are many people to whom the monarchy means a great deal and I do not begrudge them that. But I have never seen the monarch and I cannot arouse any special feelings towards the monarchy.

I am for South Africa. I am for the Commonwealth connection. But we should not be rigidly bound. There might come a time when it is not to the benefit of South Africa as a whole to remain in the Commonwealth.

MR. FOURIE: I agree. One cannot have rigid rules which are not basic to the framework of the constitution. We must have a dynamic constitution.

MR. MOLTENO: I do not agree with the previous speakers. The constitution is not something you can always be changing or fiddling about with. It should only be formed by general agreement and it should only be changed by general agreement. It should not be able to be upset by a chance majority. I am in favour of entrenching the monarchy and certain other things, such as the Commonwealth connection, not for reasons of sentiment only but because they give stability.

GENERAL SELBY: I believe that the monarchy and the Commonwealth connection should be en-

trenched and not just for sentimental reasons. I think that a constitutional monarchy is a better system of government than a republic.

Where you have a constitutional monarchy of repute the monarch stands above political dispute. The monarch provides an outlet for loyalty that makes for stability.

We derive great advantages from the Commonwealth connection. It ill behoves a great people to adopt the attitude of saying: we will belong for what we can get but we will owe no obligations.

DR. VAN DER ROSS: I have never known the monarchy. I cannot raise any enthusiasm. The Commonwealth ideal is conveyed by its very name. Whatever we do we must bear in mind that there is a new ideal of Commonwealth. The British Commonwealth may play a great part but it would be well for us to keep an eye on new developments.

MR. BURGER: I do not mind staying in the Commonwealth. The English-speaking people are the only people advocating a monarchy. I honestly believe that once we do away with the monarchy we will have a more rational approach to all our problems.

MR. BAGNALL: *If the necessary reforms require the dismissal of the present Government will extra-parliamentary means have to be employed to get them out?*

MR. NGUBANE: The Whites will not be able to do it alone. Pressures other than those in Parliament would have to be brought to bear. There are quite a few — boycotts, passive resistance, withdrawal of savings.

GENERAL SELBY: The delimitation has made it impossible for any political party to oust the present Government under the present set-up, especially now with the addition of the 18-year-olds to the roll. Obviously we must have extra-parliamentary pressure. One thing I shall try to achieve if the Government try to force a republic on us is to persuade Natal to withdraw from the rest of South Africa.

DR. VAN DER ROSS: I am not sure that the White people really want to get this Government out of power. They have cried about race prejudice and discrimination. But you will probably find very few of them who do not secretly want the things this Government is striving after. They find it convenient to have somebody to do the dirty work and whom at the same time they can rail against.

MR. BURGER: All that is required to get this Government out of power — not that I think they should go out of power, of course — is a 5 per cent. swing in the electorate. Elections are not won or lost by votes but by ideas. It is up to the Opposition to find an idea great enough to capture the imagination of the electorate.

All the members of the panel agreed that another national convention would be needed to frame a new constitution for South Africa.

But all also agreed that nothing would be gained by calling it in the existing political climate. Steps would first have to be taken to secure a climate more conducive to agreement and compromise.

THE OUTGOING EXECUTIVE



From left to right : Standing — Mrs. H. Hahn, Mrs. P. Britten, Mrs. J. Davidoff, Miss J. White, Mrs. M. Fisher. Sitting — Mrs. E. Fouche, Mrs. J. Sinclair, Mrs. R. Foley, Mrs. M. Green, Mrs. R. Dietrich. Inset : Mrs. Walker and Mrs. D. Rankin. Missing : Mrs. D. Hill and Mrs. T. Gottlieb. Members of the Sash extend heartfelt thanks to the outgoing Central Executive for their enthusiasm and hard work during the last three years.

Threads from the Sash

SASH women in the Cape who come into frequent contact with the public find that there is a new spirit in the air. They are now received with sympathy and admiration.

As one member put it: "The red carpet was out!"

There is no doubt that generous and sympathetic newspaper publicity has helped to bring about this encouraging attitude from the public, who are becoming aware that the Sash does a great deal more than "stand around the streets in protest".

* * *

A Cape Western member proudly wearing her Black Sash badge was approached by a dear old lady who asked her to which Bible Society she belonged.

Our Sasher explained that the badge was the emblem of the Sash.

"Well, my dear," replied the old lady, "that's near enough to a Bible Society, isn't it?"

* * *

During a discussion on the possibility of providing legal aid to those affected by unjust laws, Mrs. Stott said she wanted to know how many lawyers had been *solicited* by our women so far.

* * *

The Chief Nationalist Whip, to Sash women who had entered Parliament to interview Nationalist Senators on the Criminal Court Bill: "You ladies must not come here to propagate!"

THIS CHURCH CARRIES WEIGHT

by R. E. Van der Ross

THE SESSION of the Synod of the D.R. Mission Church which ended at Worcester on October 29 was an important event in the life not only of the Coloured people but of the country.

The Dutch Reformed Church is the strongest Christian Church among the Coloured people, and its extensive organization gives it powerful influence.

One matter of which we tend to lose sight is the fact that the opinions of people do still carry weight in framing public policy.

In spreading this type of influence, the Church is of great value. This past Synod, especially, serves to remind us of how the D.R.C. is continuing an experiment started in 1881, the experiment of the Mission Church, separate from the Mother (White) Church. This is often quoted as an early example of apartheid, and there is much truth in this.

But if this is held, it must also be pointed out in fairness to the Church that the separation at that time was not only voluntary, but it was done in a spirit very different from much that goes under the name of apartheid to-day.

The original motion which sanctioned this division of church activity acknowledged that it was a concession to the weakness of man's nature.

A CHRISTMAS MESSAGE

WE wish our readers a merry Christmas, and for the New Year, peace, good government and progress in our efforts towards a solution of the many problems of our country.

It foresaw that eventually this weakness might be overcome and that, in time, a condition could once again be reached where all members of the Church could worship together.

One of the most vital functions being performed within the D.R. Mission Church, for the good of the entire country, is the training of ministers.

From its Theological Seminary at Wellington, a steady stream of young men is being produced who will undoubtedly have a strong influence wherever they work.

Gradually these men will increase in number, and so build up a body of well-trained ministers who will do their share in convincing all who are not bigoted beyond redemption that the Coloured people can do the job as well as any.

More than this, they will help to convince the doubters among the Whites that where the country needs educated, balanced and sound leaders in the different departments of its activity, we can produce them.

One of the most important decisions of the Synod, for the life of the people, was its reversal of a previous decision in which it supported the transfer of

the control of primary and secondary pupils in Coloured schools to the central Government.

To one who has been interested in the affairs of teachers for the past 20 years, one of the remarkable features has been that, whereas at that time and up to about 10 years ago Coloured teachers and their organizations all clamoured for State education, they are to-day, so say the least, not so sure of their case.

This is because the realization has come that the present government State schools mean State control.

To-day teachers as well as parents feel that education cannot afford to lose the wholesome influence of the parents as expressed through their committees and as organized perhaps most effectively in their Churches.

It is not often that the Government attitude to matters of policy is put clearly by a Minister, but it seems that on this matter the Synod has also been the medium through which we have learnt the Government policy towards both the control of coloured education and towards the Coloured Affairs Department.

From the correspondence it seems that Dr. Donges, then Minister of the Interior, said that the matter of transfer had not yet been laid before the Cabinet, and that although he would give no firm undertaking, he did not propose to raise the matter within a foreseeable time.

This will give a general feeling of relief and will also give time for saner counsel to prevail.

It is my considered feeling that the change of attitude on the part of the D.R.C. had a great deal to do with the staying of the Government's hand in the matter.

A tribute

WE should like to take this opportunity of paying tribute to **Miss Jill White**, who did magnificent work during her spell as temporary Editor of the magazine.

She took over an onerous task at a difficult time. A high standard had been set by **Mrs. Rankin** and **Mrs. Causton**, but Miss White tackled the job fearlessly and efficiently and the standard was maintained.

"M.M.P." of the Lowveld Region writes: "We at the receiving end of that efficiency—by which I mean our regional correspondent and her helpers—found Miss White irresistible.

"We received the most charming and disarming letters from her asking us for articles, letters and our opinions on a great variety of subjects.

"We naturally responded when we could. It was not easy to say 'No' to Jill White.

"And so, to her and to the other past Editors, we would like to express the appreciation of the Lowveld Region. And to **Mrs. Berman**, our new Editor in Cape Town, I would like to extend our welcome and all our good wishes."

Spotland

by J. E. LAREDO

(A Cautionary Tale for Foolish Children)

ONCE upon a time the Lion, who was King of the Bushveld (though he preferred to be called President), appointed the Leopard to be his Grand High Vizier, or Chief Egg-Unscrambler.

Spots, as the new Chief Egg-Unscrambler was generally called, at once summoned a meeting of all the Bushveld people. From far and wide they came — herds of Elephant (the People-Who-Never-Forget), troops of Zebra (once called the Horsey People), herds of Impala (They-Who-Enjoy-Life), families of Kudu (the Quiet People) and of Warthog and Waterbuck and all the other People-Who-Just-Get-On-With-Things.

The Clever Ones — the Baboons — came too, and even a few Ostrich, who hid their heads in the sand again as quickly as possible. Last of all, following their cousins the Buffalo, came the great dark herds of Wildebeeste, the Sleeping People, while in the shadows lurked the Hyenas and Jackals, and in the trees sat the Vultures, all waiting-to-see.

Sage nods

Spots told the gathering that the Bushveld must now be divided among its people, or the day might come when the Wildebeeste, who FAR outnumbered the others, would want to rule in place of the Lion. The Wildebeeste, to whom that had not occurred, nodded their heads sagely, but the other animals looked frightened and exclaimed: "HOOR! HOOR!"

Spots explained also that the daughters of some of the animals, especially the Elephant, might even have to MARRY Wildebeeste, and although no one could think WHY — and the Wildebeeste seemed as surprised as anyone — some of the Impala and Zebra turned quite pale, the Lion gave a great ROAR, and the Elephant waved their trunks in alarm and flapped their ears angrily.

While someone drew a large picture of the Bushveld in the sand, Spots assured them it would all be quite fair, everyone would be king (or president) in their own country, and the Elephant and Zebra and some of the others could even continue to live together provided, of course, that the Elephant did most of the ruling. Spots then allocated a large piece of land near the river to the Zebra and Elephant and their friends because, he said, they would know how to look after it nicely.

Then he gave a lot of small, scattered pieces of land to the Wildebeeste. There was not really a great deal altogether, and some of the Zebra whinnyed a little in protest, but the Wildebeeste (who were still pretty sleepy) agreed that it would do. Because their country was scattered throughout the Bushveld, and they wished to be polite to the Leopard, they called it Spotland.

Spots really wanted to give a separate country to the Zebra, so that they would not graze near the

Elephant. But though unlike the Elephant they had very bad memories, and though their neighing often sounded like braying and they even looked rather like Donkeys, Spots knew they were not so stupid as they seemed, and decided to leave it till later.

As for the Kudu, they were given a dry sandy patch far from the river and the bush on which they always browsed, for Spots pointed out that Kudu never let the grass grow under their feet, so this would be just the place for them as the grass couldn't grow anyway. Everyone, except the Kudu, thought this a splendid idea. The Buffalo, on the other hand, were given no land at all because they were related to everyone and could always find SOMEWHERE to live.

Black looks

"And now," said Spots — and the Lion grunted agreement — "everything is nicely arranged and you can all be happy," and — for a little time and apart from the Kudu — they were. The Impala especially skipped gaily in the glades near the river and thought it a wonderful world, while the Elephant felt that at last their daughters were SAFE.

But after a while the grazing in Spotland got worse and worse, the wildebeeste herds grew and grew, and they began to wake up and say to each other: "Why should our children go hungry just because Spots thinks we want to marry the Elephant daughters, WHICH WE DON'T?" They gave the other animals BLACK looks and, as they got hungrier and hungrier, stared with covetous eyes on the rich green country between the spots of Spotland.

Then the rains failed. All the grazing was bad — worst of all in Spotland. The Wildebeeste, when they saw their children starving, woke up at last. They stamped and snorted; soon they were joined by the Buffalo and Kudu, and they all clamoured louder and louder, "The Bushveld is OURS!" But the Elephant and other animals replied: "No! It is OURS!" and so — there was WAR. And because war is like that, it all became a great confusion — many did not even know who they were fighting against nor what they were fighting for.

The Elephant were strong but their enemies were many, so the slaughter was terrible. All the animals who could trekked away to find a land where there was peace, till there was no-one left save the Jackals and Hyenas, and the Bushveld was desolation.

And in time, those who had left the Bushveld for the new lands in the north discovered there that they COULD live together when they tried. Even the Elephant learnt that sometimes it is better to forget. They made friends with the Wildebeeste, and at last realised that none of it need ever have happened because the Wildebeeste, quite naturally, went on marrying their own people.

OBITUARY

Champion of Justice



PERHAPS not many Black Sash members knew personally that valiant champion of justice and the right of ordinary human beings, men and women, black and white, Dr. Mabel Palmer; for by the time the Black Sash movement started, old age was beginning to take its toll in failing health and failing eyesight.

But up to a few days before her death at the age of 82, she listened with interest to accounts of what the Black Sash was doing and planning to

do, glad to know that others were taking up the tasks to which she devoted so much of her energy.

What a long, varied and useful life she had. Childhood in Northumberland; Glasgow University in the days when women were regarded as intruders in those learned halls; Classics lectures from Gilbert Murray; Fabian Society meetings where she hobnobbed with Beatrice and Sidney Webb, and George Bernard Shaw; the busy life of a Fleet Street journalist; the quarrel with her newspaper, the London "Daily News", because they attacked the suffragette movement of which she was an ardent supporter.

New Battlefield

From England she came to South Africa in 1921. From the battle for women's rights to the struggle for rights and opportunities for non-whites. Nor was this struggle confined to the realms of airy idealism.

Finding that there was no education for non-whites at the university level in Natal, she set about establishing classes for them.

In borrowed buildings, with a staff willing to lecture for what was no more than an honorarium, working under every kind of difficulty, a start was made; and from those small beginnings has grown the largest group of non-white students in the country.

Press Tribute

Not only did she lecture in several subjects herself, but as Director of Non-European Studies for many years she continued to take an active interest in all that concerned the students' welfare.

A leading article in the "Natal Daily News" on the day after her death described her as a humanist, quoting her remark "Yes, I would love this country if we treated everybody as human beings".

(Vervolg van bladsy 2)

joernalis uit Londen het beweer dat hoewel die betrokke amptenare so menslik moontlik onder die omstandighede optree, hy persoonlik eerder 'n laksman sou wees. Die Wet op Groepsgebiede ontwortel hele gesinne en bedreig hul bestaan. Die verarming van Indiërgesinne word nie alleen toegelaat nie, maar selfs aangemoedig. Watter moontlike regverdiging kan daar vir wetgewing wees wat man en vrou belet om saam te woon en dit onwettig verklaar dat vrou en kind dieselfde kamer bewoon? Wat van die naturelseun wat 'n passport geweier is toe hy die geleentheid gebind is om in Amerika skool te gaan? Watter tipe regering is dit wat die skoolmaaltye van die armstes in die land, die naturel kinders, stopsit?

In hierdie gevalle, en 'n menigte ander, beskuldig ons hul nie alleen van dwaasheid nie, maar ewewel van onmenslikheid.

Diegene wat hierdie dinge probeer goedpraat beweer dat hul noodsaaklik is om „die blanke beskawing te bewaar”. Hier gewaar ons die gevaarlike verstelling dat die doel die middel heilig. Dis jammer, so sê hulle, dat dit soms tot ontbering lei, maar dis onontbeerlik as „die blanke beskawing” moet voorbestaan. Gemeenheid en onmenslikheid word d.m.v. hierdie woorde goedgepraat, en mettertyd sal die woorde alhoemeer gebruik word. Die strikwekkend wanneer 'n demagoog begin glo dat sy wil tegelykertyd Gods wil is en dat sy middels deur sy doel geheilig word. Hitler was 'n voorbeeld hiervan.

As daar nie 'n keerpunt kom nie, sal die ordentlike blankes van die land eendag vra of hierdie blanke beskawing, wat so deur die modder gesleep is, die moeite werd is om te bewaar.

Tereg spreek die Swart Serp in hierdie dae morele oordele uit.

MOVE TO CAPE

YOUR "Black Sash" is now being produced and printed in Cape Town instead of in Johannesburg.

We regret any duplication or disruption that may have arisen through this transfer and hope that our readers will forgive us these transgressions.

We are always glad to receive contributions, and welcome suggestions, which should be submitted through regional branches or sent direct to Mrs. D. Berman, Estella House, 47a Main Street, Claremont, Cape Town.

(Continued from page 2)

racial group produces so much individual suffering that most of us try to forget that it still goes on. Families are broken up, the security of children is torn away, people are subjected to the indignities of physical examination, informing and spying are encouraged—all in the name of a doctrine. A well-known London newspaperman, after admitting that the officials administering this legislation were as humane as they could be in the circumstances, said that he personally would prefer the job of hangman.

The Group Areas Act uproots whole communities and threatens their very livelihood. It not only permits the ruining of hundreds of Indian families but encourages it.

What is to be said of legislation that makes it illegal for man and wife to live together or for a mother to share a room with her child? What of the passport that was refused to an African boy who had a chance to go to school in America? What sort of Government is it that cuts off school meals for African children who form the poorest group in the land?

The indictment here, as in dozens of other

instances, alleges not stupidity, but meanness and inhumanity.

Those who condone these actions claim that everything is done in order to "preserve white civilisation". Here we see in action the appallingly dangerous theory that the end justifies the means. It may be unfortunate, they say, that there is a little roughness and hardship here and there, but it is all in the supreme cause of "preserving white civilisation".

That catchphrase can be used to excuse any meanness and any inhumanity—and as time goes on it will be used to cover even greater evils. There are few things more terrifying than the progress of a doctrinaire who believes that his purpose is the will of God and that his objective justifies all he does. Hitler was one of those.

If this goes on, a day will come when the decent white people of this country will turn round and say: "This white civilisation that you are always talking about, now that you have dragged it in the mud, is it worth preserving? Is your version of it anything to be admired?"

The Black Sash is right to make moral judgments, here and now.

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Published by The Black Sash—Die Swart Serp, 1 Kildare Road, Claremont, Cape, and printed by Edina Press (Pty.) Ltd., 117 Waterkant Street, Cape Town.