

# THE BLACK SASH

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# THE BLACK SASH - DIE SWART SERP

July, 1963

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**NOTE:—**

**SOUTH AFRICA IN THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION**  
by Muriel Fisher

As Mrs. Fisher is on leave at present, no article in this series appears in this issue, but the articles will be resumed in our October magazine.

**COVER PICTURE :**

Black Sash march in protest against South Africa's withdrawal from the Commonwealth, March, 1961.

Political comment in this issue by E. D. GRANT, 37 Harvard Buildings, Joubert St., Johannesburg, excepting where otherwise stated.



## Self-inflicted Wounds

## Self-toegedane Wonde

**T**HE FOREBODINGS expressed in our last issue that 1963 would prove a most unhappy year for South Africa were, it seems, only too well founded. In the last few months, blow after blow has been struck at our image as a democratic nation, and set South Africa farther and farther apart from the countries of the West. If any proof were needed of our complete isolation, we have the Foreign Minister's recent revelation of the lamentable failure of our foreign policies.

Our greatest tragedy is that most of these blows have been self-inflicted. There was the publication and first reading of the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill, most of the clauses of which have now been held over until next year, possibly because the storms of protest which arose from many different groups showed how controversial the proposals were. The Transkei Bill was passed, launching the first of the "homelands" where Africans will enjoy civil rights and a limited form of "independence" in exchange for the total denial of rights in the rest of the country. There were drastic new proposals for Alexandra Township and similar African freehold areas and a harsh Government directive to local authorities placing severe restrictions on African business men in the urban areas, even in their own townships. A proclamation under the Group Areas Act which has hung like a sword over Johannesburg Indians for many years has now descended upon them, and a stable, prosperous and law-abiding community will be uprooted and possibly ruined. There have been disturbing trends in Parliament, irresponsible exhortations from high quarters for South Africans to stand together and "fight for White survival" and equally irresponsible threats of boycott and counter-boycott directed against South Africa's critics.

There was the enactment of this year's General Law Amendment Bill, which far outstrips the notorious "Sabotage" Bill of 1962 in conferring extensive powers on the Minister of Justice, and makes drastic inroads on the Rule of Law. Even

*(Continued Overleaf)*

**D**IT WIL VOORKOM asof die voorspelling wat ons in ons laaste uitgawe gemaak het, n.l. dat die jaar 1963 'n uiters ongelukkige jaar vir Suid-Afrika gaan word, maar alte waar is. In die afgelope paar maande was daar een aanslag na die ander op ons gestalte as demokratiese nasie gemik, en die kloof tussen Suid-Afrika en ander Westerse-lande word al hoe groter. As enige bewys van ons totale isolasie nodig is, dan vind ons dit onlangs in die verklaring van die Minister van Buitelandsesake oor die betreurendswaardige mislukking van ons buitelandse beleid.

Ons grootste tragedie is dat dié aanslaë deur ons self gedoen word. Daar was die publikasie en eerste lesing van die Bantowysigingswetsontwerp, waarvan meeste van die klousule nou oorgehou word vir volgende jaar — moontlik as gevolg van die storm van protes deur verskillende groepe, wat getoon het hoe omstrede die voorstelle was. Die Transkeiwetsontwerp is aangeneem, waardeur die eerste „tuisland", waar Bantoes burgerregte en 'n beperkte vorm van „onafhanklikheid" sal geniet in ruil vir 'n totale ontsegging van regte in die res van die land, van wal gestuur is. Daar was drastiese nuwe voorstelle vir Alexandra en soortgelyke Bantoe-wyke met eiendomsreg, en 'n ongevoelige Regerings-bevel aan plaaslike owerhede om strawwe beperkings toe te pas op Bantoe sakemanne in die stedelike gebied, selfs in hulle eie woonbuurtes. 'n Proklamasie onder die Groepsgebiedwet, 'n wet wat al baie jare soos 'n swaard oor die hoofde van Johannesburg se Indiers gehang het, het nou op hulle neergeval, en 'n stabiele, voorspoedige en wetsgehoorsame groep sal ontwortel en heel moontlik geruineer word. In die Parlement sien ons verontrustende neigings; en daar is onverantwoordelike wekroepes van hooggeplaasdes aan Suid-Afrikaners om saam te staan en te „veg vir Wit bestaan", en net sulke onverantwoordelike dreigemente van boikotte en teen-boikotte teen kritici van Suid-Afrika.

*(Vervolg Ommes)*

## Dreamy non-listener.



Bob Connolly

(Rand Daily Mail)

## SELF-INFLICTED WOUNDS (Continued)

more alarming that the unseemly haste with which this extreme measure was rushed through Parliament, supported by the official Opposition, was the unquestioning acceptance by most White South Africans that the Bill was necessary for the preservation of law and order. Not many years ago, the whole country would have been rocked with protest at the Government's permanent assumption in time of peace of such arbitrary powers as can only be justified in time of war or the gravest national emergency.

Are a handful of men like Robert Sobukwe and the braggart Potlako Leballo indeed so dangerous that nothing will suffice to restrain them but the suspension of the normal processes of the law, of trial and due conviction in open court? Why do African leaders find themselves in such total opposition to the Government? Has apartheid, with the frustrations and limitations it imposes on the non-Whites, brought us so close to the brink of disaster that a doubtful security must be purchased at the expense of freedom and our traditional democratic rights?

For there is no doubt that enforced apartheid is at the root of South Africa's troubles. For fifteen years the Nationalist Government has pursued this mirage, at tremendous cost to the country as a whole and especially at the expense of the non-Whites. One restriction after another has been placed upon them, their few remaining rights

## SELF-TOEGEDANE WONDE (Vervolg)

Daar was die passeering van die 1963 Algemene-regswysigingswetsontwerp wat die berugte „sabotage-wetsontwerp” van 1962 ver oortref, deur verreikende magte aan die Minister van Justisie te gee en drastiese inbreuke te maak in die oorheersing van die reg. Selfs nog meer sorgbasend dan die oorhastige wyse waarop die wetsontwerp, met die steun van die offisiële opposisie, deur die Huis gejaag is, was die gelatenheid waarmee meeste Blanke Suid-Afrikaners aanvaar het dat so 'n wetsontwerp nodig is om wet en orde te handhaaf. Net 'n paar jaar terug sou landswye proteste die Regering se permanente oorname in vredestryd, van sulke arbitrêre magte, wat mens alleen kan regverdig gedurende oorlog of die ernstigste nasionale krisis, begroet het.

Is 'n handjievol manne soos Robert Sobukwe of die grootprater Potlako Leballo werklik so gevaarlik dat daar geen ander manier is om hulle te beheer dan deur die opskorting van die normale wetsverloop of die behoor en beslissing in die howe? Hoekom bevind die Bantoe leiers hulle so geheel en al in opposisie teen die Regering? Het Apartheid, met die frustrasies en beperkings wat dit op nie-Blankes plaas, ons so na aan 'n ramp gebring dat ons 'n twyfelagtige sekuriteit moet koop ten koste van ons vryheid en ons tradisionele demokratiese regte?

Dit is ongetwyfeld dat apartheid aan die wortel van Suid-Afrika se moeilikhede is. Vir vyftien jaar het hierdie Regering nou al hierdie lugspieëling, teen 'n enorme koste vir die land as geheel, en veral ten koste van die nie-Blankes, agtervolg. Een beperking na die ander is hulle opgelê; die paar regte wat hulle nog geniet, word stelselmatig verminder, en wet na wet ontlaai hulle met ontberings, beledigings en vernederings. Redelike en beheerste proteste word bars stilgemaak, en dit is nie verbasend nie dat die diepe onrus van 'n stemlose mensdom nou en dan tot uiting kom in gevalle van sabotasie en geweldpleging. Ons beleid het binne ons land vir ons haat en bitterheid gebring, en van oorsee smaad en dreigemente. Die ander Afrika-state is byna sonder uitsondering ons uitgesproke vyande, terwyl ons 'n las geword het vir die paar vriende wat ons nog in die weste het.

Wit Suid-Afrikaners het groot geword in 'n tradisie van Wit superioriteit; baie van hulle vind dit moeilik om die Weste se verwerping van Wit dominasie en rasse diskriminasie te verstaan, en skyn geen benul te hê van die ernstige belemmeringe waaronder die nie-Blankes as gevolg van ons kleurbeleid ly nie, belemmeringe wat vas gelê

have been whittled away, and law after law has heaped hardship, humiliation and degradation upon them. Reasonable and moderate protests have been harshly silenced, and not surprisingly the deep unrest of a voiceless people now finds vent in occasional outbursts of sabotage and violence. Our policies have earned us hatred and resentment at home and opprobrium and threats from abroad. Almost without exception, the other African states are our avowed enemies, while we have become an acute embarrassment to our few remaining friends in the West.

Many White South Africans, who have grown up in a tradition of White superiority, find it hard to understand the West's rejection of White domination and racial discrimination. They seem to have little comprehension of the grave disabilities under which our non-Whites suffer as a result of such discrimination, entrenched in laws which the Whites alone have power to change. Such disabilities affected all non-White groups in varying degrees even before 1948, but they have been immeasurably intensified since the advent of the Nationalist Government, with its fanatical determination to enforce apartheid by law and "keep South Africa White". This is impossible of attainment, because even if, under present policies, the Bantustans could be developed into stable independent "homelands" for the African people, South Africa would still remain a multi-racial country, with a privileged White minority and a migrant Black labour force.

Thousands of rands have been spent on propaganda to "explain" and justify apartheid to the outside world, but what explanation can justify the injustice of the Pass Laws, the callousness of the Group Areas Act, the folly and cruelty of Job Reservation, the tragedy of Race Classification and the Immorality Act, the farce of Separate Amenities, the frustration of separate education or the cold inhumanity of the proposals in one version after another of the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill? The world will continue to judge this policy by its effects on human beings, and as long as the Government refuses to relax or abandon enforced apartheid, our country will remain "the polecat of the Western World". More and more force will be required to stifle the grievances of our oppressed peoples, and we can expect more drastic laws year after year to give the Government more and more despotic powers.

Enforced Apartheid, designed to preserve White civilization, will enslave us all.



"You say you know the names of the Whites behind the Transkei disorders? We want you for 90 days' interrogation." (Cape Times)

is in wette wat alleen die Blankes het die mag om te verander. Sulke belemeringe affekteer al sinds 1948 al ons nie-Blanke groepe in meerdere of mindere mate, maar onder die bewind van die Nasionale Party Regering, met sy fanatiese determinasie om apartheid, deur middel van wetgewing, af te dwing, teen einde „Suid-Afrika Wit te hou”, het daar 'n onmeetlike uitbreiding van beperkings plaas gevind. Om 'n „Wit Suid-Afrika” te skep is onmoontlik, want selfs as onder die huidige beleid die Bantoes tans tot stabiele en onafhanklike tuislande kan ontwikkel, sal „Wit Suid-Afrika” nog 'n veelrassige land wees, met 'n bevoorregte Blanke minderheid en 'n groot aantal Swart trekarbeiders.

Duisende rand is alreeds bestee aan propaganda om apartheid te „verduidelik” en te regverdig aan die buite wêreld, maar watter verduideliking kan die onbillikheid van paswette regverdig; die gevoelloosheid van die Groepsgebiedwet, die stomheid en wreedheid van werksversekering, die tragedie van Rasseklassifikasie en die Ontugwet, die klug van aparte geriewe, die frustrasie van aparte opvoeding, of die koue onmenslikheid van die voorstelle in een Bantoe-wysigingswetsontwerp na die ander? Die wêreld sal voortgaan om hierdie beleid op grond van sy uitwerking op mense te beoordeel, en so lank as ons Regering weier om gedwonge apartheid te verslap of te laat vaar, solank sal ons land „die muishond van die Westerlike wêreld” bly.

Meer en steeds meer mag sal nodig wees om die griewe van onderdrukte mense te versmoor, en ons kan jaar na jaar verdere drastiese wette verwag om meer en meer despotiese magte aan die Regering te verleen.

Gedwonge Apartheid, wat die beskerming van Blanke beskawing ten doel het, sal ons almal tot slawe maak.

# THE GENERAL LAW AMENDMENT BILL — WHY IS IT NECESSARY?

By MARGARET ROBERTS

Speaking on behalf of the Black Sash at a Protest Meeting  
in Cape Town.



**I**T SHOULD hardly be necessary to say that we in the Black Sash do not like violence, just as we do not like Communism. And the Minister of Justice tells us that this **evil** Bill, which outrages every concept of justice and freedom that illumines 2,000 years of Western Christendom, is necessary to stem violence and defeat Communism in South Africa.

Why? If it is necessary, why is it necessary? Why should putting vast and cruel powers into the hands of a policeman or a party politician or any fallible human being be needed to prop up the newborn Republic, to save it from chaos and demolition? Why have we reached this dreadful condition, in which innocent people may suffer indefinitely without even any contact with family or friends, with a lawyer or the courts of the land?

Why? — Because injustice, poverty, misery and despair breed violence and Communism as dirt breeds flies. And who is so mad as to hope to decrease the flies by increasing the dirt?

Are we so feeble that we cannot tackle the dirt, cannot clean up the source of our doom and damnation?

That source is the fundamental corruption of race discrimination: of laws that deny equality of opportunity to the great majority of our people; laws that condemn most of our fellow countrymen to murderous poverty, that refuse them the elementary right to move in search of the humblest livelihood, the right to a site for the humblest home, the right to family life wherever earning a living compels them to be.

This is an imperfect world. In many other countries the franchise, if any, is reduced to a farce, and critics of the rulers are thrown into gaol. But what other society penalizes millions of its members for the colour of the face with which they happen to be born, even if they are com-

pletely non-political, concerned only with going about their business of getting a living and bringing up their children in health and decency? Where else in the world is it a crime for a family to live together? Where else are populations of millions confined to backward areas, without land or jobs for their support, and allowed to work outside those areas only as temporary migrants on dictated terms? Where else are millions more denied the right to live anywhere at all except as the servants of masters of another race?

These are the conditions of South Africa, as every Black Sash woman who has had day-to-day experience among the victims of the pass laws well knows. For these victims are not the exceptions — they are many millions, representing practically every Black family in the Republic. The results in human misery have to be seen, as we see them, to be believed. And seeing these results it is not hard to understand how rich a recruitment to Poqo they can yield.

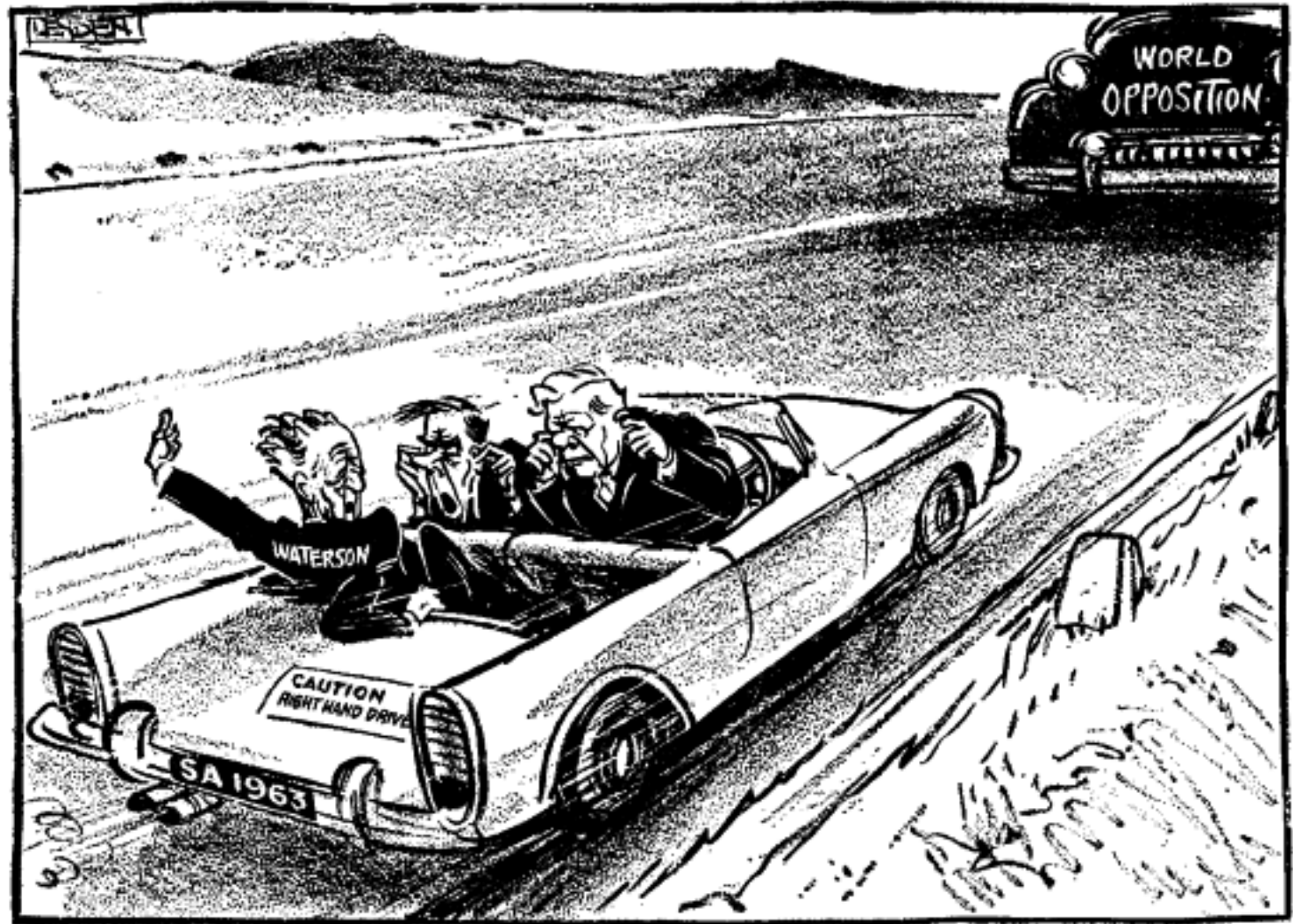


Ruins of South Africa. (Rand Daily Mail)

**WATERSON:**

"Dont keep saying, 'Relax, there's nothing we can do.'—You can move over, can't you?"

(J. Leyden,  
Daily News)



## Another Black Eye

No wonder such conditions have produced a ferment that brings sporadic upsurgings of frustration, and lately even of violence. It is not without significance that all the movements trying to canalize that ferment have aimed first and foremost at the pass laws — the lynch-pin of the whole oppressive situation. This applies alike to the Passive Resistance Movement of 1952 and the P.A.C campaign of 1960. And now, to judge by Robert Sobukwe's case, to lead a movement aimed at the pass laws — even if using strictly non-violent means — is to court imprisonment for life.

This is the White Supremacist's only answer — to resort to admittedly unrighteous means to uphold a demonstrably unrighteous system.

But it won't work. Naturally it is the duty of any government to ensure public safety. But it cannot do so without looking beneath symptoms to basic causes. This is the true lesson to be learnt from the Paarl rioting — and if we do not learn that lesson in time we will build only hate on horror and terror on hate, and we shall NOT escape the direst disaster for all our peoples.

● ● ●  
If you have ten thousand regulations you destroy all respect for the law.

Sir Winston Churchill.

SOUTH AFRICANS should be under no illusions about the impact the jail-without-trial Bill will make in London and Washington. (Its reception in the capitals of most of the Afro-Asian nations is not of significance: many of them live in glass houses and cannot afford to throw stones anyway.) The break with Western tradition and standards which the measure signifies cannot be explained away satisfactorily to people to whom *habeas corpus*, the cornerstone of individual liberty, is a sacred principle whose violation is never justified except in the midst of war.

South Africa's representatives abroad have always been able to make out a case of sorts for the policy of apartheid or separate development. But there is no case to be made for the more outrageous provisions in the Vorster Bill; and those voices periodically raised in this country's defence overseas by well-disposed Britons and Americans, will be stilled on this issue.

In other words the Republic's already bruised image will, we fear, collect another black eye.

To the extent that all this aggravates this country's isolation and embarrasses those in the Western world anxious to be our friends and to defend us from unfair attacks, this Bill cannot be too strongly condemned. South Africa is putting itself outside the pale of free-world standards.

(The Star)

## JOB RESERVATION — CRUEL, HARMFUL AND UNJUST

By ALEX HEPPLÉ



ONE of the worst apartheid laws is job reservation. It strikes at the livelihood of hundreds of thousands of South Africa's Non-White workers. The Government defends it as a measure to prevent racial rivalry and friction in the field of employment. It gives reluctant and unambitious White workers a false sense of security. It hangs over the heads of Coloured, African and Indian workers as a constant threat to their economic security.

It is only because South Africa has enjoyed an almost uninterrupted run of industrial progress since the war that the cruel effects of job reservation have not been extensively felt or seen. While employment continues to run at a reasonably high level, the Minister of Labour is not pressed to use his extensive powers to replace Coloured workers by Whites and African workers by Coloureds.

The Nationalists claim that job reservation was introduced at the insistence of White workers. It is true that some White workers in some occupations asked to be protected by law from what they called "unfair competition" from cheaper Non-White labour. But it was the Nationalists themselves who seized upon this fear in the minds of a few workers to create a major political issue. It became a fiery cross in their general campaign, "Vote for a White South Africa".

### What a Commission found.

Soon after coming to power in 1948, the Nationalist Government appointed the **Industrial Legislation Commission** to investigate the workings of South Africa's labour laws and the trade unions. Included in its terms of reference was a direction to inquire into and report upon whether existing laws operated "as an adequate protection for all races, and if not, the steps to be taken to ensure the desired protection".

This Nationalist-appointed Commission considered three possible forms of "protective measures", (i) job reservation on an occupational basis; (ii) job reservation on a quota basis; and (iii) industrial apartheid on a geographic basis. It rejected the first as "wasteful and uneconomic, especially if on a permanent basis", the second be-

cause "for practical and economic reasons it would not be feasible" and the third because it did not provide an immediate solution.

The finding of the Commission was that an expert scientific body should conduct a general survey of the nation's whole labour economy and, after careful study, submit concrete proposals to the Government.

This did not suit the Government, which had made up its mind to carry out its plan to compel employers to give preference to White workers, regardless of the injustice to Non-Whites and the cost to the economy of the country.

### The real purpose.

Until 1951, there was only one legal colour bar in the sphere of employment. That was in the mines, where skilled work had been reserved for Whites only, in terms of regulations under the **Mines and Works Act of 1911**.

In 1951, Parliament enacted another "colour bar" law, the **Native Building Workers' Act**, making it an offence for Africans to perform skilled building work in so-called "White" areas. These are the towns, cities and industrial areas where most major building work is done.

In 1956, this legal colour discrimination in employment was extended further, when the Govern-



## THE CRIME — APARTHEID

The Black Sash considers that the policy of enforced apartheid is responsible for most of South Africa's internal troubles and her growing isolation. The articles in this section of the Magazine deal with various aspects of the policy. Further articles will appear in our next issue.

ment took special powers to reserve employment on a racial basis in any industry, trade or occupation. The then Minister of Labour, Senator de Klerk, explaining the provisions of the law to Parliament, openly confessed that he was taking the power for use in a depression. He said:

"The Department of Labour has always managed to find employment for these women who clear out of the clothing factories, but how long will it last? Now is the time to tackle this matter, because when the recession comes, we will have the weapon."

The present Minister of Labour, Senator Trolip, has added another reason for the powers. In a Senate debate this year, Nationalist Senator Weichardt said, "Work reservation is essential for the decent type of immigrant who does not want to become mixed up with people of a lower mentality", and he was supported by the Minister, who boasted that he had told a Press conference when visiting Holland, "We have a law in South Africa called 'work reservation' under which our Whites are protected, and I can assure the speaker and the others present that if White 'ambagsmanne' come to South Africa, they will be protected".

These revealing statements expose in all its ugly nakedness the real purpose of job reservation. When times are bad and there is a shortage of jobs, the Minister will use his powers to compel employers to lay off Non-Whites and hand their jobs over to Whites. It is a declaration that not a single Non-White will be allowed to keep his job as long as there is a White who can be given it. What is even more cruel, is the prospect that a White immigrant will be given preference over South African Coloureds, Indians and Africans.

### Exemptions.

The extension of the industrial colour bar in 1956 was done by way of an addition to the Industrial Conciliation Act. A new clause, Section 77, euphemistically entitled "Safeguard against inter-racial competition" was inserted to enable the Minister of Labour to declare any industry, trade,

occupation or class of work to be reserved for workers of a specified race, after an investigation by the Industrial Tribunal.

The first industry to be investigated was the Clothing Industry. After receiving its report the Minister decreed, in October, 1957, that four main categories of work in the industry could henceforth be done by White workers only. The jobs in question were at that date occupied by 4,500 Whites and 35,000 Non-Whites. The Minister's decree meant that 35,000 Non-Whites were to be discharged from their jobs and 35,000 equally competent Whites found to replace them. This was a palpably preposterous demand on the industry which had no hope of being fulfilled.

The Government was not in the least perturbed by this extraordinary situation. It overcame the difficulty by means of mass exemptions, which allowed employers to continue employing Non-Whites in the jobs reserved for Whites, under permit.

This is the essence of the job reservation law. The State takes the power to direct labour at its will. The Minister has the power to withdraw the exemptions at any time he wishes to place Whites in the jobs held by Non-Whites.

To date, fourteen job reservation determinations have been made and five investigations are proceeding. In all the undertakings affected, not only must the Non-White employees feel insecure, but their employers can no longer guarantee permanent employment or similar rewards for faithful service.

### Economic objections.

Many experts have warned of the grave economic dangers in the policy of job reservation. The exclusion from specified occupations of Africans, Coloureds and Indians, merely because of their skin colour, bestows employment privileges upon Whites, which must weaken their incentive and seriously affect their standard of work.

Mr. J. D. Hampton, senior lecturer in commerce at the University of Cape Town, writing in the S.A. Journal of Economics, stated:

"Industrial apartheid prevents the free play of economic forces in determining the extent of employment of each racial group in the work of secondary industry. Labour mobility is severely reduced, both geographically and occupationally, so that workers cannot be employed in the jobs for which they are most suited. The form and pace of development of industries must necessarily be severely affected by these

(Continued Overleaf)

## THE CRIME — APARTHEID

### JOB RESERVATION (Continued)

restrictions, which raise costs and reduce the efficiency of all South African industrial firms."

Dr. S. Biesheuvel, former director of the National Institute of Personnel Research, has said that job reservation is neither ethical nor economic and that there could be no justification for ousting one ethnic group from jobs it was performing satisfactorily, for the sole purpose of advancing another ethnic group.

For a developing country like South Africa, which is constantly crying out for skilled workers, it is remarkable that the Government should persist in setting up artificial barriers against labour advancement in the form of laws such as job reservation.

### Unions and Employers oppose Job Reservation.

In spite of Government claims, the overwhelming majority of trade unions and employers are strongly opposed to job reservation. Two major trade union federations, the **Trade Union Council of South Africa** and the **S.A. Congress of Trade Unions**, representing 220,000 workers in 91 unions, have persistently appealed to the Government to repeal the job reservation law.

The **Federated Chamber of Industries** and the **Association of Chambers of Commerce of South Africa** are also opposed to job reservation, as are many of their affiliated employers' organizations.

In some industries, when the Industrial Tribunal has conducted job reservation investigations, the employers' organizations and the trade unions have made joint representations objecting to any Determinations being made. Such joint representations were made in the Clothing, Textile and Footwear industries.

### Bad effect abroad.

In the international field, the laws to bar workers from jobs because of their race or colour have brought opprobrium upon South Africa. Racial discrimination in employment was probably the main reason for the decision of the 1961 conference of the **International Labour Organization** at Geneva, asking South Africa to withdraw from the organisation. The I.L.O., which comprises representatives of Governments, employers and employees of all countries of the world, had never taken a decision of this kind against any country before.

In 1958 the I.L.O. adopted a **Convention on Discrimination (Employment and Occupational)**,

which laid down that all member countries should promote equality of opportunity and treatment in respect of employment and occupation, for all persons, without discrimination or preference on the basis of race, colour, political opinion, sex, religion, national extraction or social origin.

South Africa has notified the I. L. O. that it cannot give effect to this Convention.

In the international trade union field, South Africa is constantly and widely attacked for its discriminatory labour laws. The **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions**, representing 56-million workers, including those of Britain and the United States, which recently urged the United Nations to apply economic and diplomatic sanctions against South Africa, bases its agitation on laws like job reservation.

### Nobody hurt?

Speaking in the Senate last February, the Minister of Labour challenged the opposition to give him one instance where a worker had been displaced from his work on account of job reservation. He should have been reminded of the Clothing Industry, where a racial quota has been applied. The effect has been that Coloured workers in top positions in factories which close down or move, cannot be employed by other factories needing their services because of the racial quota. Only with the special permission of the Minister can such workers find new employment.

In any case, if no one is affected by job reservation orders, where is the necessity for them? As I showed earlier, the necessity lies in the ideological policies of the Government. They want the autocratic power to decide who shall work and where they shall work.

Unfortunately, too many South Africans have a tendency to accept the acts and decisions of the ruling political party without bothering to consider their justice, their practicability, their need or their reasonableness. Because the Government does a thing, they believe it is right. Many of them even think it is disloyal or unpatriotic to denounce unjust laws and protest against cruel racial discrimination.

**This attitude towards job reservation will have sad results for many unthinking Whites. In the long run, it will really not give them the protection they expect. Yet it is building up a great bitterness and resentment among Non-White workers, which can have damaging effects upon race relations, industrial progress and the general economy.**

## THE GROUP AREAS ACT

By MURIEL HORRELL

Research Officer S.A. Institute of Race Relations.



**G**ROUP AREAS, and the reactions of Indians to recent proclamations and Ministerial decisions, have been much in the news of late. Why is this? For what reason are the Indians so embittered?

In a short article such as this it is possible to give the merest outline only of the background to this question. It should be pointed out, for a start, that it is not only the Indians who are affected, although they stand to lose most. Hundreds of thousands of Coloured people and a small number of Whites are being forced to move their homes. Under allied legislation many thousands of Africans are being removed.

### The Background.

The idea of group areas was, of course, born long before Union, when separate locations, townships or reserves were set aside for Africans. A series of laws passed between 1913 and 1937 prohibited Africans from buying land from Non-Africans outside these areas without the Governor-General's consent.

In 1885 the Transvaal decided that Asians should not be allowed to own fixed property except in special streets or bazaars. The Free State went even further: in 1891 it completely prohibited Asians from owning or occupying any land within its boundaries. In 1922 the Durban Corporation acquired powers to introduce anti-Asiatic clauses in sales and leases of land. During the years that followed there was mounting agitation amongst the Whites of Natal against Indian "penetration": eventually, in 1943 and 1946 Acts were passed which "pegged" the existing land position. Except in defined "exempted" areas no Asian could purchase or take over occupation of fixed property from a Non-Asian in the Transvaal or Natal without a permit from the Minister of the Interior. Non-Asians required similar permits to buy from Asians within the exempted areas.

### The Group Areas Act.

But the Group Areas Act of 1950, as amended almost every year since then, was far more far-reaching than any previous legislation. Control was imposed throughout the country over inter-racial property transactions and inter-racial changes in occupation. Large areas in many towns have been proclaimed defined areas, in which control is imposed over the occupation of any buildings which are erected, extended or altered. And in all the major cities and very many of the smaller towns full group areas have been proclaimed, in numerous cases cancelling out previous "exempted" areas or African townships where Non-Whites had confidently expected that they would remain undisturbed.

In most of the cities the pattern is as yet incomplete, and many of the Non-White residents are still uncertain what their future is to be.

### Larger towns.

The plans for a few of the larger towns are described briefly, to give some indication of their sweeping nature.

#### (a) Johannesburg.

In Johannesburg all the Asians — about 27,000 in number — will eventually have to move their

*(Continued Overleaf)*

## THE CRIME — APARTHEID

### THE GROUP AREAS ACT (Continued)

homes to **Lenasia**, which is between 19 and 22 miles from the centre of the city and is still largely undeveloped. It lacks street lighting, telephones, proper postal services, water-borne sewerage, clinics, and recreational facilities. The Indians had hoped to retain **Pageview**, which is largely owned by them and where about 5,000 of them live; but this has recently been proclaimed a White area. Some of the Indians will be able to retain trading rights in the Diagonal Street area (in the extreme south-west of the city's business area); but only a minority could make a successful living there. **Lenasia** may have to house the Indians of certain West Rand towns and scattered traders in peri-urban areas, as well as the Indians of Johannesburg.

There are about 57,000 Coloured people in the Johannesburg area, possibly half of whom live in areas now proclaimed White, the rest being accommodated in temporary or permanent houses, some of good quality and some consisting of slum-shacks, in the extreme west of the city. Further housing schemes are being developed there. Eventually all the Coloured people will be required to move to this area. In terms of the group areas proclamation the Coloured people are to lose their prized suburb of **Albertville**, which has been zoned for Whites.

**Removal orders are being served daily on Non-Whites living in areas now zoned for Whites. Alternative housing is provided for those considered to be in the sub-economic groups, but the rest are expected to re-build for themselves, with the aid of housing loans where necessary.**

All the Africans have been moved from **Sophiatown** (where some of them had good homes and numbers owned land in freehold) and from **Western Native Township**. Most of them have gone to the huge municipally controlled area, recently named **Soweto**, to the south-west of the city, or to the adjoining **Meadowlands**. The small **Eastern Native Township** is apparently to remain; but **Alexandra Township**, in the north, where many Africans own land in freehold, is to become a hostel area for "single" men and women employed in the vicinity. Families are to be moved out.

#### (b) East Rand

About 3,000 Coloured families from Eastern Rand towns are all going to be required to live in a township adjoining **Boksburg**. Another Coloured area may be developed later in the Springs area.

All the Indians will have to live in a township that adjoins **Benoni**.

Africans are being concentrated in huge townships to the south of **Germiston**, to the south of **Brakpan** and **Springs**, to the east of **Benoni**, and near **Kempton Park** in the north.

#### (c) Pretoria.

About 8,000 Indians in the Pretoria area will all have to move their homes to an area about eight miles south-west of the city, where a township called **Laudium** is being developed. Some of them may retain trading rights in the old "Asiatic Bazaar" fairly near the centre of the town; but those in the centre of the city and in outlying suburbs must move their businesses.

All the Coloured people — about 7,500 of them — will eventually have to go to **Eersterus**, some nine miles east of the city, where a new township is being developed.

The Africans are being concentrated in townships to the east, the west, and the north of the city. They had to give up **Lady Selborne** where many had freehold rights. Alternative such rights were offered to plots at a new township about 22 miles to the north-west of the city which is designed to serve a "border" industrial area but is most inconveniently situated for those working in Pretoria.

#### (d) Cape Town

Most of the Coloured people of Cape Town and adjoining municipalities further inland will eventually have to live in the sandy **Cape Flats** (inland from the railway line to **Muizenburg**). Malays have been allowed to retain the Malay quarter on the slope of **Signal Hill**. Two new townships on the **Cape Flats** are to be developed for Indians.

The central part of the city, including **District Six**, has not yet been zoned; but it has been estimated that in terms of existing proclamations about 84,000 Coloured people, 4,700 Asians, and 7,400 Whites will have to move their homes. Many of the Coloured people affected now live in slum conditions; but some of them are cultured people whose families have for several generations owned pleasant homes scattered amongst those of the Whites in suburbs such as **Newlands** and **Sea Point**.

A very small mixed trading area has been proclaimed to the west of the **Castle**; but this is far too small to accommodate all the Indian and Coloured traders.

The Africans will all have to live at **Langa** (where mainly "bachelor" accommodation is provided) or at **Nyanga**, on the Cape Flats.

**(e) Durban**

The centre of Durban has not yet been zoned, and some Indians may be allowed to retain trading rights there. But the general pattern as regards residential rights is becoming clear. The whole central area from the bay inland will be White. On each side of this, to the north and south, will be first Coloured, then Indian, and finally African areas. Vast population movements will be entailed: possibly as many as 100,000 Indian and Coloured people, 80,000 Africans and 2,000 Whites will have to move their homes.

**Smaller towns.**

In the early days many Indians set up stores just outside country towns, especially in the Transvaal, which performed a most valuable function. Over the years the White suburbs of these towns have expanded and now surround the Indian properties.

The general pattern under the Group Areas Act is to move the Indians two or three miles out of town, where new townships will have to be

developed. Some of them may be allowed to retain their present stores, while moving their homes; but they will probably have to operate under a system of permits which may be renewed periodically in the Minister's discretion. This is obviously unsatisfactory.

Recent such proclamations have been published in respect of **Nylstroom, Swartruggens, Piet Retief, Klerksdorp, Ventersdorp, Nelspruit, Bethal**, and numbers of other towns.

**Hardships entailed.**

**1. Disproportion in sacrifice**

Non-Whites are, naturally, resentful because so many of them but so few Whites are affected by the group areas proclamations. In many towns the entire built-up area has been allocated to Whites.

**2. Situation of Non-White group areas**

The general pattern is that the Non-White group areas are on the periphery of the municipal areas, or even beyond present municipal boundaries.

The distance of these group areas from the industrial and commercial centres will place an economic burden on Non-White people, as they will have to pay additional transport charges.

*(Continued Overleaf)*



**STINK BOMBS — AND A BOUQUET! — FOR THE BLACK SASH**

Part of a mass demonstration held in Johannesburg on the 18th June to protest against the removal of Indian families under the Group Areas Act. There were two incidents — a burly White youth threw two small stink bombs in front of the women, and an Indian handed up a bouquet, bearing a card which read: "From one of the suffering Indians, who greatly appreciate your taking up our cause".

## THE CRIME — APARTHEID

### THE GROUP AREAS ACT (Continued)

Some of the Non-White workers will be in serious difficulties for other reasons. Numbers of waiters have to be on duty until well after midnight, at which time no transport services are operating. Many of them have to be on duty again very early in the morning. They are usually given three or four hours off during the day; but this period off-duty will be of little use to them if they are unable to go home and relax because their homes are too far away. Hawkers and fruit and vegetable dealers, who have to be at the market very early in the morning, will be in similar difficulties.

#### 3. Lack of services in Non-White areas

In many cases the Non-Whites are being forced to move before their new group areas have been properly developed. The case of *Lenasia* is quoted above. Schools are generally built as the housing schemes are established but there is a long delay in the provision of tarred streets, street lighting, water-borne sanitation, postal services, telephones and recreational facilities.

Some of the people moved to these areas previously lived in slums but others have come from good homes, often with family traditions, in pleasant, well-serviced suburbs.

**There can be no compensation for the loss of traditions, for the effort and joy and pride that went into the creation of the homes and their gardens.**

#### 4. Destruction of community life and loss of amenities

When a community has been established in an area for some time, a whole network of interwoven religious, cultural, social, sporting and other relationships and associations is gradually built up. This is destroyed if the people are moved and dispersed in new areas. The people become temporarily rootless.

Valuable efforts at self-help are being swept away. In spite of the low family incomes, Non-White communities have raised money to build halls, to establish recreation grounds, to set up numerous welfare projects. If these fall within areas now zoned for Whites they will have to be relinquished.

Very large numbers of churches, mosques and temples are affected. It is likely that permits for their continued use will be issued; but attendances will dwindle as the people are moved long distances away, and the buildings will ultimately

fall into disuse. The religious bodies concerned will, in the meanwhile, have to provide for their people in their new areas. This will involve considerable expense, in most cases before any compensation for the original premises has been received.

Muslims are particularly concerned because they believe that ground upon which a mosque has existed is holy, and must never be alienated or used for any other purpose than worship.

Mission hospitals, homes for crippled or convalescent children or children in need of care, institutions for the deaf and the blind, crèches and numerous other projects run by Churches or voluntary organisations will have to be moved. Numbers of cemeteries in which Non-Whites are buried, and several crematoriums built by Hindu communities, also fall in areas now allocated to Whites.

#### 5. Financial loss

The authorities have lately been trying to help people who are required to move by buying their properties or by putting them in touch with would-be qualified buyers; but in many areas there has been considerable fluctuation in property values. In Durban, for example, the plans of the City Council and of the Group Areas Board were announced some years before group areas were actually proclaimed. In the meanwhile, because of serious congestion in the existing Indian areas, the market value of properties in the proposed new areas rose sharply. At the same time the market values of Indian-owned properties in areas likely to be allocated to Whites fell steadily. White people delayed in offering to purchase such properties, knowing that the market values would diminish and that they would eventually be able to buy them at a much reduced price. In any case many of the Indian-owned properties are situated in the humid, low-lying valleys on the inland side of the Berea, where Whites do not wish to live.

Indian capital, often representing the savings of a lifetime, has been tied up in properties which they were unable to sell.

After the proclamation of group areas the basic values of affected properties are determined. This value is defined as the market value of the land immediately prior to the date of the proclamation, plus the estimated amount that it would cost the owner to re-build the premises, less the amount of the depreciation of the premises. If the owner eventually sells for an amount which exceeds the

basic value he must pay half the difference to the Group Areas Development Board. Should the selling price be lower than the basic value the Board pays the owner 80 per cent of the difference.

Where market values have fallen prior to the date of the proclamation the owner is unlikely to receive adequate compensation. And because the depreciation of the building is deducted when the basic value is determined the owner may be unable, from the proceeds of the sale, to erect another building of the same size.

#### **6. Loss of freehold title by Africans, and influx control**

When Africans are removed from townships where they have been able to own land in freehold they are not being granted alternative freehold title within the urban areas. This applies in **Sophiatown** (Johannesburg), **Lady Selborne** (Pretoria), **Chateau** and **Good Hope Estates** (Durban), **New Ermelo**, and other areas. They may be offered freehold title instead in an African Reserve, but in the majority of cases such Reserves are many miles away.

As removal schemes are implemented, influx control measures are strictly applied. Many hundreds of African women and children have, in consequence, been "endorsed out" of towns.

#### **7. Loss of vested trading rights**

A larger proportion of Indians and Chinese than of members of other racial groups is engaged in commerce. Over one-quarter of the working Indian men and women are so employed.

Commerce is a traditional occupation for Indians, many of whose forefathers came to South Africa as traders, the sons having inherited the businesses. But there is another equally important reason why so many of them are engaged in trade, and this is that **large numbers of other occupations are closed to them**. This is particularly the case in the Transvaal, but applies to a lesser extent also in Natal and the Cape. Existing opportunities have in some cases been curtailed under job reservation determinations.

Indian stores have been popular for a variety of reasons. Indians undoubtedly have a special flair for trading. They are astute buyers from wholesalers, and are experienced in the art of judging when to cut prices in order to get rid of surplus stock. Sons very often help their fathers, which means that labour is less expensive and prices can be reduced. Indians offer a wide range of articles and can often save a customer's time

by supplying all his requirements. **They give generous credit terms, of which farmers, Europeans in the lower income groups and Africans have been glad to avail themselves.**

Many thousands of Indians and Chinese, and to a lesser extent Coloured people, are, however, now threatened with the loss of trading rights lawfully acquired by them in the past. In the larger cities comparatively small mixed trading areas have in some cases been proclaimed, but these are much too small to accommodate all the Indian traders. Some traders operating outside these areas have been allowed to continue under temporary permit, which is, of course, a highly unsatisfactory arrangement for a businessman. Because his future is insecure wholesalers may restrict credit facilities, and bonds may be called up.

An important point to note is that no compensation is payable for loss of goodwill. In recent years Indian merchants have been able to occupy only such premises as were previously occupied by Indians. The value of goodwill has thus been very high when shops changed hands. But in areas which have been, or are likely to be, zoned for Whites, the value of the goodwill has fallen drastically.

It is certain that if too many Indians and Chinese traders are to be forced to sell their existing stores and re-establish businesses in their group areas, long distances away from their customers, most of them will be ruined. Their employees will be thrown out of work. Some new opportunities will be opened up within the group areas, for example for builders and light industrialists; but these are unlikely to be adequate and will take time to develop. It will be difficult for older people to re-adjust themselves.

**If widely-spread misery and destitution are to be avoided it is essential that Indians should not be deprived of adequate trading rights in the central business areas of the towns; that new employment opportunities be created, for example in the public service; and that existing opportunities should not be curtailed through job reservation determinations.**

As a result of representations made by a deputation of Transvaal Indians, the Minister of Indian Affairs recently agreed to nominate a two-man fact-finding committee to investigate allegations of hardship caused by group areas proclamations and to advise himself and the Minister of Community Development. **It is earnestly hoped that, as a result, some relief will be granted.**

## MOVING AHEAD TO THE PAST

### RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN URBAN AFRICAN POLICY

By DR. ELLEN HELLMANN



**IF ANYONE** was still hopeful enough to believe that the Government's policy of separate development — the polite synonym for the now old-fashioned and discredited term "apartheid" — could be applied with a measure of justice and humanity, then the record of this session of Parliament, taken in conjunction with recently announced administrative measures, must have brought the final, and, surely, irrevocable disillusion. The design is now so clear that not even the most trusting could continue to trust without deliberately blindfolding themselves to avoid seeing the naked and ugly truth.

For the naked and ugly truth is that South Africa has been propelled, relentlessly and ruthlessly, along a road that has led the country straight back to where it stood in 1922. In that year the Stallard Commission recommended that "the Native should only be allowed to enter urban areas, which are essentially the White man's creation, when he is willing to enter and minister to the needs of the White man, and should depart therefrom when he ceases so to minister". And now, after forty years, a world war, the transformation of whole continents, the explosive impact of a new age of technology, the transformation even of South Africa itself from a backward, under-developed to a highly industrialized nation, South Africa returns to the stand taken up by a Transvaal Commission in 1922. This is leadership indeed.

#### **The Bantu Laws Amendment Bill.**

But the Government goes even further than the Stallard Commission. Where the Commission recommended severe curbs on the entry of Africans into urban areas, the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill, now before Parliament in abridged form, will give the Government the power to impose the most far-reaching controls on the employment, occupation and residence of all Africans in the "White Area"; and the "White Area", in the

Government's vocabulary, means the whole of the Republic with the exclusion only of the scheduled and released areas, that is, the 13 per cent. of the Bantu Reserves. The fact that the whole Bill is not being proceeded with at this late stage of the session cannot, in my opinion, be regarded as indicating a change of policy. It seems more likely that the Abridged Bantu Laws Amendment Bill will prove to be only the first bite at the cherry.

In the representations the S.A. Institute of Race Relations made to the Government when the Bill was first published in draft form, the Institute said, "If the Bill is passed it will mean that all Africans throughout the area outside the Reserves are to be treated as foreigners and as interchangeable pawns, there solely to serve the interests of the White man, instead of as human beings with human aspirations, who have every moral right, equal to that of the White residents, to remain where they are". This applies with no less force to the Bill as first introduced in the House, for the changes made in it make no vital difference and do not affect the basic purpose of the Bill, which is to make all Africans outside the Reserves freely dislodgeable at the discretion of the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development and his deputed officials.

The departmental directive to local authorities



concerning African traders, the policy pronouncement on Alexandra, and the Better Administration of Designated Areas Act, passed this session to carry out certain aspects of the new measures to be applied to Alexandra and the few remaining similar freehold areas elsewhere, all flow naturally from this central intention: that Africans shall have no enforceable rights of occupation or domicile whatsoever outside the Reserves, and shall always be in a state of potential dislodgement.

### **Alexandra Township.**

The facts about Alexandra Township are familiar and not in dispute. Alexandra is a township adjoining the municipality of Johannesburg, about nine miles from the centre of the city. Established as a township in 1905, it was initially intended for White residents. Owing, however, to what were then its remoteness and inaccessibility, Whites were not attracted. So it became a Non-White township, mainly African, and was recognized as such under the 1913 Natives Land Act. Treated as a step-child by the Province, whose responsibility it was, and as an unwanted neighbour by the Johannesburg Municipality, its history has been characterized chiefly by neglect, with occasional traumatic interludes of threats of extinction.

Nevertheless it grew, at times prodigiously. During the war, when there was a cessation of building for Africans and greatly accelerated industrialization, Alexandra acted as the spill-over for Johannesburg. By 1943, its population was about 50,000 people, of whom 8 to 10% were Coloured. The Western Areas Removal Scheme, which left Alexandra as the sole remaining area on the entire Reef where Africans could hold land in freehold, gave a further impetus to growth. By 1958, the population had grown to approximately 98,000 — accommodated on an area one square mile in extent. With 2,537 stands about 140 x 50 feet each, and a density of some 236 people per morgen, the Township was clearly grossly overcrowded.

It was at this stage that the Peri-Urban Areas Health Board took over control of Alexandra, committed to reducing the population to about 30,000, eliminating the slum conditions that had developed, and creating "a township which can house its residents in reasonable comfort and under acceptable conditions". It was armed with an undertaking by the State to provide loans and also funds to cover the deficit on administration.

It is possibly worth noting, in passing, that the Health Committee which had existed prior to 1958 did not have this State assistance, which may well be one of the reasons for its admitted inadequacies.

### **"Facelift".**

The Board moved in to Alexandra and started on what the Press head-lined as "a £120,000 'facelift' for Alexandra Township". It took a census, issued residential permits in an endeavour to prevent unauthorized residence, put in drainage, turned dongas into roads, built a beer-hall with what was described as a "Riviera touch", established schools, effected many other improvements and, of course, proceeded with its main task, which was to thin out the population. By the beginning of this year, the population was down to 52,000 — "about 120 per morgen", said the Minister of Bantu Affairs and Administration, who also complimented the Board on the facts that murders had decreased by 50%, armed robbery by 90% and assaults by 30%.

Naturally this whole process, especially the thinning out, could only be effected at a price. Many fell by the way: landlords who lost tenants and could consequently no longer meet bond repayments; women who married after 1958 or had failed to register, and who found their husbands directed to live in a hostel while they were "endorsed out"; and others. At first all resettlement was voluntary, but when the applicants for voluntary resettlement diminished, pressures were applied. Men working in Johannesburg who lost one job and took on another found they had lost their right to remain in the Township. But a facelift always hurts, and there seemed no doubt that the visage was becoming more comely.

### **Bombshell.**

Then, out of the blue, came the bombshell — an announcement at the end of March this year by the Minister in Cape Town that "accommodation on a family basis in Alexandra would gradually be eliminated". The Township would be re-planned for single African men and women legally employed in the surrounding area. A spokesman of the Board gave the further information that there were to be eight large hostels housing some 2,500 "single" Africans each. Buffer strips would be enlarged to isolate the Township more effectively, the residential area would be reduced, and there would be all manner of fine recreational and sporting facilities — so enticing that it was

*(Continued Overleaf)*

## THE CRIME — APARTHEID

### MOVING AHEAD TO THE PAST (Continued)

hoped they would draw off Africans who now spend Sunday afternoons at the Zoo Lake, and by their noisy cheerfulness disturb the Sunday afternoon slumbers of White householders in the vicinity.

Altogether, according to official spokesmen, it was a splendid plan. It would help solve "locations-in-the-sky" and the "problem of accommodating Bantu in the backyards of some of the northern suburbs of Johannesburg." Government M.P.'s waxed enthusiastic about it in the debate on the **Better Administration of Designated Areas Bill**, which developed into a debate on Alexandra in general and the deprivation of freehold rights in particular. This was a logical outcome, as the main purpose of the Bill is to "make it possible to regard a designated area . . . as an ordinary municipal location despite the fact that Bantu may have rights of ownership to the land there".

It should at this stage perhaps be mentioned that the Africans of Alexandra did not consider this a splendid plan at all. Dismay, initial unbelief, and then a despairing hopelessness allied with a growing realization of helplessness, and a quivering, suppressed anger, characterized the reactions of the established middle-class to whom the Township was home and community. What the younger, more militant, elements felt, I do not know. The present climate does not invite outspokenness.

### Migrant Labour.

Inevitably, basic principles of policy were vehemently disputed during the debate on the Better Administration of Designated Areas Bill — a title which competes with that of the **Abolition of Passes (and Co-ordination of Documents) Act** as a prize example of camouflage of intent. I believe that the award for the most unadorned definition of Government policy should be conferred on **Dr. C. P. Mulder**, who said, "The approach of the Nationalist Party is clearly that the Bantu have come here voluntarily to work, and that the Whites are prepared to give them work, but that they should not be here permanently or enjoy property rights. He (the Bantu) is and remains a migrant labourer who has come here to earn his daily bread and will never become a permanent inhabitant here."

The award for distortion of facts should surely go to **Mr. G. F. Froneman**, who nevertheless earned commendation from the Deputy Minister

for his stout denial that migrant labour is a "monstrosity". "No", said Mr. Froneman, "it is not a monstrosity when viewed in the perspective of the development of the Bantu homelands and the border industries". He continued, "Let us take it as a fact that the majority of the Bantu working in the cities are there on a single basis, and not on a family basis. The family basis has only developed during the past five or ten years, when increasingly more families came to the cities. Every Bantu female working in the kitchen is there on a single basis. The majority of the Bantu working in the cities are there on a single basis. That indicates only one thing to me, that here we are not concerned with the problem of families which are broken up, but with migratory labour. Now hon. members come along and accuse the Government of breaking up families. It is the Bantu himself who is doing that, because he seeks employment on a single basis".

It is almost a pity to dim the lustre of this gem of reasoning by referring to only a few of the relevant facts — for example, the 58,000 families in Johannesburg's Soweto; Johannesburg's total African population, which consists of 211,742 males, 178,825 females and 218,496 children; the Tomlinson Commission's estimate that of the total urban African population of 2.3 million in 1951, 1½ million were permanently urbanized. In Alexandra township itself there were in April of this year 10,611 families, according to the Minister's answer to a question put by Mrs. Helen Suzman.

### Destruction of a Community.

The Deputy Minister stated that there would be no break-up of the family life of these Alexandra residents because they would be rehoused in the location of the town where the breadwinner worked. This is understandable. (He did not answer the questions as to where the families of men working in the peri-urban area would be housed — possibly because there is no location in the peri-urban area.) But his flat denial that the Minister had ever given an undertaking that freehold rights would be preserved in Alexandra remains completely inexplicable. In reply to a question, the Minister said on 3rd February, 1959, "Owners of property who are lawfully entitled to remain there are not being disturbed". Yet on 1st May, 1963, the Deputy Minister claimed that he had the Opposition "zipped" and "that no guarantee was given that property ownership would remain vested in these Bantu". Perhaps the word

"disturbed", like others, has a special meaning in the vocabulary of the Government. But ordinary people are not aware of it, nor are the 1,972 standowners in Alexandra aware of it. Therefore ordinary people and the property-owners in Alexandra will continue to regard the Government's proposed elimination of family housing, and therefore of freehold title, as a broken pledge.

The question remains: Why must Alexandra go? Why must what is now a *slum* clearance scheme become a clearance scheme? For even though a place called Alexandra will exist, the Alexandra that was in the process of developing into a middle-class township will have been swept away and replaced by workers' hostels for "single" Africans only. One looks at Alexandra and grieves for the wanton wastage of effort and resources: 15 schools, the largest and most comprehensive African family welfare centre on the Reef, the medical centre developed to serve families, crèches and nursery schools, all to be rendered redundant; the hundreds of solid homes, all destined to be bulldozed. And one grieves even more at the destruction of a community and the network of associations established within it.

Why? Not because this is the only area where hostels can be established. The Johannesburg City Council is itself opposed to the present proposals and favours the erection of *some* hostel accommodation, chiefly for women, as part and parcel of the existing Alexandra, that is, retaining family housing there. Like others, it is aware of the dangers inherent in creating such a large concentration of "single" men and women. So why? The answer can only be the Government's determination to root out the last remaining pockets of freehold ownership in the so-called "White Area" and, in so doing, to root out the security of residence that goes with freehold rights.

### **Another Broken Pledge.**

The diminishing of the rights and opportunities of African traders is another example of the Government's determination to prevent Africans from developing vested interests in the urban areas. It is another example, too, of broken pledges.

The Natives (Urban Areas) Act provides that no African can occupy premises outside the locations without obtaining the approval of the Governor-General, which approval was in fact obtained by a number of traders in a city like Johannesburg. In 1955, the Government announced that no new applications by Africans to trade or carry on other activities in premises in the "White area"

would be granted, and that in due course all Africans who had obtained the necessary permission should transfer to the locations. The Institute of Race Relations protested against this ruling, maintaining that giving Africans the exclusive right to trade in their own urban townships did not compensate for the disadvantages flowing from their total exclusion from the remainder of the town, especially the commercial and industrial sections with their concentration of people of all races. To this the Secretary for Native Affairs, Dr. Eiselen, replied that "henceforth the Bantu will be obtaining an exclusive monopoly to cater for his own people in the separate self-contained areas set aside for them", emphasizing that "this has opened up to them a field of unlimited opportunity", making possible "practically every form of human activity". The definition of these "areas" included municipal locations, villages and hostels.

The forewarning of a complete reversal of policy was given in a speech the Minister made in October 1959 to the Vereeniging Sakekamer. He said he was considering the practical application of a policy to make it clear to African traders that their trading facilities were temporary; that they must carry on their businesses in their home areas; that the condition of their staying was that they were there only to build up capital and gain experience for which the opportunities in their home areas were "extremely slight". **The threat to White traders, the Minister is reported to have said, could be dealt with in two ways: restricting African traders to goods needed for daily existence, and making them realize that they were only temporarily in the locations.**

### **Restrictions on African Traders.**

The Government's directive to urban local authorities, dated 14th February, 1963, faithfully embodies the Minister's policy. In small locations not far removed from "White" towns, no African traders whatsoever will be permitted. If, however, "it proves necessary to provide trading facilities in Bantu residential areas", then only the establishment of Bantu businesses which confine themselves to the provision of the daily essential domestic necessities will be allowed. It is specifically stated that this prohibition includes dry cleaners, garages and petrol filling stations. Where these already exist, they will be allowed to continue "until the opportunity arises to close them, or to persuade the owners to transfer their business to a Bantu town in the Bantu homelands". No African may carry on more than one business.

*(Continued on Page 19)*

## BLACKSPOT REMOVALS

By PETER BROWN

National Chairman of the Liberal Party.

**WHAT IS A "BLACKSPOT"?** It is a place where Africans live in freehold in what the Nationalist Party calls "White South Africa".

According to Mr. de Wet Nel there are 250 "Blackspots" in Natal. According to apartheid each one is offensive and must be removed. According to Mr. de Wet Nel it is his policy to see that they move soon.

Most Natal "blackspots" have been in existence since before 1910. Some are farms owned by individuals; some are "mixed" suburbs of rural towns; some are country areas bought initially by a tribe or a group of individuals, where families live on small freehold plots. All of them are distinguished by the fact that the people who live in them bought their land legally, believing that by so doing they were buying security of tenure, and that a "White" Government meant it when it said that a title-deed gave such security. Most of them have built up community lives based on western institutions. All of them are distinguished by the independence of their people and these people's pride in their homes, schools, churches and small businesses — and their desire to be left in peace to live where they are.

According to a rough survey made by the Liberal Party in 19 "blackspots" in 1958, and presuming these represent a cross-section of the 250, the effect of the removal plan will be to uproot some 400,000 people, either freeholders or their tenants, and to destroy some 80,000 homes, 700 churches, 350 shops and 300 schools.

Where will the "blackspot" people go? Charles-town "squatters" are at this moment being moved to Duckponds, 6 miles from Newcastle and 40 miles from their present homes. Other Charles-town residents have been told that they will go to Buffalo Flats, 18 miles from Newcastle, over 50 miles from their present homes, a bare and unattractive waste. People from Besterspruit have gone to Mondlo.

### Besterspruit.

Until recently it was only possible to guess what would happen to a "blackspot" when it was moved. Now the experience of Besterspruit has shown that, whatever the fears may have been, the reality is likely to be much worse.

Besterspruit was a small community of some 3,000 people on the outskirts of the Northern Natal town of Vryheid. At the beginning of this century a Mr. Bain sub-divided his farm and sold land, which would have fetched £3 an acre for farming purposes, to Africans for £10 an acre for residential purposes. By 1963 there were some 400 families living in freehold at Besterspruit and a number of other families living as their tenants. When removal came this February the freeholders were offered alternative accommodation at

Mondlo. The accommodation at Mondlo consisted of a tent on a 2,000 square foot site.

Mondlo is 20 miles from Vryheid. A person working in Vryheid who wished to continue to live with his family would have to travel 40 miles, to and from work, each day. His bus fare would be 50 cents a day. If he worked six days a week his travelling expenses would be R12 a month. An average wage for an African worker in Vryheid is R10 a month.

### Two Alternatives.

A man who decided that he could not afford this travelling had two alternatives. He could decide to break up his family, deposit his wife and children at Mondlo and live in "bachelor" quarters in Vryheid. His other alternative was to abandon his hard-won freehold rights, and agree to move into the municipal location. The implications of such a decision are enormous. Under existing urban legislation the man could be ejected from the location at any time that he became and remained unemployed. If the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill is passed as it stands the authorities will be able to eject him from it at any time that they decide that it is in the public interest that they should do so.

A visit to Vryheid soon after the Besterspruit removal provided an enlightening picture of the workings of apartheid. On one side of the main Zululand road out of the town were gardens dotted with fruit trees and, in amongst them, heaps of rubble. Sometimes the rubble was wattle-and-daub, sometimes it was brick but always it

was the remains of a once-cherished home. On the other side of the road, some few hundred yards away, stood rows of tents, arranged with military precision. There was no accommodation in Vryheid location for the families who had chosen to move there, so there they were in their tents, a quarter of a mile away from and still in sight of the bull-dozed remains of their once substantial houses.

Soon after the people moved into the tents the rain started. It was wet for weeks. Cooking had to be done in the tents, bedding was soaked and ruined, sanitary arrangements were appalling, and thieving was rife. It is said that at least 5 sewing-machines disappeared from under the flaps of those tents — each one representing how many years of painful saving?

For the people who moved to Mondlo the picture is no prettier. It is not only the cost of transport which is prohibitive. Bricks which cost R8 a thousand in Vryheid cost R14 at Mondlo. Meat is twice as expensive. Mealie-meal is R4.50 a bag against R3.45. There is no building sand at Mondlo. In the early days the only water came by lorry. All wood must be bought. Even on the basis of reasonable compensation at Besterspruit it would have been virtually impossible for anyone to re-establish an equivalent home at Mondlo. But the compensation at Besterspruit was not reasonable. As an example, one freeholder, in his ignorance, accepted compensation of R400 for a property later valued by a sworn valuator at R800.

### **“White Civilization”.**

The Government claims that “blackspot” removals are necessary to preserve what is called “White civilization”. In fact the removals will destroy one of the basic principles of western society, the sanctity of individual property.

A civilization worth preserving keeps its promises. The Government is breaking promises made to African purchasers of land by its predecessors of sixty years ago.

A basic principle of any civilization is the integrity of family life. Blackspot removals will convert to migrant labourers living in bachelor quarters, or to rightless serfs living in locations, the members of 250 communities which had spent two generations building some degree of family security in the face of great odds. Some 400,000 people who had escaped from the straight-jackets of tribalism and municipal location regulations will be forced back into one or the other.

And if Besterspruit means anything, it will take a long, long time for any “blackspot” family to re-establish itself at anything like the same level of life to which it has struggled up over the years.

The “blackspot” removal plan is an assault on principles fundamental to the Christian and the western way of life. What are White opponents of apartheid, who claim to uphold these values, going to do about it?

*This article is re-printed by courtesy of “Contact”.*

## **MOVING AHEAD TO THE PAST**

*(Continued from Page 17)*

No African is to be allowed to erect his own business premises. Bantu-controlled financial institutions, industries and wholesale concerns are to be allowed only in the Bantu homelands. Only the local authority is to be permitted to show films in locations.

The circular covers nearly four pages of close type, piling prohibition on prohibition and exhortation on exhortation. The prohibitions are upon what any reasonable person would regard as legitimate opportunities for African traders; the exhortations are to get back to the Bantu homelands and “particularly the big Bantu towns rapidly taking shape”.

Reading this painful document, one has no difficulty in accepting that the Government does not regard trading by Bantu in “White areas” as “an inherent primary opportunity for them”, and that it is the “over-riding policy not to allow without good reason an increase in the number of Bantu residents in White areas who are not employees”. “Moneyed Bantu”, it says repeatedly, and also “Bantu companies and partnerships”, ought to get out and go to the Bantu homelands. Truly, as the Director of the Institute of Race Relations pointed out, the Government is assuring to White traders a monopoly of the big urban African market. It is putting the cost of apartheid on African shoulders. It is protecting the strong White trader against the weak African trader. It is denying the African the right to engage in what for other sections is a free enterprise economy. A far cry, indeed, from the policy the Governments adopts to White traders in the Transkei!

### **Tragically Mistaken Policy.**

Alexandra Township and the African traders are two facets of the overall apartheid policy of the Nationalist Government. That it will implement this tragically mistaken policy with increasing severity is beyond doubt. It is also beyond doubt that economic forces will finally crush the policy. But meanwhile the cost of enforced apartheid will mount, a cost to be reckoned not only in terms of unjustly deprived African traders and of Alexandra’s displaced persons, but in terms of embitterment and hostility on the part of those who would normally be the allies of all who seek a reasonable racial accommodation, in terms of deteriorating race relations and mounting antagonisms, of curbs on normal economic expansion, and of morality itself. This is the tragedy of South Africa.

THE BLACK SASH  
AND  
THE BANTU LAWS AMENDMENT BILL

**E**VER SINCE the draft Bantu Laws Amendment Bill was published early in February, Black Sash women all over the country have spent endless hours studying the implications of the draft and the two versions of the Bill that have since been placed before Parliament. Three memoranda have been prepared — two by Headquarters and one by Cape Western Region — and submitted to the Minister of Bantu Affairs and Development; large scale demonstrations were planned in every Region to coincide with the second reading debate, posters were prepared and informative pamphlets printed. Not since the days of our protests against the Senate Act has so much endeavour been concentrated upon a single measure.

It is easy to understand why this Bill has assumed such tremendous importance in the eyes of the Black Sash. The underlying purpose of most of its provisions is to establish the Africans permanently as a migrant labour force with no rights of residence in the "White" areas except under permit. This would create an insecure and rootless people, more than ever at the mercy of the rubber stamp of officialdom, and would lead inevitably to a further breakdown in the already unsettled family life of the Africans. During the last few years we have seen at first-hand the tragic results of apartheid restrictions, in broken homes and broken lives, and, as women, we cannot but feel the deepest concern at this heartless juggling with the lives of fellow South Africans.

The Government's decision not to proceed with the whole 143 clauses of the Bill at this late stage of the Session may be seen as the result of widespread protests from groups and organizations of widely divergent views and functions, and we can, perhaps, take some encouragement from the thought that protest does sometimes obtain results. But the withdrawal can only be looked upon as a reprieve, for the Government has given no indication that it is prepared to withdraw or modify the measure.

Therefore, although the Black Sash will not now demonstrate on any major scale against the abridged Bill, which omits the clauses which gave us the greatest concern, we do not intend to put the issue into cold storage. We will do all we can to keep it alive in the minds of the public, and

will publish in our Magazine any information that comes to hand.

At the time of the first reading of the whole Bill, Black Sash Headquarters sent a telegram to the Prime Minister, asking him to receive a delegation to discuss the Bill. He referred us to Mr. de Wet Nel, Minister of Bantu Affairs and Development, to whom we wrote, asking for an interview so that we might explain our objections to the Bill. The Minister asked us first to send him a Memorandum setting out the basis of our objections. At short notice, therefore, Headquarters Region drew up our third Memorandum, with the collaboration of Cape Western Region in the person of Mrs. Noel Robb, who flew to Johannesburg for the purpose.

The Memorandum was sent off to the Minister, and some days later we received the following letter from his private secretary:

*"With reference to your letter dated the 27th May, 1963, I have been directed to inform you that there is insufficient time to proceed this year with the Bill at present before Parliament.*

*"A short Bill with 33 sections providing for urgent matters has been submitted to Parliament instead, and the discussion you have in mind can therefore take place at a later date."*

We regard this as a hopeful sign that the Minister is at least prepared to discuss the matter, and we look forward to an opportunity "at a later date" of placing our views before him.

## The Abridged Bill.

**A**T A HOUSE MEETING held in Johannesburg on June 10th, Dr. Ellen Hellmann gave a brief outline of the provisions of the 33-clause Abridged Bantu Laws Amendment Bill, which has taken the place of the longer version. The following are some of the points she made:

- A number of the clauses deal with foreign Africans, and the conditions governing their entry into South Africa and their residence and employment here.
- Several other clauses deal with taxation, and bring the African tax year into line with the overall financial year.
- Two provisions make **welcome changes**: (1) the surviving partner in a customary union now has the right to claim damages and/or support in the event of the unnatural death of one partner, whereas formerly this right was only enjoyed by legally married couples; and (2), Africans will no longer be obliged to obtain permits to enter locations where they do not reside. The Superintendent has the power to eject anyone whose presence he considers undesirable.
- Under two of the sections, the power is given to the Minister to administer all aspects of location life, thus overriding the powers of local authorities.
- Where the local authority formerly had the power to exempt certain Africans either temporarily or permanently from living in the locations, this power now falls away; but exemption can be granted by the Minister in consultation with the local authority.
- Penalties for infringements of the regulations have been stepped up. Owners of property will now be deemed to have given permission where Africans are found illegally on their property, unless they can prove that they did not give permission or that they had no reason to suspect that the Africans were there without permission. They have no right to give permission, anyway.

The people who are really sabotaging this country to-day are the authors of the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill.

(Cape Times)

## The "Servants Clause".

Of the so-called "servants clause", which limits householders to one living-in servant, Dr. Hellmann said that she could see no reason for this unnecessary interference with the arrangements of private people other than the intention of reducing the number of Africans living outside locations. In a country like South Africa where there was a good deal of under-employment, it was wrong to limit the employment opportunities of the people.

She could not accept that there was a benevolent wish to promote family life for the Africans. In Johannesburg, for instance, where Alexandra Township was the only area suitable for the provision of family life for Africans employed in the northern suburbs, the Government had declared its intention of establishing large hostels in the area for single men and women, and reducing the number of families.

Dr. Hellmann said that if she were asked to use two words to describe this Bill, she would say that it "tightens control". The single word that sprang to her mind to describe the original Bill was "dislodgeable" (which she had probably coined), because the whole principle of the Bill seemed to be to render Africans easily removable from the "White" areas.



"There's real political patriotism for you — washing up and listening to the news broadcast at the same time!"

(Rand Daily Mail)

## The Bantu Laws Amendment Bill Brains Trust

**A BRAINS TRUST** arranged by the Cape Western Region of the Black Sash on the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill, and held in the Cape Town City Hall on the 14th May, drew an audience of about 800 people.

The Question Master was Mr. Gordon Bagnall, and the team consisted of Mr. G. F. Froneman, Nationalist M.P. for Heilbron, Mr. Ralph Horwitz, a Cape Town economist, Mr. Donald Molteno, Q.C., Mrs. E. Stott of the Black Sash, Mr. F. S. Steyn, Nationalist M.P. for Kempton Park, and Mrs. Helen Suzman, Progressive M.P. for Houghton.

Mr. Froneman said that the purpose of the Bill would not be properly understood unless the whole policy of the Government was taken into consideration. It aimed at establishing more firmly the migratory labour system. It was the only reasonable policy to release tensions.

Mr. Molteno said that he disagreed with Mr. Froneman that the Bill would release tensions. It aimed at the establishment of large labour camps in the Reserves. It would create still larger concentrations of men without women. Experience had shown that where there were large numbers of men, such as soldiers, who were bereft of stabilizing factors such as family life, they tended to become violent. He did not think that racial tensions would be reduced by artificially separating large numbers of men from their families.

Mrs. Suzman said the migratory labour system was not a good one. It broke up family life, and was not good for agriculture or industry as it led to inefficiency. The Africans did not get an opportunity to be properly trained.

Mr. Steyn said that the Bill was a modification of 12 laws affecting the Bantu, and was the complement of the Transkei Bill under which Bantu homelands were developed. "We are determined that the rest of South Africa should be a White homeland", he said.

Mrs. Stott said that the Bill aimed at increasing migratory labour, the acceptance of which in the past was a blot on the Statute Book. Only those who were in touch with the Africans understood how very hard it was to be a woman with a migratory husband.

Every aspect of African life was harassed by the existing laws; she asked how the new Bill could possibly reduce the tension.

### THE LADIES OF THE TEAM



Left: Courageous Mrs. Helen Suzman, who maintained a lonely but spirited stand in Parliament against the "No-Trial Bill". Right: Mrs. Eulalie Stott, a former National President of the Black Sash.

Mr. Horwitz said that the Bill codified existing laws. It was "an incredible code and a horrible code", he said. Nowhere outside Russia was there a code of labour comparable to that proposed in the Bill. The policy behind it was the forced planning of industry according to the Communistic technique of labour control.

"The Bill is on all fours with Communist labour control. It will deprive the labourer of all freedom of choice as to where he may work, when he can change his job, which is the right which every labourer in the world outside Russia has. The Bill reaches into the being of millions of people."

He said that Russian workers were forced to leave the areas when they lost their jobs. In 1939 all Soviet workers had to have labour books that had a remarkable similarity to the technique of labour control for the Bantu worker.



By the control of labour, the wage bill of the African worker would not rise. The Minister had said that no White capital would be allowed in the Transkei. Progress in the Transkei without White capital would be impossible.

Mr. Horwitz said that it was his view that in the long run racial tensions would be heightened to a degree that would make them uncontrollable.

Replying to Mr. Horwitz, Mr. Froneman said that had he known that the discussion would be given a "communistic" trend, he would not have taken part. Mr. Horwitz had made a number of misstatements. He challenged him to show that the African did not have freedom of choice of labour. The Minister had not said that no White capital would be used in the Transkei — he had said "no private White capital".

Mr. Horwitz said that he did not doubt the sincerity of men like Mr. Froneman. The day would come when they too would be horrified by this type of legislation.

He asked whether it was not a fact that a definition of Communism was State capital. State capital in reserves was being contemplated, and the very essence of the argument against Communism was that private capital was excluded.

Mr. Froneman said that private enterprise and capital were not excluded in the Transkei. The Bantu could have as many enterprises there as they wished — it was only private enterprise as far as Whites were concerned that was excluded.

Mrs. Suzman observed that to become unemployed would make an African guilty of a crime.

In reply to a question, Mr. Molteno agreed that an African who went on leave to the Reserves would lose his right to return to his employer. Of this, Mrs. Stott said: "The effect is going to be to deter Africans from making periodic visits home, and will be disastrous on the women and children at home and on general stability."

If an African knew that he could no longer go home with the certainty of returning to his employment, he would be put off going home. "This can only make marriage for Africans a farce." (Loud hear-hears from the audience.) This was serious and tragic, continued Mrs. Stott, together with the provision limiting the right of African women to visit their menfolk in an urban area.

Mr. Froneman said that if an African left his work for a year and his place was taken by another African, he could not expect of right to get the job back, for there would be two men available for the job, which made nonsense of control.

Mr. Horwitz asked, "Is an African just a labour unit? It is completely unreal to suggest that one African worker is just like another; they differ like any other workers the world over in productivity, in capacity to do jobs".

The unique difficulty for industrialists in South Africa was that they had to deal with a labour force which the Government regarded as "interchangeable units". "Most South African employers regard their workers as human beings", he said. (Applause) Under the Bill an African would have no effective choice in finding a job again. Such a choice was not only a legal right, but a human right.

Mr. Steyn said that in South Africa industry had made no complaints against the labour bureau system. An African woman would be allowed to visit her husband for 72 hours, and she could remain longer if she obtained permission.

Mrs. Suzman said that an ordinary African would not get very far if he went and complained to a labour bureau. It was disgusting, she said, that any of these so-called "concessions" should ever be considered necessary in a Christian country, that it should be a "concession" for a wife to live with her husband. (Applause)

Mr. Froneman said that in the Nationalist view there were two communities, Africans and Whites. (Laughter) "In the Bantu area, the White man has no rights, he only has concessions, and the Bantu only has concessions in the White area. That is our view! Because we have diametrically opposed  
(Continued Overleaf)

### Situation at a glance



(Rand Daily Mail)

## BRAIN TRUST (Continued)

views we cannot meet one another. This talk of 'miserable concession' — well, it might be so in Mrs. Suzman's view, but our view is different".

He said that many migrant workers were employed in different parts of Europe. (Cries of: "Of their own choice!") These workers were away from their homes, as were the migratory African workers, so it was not as un-Christian as Mrs. Suzman would have people think.

On the limiting of living-in servants to one, Mrs. Stott said there was nothing wrong with doing one's own housework, but it was wrong in a society where employment was scarce to prevent people from continuing in employment.

Mr. Froneman said if people wanted more than one servant, they should apply to the Bantu labour bureau, which would see if accommodation was available, and if it was not available people could seek permission to have a second living-in servant.

Why could the African servants not be allowed to live with their own people, instead of in a back-

yard? People wanted the convenience of having them, but denied them the convenience and comfort of being with their own people.

Mrs. Suzman said that if the idea was to encourage Africans to lead a normal, married life, this would be a point; but that was not the aim of the Bill. The object was to limit family life among Africans in the urban areas — "So Mr. Froneman cannot get away with it that easily!" (Mr. Froneman laughed, and there was applause.)

Mrs. Suzman said that Africans had to get up in the small hours to get to work on time, but when there was an additional load on the transport from the townships to the cities the position would be worse.

"Why should whole lives of people be controlled in this way?" she asked. "The Government puts its busy little finger in every aspect of life." (Applause.)

(With acknowledgements to the "Cape Times".)

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# The Bantu Laws Amendment Bill

## Preamble to Black Sash Memorandum to the Minister of Bantu Affairs and Development.

**THE BLACK SASH** feels sure that the Government of the Republic of South Africa, like that of any other forward-looking country, strives to establish a contented and educated population with a stake in its country's future; trained in skills and having an earning capacity which advances the general economy.

The basis of such a population is deeply rooted in family life in which morality and respect for parental and governmental authority thrive.

To give of their best, people must have a sense of basic security and a hope of advancement.

We consider that the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill, 1963, puts the clock back on the Twentieth Century way of life, known and cherished in all democratic countries. This way of life has been painfully evolved after hundreds of years of struggle for the freedom of the individual and his right to live, work, marry and rear his children in the light of modern conditions and moral principles.

This Bill, by denying these rights to millions of Africans, can cause the moral collapse of the Black man as he loses his security, his employment, his hope of advancement, his home — in many cases the only one he has ever known — and even his wife and family. He will lose the

benefits of contact with White civilization, education and culture; a loss which can condemn the Africans to the state of a backward people and undo the work of many previous generations. We fear that this loss of security and contact, this moral collapse, must leave the Black man a prey to frustration, to bitter discontent and to insidious propaganda.

Untold millions of rands have been spent both by the Government and other bodies on African townships, on housing, schools, clinics, hospitals, libraries, sporting facilities, etc. The urban African has become accustomed to these amenities and, if he is to be "endorsed out" to impoverished and unimproved places, surely this cannot be done before all the facilities are duplicated in the Scheduled and Released Areas.

As we see it, the interpretation and implementation of this Bill by authorized officers and, in particular, of certain clauses, will have all the aforementioned disastrous effects.

# The Transvaal Advice Office

By BARBARA BROCK

THE BLACK SASH ADVICE OFFICE in Johannesburg has been in existence for just over three months, and already the women who have been staffing the office have found themselves caught up in the problems of their "clients", sharing their disappointment or joy according to the outcome of each case.

In this short article, Mrs. Barbara Brock, who is at present in overall charge of the office, outlines a few typical cases, and gives her impressions of the problems involved.

AFRICAN women have not yet accustomed themselves to the new regulations under which they are obliged to carry reference books and register for employment. Without identifying documents the provisions of influx control were rather difficult to carry out, and ordinary people were apt to think that the restrictions of which they had heard could scarcely apply to themselves personally.

Mrs. A., young and unsophisticated, was living quietly with her much older husband and their young children when she got into difficulties with influx control. She had been issued with a reference book which said that at the time of issue she ordinarily resided in Alexandra, and which gave her husband's name and address there. Various rubber stamps and other entries had been added at a later date, and she had not questioned these because she did not understand them. When she was told that one of these stamps meant that she had been issued with a "visiting permit" which had now lapsed, she was frankly unbelieving. Visiting was not in her mind at all — she was living with her husband.

But she was pretty much accustomed to being pushed around, not understanding what she was supposed to do or not to do. When we told her through an interpreter that the slight extension of her permit was final, that no further could be expected and when it lapsed she must leave the urban area, her expression became only a little more blankly sad, and she said, "All right", which appeared to be her whole English vocabulary.

The Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Development is quoted as saying in Parliament that homes are not being broken up, but moved as units. I am sure he has cases to prove his statement. When we protested on one occasion

that these people do not know what is expected of them, we were told that a great deal of painstaking publicity had been given to each phase of the regulations. Indeed, there have been many announcements in the Press, but the laws themselves are so confusing and complicated that officials of different departments sometimes find themselves applying regulations in a manner not identical with that of an equivalent official elsewhere.

Mrs. B., a widow, and the sole support of 5 young children living with relatives in the Northern Transvaal, was without documentary proof of residence. She was employed at an institution whose head, a conscientious but extremely busy woman, had tried to unravel her troubles for her, but had had to give up through sheer lack of time.

Mrs. B. painstakingly searched her memory for names and addresses of former employers. One had died two years ago. We traced a son of the family to Maritzburg, but he had not been living at home during Mrs. B.'s employment. Eventually we found some of the persons concerned, who gave her references which bit by bit established that fact that she had indeed been in the area long enough to qualify for continued residence. She was able to register and resume her employment.

Mrs. C., also supporting her family in the rural areas, had worked for 11 years for the same employer, who had, however, left to live in Durban before the days of reference books. Since then Mrs. C. had moved from one job to another — it is not always easy to settle to a new permanency when an accepted one dissolves. She was in employment, but had no documentary proof of residence.

With a little guidance, she dug back into her memory and managed to produce names and addresses. We telephoned her various ex-employers, she called upon them and gradually compiled sufficient references to establish her *bona fides*, and was able to register her employment.

(Continued Overleaf)

Women who have worked in the urban areas for many years, sending their wages back to support their families, suddenly realize that they have to prove length of residence before an employer may legally register them. It is not always easy for them to obtain this proof without assistance.

Evidence is a skilled matter. Not many people could, unaided, account for their movements over the past few years. You ask, "Have you been away from the area in such and such a time?"—and "No!" comes the answer. In the course of conversation it appears that the woman in question was married in Pietersburg two years ago, or had a baby in Swaziland 18 months ago! Again you yourself perhaps spent several months in the Cape two years ago, but you were on a visit and did not think of it as a break in residence, and you quite confidently assert that you have lived here all the time.

It is very easy to be entrapped in one's own statements, afraid to open one's mouth, and to give the impression of being shifty and unreliable.

If you were struggling against an incomprehensible outside force that seemed to be trying to separate you from your husband, or prevent you from supporting your children, would the standards of absolute truth appear to you as important as the welfare of your family? This is a personal decision which many uneducated Africans are having to make with very little help, depending only on themselves.

There have inevitably been repercussions of the serious drought which appears to be becoming almost endemic in some parts of the country. Africans, particularly young men, are making their way to the cities to support themselves, relieving their families of that burden and hoping to be able to contribute to the family welfare themselves. The natural trek to the cities must increase when there is famine in the country places, and numbers of young men are making the dreary round of chasing after city jobs. Some can establish a legal right to remain in the urban area and some cannot, and a few of them find their way to the Advice Office, where we may or may not be able to help them.

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## S.A. INDIANS — ANOTHER GOVERNMENT PROMISE BROKEN

### Transvaal Black Sash Press Statement

**T**HERE is on record a Cabinet promise made by Mr. P. W. Botha, the Minister of Community Development, on August 23rd, 1962, to the effect that the Group Areas Act would not be used to deprive the present generation of Indian traders of their livelihood. Since then the Department of Indian Affairs has been created to look after the interests of the South Africa Indians and this promise must be considered as binding on Mr. Maree (the Minister in charge) as he now functions specifically as the guardian of the interests of the Indian people.

How does the Government reconcile such a promise with the recent Group Areas Proclamation of Pageview as a White area?

Pageview is an Indian area occupied by them for many years and used both for residential and business purposes. A great deal of money has been invested in buildings, shops and houses. It appears that the Group Areas Board and the Municipality will pay compensation for the buildings. The business goodwill cannot be paid for and the choice for the displaced traders will be to remove either to the Asiatic Bazaar in Fordsburg or to Lenasia. There is a limit to the number of traders who can make a living in the bazaar, and at Lenasia, 21 miles outside the city, there are no customers and trading is virtually impossible. Another group of Indian traders is to be reduced to penury. Although there is a provision in the Group Areas Act for displaced traders to apply for permits to trade anywhere else in South Africa, in practice such permits are not granted.

What of the Government promise? No more effective way could be found of depriving the present generation of traders of their livelihood.

What of the homes that have to be abandoned? We all know what our homes mean to us and the heartbreak that is attached to the loss of a well-loved home built up over the years.

This act is further evidence of the application of Apartheid — this neat pigeon-holing of people without regard for the ruin and misery of thousands. The Indian people will land up in their tidy group at Lenasia. Apartheid will be appeased. But what of the individual men, women and children? They must start a new life in a remote place with the added difficulties and expense of living out of town. What of the traders? Must they now stave off destitution by finding other employment in the limited fields open to them?

It is a sad reflection on human nature that when people think of other people as a group, they lose the sense of their being human individuals with human feelings and aspirations. One of the results of Apartheid is that White South Africans are losing their humanity, and feel little or nothing for sufferings of groups other than their own.

We, the Black Sash, wish to make the most strenuous protest against this new assault by the Government on our Indian fellow citizens. We base our protest on the grounds of its dreadful inhumanity and the faithlessness of the Government in breaking their promise given to the Indian people.

# NEWS FROM REGIONS AND BRANCHES

**TWO PORTENTOUS PIECES OF LEGISLATION** have engaged the attention of all Regions of the Black Sash during the past few months — the General Law Amendment Bill of 1963 and the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill.

The first of these, the "No-trial Bill", burst upon us so suddenly and was so hastily enacted that it had become law almost before we had time to protest. We did protest, however, and so did many other groups and organizations, against its harsh and arbitrary provisions and its encroachment on the rule of law in South Africa; but the acceptance by the official Opposition that it was necessary for the preservation of law and order ensured its speedy passage through Parliament.

Since then, there have been despairing letters in the Press bewailing the futility of protest; but if any of us had any doubts at all of the power and importance of protest, faith must have been restored by the withdrawal for this year of most of the contentious clauses of the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill. It seems probable that the Government's decision not to force this lengthy and controversial measure through at this late stage of the Session was influenced by the widespread protests which arose from many different quarters. The Bill will no doubt be re-introduced next year, but all sections of the community will welcome the further time given for consideration and discussion.

Headquarters Region sent a telegram to Sir de Villiers Graaff, protesting against the United Party's support of the General Law Amendment Bill, and one to Mrs. Helen Suzman, congratulating her on her lonely and courageous stand against the Bill. A further telegram of support and encouragement was sent to Mrs. Suzman when threats and insults were being hurled at her in the House, for carrying out her Parliamentary duty of expressing her Party's viewpoint, and opposing and criticizing Government policies. A telegram was sent to Mr. Hamilton Russell, congratulating him on his stand on principle, and a very fine letter of thanks was received from him.

As a last resort, Headquarters sent a telegram to the State President asking him not to sign the Bill, to no avail.

## **Bantu Laws Amendment Bill.**

An account of Headquarters' correspondence on this subject with the Minister of Bantu Affairs and Development will be found in the article under this heading elsewhere in the Magazine.

## **Press Publicity.**

Our protests against the General Law Amendment Bill received good publicity in the "Rand Daily Mail", our telegrams to Sir de Villiers Graaff and Mrs. Helen Suzman were quoted, and the editorial in our March/April Magazine was quoted and commented upon. Headquarters' first

Memorandum on the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill was summarized in the "Rand Daily Mail".

(Continued Overleaf)



(Daily News)

### BORDER REGION

**B**ORDER is planning a drive for new members.

At the moment the Committee is working on a pamphlet urging housewives to join the Black Sash. The pamphlet, which will be brief, will invite housewives to a meeting to hear more about Black Sash activities. The Region hopes to send out about 1,000 such pamphlets. Stamped addressed envelopes will be enclosed for easy reply.

The project will be costly, and the Region's reserves are low, but they intend to raise the money somehow! As membership has been dropping steadily, they regard their venture as a "do-or-die" affair.

#### May Meeting.

The Region's monthly meeting for May was addressed by Mrs. E. Lewin (Miss Eleanor Hawarden) of Johannesburg, who spoke on "Human Relations", and discussed the need for a new personal approach between race groups.

Mrs. Lewin spoke of the need for breaking down the traditional attitudes between different groups in this country. She suggested that small study groups could be formed in different parts of the country to discuss these traditional, and usually erroneous, attitudes and the ways to change them.

### NATAL MIDLANDS REGION

**A** GOOD DEAL of April and May have been spent discussing a Demonstration on the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill, and actually demonstrating against the General Law Amendment Bill. The Pietermaritzburg Branch demonstrated seven times against this Bill.

The Chairman represented the Region at a combined Protest Meeting in the City Hall against the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill. Mrs. Dyer represented the Region at a combined Protest Meeting against the banning of Dr. Motala.

#### Public Meeting.

The Pietermaritzburg Branch held a Public Meeting to give information. The following subjects were discussed:

1. **Black Spot Removals**  
Speaker: Mr. Peter Brown
2. **Publications and Entertainments Bill**  
Speaker: Prof. M. F. Prestwich
3. **Bantu Laws Amendment Bill**  
Speaker: Mr. A. S. Mathews
4. **Transfer of Coloured Education**  
Speaker: Mr. J. Macquarrie

This meeting, and the two combined protest meetings were very badly attended. This apathy is very noticeable in the Region, and is causing concern.

#### Job Reservation.

The Pietermaritzburg Branch has been investigating the question of Job Reservation in the Building Trade. The Natal Provincial Council has a United Party majority. The United Party is opposed to Job Reservation and yet Provincial tender documents for the Building Trade contain the clause: "skilled labour shall be none other than European". We approached the Natal Provincial Council and asked for an explanation. In their reply they said: "the employment of Non-European skilled artisans by contractors engaged on the erection of or alteration to, Provincial Buildings is controlled by the Department of Labour".

A letter was then sent to the Department of Labour, and in his reply the Secretary for Labour stated that the Labour Department does not control the employment of Non-European artisans and suggested that we approach the Provincial authority direct.

A copy of this letter was sent to the Provincial Secretary asking for comment. In his reply the Provincial Secretary states: "I regret to inform you that the previous papers in connection with this matter have unfortunately been mislaid".

Copies of all the relevant documents have now been set to the Provincial Secretary.

#### Advice Office.

The committee investigated the question of opening an Advice Office in Pietermaritzburg. It has been decided not to open such an office, as our manpower and financial resources are extremely limited. The running of an Advice Office would take all these resources. If we believed the necessity for such an office to be great, we would attempt it. Our investigations have convinced us, however, that there is no real need for an Advice Office.

#### Separate Amenities.

The question of shelters at Bus Stops is being investigated by the Pietermaritzburg Branch. These are separate, but certainly not equal. This committee has approached the City Council on this question.

#### Black Spot Removals.

These removals of Africans owning freehold property, and having established homes in so-called White Areas, are causing great hardship and heartache. The Pietermaritzburg Branch is

trying to publicize the facts through letters to the Daily Press.

### News of Branches.

The Matatiele Branch played the Cape Western record "The Tribal African" at their last meeting.

The Kokstad Group is organizing a Public Meeting for early July at which Mr. J. Macquarrie will speak on Education.

The Pietermaritzburg Branch Multi-Racial Tea Parties continue to be popular.

### NATAL COASTAL REGION

**M**EMBERS of this Region were very sorry to lose their Chairman Mrs. Adèle Keen, who has gone back to teaching. Her place has been taken by Mrs. Susan Francis, who sees her position as Chairman of a Black Sash Region as a great challenge. She feels that there is so much to be done and so few to do it that her first thought is for increased membership. She hopes to recruit new members and "reactivate" old ones, and reports that they have signed up one new member, which is a start.

### Monthly Meetings.

Once a month the Region holds an open meeting, addressed by a speaker on some topical subject. The May meeting was addressed by Mr. Andrew Wilson, an attorney, who spoke on the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill. Mr. Peter Brown will address the June meeting on Black Spot Removals, a very live issue in Natal.

After the address, Black Sash business is conducted at these meetings, and visitors are invited to stay so that sympathetic outsiders may see how the Black Sash works and what we are trying to do. They may decide to join, says Mrs. Francis!

### General Law Amendment Bill Protest.

The Region demonstrated against this Bill three times a day for two days for one hour at a time, and felt the demonstration was reasonably successful. They had planned a mass demonstration for mid-day on the second day, but unfortunately received no pre-publicity and it was poorly attended. However, they were delighted that a group of outsiders did join them, including some men, who were near-wrecks after an hour in blazing sunshine. They now have an appreciation of the stoicism of Black Sash demonstrators!

### General.

Natal Coastal members are contributing towards the maintenance of banished men and their families, which they see as most worthwhile work.

The Region is most anxious to emulate Cape Western and start an Advice Office, but this pro-

ject meets with many setbacks and disappointments, chief among them being red tape, lack of funds and insufficient numbers to man the office effectively.

The answer to the last problem may lie in a highly successful recruiting drive, while the useful sum of R68 raised recently in two fund-raising cake sales seems to point the way to the solution of the second!



Mrs. Susan Francis,  
the new  
chairman of  
Natal Coastal  
Region.

### CAPE WESTERN REGION

#### Bantu Laws Amendment Bill.

Copies of Government Gazette No. 430 were sent to seven paramount chiefs and the Langa and Nyanga East townships Advisory Boards and Vigilance Committees.

Copies of the Memorandum submitted to the Secretary for Bantu Affairs were sent to all members of Parliament. A simpler version of the Memorandum was given very wide distribution and sent to leaders of commerce, industry and farming, City and Provincial Councillors, womens' organisations and other bodies who should have been interested.

As reported elsewhere, a Brains Trust on this Bill was held in the City Hall on Tuesday, May 14th. Mr. Gordon Bagnall handled the meeting extremely well. Apart from anything else, the Brains Trust clearly revealed the appalling lack of communication between Nationalist and Opposition adherents.

Religious bodies are being approached to ask their congregations to give special consideration for the plight of Africans. Sashers are also approaching their individual ministers.

#### General Law Amendment Bill.

A stand took place on the evening of the second reading of this Bill on 17th April. The posters read "General Law Amendment Bill outrages Basic Principles of Justice" in English and Afrikaans.

(Continued Overleaf)

NEWS FROM REGIONS —  
CAPE WESTERN (Continued)

Early on Friday, 19th April, at 16 points of entry into Cape Town Sashers stood with posters advertising a **Protest Meeting** to take place during the lunch hour in the Drill Hall. In spite of the shortness of notice the Hall was well filled with over 500 people. Mrs. Stott was in the chair. The speakers were: Mr. Justice Blackwell, Mr. Alan Paton, Mrs. Peggy Roberts (whose speech is reported elsewhere), Mr. Peter Horwitz, Mr. Donald Molteno and Professor Beinart.

### Stand against banning.

40 Sashers took part in a lunch-hour stand on 19th March, with posters which read: "Over 150 people have been banned". "Why not bring them to Court?"

### Meeting with City Council.

A delegation consisting of Mrs. Henderson, Mrs. Robb, Mrs. Parks, Mrs. Petersen and Miss Henshilwood spoke to a Memorandum previously submitted on the removal of Africans from the Western Cape before the Bantu Affairs Committee of the City Council on 2nd April. The delegation was received sympathetically and Mrs. Robb gave several case histories to substantiate our submissions to the Council, and at their request, left details with them. The delegates specially requested that a social worker be appointed.

A Memorandum on the same subject has also been submitted to the Divisional Council, and it is hoped that a delegation will be permitted to speak to it.

### Athlone Advice Office.

During February 520 cases were seen (an average of 26 per day), March 573 cases (an average of 29 per day), and April 400 cases (an average of 20 cases per day). Mrs. Parks was on leave from April 21st for two weeks. Mrs. Robb and Mrs. Henderson ran the office in her absence and realized more than ever what an exhausting and vital job she does.

Among the many visitors to the office during this time were Mr. Colin Legum, Commonwealth Correspondent of *The Observer*, and his wife, Lord Russel (the eminent jurist), Mr. Donald Molteno, Q.C., Col. J. Bowring, M.P.C. and Lady Packer. Lady Packer wrote an independent article on the office which appeared in the *Cape Times* on Friday, May 10th. This had a very great impact among the people of Cape Town, and directly resulted in the magnificent donation of R100 for Black Sash funds.



H. Winder

(Sunday Times)

MRS. M. W. CLUVER, Johannesburg,  
writes:

**I**N 1962, when the Minister of Justice was questioned in Parliament about the very extensive powers he was asking for under the "Sabotage" Bill, he explained that he did not want to keep on coming back to Parliament for more and more "necessary" powers. Yet here he is in 1963 asking for still greater powers under the "No-trial" Bill.

Do we hear a faint echo down the years, "This is my last territorial demand!"?

A talk on the work of the Athlone Advice Office was given by Mrs. Wilks to the Anglican Churchmen's Union of St. Saviour's parish, Claremont. Mrs. Birt talked to the Roman Catholic Women's League at Claremont on the same subject.

### Migratory labour.

Various women's organizations and Church Guilds have been contacted about attending a Black Sash-sponsored meeting on the break-up of urban African family life. We hope to hold this after the Session ends.

### General.

For the last two months the All Branches monthly meeting has included a short talk on current affairs. In March Mrs. Robb talked on the draft Bantu Laws Amendment Bill; in April Mrs. Grant talked on the Coloured Education Bill, and in May Mrs. Jackie Beck gave a brilliantly clear exposition on the General Law Amendment Bill.

A tape recording has been made of Mrs. Jessie Hertslet's talk on Migrant Labour.



## CAPE EASTERN REGION

**T**HE REGION held a small farewell party for Mrs. Pirie, at which she was presented with an inscribed tray. So far, no new Chairman has been elected for the Region.

### **The General Law Amendment Bill.**

A stand with posters was held in the centre of Port Elizabeth to protest against "Vorster's Bill".

The Black Sash were co-sponsors with the Institute of Race Relations and the Progressive Party of a protest meeting held at the Crispin Hall on May 8th. The guest speaker was Mr. Leo Boyd.

### **News from Branches.**

Mrs. Pirie and two other members of the Regional Council attended a meeting in Grahamstown at which Mrs. Currie of Salem Branch was elected Chairman of the combined **Grahamstown/Salem Branch**. A bring-and-buy sale held at the meeting brought in a useful sum of money for Black Sash funds.

**Alexandria Branch** has sent in a cheque for Regional funds, the proceeds of a cake sale held at Bushmans River during the school holidays.

### **Advice Office.**

Cape Eastern Region is anxious to set up an Advice Office in the area. Useful information and advice on how to set about it have been obtained from Mrs. Robb of Cape Western.

## TRANSVAAL REGION

**R**EGIONAL Groups and Branches have been very active in many ways in addition to their participation in the protests and planning against the "No-trial Bill" and the **Bantu Laws Amendment Bill**.

**Mataffin** now has a group of 10 members, including several new ones — a welcome addition to our lowveld contingent.

**Witbank Branch** is a very strong group and holds regular meetings, although the distance from Johannesburg keeps members somewhat out of touch with Regional activities.

**Rustenburg Branch**, always an enterprising and energetic group, has continued its interest in **Indian Affairs**, and recently made an investigation into **Convict Labour** on farms in the area.

**Waverley Group** recently organized a most successful multi-racial afternoon tea-party, attended by women and children.

**North Eastern Group** has held a highly successful Book Sale for Branch funds, and is planning another in the near future.

**North Western Group** holds regular meetings, often with speakers, in the evenings, as most of the members are working women.

## OBITUARY

### MISS FRANCES VERRINDER

**W**E ARE VERY SAD to announce that Miss Frances Verrinder, a member of the Cape Eastern Region of the Black Sash, died in Port Elizabeth on 29th April at the age of 77, after a short illness. She was a very keen member of the Black Sash, and stood with us in protest whenever she could. She attended meetings and conferences when she found the time to spare from her many other activities.

Miss Verrinder did truly wonderful work in Port Elizabeth after her retirement from St. Cyprian's School in Cape Town, where she was Headmistress for 20 years. She started a Sunday School in Veeplaats, taught Scripture at the Mission Schools and at the Chinese Schools. She was Manager of the Chinese Primary School and served on numerous committees, including the Y.W.C.A., the University Women's Association, the Mayor's School Feeding Fund, the Distressed Areas Council, the Black Sash, the S.A. Institute of Race Relations — in fact, she did anything where she saw there was a need, travelling miles by bus and on foot.

Miss Verrinder had Cambridge Honours degrees in Mathematics and Science. Her father was a Liberal Reformer and a man of great integrity, which was passed on to his daughter. She met in her home many famous people, including Sydney and Beatrice Webb, G. K. Chesterton and Mrs. Pankhurst.

She lived her religion twenty-four hours a day and devoted her life to serving others, working fearlessly at all times for human rights. Altogether, her death is a great loss to the community and the country.

**Bryanston Branch** holds regular meetings with a speaker on topics of interest. Mrs. Muriel Fisher has recently been presenting her series of talks on **African Affairs** which have been appearing in the Magazine.

**Northern Group** has recently held a successful Jumble Sale, organized by Mrs. Beinashowitz.

### **The Saturday Club.**

The Club has resumed its fortnightly Saturday afternoon meetings which are fairly well attended and greatly enjoyed. At a recent meeting Miss Eleanor Hawarden gave a most interesting talk on **Mosheshe**, and the last meeting took the form a lively debate on "Woman's Place is in the Kitchen".

### **Court Attendances.**

A roster drawn up by Mrs. Hahn has ensured regular attendances at local Commissioner's Courts during recent months. At our last Regional Council meeting, Mrs. Driver and Miss Harper

(Continued Overleaf)

gave very interesting accounts of their impressions.

### Complaint to Press Council.

At the time of the B.B.C. television showing of the film "Sabotage in South Africa", a photograph appeared in "Dagbreek" purporting to show a demonstration by the Black Sash, whereas the demonstration was by another organization which has since been banned. The newspaper has omitted to print a correction in spite of requests to do so, and now that a complaint has been lodged with the Press Council, upon legal advice, "Dagbreek" has signified its intention of defending the charge, on the grounds that the photograph does not give its readers a worse opinion of the Black Sash than they already have. The case will come before the Press Council shortly.

### Bantu Laws Amendment Bill.

Like all other Regions, Transvaal made extensive plans for demonstrating against this Bill. A great deal of work went into preparing posters and compiling the pamphlet and memoranda. The posters and pamphlet will not be used at present, but the memoranda will form the basis of the talks with Mr. de Wet Nel which we hope will take place in due course.

A meeting was held on the evening of the 10th June, in Mrs. Driver's house, and an audience of between 40 and 50 men and women heard the penetrating comments of Dr. Ellen Hellmann on this Bill, the abridged version and general trends in Bantu legislation since 1910. A short account of her comments on the Abridged Bantu Laws Amendment Bill appears elsewhere in the Magazine, while her article "Moving Ahead to the Past" covers much of the rest of her talk.

### Demonstrations.

A series of peak-hour demonstrations was staged against the General Law Amendment Bill. Posters used were: "Detention without Trial is not Justice", "Innocent or Guilty?—the Courts, not the Cabinet Must Decide", "Minister of Justice Destroys Justice" and "Protest Against Vorster's Bill".

Two one-hour stands with posters were mounted in protest against the proposed removal of Johannesburg Indians from Pageview and other areas in the Transvaal under a Group Areas proclamation. The posters used read: "Callous Uprooting of S.A. Indians" and "Pageview Indians — Another Government Promise Broken".

A letter from the Region on this subject was published in full by the "Star" and appears elsewhere in the Magazine.

(Sunday Times)



L. SINCLAIR.

Our National President,

" . . . . fearless in defence, penetrating on attack."

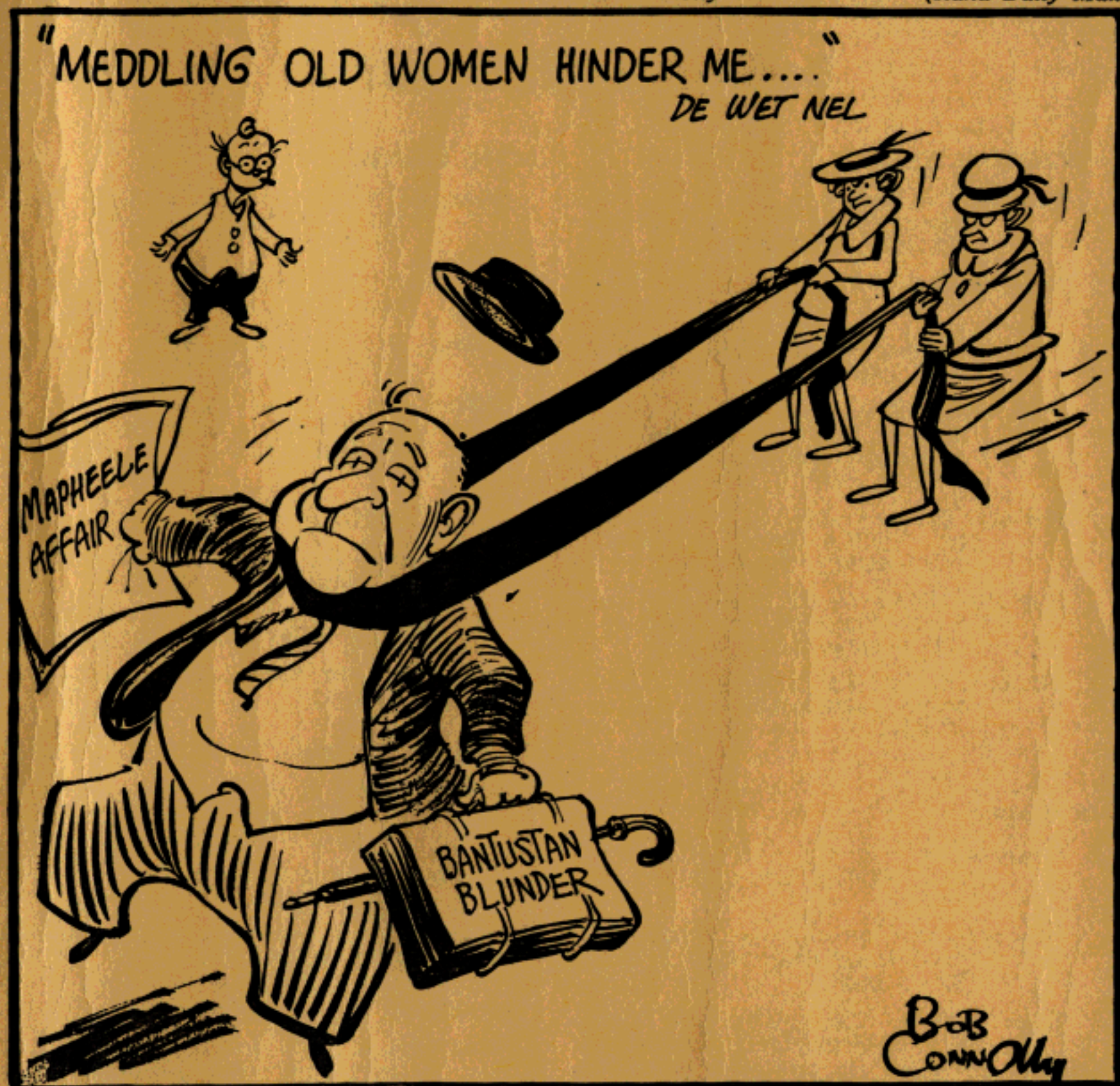
COMMENTING on the fact that the Minister of Information, Mr. Frank Waring, has praised the merits of Rugby in bringing together White South Africans of the two language groups, a correspondent to the "Sunday Times" suggests that Rugby might be used to bring together all South Africans, regardless of race, colour or creed. He suggests a possible Springbok team to represent South Africa, against apartheid and selects Mrs. Jean Sinclair as one of the centre forwards, "fearless in defence, penetrating on attack."

Our Rustenburg members feel so strongly about this treatment of S.A. Indians that three of them travelled 75 miles each way to represent their Branch at the demonstration.

### Fund Raising.

**Competition.** A beautiful set of table mats worked by Mrs. Sinclair in "some of her spare time" was the prize in a competition which brought in over R80, and was won by Mrs. Malherbe.

**Marmalade Made!** Our Rustenburg members have been adding to their Branch Funds by selling packages of special marmalade oranges, together with a wonderful recipe. Many of our busiest members, who, in spite of what our critics say, do not neglect their household duties, have managed to find the time to lay in a supply of delicious marmalade.



#### THE BLACK SASH REPLIES TO MR. DE WET NEL

**F**OR THE SECOND TIME in recent weeks the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development has used the shelter of Parliament to accuse the Black Sash of unlawful and immoral practices, and suggest that it might be "furthering the aims of Poqo".

The Black Sash has a perfectly clear conscience and therefore has nothing to fear from this "smear" campaign instigated by Mr. de Wet Nel.

As women we abhor violence and work strenuously to break down racial antagonisms. We categorically deny that our actions, at any time and in any way could have furthered the aims of Poqo — quite the reverse. The activities of the Black Sash are lawful. At no time has it been guilty of incitement. It gives assistance through its Advice Office to African, Asian and Coloured people who seek help and guidance in clarifying such limited rights as they possess under the myriad laws which govern their lives. Through this work the Black Sash hopes to prevent these people from coming under the influence of terrorist organizations such as Poqo.

It is with amazement we note that the Hon. the Minister considers an appeal to the courts by an individual (Mrs. Mapheele) as a "challenge" to the Government. In our view the Courts are there to dispense justice, which indeed they do, and to interpret the law, both in Government prosecutions and in efforts by individual citizens to redress infringements of their rights. We do not consider that the good offices of the Minister are a substitute for the establishment of rights in a Court of Law.

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This Magazine, as the official organ of the Black Sash, carries authoritative articles on the activities of the Black Sash. The leading articles adhere broadly to the policies of the organization, which does not, however, necessarily endorse the opinions expressed by contributors.

Cartoons by courtesy of Bob Connolly and the "Rand Daily Mail", David Marais and the "Cape Times", H. Winder and the "Sunday Times", J. Leyden and the "Daily News".

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