## NEW DEALS

MANY of us have cherished the hope that in the calmer atmosphere following the ending of the state of emergency and the referendum campaign a new deal for the nonwhite people of South Africa would emerge. These hopes have been strengthened by the demands for changes in apartheid policy that have issued from many quarters, including some that are sympathetic towards Afrikaner nationalism. It has recently become clear, however, that if any changes are to come about they will not be won without a determined struggle, because the Prime Minister has resolutely set his face against any concessions.

The expressions of disappointment that followed Dr. Verwoerd's announcement that on no account could Coloured people be permitted to enter Parliament suggest a lack of understanding of the character of the man himself and the nature of the philosophy that he holds. Verwoerdian apartheid is a rigorous, internally consistent system. There is no room within its framework for new deals, because in his view it itself is the best of all possible deals. The Prime Minister believes that if the system be weakened at any point its entire dissolution is only a matter of time.

At the same time the government believes that it can play its cards to better advantage. As far as the urban African is concerned, there is evidence of a desire to make apartheid work more smoothly. The Prime Minister said a few months ago that senior government officials would be posted in every large urban area to keep in touch with Bantu leaders and recognised Bantu authorities; this would ensure that the aspirations and needs of the urban Bantu population would always receive sufficient attention. He added that there would also be NUWE BEDELINGS

**B**AIE van ons het die hoop gekoester dat daar nuwe bedelings vir die nie-blanke bevolking van Suid-Afrika sou ontstaan in die meer besadigde atmosfeer wat op die beëindiging van die noodtoestand en die referendum gevolg het. Hierdie hoop is versterk deur die eise vir veranderings in die apartheidsbeleid wat uit baie bronne ontstaan het, sommige waarvan simpatiek gesind is teenoor die Afrikaner nasionalisme. Dit het egter onlangs duidelik geword dat as daar enige veranderings moet wees, dit nie sonder 'n harde stryd gewen sal word nie, want die Eerste Minister het hom teen enige toegewings verset.

Die teleurstelling wat uitgespreek is ná Dr. Verwoerd se aankondiging dat Kleurlinge onder geen omstandighede in die parlement toegelaat kan word nie, is aanduiding van 'n onvermoë om die karakter van die man self en die aard van sy filosofie te begryp. Die Verwoerdapartheid is 'n strenge stelsel wat binne sy eie omvang konsekwent is. Binne die raamwerk van hierdie begrip is daar geen plek vir nuwe bedelings nie, want na Dr. Verwoerd se mening is dit reeds die beste van alle moontlike bedelings. Die Eerste Minister glo dat as die stelsel op enige punt verswak sou word, dit slegs 'n saak van tyd sou wees voordat die hele stelsel ontbind.

Hierby voel die regering dat sy kaarte tot groter voordeel gebruik kan word. Wat die stedelike naturel betref, is daar blyke van 'n begeerte om apartheid meer glad te laat werk. Die Eerste Minister het 'n paar maande gelede gesê dat senior staatsamptenare in elke groot stedelike gebied geplaas sou word om in verbinding met Bantoe-leiers en erkende Bantoeowerhede te bly; dit sou dan verseker dat die aspirasies en die benodigdhede van die stede-

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visits from Commisioners-General, that greater participation by urban Bantu in local government was receiving attention, and that efforts would be made to eliminate grievances. Since that statement was made the enforcement of reference books for African women has been postponed, and steps have been taken to establish closer liaison between the police and the Department of Bantu Administration and Development.

A draft Bill has also been drawn up to amend and consolidate the laws relating to the urban African. It was intended to be confidential, but such an important matter could not be kept secret. One of the objects of this Bill appears to be a thoroughly objectionable provision for stricter control over local authorities in order to ensure that government policy is implemented. And there is no sign of a change in the policy of enforced apartheid itself. The Government is still under the delusion that "the aspirations and the needs of the urban Bantu" can be satisfied by administering apartheid more skilfully.

Support for the idea of a new deal for the Coloured people has been mounting in the Cape. Various proposals indicating a change of attitude towards the Coloured people have been put forward by individual Nationalists and a special committee was appointed by Dr. Dönges, leader of the Cape Nationalists, to review party policy as it applies to the Coloured people.

Some Nationalists entertain the crude idea that by making concessions to the Coloured like Bantoe-bevolking altyd toereikende aandag geniet. Hy het bygevoeg dat daar ook besoeke deur Kommissarisse-generaal sou wees, dat aandag geskenk word aan groter deelneming deur stedelike Bantoes aan plaaslike beheermaatreëls, en dat daar probeer sou word om griewe uit die weg te ruim. Sedert hierdie aankondiging is die handhawing van bewysboeke vir Naturellevrou uitgestel, en stappe is gedoen om nouer samewerking tussen die Polisie en die Departement van Bantoe-administrasie en -ontwikkeling te verkry.

'n Wetsontwerp is ook opgestel om die wette met betrekking op die stedelike naturel te wysig en konsolideer. Die bedoeling was om dit geheim te hou, maar so 'n belangrike saak kon nie geheim gehou word nie. Een van die doelstellings van die Wetsontwerp is skynbaar 'n uiters afskuwelike bepaling vir strenger beheer oor plaaslike owerhede ten einde te verseker dat regeringsbeleid gehandhaaf word. En daar is geen aanduiding van 'n verandering in die beleid van verpligte apartheid self nie. Die Regering verkeer nog onder die indruk dat "die aspirasies en benodigdhede van die Bantoes" tevrede gestel kan word deur apartheid meer vaardig te administreer.

Ondersteuning vir die gedagte van 'n nuwe bedeling vir die Kleurlinge het in Kaapland toegeneem. Verskeie voorstelle wat 'n veranderde houding aandui is deur individuele Nasionaliste gedoen en 'n spesiale komitee is opgestel deur dr. Dönges, leier van die Kaapse Nasionaliste, om die Party se politiek in hersiening te neem soos dit die Kleurlinge raak.

Sommige Nasionaliste het die primitiewe gedagte dat deur toegewings vir die Kleurlinge aan te bied, laasgenoemde in die laer gebring kan word as bondgenote teen die Naturelle; en hierdie sienswyse is ongelukkig nie tot regeringsondersteuners beperk nie. Daar is egter 'n aantal opregte "nuwe bedelings"-

This magazine, as the official journal of the Black Sash, carries authoritative articles on the activities of the Sash. The leading article adheres broadly to the policies of the organization, but the Central Executive does not necessarily endorse the views expressed by contributors.

people they can be brought into the white laager as allies against the Africans, and this viewpoint is unfortunately not confined to Government supporters. There are, however, a number of genuine new-deal Nationalists who are motivated by entirely praiseworthy considerations.

Whatever the motivation. the Prime Minister was not in favour of this talk of new deals. He appointed a Cabinet Committee with himself as chairman to consider the matter and announced that there would be no concessions. Nasionaliste wat deur volkome lofwaardige beweegredes beweeg word.

Maar wat die beweegredes ook al was, was die Eerste Minister nie ten gunste van hierdie gepraat van nuwe bedelings nie. Hy het 'n Komitee van Ministers aangestel, waarvan hy self as voorsitter opgetree het, om die saak te oorweeg; en hy het aangekondig dat daar geen toegewings sou wees nie.

Die belangrike vraag wat nou op beantwoording wag, is dit: Sal die Nasionaliste wat 'n nuwe bedeling as wenslik beskou opstaan en 'n stryd daarom voer? Ons hoop hulle sal dit doen.



"What's all this about a new deal? I've just dealt."-Cape Times.

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The important question that now awaits an answer is whether Nationalists who favour a new deal will stand up and fight for it. We hope that they will.

Some critics dismiss with scorn all talk of new deals coming from Nationalists on the ground that they are insincere and in any event do not go far enough. White South Africa has run out of time, they say, for a gradual repentence; poverty, hardship and deep resentment of the indignities imposed by apartheid have become intolerable to the African people. The Black Sash is grimly aware of the dangerous possibilities that the future holds, but does not believe that it is futile to work for a change of attitude among the majority of the white people, or to urge the advocates of a new deal - even if it is only for the Coloured people, and however inadequate it may be - to intensify their campaign. Nationalists who see the need for reform carry a grave responsibility because among all the people of South Africa they are the most favourably placed to achieve results.

What can we do to hasten the advance along the road to better government? It is essential. in the first place, to keep on demonstrating to the white community as a whole the injustice of present policy. White people must be made to feel what it is like to be evicted from one's home, to lose one's job or to be forcibly separated from one's family. Secondly, we must bring about closer contact between the numerous groups of which our country is composed. We must bring together people of different races, of different language groups, of varying political outlook, because this is the best way to dissolve prejudices and create a better understanding of South Africa's real needs. The work may not be spectacular, the results may often be disappointing, but it is an essential task if a genuine new deal for all our people is to be peacefully achieved.

Sommige kritici sien met ongelowige veragting op alle sprake van nuwe bedelings wat van die Nasionaliste afkomstig is omdat hulle glo dat dit onopreg is, en buitendien nie ver genoeg strek nie. Blanke Suid-Afrika het nie meer tyd vir 'n langsame berou nie, sê hulle; armoede, ontberinge en apartheid het vir die Naturelle-bevolking ondraaglik geword. Die Swart Scrp is ontsettend bewus van die gevaarlike moontlikhede wat die toekoms inhou; maar die Serp glo nie dat dit nutteloos is om na 'n veranderde houding onder die meerderheid van die blankes te strewe nic, of om die bepleiters van 'n nuwe bedeling - al is dit net vir die Kleurlinge, en hoe ontoereikend dit ook al mag wees -- aan te moedig om hul veldtog te versterk. Daar rus 'n groot verantwoordelikheid op nasionaliste wat kan insien dat 'n verandering nodig is, want van al die mense in Suid-Afrika is hulle in die beste posisie om resultate te verkry.

Wat kan ons doen om die vooruitgang tot beter regering te bespoedig? Dit is in die eerste plek nodig om daarmee vol te hou om die Blanke bevolking as geheel te wys op die onregverdigheid van die huidige beleid. Ons moet Blankes laat besef hoe dit voel om van jou huis uitgesit te word, om jou werk te verioor of om met dwang van jou gesin afgesonder te word. Tweedens moet ons nouer verbinding teweegbring tussen die verskeie groepe waaruit ons land bestaan. Ons moet mense van verskillende rasse, verskillende taalgroepe en verskillende politieke sienswyse bymekaar bring, omdat dit die beste manier is om vooroordeel uit te skakel en 'n beter begrip van Suid-Afrika te werklike benodigdhede te kry. Die werk is miskien nie skouspelagtig nie, en die resultaat kan soms teleurstellend wees: maar dit is 'n onontbeerlike taak as 'n egte nuwe bedeling vir ons hele. bevolking op vreedsame wyse verkry moet word.

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