

**THE
BLACK
SASH**

**DIE
SWART
SERP**



**HELP
RIGHT
THESE
WRONGS**

THE BLACK SASH

DIE SWART SERP

Privileged People

A SOUTH AFRICAN now living in Canada, who had been closely involved in political and social work here, wrote to a friend about his life in his new country. He was comfortably settled in Canada, he said; he liked the people and was enjoying the experience of living in a stable and progressive democracy. Yet something was missing: he felt the lack of no longer being engaged in the pursuit of an ideal.

Many who read this article may well feel that they would happily change places with our Canadian friend, that the privilege of being engaged in the present grim struggle is something they could easily do without. Yet the comment from Canada contains a great truth, of which we should remind ourselves in these days. It is a privilege to be a South African — white, brown or black — who is fighting in some constructive and positive manner to replace the present order with a new way of life expressing the values of Western civilization.

To appreciate the extent of the privilege one must understand the nature of the struggle. It can be stated simply. The struggle arises from the contention that people of different

You cannot climb a ladder by pushing others down.—*English proverb.*

Bevoorregte Mense

'N SUID-AFRIKANER wat tans in Kanada woon en intiem met politieke en maatskaplike werk in ons land betrokke was, het aan 'n vriend geskryf oor die lewenswyse in sy nuwe vaderland. Hy was reeds goed gevestig in Kanada, het hy gesê; hy het van die mense gehou en het die ondervinding geniet om in 'n stabiele en vooruitstrewende demokrasie te woon. Maar tog het daar iets ontbreek: hy was sterk daarvan bewus dat hy nie meer besig was om na 'n ideaal te strewen.

Baie wat hierdie artikel lees sal heel moontlik voel dat hulle graag met ons Kanadese vriend sou omruil, dat die voorreg om in die huidige onverbiddelike stryd betrokke te wees nou waarlik iets is waarsonder hulle maklik kon klaarkom. Tog steek daar 'n groot waarheid in die verklaring uit Kanada; en in hierdie tyd kan ons dit gerus voor oë hou. Dit is 'n voorreg om 'n Suid-Afrikaner te wees — wit, bruin of swart — wat in een of ander opbouende en positiewe manier die stryd voer om die huidige orde te vervang met 'n nuwe lewenswyse wat aan die waardes van die Westerse beskawing uiting gee.

Om die mate van die voorreg te besef moet 'n mens die aard van die stryd verstaan. Dit kan heeltemal eenvoudig gestel word. Die stryd ontstaan uit die aanvoering dat mense van verskillende rasse, kultuur en agtergrond nie in één samelewing vreedsaam kan saamlewe

racess, cultures and background cannot live peaceably together in one society. It has been referred to as the doctrine of irreconcilability of interests. This doctrine is held by many more white people than the number that vote Nationalist. It is also, like a disease, infecting non-white people. This doctrine we in the Black Sash reject.

Like most doctrines, it is almost impossible to refute by logical argument. If a man says that it is impossible for him to live in amity with his neighbour, because he does not like his neighbour and he is sure that his neighbour will harm him as soon as he gets a chance, one can only say that, for oneself, one refuses to allow one's life to be governed by such a proposition. Basically, it is a matter of ethical judgment, and ethical judgments stand beyond argument.

* * *

Nevertheless, the views one holds have practical consequences, and one can see the practical consequences of apartheid philosophy. We deem these consequences to be evil. As the effects of one legislative enactment after another have become apparent we have tried to point them out and to protest against them. We have seen people removed from their homes, restricted in their employment opportunities, denied entry to the established universities, banished to distant parts, confined in their movements, prohibited from engaging in political activity, relegated to inferior social status. Every year the State's control over the lives of the citizens has become tighter. And now we have reached the stage where anyone who is considered to be "dangerous" may be locked up without trial.

These evil consequences of the ruling political philosophy cannot be condoned on the ground that they are temporary. Oppressive laws can never remove opposition to oppres-

nie. Hierdie leerstelling word deur meer mense aanvaar as dié wat vir die Nasionale Party stem. Dit is ook besig om soos 'n siekte onder die nie-Blankes te versprei. Ons in die Swart Serp verwerp hierdie leerstelling.

Soos met die meeste leerstellings, is dit amper onmoontlik om dié een deur logiese redenering te weerlê. As 'n man verklaar dat dit vir hom onmoontlik is om in vriendskap met sy buurman te woon, omdat hy nie van sy buurman hou nie en hy seker is dat sy buurman vir hom kwaad sal aandoen sodra hy die kans kry, kan 'n mens alleenlik antwoord dat sover dit jou persoonlik aangaan, jy beslis nie sal toelaat dat jou eie lewe deur so 'n stelling beheer word nie. Fundamenteel is dit 'n saak van etiese oordeel, en etiese oordeel is iets wat bo redenering staan.

* * *

Nogtans het 'n mens se sienswyse praktiese gevolge, en 'n mens kan die praktiese gevolge van die apartheidfilosofie sien. Ons beskou dat hierdie gevolge boos is. Soos die gevolge van een wet na die ander duidelik geword het, het ons probeer om aandag daarop te vestig en om daarteen te protesteer. Ons het gesien hoe mense uit hul huise weggeneem word, in hul werkgeleenthede ingekort word, toegang tot die gevestigde universiteite geweier word, na afgeleë plekke verban word, in hul bewegings ingekort word, verbied word om aan politieke bedrywighede deel te neem en tot 'n ondergeskikte sosiale status verdoem word. Elke jaar het die Staat se beheer oor die lewe van die burgers strenger geword. En nou het ons die stadium bereik waar almal wat as

Now Quarterly

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sion. As the laws are multiplied so does the opposition become more bitter and more determined. "I know of only two ways in which people may be governed," someone once said; "one is by their consent and the other is by the sword." The terrible alternative to government by consent is now facing the Nationalist government. Yet in the long run there is no alternative to government by consent.

It is no privilege to be in opposition to a regime that must inevitably fail. The privilege lies in having the opportunity to work for its peaceful failure, and to do one's best to ensure that the evil will be succeeded by good. It is accordingly one's prime duty to bear witness to the good. This, in the South African context, means that one must assert, by deed as well as by word, that apartheid is a crime against humanity; that man can, indeed, live peaceably with man; that what we have in common — whether we be black, brown or white — is of a transcending order of importance compared with the accidents of race and cultural background. We are called upon in South Africa to put into practice, and thereby to prove the practicability of, the doctrine of human brotherhood that philosophers and religious teachers have taught throughout the ages.

This is the thought that leads our friend in Canada, and others in different parts of the world, to look at us here in South Africa, fearful and depressed though many of us are, with something akin to envy.

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

„gevaarlik” beskou word sonder verhoor opgesluit kan word.

Hierdie bese gevolge van die heersende politieke opvatting kan nie verskoon word op grond daarvan dat hulle tydelik is nie. Onderdrukkende wette kan nooit weerstand teen onderdrukking uit die weg ruim nie. Soos die wette vermeerder, so word ook die teenstand meer bitter en vasbeslote. „Ek weet van net twee maniere waarop mense regeer kan word,” het iemand eenmaal gesê; „één is met hul instemming en die ander is met die swaard.” Die Nasionaliste-regering staan nou voor die ontstellende alternatief tot regering met instemming. Tog is daar op die lange duur geen alternatief tot regering met instemming nie.

Dit is geen voorreg om teen 'n bewind gekant te wees wat sonder twyfel sal misluk nie. Die voorreg bestaan daarin om vir die vreedsame ondergang van dié bewind te kan werk, en om alles te doen wat ons kan om seker te maak dat die bese deur iets goeds opgevolg sal word. Dit is dus 'n mens se eerste plig om van die goeie te getuig. In die Suid-Afrikaanse verband beteken dit dat 'n mens deur daad en woord moet verklaar dat apartheid 'n misdad teen die mensdom is; dat die mens wel in vrede met ander mense kan saamlewe; dat wat ons in gemeen het — of ons nou swart of bruin of wit is — ver, ver belangriker is as die toeval van ras en kulturele agtergrond. Daar word 'n beroep op ons in Suid-Afrika gedoen om praktiese gevolg te gee aan die leerstelling van menslike broederskap wat filosowe en godsdienstige leraars deur die eeue verkondig het — en om sodoende te bewys dat hierdie leerstelling wel in die praktyk toegepas kan word.

Dit is die gedagte wat ons vriend in Kanada, asook ander mense in ander lande, na ons hier in Suid-Afrika laat kyk — hoewel baie van ons besorge en neerslagtig mag wees — met iets wat amper op benyding neerkom.

“Us” and “Them”

A Study of Race Prejudice

By JOHN HOOD-WILLIAMS, M.A.

THE essential quality that distinguishes prejudice from reason is that it is a judgment not based on actual experience. This judgment can be about people (or groups of people), or it can be about things; and it can be either favourable or unfavourable. Prejudice becomes a social problem when it is a matter of unfavourable attitudes towards individuals or groups—in other words, race prejudice of a negative kind, or “hate” prejudice. Since “love” prejudice is fairly rare, and its operation is not socially disruptive, it will be ignored in this discussion.

Few people are entirely free of prejudice. Examine your own conscience and you will probably find at least traces of prejudiced attitudes towards at least some groups of people.

Professor Gordon Allport, the distinguished American psychologist who is perhaps best known for his work on prejudice, has pointed out that prejudice is an *attitude of mind*. As long as it remains nothing but an attitude it need concern us little; but attitudes invariably find expression in *behaviour*, and it is prejudiced behaviour that works its poison in the body politic.

Anti-locution

Though few people keep their antipathies to themselves, the way in which they act out their prejudices can vary widely. Three employers may be equally prejudiced against Jews. One expresses his dislike in private conversation with his cronies, but hires Jews in his business, has a number of Jewish associates, and makes no difference between Jews and non-Jews as regards salary, promotion, and the like. He expresses his prejudice solely in what Allport calls *anti-locution*—he has nasty things to say about Jews, usually in private, but goes no further than this. The second employer, while he does no active harm to Jews in any way, tries as far as possible to have nothing to do with them—often at considerable inconvenience to himself. Such people practise *avoidance*. The third employer goes a step



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further, refuses to employ Jews in his business, tries to keep Jews out of his business or professional associations, and inserts clauses in the title deeds of his real estate developments precluding Jews from owning property there—in short, he practises *discrimination*.

Anti-locution and avoidance are at worst devices whereby one keeps *oneself* away from disliked individuals or groups. The prejudiced person accommodates himself (by withdrawal) to the disliked group. Discrimination puts the boot on the other foot—it ensures that they keep away from you.

In most countries where race prejudice operates, it does so on an individual basis. South Africa is almost unique in embodying discrimination in the legal code. This distinction between legal and customary discrimination may seem a fine one to the American Jew who finds that he cannot take a holiday in a certain resort because none of the hotels will accept Jews—the old film “Gentlemen’s Agreement” illustrates this graphically; or to the West African student in London who finds one landlady after another saying she is sorry but the last room has just been taken, and she just forgot to remove the “Room to Let” sign from the window. The difference lies in the fact that there *are* American resort hotels that accept Jews as guests, and London landladies that do take Coloured students. There is no law there that prevents *any* hotel or *any* landlady from accepting certain classes of people.

The expression of prejudice can even involve violence. The Notting Hill riots show how, under conditions of heightened emotion, prejudice can lead to physical attack. In 1947 I saw a Johannesburg mob beat up an elderly African man for bumping into a White youth on a day newspapers had carried the story of a particularly brutal rape by a “Native” of a White woman in a southern suburbs park, and race-feeling was running high. Seldom, however, does race prejudice express itself in the ultimate of extermination—though lynchings

RACE PREJUDICE—Continued

of Negroes in the Southern States exemplify this, and so do the attempts by the Nazis to exterminate the Jews, and of the Turks to do likewise with the Armenians.

Why is prejudice so common? The answer is to be found in the fact that most people prefer to associate only with others who are much the same as they are. Everywhere one finds people living, working and playing in relatively homogeneous clusters. Mostly this is a matter of convenience—with plenty of similar people to choose from, why should we subject ourselves to the difficulties of accommodating to people with different languages, food-habits, educational levels, or class-status? Most of the business of life can go on more easily if we associate only with our own kind, and by and large we do precisely this. "Foreigners" are a strain.

In a society like our own, we inevitably come into contact with a vast range of human differences. Within the White group alone, we have not only class and educational differences, but also language and religious ones. We may work alongside people with different skin-pigmentation, different languages, and often a very different total way of life; but the people who are our friends, the people we visit, invite to our homes, play with and mate with are, with very few exceptions, people who are like us in a large number of important respects.

Chinese Look Alike

As we tend to associate only with people very similar to ourselves, we naturally have little experience of people markedly dissimilar to ourselves. What happens then is that we build up a "stereotype" of what these "foreigners" are like—and "foreigners" in this context applies to the multitude of human groupings that we ourselves do not belong to. While we notice the small differences that mark us out one from another *within* our own group, we are more concerned with the way that people *outside* our group *resemble* each other, and we tend to regard them as being all much the same. We distinguish small differences in facial features and so recognize our friends; but we "can't tell one Chinese from another—they all look alike". The Chinese, of course, similarly complain that all Westerners look alike.

The basic process operating in the production of stereotypes is of this "all Chinese look alike" variety. We believe, for instance, that *all* Africans are lazy, happy-go-lucky, and not very bright; or that *all* Jews are shady in business dealings; or *all* Afrikaners are thick-witted peasants. The fallacy should be glaringly apparent—it is an instance of over-generalization; no single attribute, and even less a

complex set of attributes, can ever entirely distinguish one non-homogeneous group from another.

In matters of skin-colour, the statement "Africans have darker skins than Europeans" will be true in perhaps 99% of instances; but *some* Europeans (e.g., some Southern Italians) have skins darker than *some* Africans.

The truth is that most relatively complex human attributes are distributed in much the same way in every group, be it racial, religious, or linguistic. The difference in skin-colour *does* differentiate a Negro from a White with a high degree of accuracy; but it defies everything we know about the distribution of more complex traits in a given population to assert, for instance, that "Europeans are all more intelligent than Africans," or "Jews are all less honest than Gentiles." There are honest Jews, and dishonest Gentiles, highly-intelligent Negroes and White morons.

The way stereotypes arise is an interesting study. Since every group in a community tends to keep itself largely to itself, group-members will, on the whole, have little contact with members of other groups. Where contact occurs it will be limited to a very few individuals in the strange group, sometimes to only one or two; or the contact will be partial, as in the master-servant relationship (which usually provides misleading information since each party is operating in a rôle-defined situation). On the basis of this very limited contact, the behaviour of one or two members of the strange group is *generalised* to every member of the strange group.

Contact with the strange group may even be non-existent. How many of us have had any direct contact with Russians, or Turks? Yet most of us have at least lurking notions that apply to "*the* Russians" or "*the* Turks." Such stereotypes are not based on even limited contact with the other groups, but are learned, taken over uncritically, as part of the generalised attitude towards these groups that holds within our own group.

Stereotypes

There is some evidence to suggest that stereotypes of this kind are weakening in our culture—many people feel that they cannot generalise about groups (like Russians) with whom they have had no contact at all. Some feel too that *all* generalisations about groups of people are necessary invalid. But most of us cling to some measure of stereotyped thinking, particularly about groups that are clearly and visibly distinguished.

For visible differences (like skin colour) imply real differences. The underlying logic appears to be: if these people are different in *one* respect (e.g., skin colour), they must be different in *all* respects. Such



**CARTOON
QUIP**

**"They say they'll
have to get a
ruling from
Pretoria."**

—Cape Times.

clear differences are few. Most people in South Africa claim to be able to distinguish a Coloured person from a White on sight; most can tell an English-speaking from an Afrikaans-speaking at first hearing. Many claim to be able to tell a Jew from a non-Jew, by cast of feature. Though not one of these discriminations is necessarily entirely accurate, as set out here they represent a scale of diminishing reliability of the clues upon which they are based. For instance, language-group discriminations are based either on the language spoken, or more commonly on the speaker's accent when speaking one's own language. There are many White South Africans who speak the other language perfectly, and in their cases the discrimination would break down. Similarly with Jews: there undoubtedly *is* a certain cast of features, or perhaps an habitual type of facial expression, that distinguishes some Jews from most of the non-Jewish population. Yet even people who claim to be able to "tell a Jew a mile off" cannot distinguish with any degree of accuracy between a Jew, a Syrian, an Armenian, and many Spaniards and Portuguese, since the so-called "Jewish face" is a certain type of "Mediterranean face," and can even be seen on old Roman coins.

Stereotypes are inevitable parts of our thinking, and need have no serious results. They are products of the category-making function of the mind that enables us, for instance, to recognise a table as such despite the many variations in shape and size of individual tables, and to distinguish a table from a chair. They become serious when they become linked with *hostility*.

Why is it so nearly universal to find that every human group has hostile feelings towards every other human group? Part of the answer is that we all

like best the familiar, and mistrust anything strange. This applies not only to strange people, but also to strange objects—see how wary a small child is of any new food. In part, too, there is the expectation that any thing or person unknown is potentially dangerous—any stranger might prove to be an enemy. Animals react to other animals in the same sort of way.

Thus it is that groups of people who are markedly different in appearance or customs from ourselves tend always to be regarded with some mistrust. But it is a far cry from mistrust to prejudice.

A number of very different theories have been advanced to account for the existence of prejudice.

The *historical view* emphasises that every ethnic conflict that exists today has had a long history. Professor MacCrone in his book "Race Attitudes in South Africa" details the history of race relations in this country, and shows that in the early days of settlement there was very little race feeling. The Nineteenth Century saw the growth throughout the Western world of theories of race, of concepts of "superior" and "inferior" races, and economic historians have pointed out that it is no accident that the "superior" races were those White, Protestant peoples who were engaged in ruthless exploitation of the peoples of Africa and Asia, whom they described as "inferior." This theory holds that some palliative was needed for the guilt engendered in the oppressor races, and they comforted themselves by building an intellectual superstructure which would allow them to think that it was justifiable to underpay African or Asian workers, since they are a lower form of life. Phrases like "Niggers ain't got no feelings" and "Coolies live on the smell of an oil rag" gained currency then. "The White Man's Burden," and Kipling's condescending attitude towards "Natives" belong here. Some writers hold that *class* difference, the exploiter-exploited relationship, is the basis of all prejudice, and that everything else is a verbal smoke-screen designed to obscure this issue. Certainly there would seem to be a good deal of truth in this theory as applied to colour policies in South Africa.

Frustration

However, this theory does not account for many instances where groups are exploited without being the object of prejudice (e.g., many immigrant groups in the United States), nor for the existence of prejudice (as against Jews) where economic oppression does not exist.

Other theories emphasise the fact that *frustration*, which engenders hostility and aggression, lies at the base of prejudice. Economic insecurity, threats and dangers of all kind, produce frustration, and the

RACE PREJUDICE—Continued

resultant hostility is liable to be discharged into race prejudice. This accounts for the fact that it is the lowest-paid and most marginal White workers who are usually the most bitter racialists—they can displace their economic frustrations on to non-Whites. Job reservation protects many Whites here from direct competition with non-Whites for work, and probably also insulates the non-Whites from some of the directly personal hostility. In American industrial cities when work is scarce, race-prejudice arising from these sources has been known to explode into violence against Negroes.

Another set of theories discounts historical traditions, for it points out that the child growing up in any particular society is largely ignorant of the historical reasons for prejudice, whatever they may be. Instead, every individual, and especially every child, has a strong need to be accepted by his group and so *conforms* to the customs and beliefs of that group. Children growing up in any society absorb, sponge-like, many beliefs and values without ever really being aware that they are doing so. And beliefs that are held because they have been absorbed in this way are highly unamenable to rational consideration: they are part and parcel of the "givens" of that society, and become an integral part of the personality of the individual.

Thus the Polish child may grow up with a prejudice against Russians, even though he had never experienced Russian pogroms himself and might well

be entirely ignorant of the Russian record in pre-1920 Poland. The South African child "absorbs" race attitudes, almost as it were from the atmosphere.

This need to conform explains also why English immigrants so frequently adopt South African race attitudes within a few years. To some extent, too, it illumines the findings that persons who move upwards in the social scale are frequently more prejudiced—being newly-arrived in a higher social class, they often over-conform, and while our stereotype of the vulgar *nouveau-riche* is sometimes correct, more commonly they go to exaggerated lengths to avoid advertising their humbler origins. Prejudiced attitudes towards non-Whites, Jews, Communists, etc., are over-accepted, and form part of a protective colouring. This, of course, applies where the higher-status groups in a community are marked by well-defined prejudices. In some communities the process works in reverse, and if the socially dominant group is unprejudiced, newcomers (whether immigrants or social climbers) conform to the pattern of non-prejudice.

Each of these theories accounts for some elements of prejudice and affords insight into certain aspects. None accounts for all, nor does any account for the fact that though all these processes operate on every one of us, not every individual is equally prejudiced. What is left out of account is the personal factor, the individual differences between the prejudiced and the unprejudiced in the same society. This topic, the personality of the bigot, will be discussed in a second article.

"I am frightened as I write . . ."

AN African whom the Black Sash has tried to assist, who is well known to the Sash, but whose name is withheld for obvious reasons, expressed his feeling in these words:

"I went through a painful experience when I was arrested without cause, handcuffed and sent to another town. Now we have nowhere to live and we sleep in the bushes and it is the Municipality that has done this. It is better to die than live in this manner and under such conditions. I am frightened as I write this and keep looking about to see if no policeman is coming.

"The rulers must know that we are all God's children; but we are thrown into prison with our wives and children. I do not know where the Municipal Authorities here come from, but one thing I know is, that to them a Black man is no better than a wild beast to be chased about and flung into a police van.

"I saw the way these raids are carried out only this Tuesday—the police barging into people's

houses, looking into every corner, even under the beds—looking for supposed 'illegal entrants' into the area. How would you (White people) feel if you were forced to leave your children behind? And yet you force us to leave our children—orphans while we still live.

"The Government advised us to legalise our unions and we did. We even called our ministers of religion and swore in their presence according to the Bible that 'until death us do part' when we regularised our unions, and yet in the name of that same God to whom we made these promises, the Government officials separate husband from wife and children.

"The Government will have to take another course, for the Blacks cannot continue to accept such treatment till the end of the world. Only recently four women were arrested in my town and each was fined £4 and thereby the Government collected £16 from these poor people—people who had committed no crime."

Background to Politics

THE COLOURED PEOPLE

By "CAPETONIAN"

THE face of Coloured politics in South Africa has changed dramatically. For decades the country's "step-children" have stood on the sidelines, confused and bewildered by the forces of white and black nationalism. Then suddenly came Mr. Harold Macmillan's "Wind of Change" warning to the nation in February 1960. There followed Sharpeville, Langa, and a five-month state of emergency from April to August.

But it was Philip Kgosana's march in Cape Town that really started the Coloured political awakening. Coloureds thought seriously about the pass laws and the Urban Areas Act. They were not directly affected by these; but they knew about and felt the prevailing economic pinch and they saw the sinister threat of job reservation.

Put House in Order

They realised the implications of group areas, they had lost their common roll vote—about which Africans had warned them years before—and they were being denied the freedom of "open" universities.

They considered the overall picture politically, and were forced to associate themselves with the African under general apartheid laws.

But how were they to act? How were the Coloureds to present a challenge as a third force allied with the African? It was essential that the Coloureds should first put their own political house in order.

Six men, including George Golding and Edgar Deane, signed a statement calling on Coloureds to remain aloof during the stay-at-home call to Africans last year. That controversial decision shook Coloureds from their traditional political apathy. The South African Coloured People's Organisation felt itself faced with a challenge from African leadership which it had to accept. Either Coloureds were to drift or they were to link up with Africans in a common goal of total political, economic and social equality.



★

"Did you get a permit to carry people of unclassified race?"

—Cape Times.

But life was bitter after the Emergency ended, with hundreds of released detainees trying to knit together the torn threads of their disrupted lives. There were five key men in Cape Town among the Coloured detainees: Barney Desai, George Peake, Reg. September, Alex la Guma and "Toefy" Bardien. They felt their responsibility for the Coloureds' future political stand in the face of Verwoerdian extremism.

The first opportunity for testing Coloured political opinion came with the Cape Town municipal elections. In Ward 10 (Athlone-Lansdowne) Messrs. R. E. Viljoen, J. J. Shroeder and H. J. M. Holmes were firmly entrenched. This area was a Unity Movement—Anti-C.A.D. (Coloured Affairs Department) stronghold of "non-collaboration". But in Ward Six (District Six—Woodstock—Salt River) the sitting Non-White councillors were veteran Mrs. "Cissy" Gool, Mr. Hoosain Parker and Mr. Edgar Deane. Few Non-White ratepayers had any quarrel with Mrs. Gool or Mr. Parker, but trade unionist Edgar Deane, a powerful figure strongly backed by middle-class Coloureds, presented a target. The "new-look" Coloured People's Congress (formerly SACPO) decided to oppose Mr. Deane and replace him with a working man's leader.

The choice of rival candidate fell on Mr. George Peake, ex-treason trialist and ex-detainee, with an "equality for all" and "no concessions" outlook.

The result in Ward Six—a defeat for Deane, who polled 900 votes to Peake's 1,500—was a political eye-opener. A new force was sweeping through Coloured ranks, leading towards an alignment with the aspirations of Africans.

The "New Deal for Coloureds" had previously evoked much ridicule and contempt. The few con-

THE COLOURED PEOPLE—Continued

servatives who had been prepared to welcome concessions for Coloureds (they never materialised, of course) had themselves been doubtful of strings being attached. When Dr. Verwoerd finally rejected concessions for Coloureds, he turned them away, probably for ever, from their dubious link with White South Africa.

From this stage (November 1960) Members of Parliament started expressing alarm that Coloureds might be driven to a link-up with Africans. Some "Coloured representatives" pleaded in the Assembly that Coloureds had stood by the side of Whites in the face of internal crisis, but this fell on deaf ears.

To understand the Coloured man's position, one must realise that he is tired of the perpetual dead-end in industry and commerce. He is tired of being an office-boy, messenger, menial factory worker or general labourer, though he might possess a junior or even a senior certificate. He is tired of "Coloured" wages, bread-line survival, of living in crowded slum conditions, of being regarded as an inferior—tired, in fact, of second-class citizenship. Do you know of one Coloured architect, engineer or pharmacist?

Who can be content with such a lot? With a separate-roll vote, what can four representatives do—except plead—in a 157-seat White Assembly?

Maritzburg Conference

The All-African Conference at Maritzburg—and the ensuing decision of the National Action Council to ask all Non-Whites and sympathetic Whites to participate in a three-day stay-at-home protest at the end of May met with an enthusiastic response from Coloureds throughout South Africa. It resulted—although indirectly—in the proposed Coloured Convention in June to be attended by 500 delegates from political, religious, cultural, social and sporting bodies.

The wide social and economic barriers amongst Coloureds themselves have been the cause of disunity in the past, but recent events have changed all that. Dr. Verwoerd has himself changed it—and speeded up the Coloured awakening to its present-day mood of militancy.

In the Transvaal, Coloureds have formed themselves into a strong organisation (Transvaal Association for the Advancement of Coloured People) to combat apartheid and link up with the Africans.

In Durban, former Coloured sectionalists have joined the Convention movement. In Port Elizabeth there is full solidarity between Coloured and African. East London, too, has joined the common Non-White Front.

A stand is being made for full citizenship rights

ABOLISH COLOUR BAR

THE movement initiated by leaders of Coloured opinion to unite the Coloured community in working for the abolition of the colour bar and full citizenship for all South Africans was welcomed by the Black Sash in a public statement.

The national president, Mrs. E. Stott, said: "We would be glad to offer them all the assistance we can in their efforts to call a national convention representing all races, to seek agreement on the terms upon which all races can live and work peacefully together in South Africa."

for *all* South Africans irrespective of race, colour or creed; Coloureds now will not accept any concessions offered to their exclusive "group" at the expense of Africans or Indians.

This "no concession" line was demonstrated by men such as Dr. Richard van der Ross, Mr. M. A. Gierdien, Progressive Party executive member, and Councillor George Peake, at their much-publicised "secret talks" with worried Afrikaners at Stellenbosch recently. This "rebel" front of Whites, disturbed about the disastrous deterioration of race relations, sought a lead from the eight Coloured leaders present at these informal talks. The Coloureds told them: "You are partly responsible for the grave political situation in South Africa to-day. Do something about it from within your ranks."

Pleas by the Afrikaners present for the proposed three-day stay-at-home to be called off "because the Republic is so dear to us" were rejected. The Coloured leaders stated firmly that they could accept no concession for Coloureds only, could not call off the strike and could not attend further talks unless African leaders were present.

This firm stand by both moderate and militant Coloureds represents the present political mood: equality for all.

Meanwhile, the Coloured People's Congress has made dramatic strides since March this year to capture the Coloured rank-and-file throughout the country. Coloured People's Congress officials are also on the Planning Committee of the proposed Coloured National Convention.

Cape Moslems have joined the political movement—Islam has no place for discrimination.

Coloureds have not become anti-White but they are indeed bitter—bitter about apartheid signs, in buses, trains, post offices, bitter that they must pay equal rates for separate but unequal amenities, bitter about group areas. It appears to them unquestionable that their destiny lies with the African to present an irresistible challenge to the present system of racial discrimination in South Africa.

An Australian comments on **SOUTH AFRICA'S INSANITY**

IT is supposed to be "not done" to criticise any country but one's own—even when one has lived in that country for more than the five years necessary for citizenship. So I hope that what I have to say is not looked on as criticism, but rather as the impressions of a fairly well-travelled Australian, offered in the hope that they will give South Africans a wider view of their own country.

My first impression of South Africa was—I regret to say—one of callousness. Of opulence flaunting itself in the face of poverty. Of South Africans treating their dogs or budgies far better than they treat their fellow citizens of a non-White hue.

Different Races

This was something new to me. In Australia, New Zealand, Britain and America (I did not visit the Southern States) I had often seen and experienced real pleasure in the meetings of different races—a sort of "people-may-have-been-fools-in-the-past-but-we-know-the-importance-of-human-dignity" attitude. A growing awareness that race, position, nationality and history mean nothing compared to the fact that a good man is the most important thing in the world.

Yet in South Africa, I had the feeling that our civilization has turned sour. I felt that I had come from the normal, bright bustling world of the mid-20th Century into a grey place of imprisonment and insanity, where values are perverted and reason is sneered at. A country which has kept alive the worst of the past and turned its back on the future.

Many things which South Africans tend to accept as a matter of course have come as a shock to me—a shock mixed with incredulity and a sense of fantasy.

There was the Christmas stamp affair, when public opinion was so vicious and intolerant that Christmas stamps were withdrawn because a saintly woman was shown with a halo.

The Johannesburg typhoid affair, when trusted public servants acted with as much knowledge of modern hygiene as a primitive witch-doctor.

The Sharpeville affair, when it became obvious that the firehose and the tear-gas bomb were rejected by the authorities for keeping order, in favour of machine guns. And a little-known aftermath to

Sharpeville when, with decent people still reeling from the shock of that disaster, a group of Pretoria clergymen could find nothing better to do with their time than to complain bitterly to the City Council over the sale of ice-cream on Sundays!

This is the stuff of which insanity is made. Yet there are few countries where such insanity is so incongruous. Bright sunshine, mountain and veld, brilliant flowers, an essentially happy and carefree African population, and much mineral and agricultural wealth. On the face of it, it doesn't add up.

Many of the excuses offered revolve around the South African War, and the so-called "colour problem." Yet one wonders if the colour problem is actually not a White problem.

As for the South African War, I was in Germany shortly before coming to the Union and found that the Germans, nine years after their ignominious defeat, had less hate for the Allies than the Boers and their descendants have for their own fellow-countrymen more than fifty years after.

Easy to Forget

It would be so easy to forget about these things and to ignore them—as so many who have been born here learned to do—but for the little everyday incidents which the average South African never even notices, yet which would stand out like a festering sore in most other countries of the world.

- For instance the agonised coughing of the garbage-boys as they work in dust and muck—no hygienic mask or special food for *them!*
- The undignified European screaming in a frenzy of rage—in public—at the scared, cringing African.
- The peculiar attitude that makes it compulsory to have a special licence to install closed-circuit television on one's own property.
- The way in which so many laws are administered without discrimination, care or interest.
- The unconscious but oft-demonstrated belief of so many Whites that non-Whites are not human, but are dangerous, cunning animals.

Perhaps you, as a South African, may not see these things, but they stand out like mountains to those who are, as yet, not so familiar with them as to ignore them.

What of the future? There are so many opinions held as to what the future holds for South Africa that one must turn to reality and facts in order to

AN AUSTRALIAN COMMENTS—Continued

gain even the faintest glimmer of what might happen.

One of these facts is that, in the entire history of the world, no subject race has ever remained subject. Either they have had their freedom restored to them voluntarily (as in the case of the Jews in England) or they have bloodily taken it back by force.

Another fact is that the rest of the world is fast climbing the ladder to freedom of thought and greater tolerance. Australia is at last admitting non-White immigrants, America has left isolationism far behind. Britain has withdrawn from India. Canada is building dams and powerhouses for Pakistan. Norway was even thinking of joining the British Commonwealth.

It is against this background that South Africa must be seen—not against the background of her own history and beliefs. South Africa is no longer alone.

To be quite brutal about it, South Africa is so un-alone that she could lose every single one of her cities less than an hour after a group of rockets were to leave their launching pads in Russia.

South Africa is of this world. She must live in it. And she will be judged—as I hope I have been able to demonstrate—by the standards of the modern world—not by her own standards. Just as Nazi Germany and Japan were judged—not by their own standards—but by those of an outraged civilization.

—*Rand Daily Mail, January 17th, 1961.*

Two Churchmen's Views

SEGREGATION "THE WILL OF GOD"

Cape Argus report from Pietermaritzburg

THE Moderator of the Dutch Reformed Synod of Natal, the Rev. H. J. C. Sniijders, said here: "Nowhere are we commanded to wipe out the idea of racial segregation. On the contrary, we want to allege that a process by which all races are put on the same level is against the will of God."

Mr. Sniijders, who was opening the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk Synod, said: "What God has severed no man may bring together.

"We as a church cannot do otherwise than express our disappointment regarding the verdicts expressed at the Cottesloe consultations.

"We regard it as interference with the autonomy of the State, although it may have effect on some of the members of the church."

He said the bonds between churches of the same Christian beliefs must be strengthened to prove a united front against heathenism, Mohammedanism and Communistic forces.

"We believe that co-operation cannot come by multi-racial gatherings but by means of a healthy understanding which can come to pass on both a social and a State basis.

"Because we, as Europeans, are far more advanced on the road of Christian civilization, it is our duty not to do unto the non-European what we would not have done unto ourselves.

"We see, therefore, in the developing of group areas and the Bantu states, nothing more than an earnest attempt on the part of the State to give

that Christian and human treatment to all race groups which they deserve.

"We as a church can declare that there is no other country and nation that sacrifices more to raise the non-European. It has always been our duty to seek the salvation of their immortal souls in an honest, respectable and dedicated manner.

"We have learnt that because of the differences in language and social standards, it is best to form sister churches whereby all language groups and races can worship separately.

"The ethnic differences are upheld, even though we worship the same God."

CHRIST PUT SECOND

Cape Times report from Durban

THE Most Rev. Denis E. Hurly, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Durban, told a meeting in Maritzburg that in South Africa apartheid was given preference over the teachings of Christ.

A visitor to South Africa would get the impression that the country had two great commandments:

"Thou shalt maintain White supremacy with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength.

"And the second is like unto it. Thou shalt love no neighbour who hath not the same colour as thyself."

The visitor would also be led to believe that a White skin had "an adhesive, fly-paper quality" to which civilization was firmly attached.

★ ★ ★

Everything in the life of man hangs by a thread and the best crash without warning.—*Ovid.*



Because of the prohibition of gatherings, only a solitary member of the Black Sash (Mrs. M. Petersen) demonstrated at the top of Adderley Street, Cape Town, on 22nd May.

prevent the Sasher on vigil from feeling too lonely. Radio signals were flashed but they declined to answer when asked if they were sending for reinforcements! At one stage a loud debate was overheard on whether or not they should "vat die vrou nou." The question is: Shouldn't the police be arrested for intimidation?

Communist?

Writing in *The Cape Argus* on 22nd May, Mr. H. G. Lawrence, M.P., made the following comments:

"No criterion, so far as the public knows, has been laid down by the Minister of Justice for deciding whether a proposed meeting or gathering is 'in the interest of the continuation of normal activities.'

"A meeting in the Cape Town City Hall, sponsored by the Black Sash and arranged for last Friday night, was refused exemption from the ban.

"Presumably, therefore, it was not regarded as a continuation of normal activities, despite the fact that one of the subjects to be discussed was the pass

laws—something which the Black Sash organisation has been campaigning against for a long time.

"As this Black Sash meeting in the City Hall was banned through failure to obtain an exemption, it must be concluded from the terms of the preamble to the banning order in the *Gazette* that Mr. Erasmus believes such a meeting would further the achievement of the objects of Communism!

"As a matter of profound public interest, therefore, let me put these direct questions to the Minister of Justice:

- (1) Does he consider that the proposed meeting would have furthered the achievement of the aims of Communism?
- (2) If so, does he regard the Black Sash organisation as a Communist instrument; or, if not, does he regard criticism of the pass laws as being likely to promote the Communist cause?

"These questions are pertinent at the present time. A frank answer to them may help some people to decide whether or not there should be jubilation among Whites and non-Whites now that we are about to become a republic and leave the Commonwealth."

A National Convention

THE declaration by staff members of the University of Cape Town, calling for a multi-racial meeting of leading South Africans to work out agreed principles prior to the holding of a national convention, was supported in a statement issued by the Black Sash.

Mrs. E. Stott, national president, said: "In common with other bodies and individuals the Black Sash believes that the only way to save our country from self-destruction and danger from within is to find the way in which all our people can live in harmony and all our resources of intellect and goodwill can be drawn upon.

"From their public pronouncements and our own personal knowledge of non-White leaders, we know that there is still a spirit of goodwill and a genuine desire for peaceful negotiation.

"In this knowledge and belief, the Black Sash has for some time been working for mutual discussions; and we believe that, for a meeting such as that called for now to be fruitful, each section must be represented by leaders chosen by their own people and by no one else.

"The Black Sash reiterates its offer of its services for the calling and organization of such a meeting either on a local or national basis."

Brains Trusts



COL. BOWRING

BATTLES WITH

MRS. STOTT



Col. BOWRING (extract from a statement in the WEEKBLAD, 17th February, 1961) —

IN an effort to confuse the issue in Green Point, the Black Sash, which describes itself as a non-party political organization but which, in fact, is under Liberal Party control, arranged and held a public meeting addressed by representatives of the different political parties, including a Nationalist Party Member of Parliament, last Monday.

It has in the past been a fixed rule in both the United Party and the Nationalist Party that they do not permit their official representatives to appear on public platforms in company with representatives of other parties.

Hence when the United Party was invited to provide a speaker for this meeting, it declined to do so.

The United Party regards its task as one of fighting the Nationalist Party and it is not interested in providing an audience for unimportant splinter parties.

Nor is it interested in jumping to the whip of the Black Sash and providing a speaker to wrangle with speakers from other parties whenever the Black Sash decides to arrange this.

Mrs. STOTT (letter published in the WEEKBLAD, 10th March) —

The Black Sash is concerned with getting good government in South Africa. We believe that a sound democracy is possible only on the basis of an informed electorate. By Brains Trusts, we seek to provide a forum where, in an atmosphere of reasonableness and courtesy, the electorate is enabled to be better informed on the issues facing it and on the policies which the different political parties offer.

The Black Sash has been organising Brains Trusts for three years throughout the country. For two years it has, by correspondence with the United Party head committee, been trying to persuade the United Party to take part, and would still gladly welcome United Party speakers at future Brains Trusts.

The Black Sash is an independent non-party

political organisation consisting of women from different political parties and is constituted to uphold the rights and liberties of all our citizens. Any similarity between the policy of the Black Sash and that of existing political parties is co-incidental. It is therefore no more true for Colonel Bowring to say that the Black Sash is under Liberal Party control now than it was for Nationalists to state that it was under control of the United Party at the time when the national chairman of the Black Sash was a United Party councillor in Johannesburg.

Col. BOWRING (reply appended to above letter)—

In the United Party we do not believe that the holding of Brains Trusts serves any useful purpose and further that they tend to confuse the electorate rather than to educate it politically. If any person wishes to be informed on the policy of any political party he or she is at liberty to read its literature or to attend its meetings and to listen to its speakers: this method is far more sensible than trying to sift the wheat from the chaff at a Black Sash "Tower of Babel" meeting. In any case we see no reason why, with our members, we should provide a forum for minor splinter parties.

With regard to my statement that the Black Sash is Liberal-controlled, it is my contention that the chairman of any organization should influence its thought and action: if a chairman gives no leadership he is a bad chairman. The chairman of the Black Sash being both extremely capable and a prominent member of the Liberal Party, it appears to me that similarity between the policies of the Black Sash and the Liberal Party are more than merely co-incidental.

Mrs. STOTT (letter to WEEKBLAD, not published)—

We thank you for publishing our letter and regret that you do not consider Brains Trusts serve any useful purpose.

We fully realise that Brains Trusts are not the

(Continued on page 17)

Transvaal Sashers

MARCH IN PROTEST

THE news of South Africa's withdrawal from the Commonwealth was received by members of the Black Sash with a sense of shock and unbelief. An emergency committee meeting was called to discuss the matter, and it was unanimously agreed that a protest demonstration should be staged as soon as possible.

It was decided that, if permission could be obtained from the City Council, we would organise a march through the streets of Johannesburg. Although Black Sash members would have been glad to associate themselves with a general protest by the citizens of Johannesburg, the absence of any lead from other organisations led us to invite members of the public to join us in a citizens' protest march. Monday,

WHY SOUTH AFRICA IS OUT OF THE COMMONWEALTH

WE cannot emphasise sufficiently that although we agree that it was the rash insistence on the referendum and the forcing of the republican issue that precipitated our withdrawal (or expulsion) from the Commonwealth, it is our inhuman policy of enforced apartheid that has earned us the justified censure of the Western world. Many South Africans, and even some of our own members, do not appear to understand that while many groups and individuals in other Commonwealth countries are also guilty of the human failing of racial and group discrimination, it is only in South Africa that such discrimination is *national policy*, written into our law. However much the Nationalists may claim that the policy of "separate development" and "equal rights in their own areas" is moral and just, the fact remains that the majority of Africans, now living and working in the "White" areas, are destined to live out their lives in those areas, and cannot hope to enjoy in their lifetime the ordinary human rights that White people take for granted.

March 20th, 1961, was decided upon as the earliest possible date.

By dint of hard work on the part of committee members, branch contacts and many individual members, everything that had to be done in the short time available was done. The City Council gave us permission to hold the march between noon and 1 p.m., and to wind it up on the steps of the City Hall with one speech only. Mrs. Dora Hill courageously agreed to be the sole speaker. We also obtained permission for the march from the Johannesburg Traffic Department, who gave us the greatest assistance throughout.

One slogan was decided upon: *The Crime—Apartheid: The Penalty—Isolation* — and we decided to use numerous posters, in English and Afrikaans alternately. At a late stage it was decided that we needed a pamphlet to give the public the whole basis of our protest, and very early on Monday morning two of our committee members took the copy to the printers, who very nobly rose to the occasion once again and let us have the pamphlets before 12 o'clock! Hundreds of telephone calls went through the branch contacts to past and present members of the Black Sash and members of the public. The newspapers were informed, and arrangements were made to have loud-speakers and our recording of the tolling bell on the steps of the City Hall.

The March

Demonstrators were asked to assemble at noon at the Scottish War Memorial at Joubert Park, the same spot from which our two great marches of protest against the Senate Act started in May and November, 1955. The march started at about 12.30 p.m., led by three members of the regional committee and preceded by traffic officers on motor bicycles, and took its way along the same route to the City Hall as that followed by the two previous marches, to the sound of slow drum beats. It is difficult to estimate the number that took part, but judging from our own contact figures and the reports in the different newspapers, there were probably between 400 and 500 marchers, including 70 or 80 men. A number of men and women joined as we proceeded on our way. When we marched six years ago, enthusiasm and encouragement accompanied us



all the way to the City Hall; now, a solitary hand-clap here or there served only to emphasise the apathy of the watching public.

As we left Joubert Park, a car bearing a Pretoria number plate drew up, and a number of young men, apparently University students, got out and lined up beside our procession. They carried posters on long bamboo poles, but at that stage did not display them. All the way to the City Hall the intruders flanked our marchers, jostling and pushing, and evidently trying to force us away from the pavement side of the street so that they could display their own posters. It was only when they were challenged to do so by members of the public that they showed these posters, which turned out to be crude and stupid attacks on the Black Sash women. Our women showed great restraint and continued determinedly on their way, keeping firmly to the side of the street.

There seemed to be about 25 young men, led by an older man who was evidently not a student. As far as we can ascertain, they confined themselves to pushing and jostling, and the one case of "man-handling" reported to us had its humorous side. A very petite, middle-aged woman found a tall young man marching beside her, and as they approached a parked car he made a move to push in front of her and take the left-hand position. She elbowed

him out of the way and forced him to fall behind, whereupon the leader rushed up, caught the little woman by the arm and exclaimed, "How dare you assault my men!"

Several women prepared to come to her aid, but a Black Sash organiser, an even smaller woman, came up and took command of the situation. The two heroes fell back, and the "assaulter" resumed her place in the procession!

At the City Hall

As we approached the City Hall, the counter-demonstrators suddenly took the lead, banners held prominently aloft, evidently with the intention of leading us in to the City Hall. The Black Sash leaders immediately came to a dead stop, bringing the column to a halt, and waited until the traffic officers came back and cleared the students out of the way. Unfortunately, they moved in the direction of the City Hall, and when our procession arrived they were already in position on the steps, trying to take possession of the loud-speakers and microphone. These young men, who had glibly answered all remonstrances along the route with protestations of their "democratic" right to demonstrate, now attempted to deprive the legitimate demonstrators of their democratic right to speak! It was only prompt

PROTEST MARCH - Continued

and determined action by some of the men who had marched with us, in forming a protective circle around Mrs. Hill, that enabled her to deliver her speech. The students were hustled off the steps, and angry members of the public seized their posters and tore them up.

Exactly at one o'clock the bells, which had been tolling at intervals, ceased, the Post Office clock struck the hour, and Mrs. Hill commenced to speak. Except for one or two catcalls, probably from the students, who were now rather subdued, her short speech was received most sympathetically and appreciatively by the audience, and it was most unfortunate that once again an unrehearsed "effect" marred the proceedings. One of the men round the microphone (he had incidentally been most helpful in routing the counter-demonstration!) now most misguidedly seized the loud-speaker and added what he no doubt intended to be a few helpful words. Some of his remarks were ill-advised, and offended many of the people standing by.

Deplorable Scuffles

Immediately after Mrs. Hill's speech, the majority of our women dispersed, as they had been requested to do, and only a few of the organisers remained to clear up and attend to the removal of the posters, etc. It was then that most deplorable scuffles took place between Whites and non-Whites, mostly as the result of unprovoked attacks by an unruly White element. As far as we can judge, the Pretoria students were not directly responsible for these attacks, although their action in the first place caused the trouble.

Black Sash women were not directly involved in any of the incidents, but one or two of them tried to protect individual non-Whites against assault by the Whites, and they had to endure a good deal of obscene abuse from the White hooligans. Mr. Erasmus denied it in Parliament, but the police refused to take concerted action to disperse the crowd, and except for the extremely courageous single-handed action of one police constable and two traffic officers, they did nothing to prevent the assaults on the Africans. We understand the crowd was finally dispersed by traffic police.

Newspaper reports and articles have made it quite clear that the Black Sash organisers did all in their power to stage an orderly and peaceful demonstration ("and they had every right to protest," says one report) and the responsibility for the deplorable disturbances is placed firmly where it belongs — on the shoulders of the Pretoria intruders, in the first place, and of the White hooligans in the second.

SASH TO CONTINUE

THE Black Sash issued the following statement on the withdrawal of South Africa from the Commonwealth:

The Black Sash regrets that South Africa's morally indefensible policy of apartheid has led to the Union's withdrawal from the Commonwealth.

In or out of the Commonwealth, the Black Sash will continue to work for the removal of racial discrimination.

In our view, apartheid and domination of any one group by another will lead to isolation and internal unrest.

Whether or not the internal policy of one country in the Commonwealth should be the concern of others, it is quite obvious that the Western world as well as the Afro-Asian bloc is against the policy of apartheid and racial discrimination.

Every White person in this country, regardless of party affiliations, should not be content merely to blame the Government but all should now ask themselves how far they are responsible for the unfair racial discrimination that is practised in our country.

A LETTER FROM AUSTRALIA

From Mrs. Jessie Groom, Mayoress of Brisbane, Australia.

LAST week in Brisbane the march of protest arranged by you appeared on television. It was an inspiration to the women of Brisbane. Our thoughts and good wishes are with you particularly just now as you try to cope with this new development with regard to South Africa's withdrawal from the Commonwealth.

Please rest assured that many of us feel closer to those of you who are waging this strong fight for justice than ever before. We know that eventually you will succeed as movements such as yours have succeeded in the past . . .

At many of the meetings of our women's organisations whose objective is to encourage women to take an intelligent responsibility for their community, your organisation is held up as an inspiration and example of what women *can* do . . .

* * *

National hatred is something peculiar. You will always find it strongest and most violent where there is the lowest degree of culture.—*Goethe*.

Well-known Writer Looks at the Sash

THE woman without cultural pretensions, outside the small group who may be called the "high-brows" of South Africa, still lives in a world of morning tea, tennis, swimming, gossip, bridge, dancing and so on, varied by the occasional charity committee or flag day. And why not? Why not indeed, if she was not playing out her life against one of history's great tragic backdrops, and if, poor woman, she was not conscious every now and again of the strange lurid lights which, playing over her shoulder, give her bridge parties and cocktail times so frightening a dying-sunset glow.

Black Sash Realism

Not all the well-to-do English-speaking ladies live in this strange, menaced cloud cuckoo land. Mrs. L., a businessman's wife, Mrs. P., a farmer's widow, and Miss J., a doctor's sister, all have reason to object to what I have written, for they are members of the Black Sash, and the Black Sash is, on any count, one of the most remarkable as well as one of the most admirable feminine activities I have encountered.

Hear Mrs. L., who is voluble and not without a touch of Rodean jollity, describe it:

"People will tell you we're simply a lot of silly women who ought to be doing our work at home, that we're screaming suffragettes and so on. Of course, we began with shock tactics as a protest against the packing of the Senate—standing about with black sashes on in attitudes of grief whenever Ministers appeared in public.

"Of course, it was a bit theatrical, it was meant to be. It woke people up and shook the Ministers a little too—respectable ladies can be such an embarrassment—but above all it got women thinking. Then the Africans came along and asked, if we were out to underline what was wrong in the country, why couldn't we help them meet their grievances?

"We feed African families where the man is gaoled, we help African women to meet evacuation orders, we go with them to court in pass cases, we protest against job reservation, banishments, Press censorship."

In fact these ladies with gracious homes are in it up to the neck. They have met the fate of all people who act because their emotions tell them that they must: they have been labelled by the Right as Communists, by the Left as society ladies amusing themselves by doing good . . .

Apart from what they have achieved, these Black

Sash women alone among well-to-do English-speaking women know what the lives of the "natives" are like in some degree; they have attended courts with them, waited with them in the long hours of bench sitting which a life of forms and passes issued by an entrenched bureaucracy demands.

They have seen the homes of their servants and the family misery that apartheid brings. They were the only English-speaking South African women I met who did not seem frightened of the "natives," because they knew a little about them. The Black Sash ladies, not afraid to be absurd, not afraid to be emotional, have won back some part of White dignity.—Angus Wilson in *The Sunday Telegraph*.

BOWRING vs. STOTT—Continued from page 13

only method of bringing about an informed electorate, but have certainly found that people who will not come to political meetings, will come in their hundreds to Brains Trusts. In practice, therefore, we are of the opinion that they serve a useful purpose.

From our experience, we have found that a majority of people canvassed are ignorant of the policies of even the parties they support, clearly indicating that while they could be informed by reading party political literature, they in fact do not do so, and even those who do we find are often floored when they hear the arguments of the other side. Further, we find many are ignorant of the effects of laws, such as the Pass Laws, about which we also hold Brains Trusts.

Any similarity between Black Sash policy and that of any other political party depends entirely on the extent to which the purpose for which the Black Sash is constituted, namely, "the upholding of people's rights and liberties," is similar to that of the political parties concerned.

As Nationalists as well as Splinter Parties have been willing to participate in our Brains Trusts, we sincerely hope that the time may yet come when the United Party will feel it worth while to take part as well. We are confident that those who have participated will vouch for the fact that they have all been given a fair hearing.

We hope that the United Party's participation in a debate with the Nationalists and Progressives at Stellenbosch indicates that the United Party is seeing the advantage of meetings where in a calm atmosphere differing views can be discussed.

LIFE ON THE HILLSIDE

A Black Sash Investigation

BONTRUG location is five miles outside the village of Kirkwood, on a barren, stony hillside where only the jointed cactus thrives. Here upward of 2,000 people exist in primitive conditions. There are no streets. Human and animal excrement lies in the open, a breeding ground for flies and disease, and the stench is appalling.

The older part of the location, consisting of some twenty houses, was established a number of years ago; the newer section, comprising the bulk of the location, was established more recently when families were moved there from a location nearer Kirkwood. The move was undertaken by the Kirkwood Municipality. Families were taken to the new site and dumped. No shelter was provided by the authorities, although at the time of the move it was raining heavily.

No municipal housing has yet been provided. A monthly rental of R1 is paid by each householder to the Kirkwood Municipality. The ground from which these people were moved is now being rented to farmers by the municipality as grazing for goats. The municipality has put a White superintendent in charge of the location. It has also provided drinking water, which is piped from a borehole and stored

In 1959 members of the Addo Branch of the Black Sash fought against the removal of Africans from settled locations in Kirkwood to Bontrug, a bare hillside far from the town. They were successful in halting the removals. A report of their activities appeared in the August, 1959, issue of "The Black Sash". Later the Municipality again dumped Africans on the bare hillside. This time, however, Kirkwood residents and the Press joined the Sash in battle with the local Native Affairs Department, a report of which appeared in the February, 1960, issue of "The Black Sash."

An account of subsequent efforts to help the unfortunate inhabitants of Bontrug appeared in the December, 1960/February, 1961, issue of "The Black Sash." The survey published here was undertaken by members of the Port Elizabeth, Addo and Kirkwood branches of the Black Sash in February, 1961.

Report by

ALISON PIRIE

in an uncovered cement reservoir. The reservoir is situated about two miles from the farthest house in the location. It has been fenced in with barbed wire and has been built high to prevent contamination. Water is obtained through a tap at the side of the reservoir wall. Although brak, the water contains no impurities according to an analysis which we have done.

This water is for the use of the people only. No animals are allowed to be watered here. The nearest water supply for the inhabitants' stock is the river five or six miles from the location.

A T.B. clinic is operating in the location and does some sterling work among the people. We did find, however, that many people who needed treatment were not receiving it because, for some reason or other, they do not attend the clinic.

Stock and Food

Firewood must be gathered from five miles away. The municipality permits the hawking of firewood in the location, but most of the inhabitants cannot afford to buy it, and must therefore gather their own. This entails a long walk and practically a whole day's labour.

The walls of the huts are made of mud, with roofs of twigs, thatch and in some cases flattened petrol tins. Most of them leak.

The average hut measures 2 ft. x 15 ft. and comprises two rooms. With a few notable exceptions, the homes contain little or no furniture. Many homes were found to have nothing but a few cooking pots and blankets.

Attempts have been made by some householders to plant gardens, but in almost every case these have had to be abandoned through lack of water and the poorness of the soil.

Most of the stock owned by the people has had to be destroyed, or has died through lack of food and water. Some householders own a few fowls and pigs, but these are in the minority. The few donkeys and dogs in the location are obviously in very poor condition.

Of the families investigated a large proportion subsist solely on mealies and dried beans. A few

others supplement their diet with coffee and home-made unleavened bread. There appears to be a total absence of meat, milk, fat or vegetables of any kind in the diet. During the season, unsaleable oranges and prickly pears are eaten.

Most of the children appeared to be suffering from malnutrition. They looked uncared for, dirty and ill-fed. Many adults also were suffering from malnutrition, and mothers complained that they were not able to breast-feed their babies.

Health and Incomes

The 220 families we investigated comprised 579 adults and 806 children. Of this total of 1,385 persons, 161 were known to be suffering from T.B. Another 145 persons were found to be suffering from various other diseases, mainly gastro-enteritis, traucoma and chest complaints. Persons suffering from malnutrition, rickets, scurvy and worms are not included in the foregoing figures.

Excluding persons obtaining old age or disability pensions, the average monthly income is just over R3. In many cases this is the sole income on which a family consisting of three adults and five to seven children exists. Of the persons investigated, 69 are receiving old age pensions of R4.75 paid every two months; 10 persons receive the disability pension, also paid every two months, and varying from R4.75 down to less than R1, according to the degree of disability. Ten persons were found entitled to pensions but not receiving them. Among the latter is a man who claims to be 100 years old, and does not receive a pension as he is too old and weak to go into the village to apply for it.

The majority of the people belong to the Ethiopian Church (103 families). The rest are of the Methodist Congregational, and independent faiths. No effort is apparently being made by any of these churches to aid the people.

Lack of Employment

Of the families investigated, more than half the total number of adults (inclusive of women) are unemployed, and find it impossible to obtain employment. Severe drought has obliged the farmers in the district to reduce their labour force. A milk factory in the village has had to close down, rendering a number of people jobless. The village of Kirkwood is small and cannot absorb the large number of unemployed from the farms.

Much of the work obtainable is seasonal (orange picking and packing) so for many months these workers are idle and have to rely on casual labour in the village, which is almost non-existent.

Of the unemployed, many refuse to register at the

READER TAKES US TO TASK

From Miss Jennifer Mouat, 10 Woodlands Highstead Road, Rondebosch, C.P.

ON reading *The Black Sash* for March, 1961, it occurred to me that it might not be desirable to refer to Mr. and Mrs. Kleinbooi Sikade as "Kleinbooi" and "Pauline". In particular, this reference is used in the captions to the two photographs.

I am not at all sure whether my criticism is correct or not, but I thought you might be interested to know my impression on reading the article. I was a little taken aback that our magazine, of all magazines, should use Christian names only in referring to the Sikades.

Perhaps I am over-sensitive to this topic, but I have experienced the improvement in mutual respect between people of different racial groups when "Mr." and "Mrs." are used in referring to comparative strangers.

[Our correspondent is quite right. To some extent we are all the victims of custom. In this case Mr. and Mrs. Sikade, with whom Sash members have long been associated, have always been known, by common consent, by their first names.

—EDITOR.]

local labour bureau as they fear being sent away from their homes and families.

We found many families who have no income at all and rely on the goodwill of their neighbours (who are not in a very much better position) for food.

One family consisting of three adults and five children lives on an old age pension of R4.75 paid every two months. The head of this family has only one leg—the other was amputated in 1945 and the stump is still red and suppurating and causes him considerable pain all the time. His wife is chronically ill and all five children have T.B. His aged mother, on whose pension they live, is senile and almost blind. This, unhappily, is not an exceptional case.

It is little short of a miracle that, with the extremely unhygienic conditions prevailing, the lack of food and the general debility of the people, a major epidemic of some kind has not broken out in this location. With the winter months approaching the plight of these people will be terrible. It is most urgent that something be done immediately to help them.

* * *

If you will not hear reason she will surely rap your knuckles.—B. Franklin.

MULTI-RACIAL JOHANNESBURG

Apartheid in Action — A Black Sash Forum

SPEAKERS from the floor at the one-day multi-racial forum held in Johannesburg on 15th April, repeatedly urged that a resolution be adopted calling for a National Convention of all races to discuss the future of South Africa.

Mrs. Jean Sinclair, chairman of the Southern Transvaal Region of the Black Sash which arranged the forum, pointed out from the chair that it had been decided in advance not to take any resolutions.

R. N. HARVEY

After her opening address, Mr. R. N. Harvey, a former City Councillor and past-president of the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce, addressed the meeting.

Some significant facts emerged from the statistics given by Mr. Harvey. The population of Johannesburg is now over 1,000,000, almost exactly double the figure of the 1936 census. The White population numbers 375,000, the Asiatic and Coloured 28,000 and 39,500 respectively, and the remaining 594,000 are Africans. It is estimated that 230,000 African males are in day-to-day employment in the city.

An analysis of the earnings of the three non-White groups reveals that the majority are very poor; 50% of the Coloured people and 60% of the Indians earn less than £40 a month, and a great many Africans earn incomes far below the poverty datum line of £23 a month.

With regard to the minority enjoying adequate incomes, Mr. Harvey said: "Such persons form the backbone of any community anywhere in the world; their children, generally speaking, are not to be found among the ranks of the delinquents; and the parents, because they are able to provide adequately for the support of their dependants, have a dignity in their own lives and a respect for others which are absent when they are confronted with grinding poverty."

Housing

The urban non-White worker, said Mr. Harvey, sought security, a fixed job; he wanted promotion and pay rises, dignity in his working life, satisfaction in the job itself; and he was keen to learn. It was encouraging to note that employers were becoming increasingly aware of the advantages to be gained in co-operation with their non-White workers. Many

employers were raising wages voluntarily and were adopting more enlightened personnel policies to improve relationships.

In dealing with housing for non-Whites, the speaker said he felt that sub-economic housing schemes should be provided for the lowest income groups; for the middle income group, houses at low economic rentals within their capacity to pay should be provided; and home ownership schemes should be devised for those in receipt of incomes of over £40 a month.

Mr. Harvey pointed out that the entire structure of our economy, agricultural, commercial, industrial and mining, had been built up over 300 years by the interdependence of the racial groups. It was difficult to imagine how South Africa could have developed without the capital, technical skills and superior cultural and educational standards of the White man, but it was equally difficult to imagine how the present degree of development could have been attained without the labour of the three non-White groups.

"Johannesburg is a multi-racial community, each constituent element dependent on the others, and that is why it is essential that we learn to understand, appreciate and respect the value of the contribution made by the groups different from our own to our national well-being, so that we may all prosper in the land of our birth."

Trade Union Rights

In the discussion following Mr. Harvey's speech, points raised by White members of the audience included the need to extend trade union rights to non-White workers; the need for all people to learn to look upon members of other races as fellow human beings; and the desirability of having non-White representatives on the Johannesburg City Council. In reply to this last point, Mr. Harvey said that as far back as 1950 he had advocated the admission of two non-Whites to the City Council. Now, in 1961, there was still no non-White representation, and he considered it a disgrace to Johannesburg.

Many non-Whites complained about inadequate transport facilities to and from the townships: the trains were over-crowded and the services irregular. Workers had to start queuing from 3 a.m. in order to be sure of transport to work. A member of the Black Sash said that the Council's plea for permission to provide a fast bus service had been disregarded; the reason was that the Railways, having

built a line costing £8½ million, were not keen on competition, despite the inadequacy of the services provided.

An African woman criticised the City Council for establishing beerhalls right next to the railway stations. She suggested that a better plan might be to replace them with crèches, so that working mothers could conveniently deposit and collect their small children on their way to and from work. The same speaker criticised some of the concrete houses provided by the Council as being like "ovens in summer and fridges in winter", and complained bitterly about the non-provision of bathrooms. Other speakers supported her.

Two members of the Council who were present argued that the type of house which could be provided was dependent on the funds available. A good point made by one of the Councillors seemed not to be understood by the audience in general. This was that the Council was not permitted by the Government to provide houses on a *sub-economic* basis, but was obliged to charge rentals that would bring in a fair economic return on the capital outlay. The Council was therefore limited to the building of houses to a value commensurate with the rentals the tenants were able to pay, and this, of course, was very low.

One cannot but feel, however, that a little more imagination might have been used, and slightly better houses provided for those people who wanted them and were able and willing to pay higher rentals.

G. M. PITJE

Mr. G. M. Pitje, a former school teacher and anthropologist, said that the Africans were intensely proud of Johannesburg, as their own city. They bitterly resented the suggestion that they were only temporary sojourners, and that Johannesburg was a wholly "White area"—most of the Africans living in the townships were completely urbanised and had no tribal roots, yet Dr. Verwoerd had said that the land occupied by them was part of the "White areas" and could no more be looked upon as belonging to the Africans than the portions of the White farmers' land occupied by them, or the backyards in the White men's homes.

Mr. Pitje said that all the affairs of the urban African in Johannesburg were controlled by the City Council through the Non-European Affairs Committee and Department. The only representation enjoyed by Africans was through the Advisory Boards elected in the townships, which held regular meetings with municipal representatives; but Africans in general had no faith in these Advisory Boards, the members of which were regarded as mere lackeys, whose "advice" might be given but was never taken.



"... Eight! Nine! Out!"
— Cape Times.

The Africans wanted direct representation on the City Council.

The pass laws, said Mr. Pitje, were bitterly resented by the city Africans—no other race had to bear them, and it gave them a sense of inferiority. In the words of Dr. Jabavu, they felt that the main function of the pass laws was "to harass black men for being black." After displaying his own reference book, and showing how bulky and inconvenient it was to be carried constantly on the person, he detailed the many indignities, hardships and restrictions imposed by these laws. The pass had become such a vital document to an African that many abuses were rife: there were "Pass Consultants" or "Social Consultants", who claimed to be able to provide passes and permits in return for extortionate fees.

Bantu Authorities

Dealing with Bantu Authorities, Mr. Pitje said that this system professed "to allow the Africans to develop along their own lines," but the lines were chosen by someone else.

On the question of so-called "Ambassadors" (representatives of Bantu Authorities in the urban areas), Mr. Pitje mentioned the names of two men who were next in hereditary succession to the chieftainship of a certain tribe. Both are well-known urban African leaders, highly educated on Western lines; both are lawyers qualified to interpret South African law. "Would such men," asked Mr. Pitje, "be happy to administer tribal law? Could they do so. Both are completely urbanised, and now have no links with tribal custom." The Government, he said, expected the Africans to move backwards when the rest of the world was moving forward.

—Continued overleaf

MULTI-RACIAL JOHANNESBURG—Continued

Mr. Pitje said he wished to make it clear that the Africans did not want to displace the White man—they only wanted to take their rightful place in a multi-racial society.

Points from the floor were that Africans wanted to be regarded as human beings; that they did not want exemptions and concessions, but a new South Africa; that the urban African was regarded simply as a source of cheap labour, and that Africans in the cities were gradually being reduced to a people without a home.

Mr. Pitje was asked what he thought of the common thesis that the urban African is protected by influx control. He replied that in his opinion there was no protection—influx control did not in fact prevent entry into the urban areas. Under influx control the White man was not permitted to choose his own labour, and labour was prevented from finding its own market. It was an economic fallacy to claim that housing for the labour force had first to be provided, and influx regulated accordingly.

One of the City Councillors present made a spirited attempt to defend the policy of influx control, but was somewhat hampered by his own admission that it was morally indefensible! He felt that a certain measure of influx control was essential—and is to be commended for his courage in saying so to an audience that was obviously predominantly of the other opinion.

R. A. BHULIA

Dr. A. B. Kazi was to have addressed the forum on behalf of the Indian community, but as he was unavoidably detained at the last minute, Mr. R. A. Bhulia deputised for him, reading a paper prepared by Dr. Kazi and adding comments of his own.

Life for the Indian on the Witwatersrand, said Mr. Bhulia, was the same as in other areas of South Africa—he was so hedged about with restrictions that he resembled a caged animal. Restrictions on the movements of Indians in the Transvaal went back to the time of Paul Kruger's Republic.

Of the 60,000 Indians in the Transvaal, 20,000 were in trade, or sought a living through trade, on the Witwatersrand. Few other occupations were open to them. There were two high schools for Indians on the Witwatersrand, and about twenty primary schools. There were no facilities for recreation or sport. In addition to rigid residential segregation—Indians were obliged to obtain permits to move from one Province to another—and passport refusals had imposed another hardship on them.

The Group Areas Act had borne very heavily upon the Indians in every way, many abuses had arisen from it, and in particular it had hit very hard at the spiritual development of the individual, as an affront to human dignity. There were, of course, some feel-



ings of frustration, but these were largely offset by the ability of the Indian to carry himself with self-respect and dignity.

Mr. Bhulia concluded by quoting the words of Mr. Nehru, "Those who submit to an evil today, will not have much of a tomorrow."

From the floor, a speaker pointed out that a clause in the Factories Act providing for separate cloakroom amenities for the different racial groups was having the effect of excluding Coloureds and Indians from work in the factories, as employers were unwilling to provide four separate cloakrooms for men and four for women. As a result, Africans were learning skilled jobs in the factories, and Indian and Coloured people were, in effect, being excluded. In Natal, Indians were gradually being ousted, while in the Cape the same thing was happening to the Coloured people.

GODFREY BECK

Mr. Z. Gamiel, who was to have represented the Coloured community, was unfortunately unable to attend, and Mr. Godfrey Beck found himself deputizing for him. He read the paper that had been sent in by Mr. Gamiel, adding his own comments.

The lives of the Coloured community in Johannesburg, also, are governed by "apartheid" laws, such as the Group Areas Act and job reservation, he said. When a Coloured man reaches the age of 21, he has to apply for a permit to enable him to live with his parents, in the home where he has grown up!

Mr. Beck said that the Coloured people's greatest grievance was the dreariness of their living conditions

and the inadequacy of the housing provided for them. They felt that they were the forgotten people. Many of the houses in Noordgesig township had no ceilings, no floors, no electricity, and — again the same cry! — no bathrooms. Mr. Beck said that when he had married, he had been obliged to leave his parents' home for an inferior house in Noordgesig — he had come down in the world. There was no bathroom in his house, and no inner doors, and now, with a growing family, all toilet operations had to be performed behind a curtain. There were no recreational facilities in the township, nothing to do, nothing to look at.

Many Coloured men would like to buy their own homes, but could not raise the necessary deposit. There were Government-assisted schemes whereby White people in the lower income groups could purchase their homes without deposit, and pay them off as rent. There were no such schemes for Coloured people.

Many of the Coloured people were extremely poor, and had the greatest difficulty in finding the money to pay for food, clothing and rent. When they fell into arrears with their rent, they were given no time to pay, but were turned out of their homes without warning. It was a shocking thing for a man to come home from work to find his possessions in the street and his family homeless. Evictions were also carried out for reasons other than non-payment of rent: the tenancy of a house could not be transferred from one member of the family to another. Mr. Beck spoke of a family of six girls, the eldest of whom was 18. The mother had died several years



The Black Sash, June, 1961

RACIALIST REPUBLIC

On May 31st South Africa becomes a Republic. . . . As a South African I could have been proud, and one day I may be — today I find it hard to be because I belong to a racist Republic which is propagating a way of life based on fear, mistrust and a desperate rationalisation of Christian principles.

—*The Very Rev. E. L. King,*
Dean of Cape Town.

previously, and when the father died, the girls were told to leave the house.

Mr. Beck said that as in all other groups, the majority of the Coloured people had no interest in politics as such: the ordinary man merely wanted a job, security for his family, a comfortable home, the chance to educate his children. But the shabby treatment meted out to them had made the Coloured people politically conscious. They had no effective voice — they had no faith in the Coloured Advisory Boards. They were tired of asking for citizenship — they wanted direct representation, a share in the running of the country. And because there were many Whites, such as those present at the forum, and because world opinion was on their side, they were confident that they would be successful.

JEANETTE DAVIDOFF

The day ended with a short summing-up by Mrs. J. Davidoff, who had convened the forum on behalf of the Black Sash. She quoted the words of Sir Basil Schonland at the Rhodes University graduation ceremony: "Strive with all your might to seek and find and defend the truth; if you do this, you are a free man or woman; if you do not, you are a slave!" Mrs. Davidoff stressed some of the truths we had learned — the harassing effects of passes and permits on non-White people, their deep sense of injustice, their feelings of inferiority stemming from lack of security, their deep-rooted desire for a share in a full life in South Africa, a share in education, culture, recreation, sport. We had seen that they faced a future that offered them no hope — the rainbow of South African prosperity spoken of in Parliament was not for them. Above all, we had been shown the responsibility of the White man for all these things, and the heavy indictment he had to face. Mrs. Davidoff concluded by saying that we had sought and found some of the truth, and must now defend the fuller truth "that human rights and dignity have no price."

HOPE FOR KENYA

By HARRY JAGUAR

FOR some time in the future Kenya's destiny lies in the hands of the Kenya African Democratic Union, a party which emerged with a minority in the recent elections to Kenya's Legislative Council. KADU has already formed a government and has successfully completed the first few weeks of the Legislative Council session.

Mr. Ronald Ngala is the leader of KADU. He is a moderate and soft-spoken African who has always held the full trust of his fellow members in the Legislative Council. As leader of Government Business, Minister of Education, and leader of the party that commands a majority in the Legislative Council, it is he who will hold the key position in the new Kenya government. If he is successful, it will be because he is the Clement Attlee of African politics — a man who inspires the trust of his equals and can hold a team together. He will be supported by moderate African leaders such as Masinde Muliro, educated at a South African university, and John Keen, whose father was a German and whose mother was from the Masai tribe.

Responsible Government

Kenya is now approaching the stage in which it will be granted self-government. It has already reached that point in its constitutional evolution which is sometimes described as "responsible government". Politically it is one step behind Tanganyika and one step in front of Basutoland.

The African elected members hold a majority in the Legislative Council over all the other racial groups combined, but there are still members representing the Kenya Whites and the numerous Indian community. The Africans have not got a majority in the Executive Council (Kenya's Cabinet) and the Kenya Governor, Sir Patrick Renison, has certain reserved powers. He can, for instance, appoint official members to carry through government policy in the Council should his supporters get into difficulties.

On the other hand, the Kenya Governor is keen to ensure the continued co-operation of Africans in government and was very anxious to get KADU members to commit themselves during the long period in which they hesitated before taking office.

Before they formed the government, KADU were in an awkward position. Not only were they a minority party, but they would have to depend on

the support of Whites and Asians to carry their policies forward. Moreover, they would be supporting a "colonial" government, always risky for young African politicians on the threshold of their careers.

In the recent elections of February, KADU emerged with 10 seats compared with 18 of the rival Kenya African National Union. Since then there have been the "national seat" elections by members of the Legislative Council sitting as an electoral college. These elections by members of all races benefited KADU by three seats and KANU by one; thus the totals among African elected members are now KADU 15 and KANU 19. But KADU have been able to get the support of most of the European and Indian elected members; thus they can command about 30 votes in the Council.

Prominent European members such as Michael Blundell, Wilfrid Havelock and Peter Marrian have accepted Ministries. The government is also supported by Indians such as Arvind Jamidar, a man who has had a long association with the African leaders.

There was one decisive reason that kept the Kenya African National Union, the majority African party, from forming the government. It was the Kenyatta question. KANU boasts of men like Tom Mboya, the hero of the Nairobi masses; James Gichuru, a venerated Kikuyu leader; Oginga Odinga, a militant, with Communist sympathies. These men are far more powerful than their KADU counterparts and they all pledged themselves before the February elections not to form a government unless Jomo Kenyatta was unconditionally released from restriction.

Power of Kenyatta

The power of Kenyatta is shown by the fact that KANU refused to form the government. KANU leaders have waited long for the day when they can take Ministries and govern their own country, but they are not willing to do this without Jomo Kenyatta.

Over the past few years a single-handed campaign by Oginga Odinga to get Kenyatta's release has grown into the most important issue in any African's electoral campaign. Without invoking Kenyatta's name elections cannot be won, popularity cannot be maintained. Kenyatta has been built up as "Father of the Kenya nation," as the panacea for all Kenya's political ills.

Most African leaders have campaigned for Kenyatta because they have genuinely felt that he was

not implicated in Mau Mau, that he should end his exile and return to unite his people. But there are others who are using his name to further their own ends.

Kenyatta is gradually revealing himself by means of Press conferences and messages passed to other leaders from his place of restriction. Commentators have been impressed by the lucidity of the 68-year-old leader who has lived for more than seven years in a scorching desert prison. Moreover, Kenyatta still seems to speak with the moderation and good sense of the days before he was arrested for being the leader of Mau Mau.

Though a government has been formed without promising Kenyatta's release, the ultimate stability of the country still seems to rest with him. KANU is committed to Kenyatta and is ready to elect him as president of the party when he returns to ordinary life. With the powerful KANU leaders using Kenyatta's name against the present government, and with the majority of the people behind them, KADU cannot be expected to retain power for very long.

It is government by a minority party, dependent

on the votes of members from immigrant races and on government officials. Against it, is the militant KANU party, with leaders of international standing, much influence in the Pan-African political world and wide experience in the methods of African nationalist agitation.

Even the KADU leaders themselves do not expect their rule to be a long one. The Lancaster House constitution was accepted over a year ago as a temporary constitutional measure, one which would have to be replaced when the time came for self-government. Mr. Ngala has now stated that he expects Kenya will get this self-government at the end of 1960.

But the present government will give members of all races a chance to work together constructively for the future of Kenya. Much time is needed to get rid of the fears and suspicions that divide one race from another and to establish a society without race distinction and social injustice.

Despite Kenya's turbulent past there is a good chance that this can be accomplished. The recent

The Nompozolo Family finds a Home

IN the March issue of *The Black Sash* the story was published of Mr. Gilbert Nompozolo, one of the many Africans who, under the present laws, found that they were "displaced people" in their own country. For two and a half years Mr. Nompozolo had been in this plight and consequently had not been permitted to seek work. He had been living largely on the charity of his friends and in constant fear of arrest.

Mrs. E. Stott (National President of the Black Sash), interviewed Mr. M. D. C. De Wet Nel, Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, and persuaded him to make a thorough investigation of Mr. Nompozolo's case.

As a result Mr. Nompozolo and his family were given rail warrants to Zwelitsha, near King William's Town, where he could obtain a house and a job. Officials asked the Sash to arrange and pay for Mr. Nompozolo's luggage to accompany him.

Although this was a part of the country Mr. Nompozolo had never visited before, it appears from his letter to the Sash in Wellington (part of which we quote below) that he is at last settled.

"I had a safe journey . . . I also got my luggage which was booked and on arrival here got a four-roomed house at a rental of £2 18s. 0d. (R5.80). But I do not have the money to pay the rent. I have been promised a job only for

the end of the month. These two now are my only worries.

"I wish to express my sincere thanks to the Black Sash and to you, Mrs. Pearce (Wellington branch), for the help you gave me, keeping and maintaining my family for 11 months, so that my children should not die of starvation. God will bless you for the work you did."

[*The Black Sash has now been informed by the Bantu Administration Department that "there is a statutory obligation under which homeless Bantu had to be assisted by the State to obtain residential rights within the Bantu territories."*

Mr. H. H. L. Smuts (Deputy Secretary, White Areas) said that "he recognised that it was difficult for any administrative system to be perfect and that cases of hardship did occasionally occur. It was, however, the duty of the officials of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development to give a sympathetic hearing and to render whatever assistance possible to Bantu persons who were confronted with problems arising from the application of the laws affecting them."

The Black Sash is glad to hear this, but considers that laws affecting free movement should be repealed. In the meantime the Black Sash draws the attention of the public to this information, in order that other displaced Africans can be taken to Native Commissioners and given assistance.—EDITOR.]

HOPE FOR KENYA — Continued

elections, which affected most Africans in different parts of the country, passed without any manifestation of ill-feeling between the races. Liberal Europeans were swept to power on the votes of their African constituents. African leaders spoke on white platforms. Everyone was surprised that the elections had passed off so smoothly and that racial bitterness had been buried.

This trend may well continue in the future, for all races are fully aware that Kenya will soon become a "one-man-one-vote" democracy. This means a country with Africans politically dominant, but with the Whites and Indians providing professional, technical and commercial skills for a long time in the future.

Kenya's small "White settler" population has been particularly worried by African political advance. In the past they wanted Kenya to become a White colony. Recently they have abandoned this dream and are hoping to extract promises from the African leaders of security of tenure in their farms in the highlands.

But the Africans argue that they cannot be expected to bind future governments in an independent Kenya by promises of guarantees that they might make today. They have no right to negotiate with a minority group of White settlers. Moreover, they realise that land resettlement for African farmers will be one of the most important tasks for any government in the future.

A New Society

Luckily more and more Whites are recognising the realities of the political situation in Kenya. Some of them have confidence that the African leaders will not expropriate their farms without fair compensation. For if a future African government began to seize White capital, it would face economic collapse from which it could rescue itself only by falling on the mercy of one of the major world power blocs.

Such a move is a possibility, even if a remote one, but there are certainly no signs of such a situation developing in Kenya politics today. None of the main political leaders, Kenyatta included, is committed to Communism; while some of them such as Tom Mboya, James Gichuru, Ronald Ngala, Dr. Kiano and others have a deep respect for the Western way of life. They do not want to destroy what White skills and African labour have already built in Kenya. On the contrary, they want the White man to help them build their new society in an independent country. And those Whites who cannot bear the idea of African political dominance still have the opportunity to leave the country.



"For the last time, Van der Merwe, just say, 'Here is the news,' and not 'Once upon a time'."

SASH SLOGANS

A PLACARD demonstration against apartheid was staged on De Waal Drive, Cape Town, on April 14th by Cape Western region.

Hundreds of motorists returning home from work saw the placards. So did a few Cabinet Ministers. Sashers lined the drive at intervals of about 15 paces. The placards carried these slogans: "Face Facts . . . Condemn these Acts . . . Abolition of Native Representatives . . . Closed Universities . . . Pass Laws . . . Group Areas . . . Job Reservation . . . Removal of Coloured Voters . . . Banishment Without Trial . . ." etc. And lastly: "No Wonder the World Condemns Us . . . Help Right These Wrongs."

Some motorists saluted the demonstrators as they drove past.

A week later a similar demonstration was held at Green Point. Sashers stood a little further apart and the first was nearly a mile distant from the last. A policeman, anxious to stop the demonstration, spent some time trying to locate the leader, being referred by each Sasher to the next. He eventually abandoned the attempt.

Family Year

LIP SERVICE ONLY

By P. LEVEY

IN an effort to focus attention on the importance of family life in all communities of the world, World Family Year was proclaimed from June 1960 to July 1961. In South Africa during this same period Government legislation is uprooting thousands of settled African families.

Topping the list for family disruption is the legislation dealing with influx control. The uninformed think that these laws only stop more Africans from entering towns. They do not realise that the laws give the authorities power to send Africans out of towns as well.

Group Areas is another Act with disruptive repercussions on family life. The 1956 Prohibition of Interdicts Act gives the authorities frightening powers over the lives of Africans. There are other Acts that fall into the same category, disrupting the family life of South Africa's non-white people.

Here is a true story of a family who became victims of influx control. Only the names have been changed.

Drunk and Fired

Mr. and Mrs. Nguma were married by civil law about 15 years ago. Round about 1950 Mr. Nguma was employed by the Railways. He acquired a house in New Brighton, where his three children were born. Their mother stayed at home to look after them. Two and a half years ago, for the first time in his life Mr. Nguma got drunk on pay-day and was fired.

Let us go back a bit. Mr. Nguma was born in Rhodesia 35 years ago and came to the Union as a boy. When permits and papers became a matter of life and death for the Africans, he could only prove that he had been in the Union for 12 years. This is not a long enough residential qualification to entitle him to stay on after the broken contract of work.

Dismissed from the S.A.R., he was told to go to the New Law Courts to get his papers in order. When he presented himself he was arrested for a few hours, then told he might go, provided the police knew his next place of employment; he was also informed that he would soon have to leave the Union, as his permit to stay would not be renewed.

Mr. Nguma's next job was in a cafe and every

week the police collected a portion of his pay until they had accumulated £18. This brings us up to early 1960. He was then told that he must return to Rhodesia. He was desperate. Rhodesia was a foreign land to him. His parents were both dead and he had no friend or relation in the whole country. His wife, being a local woman, could have the choice of going with him or staying here. In her case there was little choice as her mother is old and bedridden, with no other support than her daughter. Furthermore, the eldest son, now aged 13, is a hydrocephalic idiot and incurable, his expectation of life possibly one or two more years. Then there are the other two children, a girl of eight and a boy of four.

Sent to Pretoria

Legal aid was sought and the details of the case sent to Pretoria. The lawyer asked that Mr. Nguma's permit to remain in the Union be renewed in view of the fact that it was physically impossible for his family to accompany him to Rhodesia. A negative reply came back. Once again the lawyer wrote and begged for his client to be allowed to remain on compassionate grounds. But it appears that the department does not know the meaning of the word compassion, and Mr. Nguma was ordered to leave the Union immediately. He subsequently appeared in court, his reference book was endorsed and he was given 72 hours in which to leave.

The police returned the £18, with which I bought the train ticket and got from the booking clerk explicit directions about where passengers must change on the journey and so on. When I explained to Mrs. Nguma that the journey would take three nights and four days her eyes grew big with fear. On the morning of Mr. Nguma's departure I took him a sack of food for his long journey and met the sad little family on the platform. I have never seen such despair; sweat was pouring down Mr. Nguma's forehead and his legs were shaking; his wife was speechless with grief. I left the parcel of food with them and fled before I, too, broke down and wept.

Mr. Nguma reached Salisbury. Six pounds was stolen from him while he slept—all he had in the world. He carried a letter to my step-daughter, his only contact in Rhodesia. Through her he was placed in a hotel as a temporary waiter, but three days later he vanished, chased away by the local

(Continued on page 29)

NEWS FROM REGIONS AND BRANCHES

CAPE WESTERN

Demonstrations

IN addition to the two poster stands against apartheid reported elsewhere, four similar stands were held. One took place in Somerset West and one in Hermanus. A Saturday morning stand was held in Adderley Street against group areas proclamations in the Cape Peninsula. During the debate on the General Law Amendment Bill, a stand was held at the top of Adderley Street outside the gates of Parliament.

A public meeting in the Cape Town City Hall on pass laws was cancelled at a few hours' notice when a ban on all meetings was declared. Mrs. E. Stott, Dr. H. J. Simons and Dr. Jannie Graaff were to have been the speakers.

Group Areas Office

An office has been opened to deal with group areas problems. The office is open on Wednesdays and Thursdays (10 a.m. to 2.30 p.m.) and Saturdays (9 a.m. to 12.30 p.m.) and the address is Room 408, Parliament Chambers, Parliament Street, Cape Town.

Langa Court

There is daily attendance at the courts by members either of the Sash or of the National Council of Women.

Bail Fund Office

The office is now open three mornings a week. Owing to the Eiselin line policy and the more stringent enforcement of the law an increasing number of people cannot be helped. A journalist has made a short newsreel (intended for television) of the work done in this office.

Legal Aid for Africans

Mrs. Joan Jolly held a house meeting to arrange help for Africans in need of legal aid. Unfortunately attendance was poor and the plan has been postponed.

Pondoland Detainees

Africans distressed about the state of dependants of detainees in Pondoland have asked the Sash for assistance. The Red Cross has been approached and has promised to carry out an investigation.

The Road Ahead

An anonymous donor has contributed R200 for the distribution of the book *The Road Ahead*, compiled by Mrs. H. Spottiswoode, to libraries in the Cape.

Notice to Quit

The film on group areas, "Notice to Quit", has

proved a big draw to other organisations as well as to branches of the Sash. The Black Sash's copy of the film will be ready shortly. Branches which show the film are asked to report the reaction of audiences.

Visits to Regions from Headquarters

Mrs. E. Stott (National President) toured Cape Eastern. Mrs. M. Petersen (National Vice-President) visited East London (Border).

Speakers at Branch Meetings

Pinelands: Mrs. E. Stott addressed 65 people when the film "Notice to Quit" was shown. At a subsequent meeting Mrs. Flora Snitcher spoke on "The present situation in South Africa."

False Bay: Mrs. J. Jolly addressed the branch on the work at the Bail Fund office. At the next meeting Mrs. B. Willis (National Treasurer) spoke on Group Areas.

Hermanus: Mrs. E. Stott addressed the branch.

Somerset West: Mrs. M. Stoy (Regional Vice-Chairman) spoke on the Bail Fund Office. The following monthly meeting was addressed by Mr. Oxley (Institute of Race Relations).

Fund-raising

R40 was raised at a rummage sale in Plumstead. Rosebank raised R66, of which R20 was generously donated to the Bail Fund Office. Elgin's annual picnic netted R100, and a cake sale at Somerset West brought in R76. This branch reports that there is increased support from the public. False Bay branch has doubled its annual target. This was a good year for fund-raising—all the branches reached, or surpassed, their targets.

Recording on African Tribal Life

Branches are urged to play this excellent recording by Mr. Carstons to their members. Favourable comments on the record have been received from Rondebosch, Fish Hoek and Plumstead branches.

Paarl and Wellington

Members of these branches attended court proceedings daily in Paarl when cases of bribery and corruption with regard to passes were heard. Wellington members have given months of patient and devoted work to the problems of Africans endorsed out of the area.

Better face a danger once than always be in fear.
English proverb.

* * *

Prejudice is the child of ignorance.—*W. Hazlitt.*

NATAL COASTAL

THE Black Sash was glad to share the work in organising the multi-racial Natal Convention held in April.

The Convention rejected apartheid and pressed for consultation among all South Africans, irrespective of race.

The Convention considered its theme "Sharing the Future: Natal Takes Stock" under three heads: political, social and economic.

Mrs. Sheila Johnson of Howick writes:

"I found the Convention most stimulating. Discussion in the six study-groups was lively and surprisingly free from acrimony. The 220-odd delegates represented religious, political and university organisations, the medical profession, commerce and industry, race relations, social services, various municipalities, as well as numerous independents, so a wide cross-section of opinion was obtained. Political parties were permitted to send observers, not delegates, and the Progressive, Liberal and Federal Parties were represented.

"We had nine Sash delegates—two from Natal Coastal and seven from the Midlands—and Pietermaritzburg Sash members worked extremely hard at the registration and information tables, as well as selling meal tickets. Mrs. Corrigan and Mrs. Strauss were members of the Convention Organizing Committee and did yeoman service. Dr. Edgar Brookes was the Convention President."

BORDER

AT the first of two open general meetings an ex-Town Clerk of East London spoke on municipal law and procedure. Many questions were asked about African housing. As a result of interest aroused, the committee is endeavouring to organise a visit to the local African location to view (a) the typical shanty-town area; (b) municipal housing from the early stages to the most recent home ownership scheme; (c) hostels, schools, crèches and recreation centres; and (d) the 50 specimen houses for the emergency housing scheme.

The last of these is particularly interesting. The African housing position in East London is such that it is necessary to erect some 3,500 one-unit emergency houses. The Municipality has called for tenders and the erection of specimen houses. Fifty specimens of all types (mainly prefabricated—timber, asbestos, steel and concrete blocks) in a variety of designs have been erected. It is understood that the price range does not reach far beyond R100. It is felt that here might be found the temporary answer to the Union-wide housing problem.

At the second meeting a speaker dealt with aspects of day-to-day living in the Indian community.

LIP SERVICE ONLY — Continued from page 27

employees who considered him an outsider. When we had heard nothing for six months we believed that he was dead.

Meanwhile his wife had no means of livelihood. With her mother and the helpless child she could not go to work. So she tried to find a lodger. The first choice was a widow who was willing to look after the home, but turned out to be an alcoholic. The next woman was suitable but she had her reference book out of order and Mrs. Nguma dared not take her in.

By August she was destitute and I made application for her to receive pauper rations. This was turned down because she was married to a Rhodesian and "it was her duty to have gone to Rhodesia with her husband." In desperation I wrote to the local paper and told Mrs. Nguma's story in brief. This resulted in help from about 15 people, and I was able to keep the family going.

At the end of January, 1961, came a letter from her husband. The address was Bulawayo where he had just found a job, and he wanted me to send his family to him. This would cost between £20 and £30, but how can the bedridden old mother and the crippled child make the journey?

I cannot say how this tragic story will end.

CAPE EASTERN

The sale of Easter eggs and novelties proved a successful fund-raising venture for the Region in April.

Addo Branch have worked to arouse public interest in conditions in the Bontrug location, a survey of which is published elsewhere in this magazine.

The first multi-racial tea party was held at the end of April. Nine women were present and all were enthusiastic about planning similar meetings in the future.

Education Bill

DURING the first three months of 1961 Durban Sashers collected signatures against the Education Advisory Council Bill, working under the auspices of the Natal Education Vigilance Association.

Mrs. Jean Hill was the main organiser for the whole of Durban and district and was chiefly responsible for the collection of over 22,000 signatures. She is to be warmly congratulated on this tremendous undertaking.

Sash Defended in Parliament

Meetings and Demonstrations Affected

WHEN the clause of the General Law Amendment Bill dealing with intimidation and placing of onus of proof of innocence on the accused was debated in the Senate, Senator Mitchell (U.P.) said that as the clause was framed it would make any peaceful and innocuous demonstration, such as was often made by the Black Sash movement, an offence.

He hoped it was not the intention to take action against the Black Sash in terms of this clause. If it were, Mr. Erasmus should say so clearly.

The Minister said he failed to understand in what way the Black Sash movement could be used as an example. Would members of the Black Sash taking part in a silent demonstration be regarded as the intimidators or as the intimidated?

Intimidation

The key to the clause dealing with intimidation and intimidators was that there must be compulsion on the part of the intimidator. The Black Sash movement did not come into the picture as they were not intimidating anybody and were themselves not being intimidated. Senator Mitchell said Mr.

Erasmus might not have intended that the provision should be applicable to the Black Sash, but as the clause stood it would be advisable to go into the matter again and make sure about the legal position.

On the following day the Sash was refused permission to hold a stand of 12 members at the top of Adderley Street. In order to comply with the law the stand took place with only one Sasher, relieved every half-hour by another. A poster stated: "Justice demands a National Convention of all Races." Several pedestrians passed remarks — not all of them favourable. One of the Sashers was asked why she did not have a good sleep—six feet under. Another was harangued at length in Afrikaans by a woman in royal purple who accused the Sash of helping to encourage violence and bloodshed. "Go to the Church next door," she said, "get on your bended knees and thank God for Dr. Verwoerd." A bystander afterwards congratulated the Sasher on the self-control she had exhibited.

There was entertainment, too, in the antics of a Coloured man commanding an imaginary platoon. But it was the police who provided the major diversion. They kept coming and going, determined to



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