

**THE
BLACK
SASH**

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SWART
SERP**



**HELP
RIGHT
THESE
WRONGS**

The Tired Election

THE election campaign now in progress is remarkable for its lack of enthusiasm. This might be called the tired election. Perhaps as the 18th October draws nearer the fervour may mount, but at the moment there is little indication that the electorate is engaged in an exciting or momentous contest.

There are several reasons for this. It is not easy for United Party supporters to overcome the depression that must assail them when they contemplate their record of defeat and reflect on the way in which South Africa's peculiar electoral arrangements operate to their disadvantage. Nor can they derive much comfort from the pact with the National Union, which has not had time to build its organisation and lacks the advantage of being familiar to the voting public. The other opposition parties, Progressive and Liberal, know that they are fighting against tremendous prejudice, apathy and mistrust, and there is little hope of immediate victory to spur them on.

Even the Nationalists can hardly work themselves up over the election. What is there left to fight for? They have achieved the goal of a Republic; they can govern without constitutional restraint; they have broken free of the Commonwealth; within the present Parliamentary system they sit at the pinnacle of power.

The broad mass of White people in South Africa, irrespective of party affiliation, are not in the right mood for another election. It is only three years since we had a general election and since then there have been provincial elections, by-elections and the Referendum. Even in South Africa, it appears, one can have too much of this kind of thing.

These are some of the reasons, we suggest, for the lack of enthusiasm. But is there not a more important reason — a feeling that there

Die Moeë Verkiesing

DIE huidige verkiesingsveldtog is merkwaardig vir sy gebrek aan geesdrif. Dit kan tereg die moeë verkiesing genoem word. Moontlik sal die geesdrif toeneem as 18 Oktober nader kom, maar op die oomblik is daar min tekens om aan te dui dat die kiesers in 'n spannende of lewensbelangrike stryd betrokke is.

Daar is verskeie redes hiervoor. Dit is nie vir ondersteuners van die Verenigde Party maklik om die neerslagtigheid af te skud wat hulle bepaald moet tref wanneer hulle op hul rekord van neerlae terugkyk en dan nadink oor die manier waarop Suid-Afrika se eienaardige afbakening van kies afdelings tot hul nadel strek nie. Ook kan hul ooreenkoms met die Nasionale Unie nie eintlik veel troos inhou nie: dié party het nog nie tyd gehad om sy organisasie op te bou nie en is verder in 'n ongunstige posisie omdat dit nie eintlik aan die kiesers bekend is nie. Die ander opposisiepartye, Progressief en Liberaal, weet dat hulle die stryd teen 'n ontsaglike vooroordeel, onverskilligheid en wantroue moet voer, en daar is weinig hoop van 'n onmiddellike oorwinning om as aansporing te dien.

Selfs die Nasionale kan kwalik oor die verkiesing geesdriftig raak. Wat bly daar nog om voor te veg? Hulle het hul doelstelling van 'n Republiek behaal; hulle kan sonder konstitusionele betueling regeer; hulle het van die Statebond weggebreek; binne die huidige parlementêre stelsel sit hulle aan die toppunt van politieke mag.

Die oorgrote meerderheid van die Blankes in Suid-Afrika, wat hulle party-verbintenisse ook al mag wees, verkeer nie in die regte luim vir nog 'n verkiesing nie. Dit is slegs drie jaar sedert ons jongste algemene verkiesing, en in die tussentyd was daar provinsiale verkiesings.

is something unreal about the whole election procedure?

This election is designed to constitute a new Parliament for the Republic of South Africa, a Parliament that will control the destiny of 15 million people, yet wholly constituted of members of the White minority group, elected by that group (apart from a few Coloured voters). Must not every South African wonder, whatever political arrangement he may deem to be *desirable*, whether such an institution as the present South African Parliament can survive in the modern world?

THERE are abundant historical grounds for the contention that power resides in the

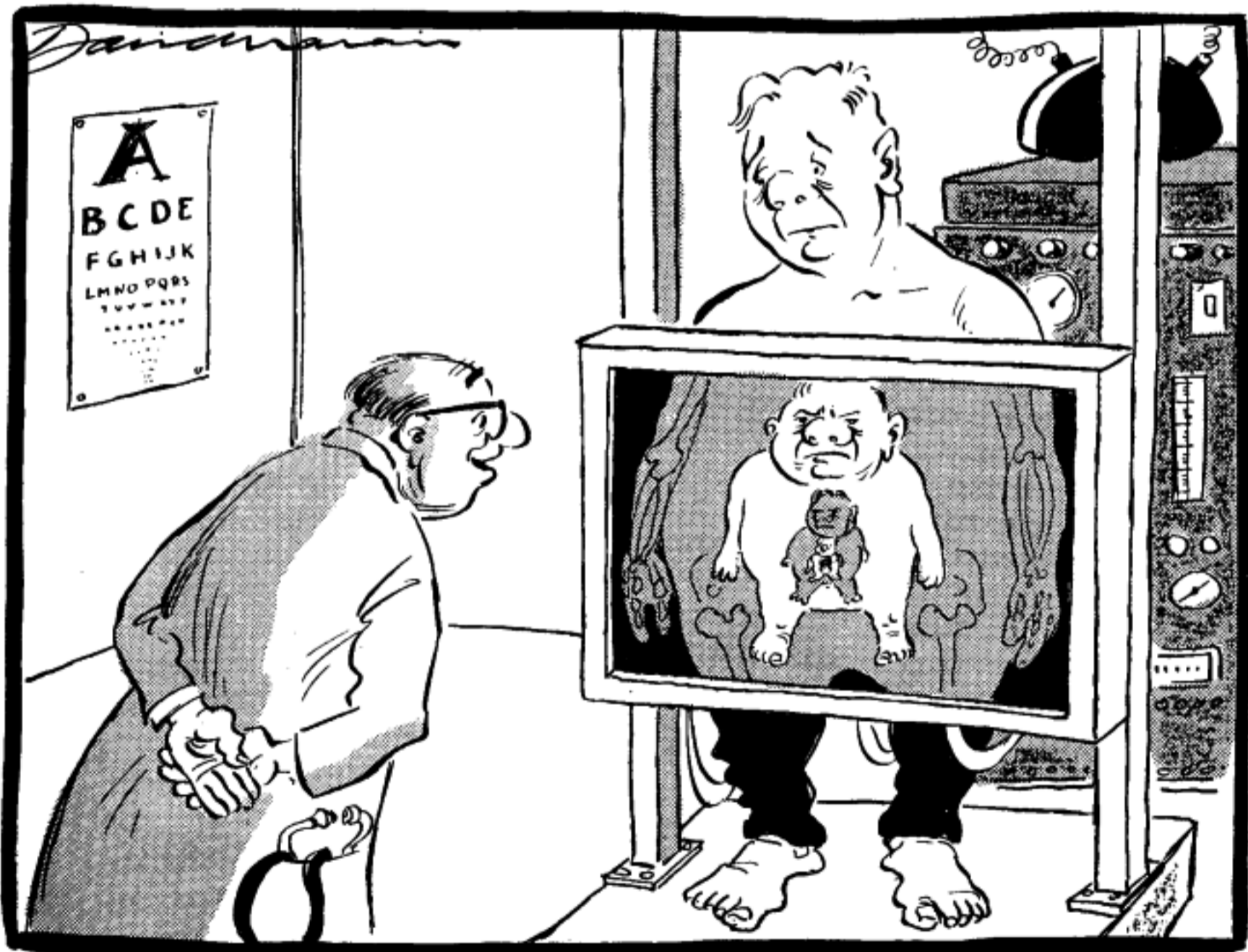
—Continued overleaf.

tussenverkiesings en die Volkstemming. Selfs in Suid-Afrika kan 'n mens te veel van dié soort ding hê.

Ons voer aan dat dit sommige van die redes vir die gebrek aan geesdrif is. Maar is daar nie 'n meer belangrike rede nie — 'n gevoel dat daar iets onweselik aan die hele verkiesingsprosedure verbonde is nie?

Hierdie verkiesing word beoog om 'n nuwe Parlement vir die Republiek van Suid-Afrika op te stel, 'n parlement wat oor die noodlot van vyftienmiljoen mense sal beskik, maar wat geheelal uit lede van die Blanke minderheidsgroep bestaan en deur dié groep verkies is

—Vervolg ommesy



“You are in an acute state of a state within a state within a state within.” —Cape Times.

people, that Government rests on consent. And consent for an all-White government in South Africa is being withdrawn. It is being withdrawn by a growing number of people, White as well as non-White, and the process is certain to continue.

There was a time, before the Nationalists came to power, when the non-White people could at least appeal to Parliament to take their wishes into account; but that time has passed, and the proceedings of Parliament have, in a sense, lost their meaning for the mass of the people. What happens outside Parliament is becoming more important than what takes place within its walls.

Those of us who have the vote and know these things are true — and we must realise they are true if we think about them at all, even if we are Nationalists — cannot enter into the spirit of an election as it should exist in a democracy. We know that we are using the trappings of democracy, lacking the substance of it.

During the coming weeks we shall, individually, work for the candidate of our choice with varying degrees of devotion, and we shall go to the polls next month to cast our votes. But many of us will go unhappily, like unwilling actors in a play that is performed before a hostile audience.

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 organisation which does not, however, necessarily endorse the views expressed by contributors.

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(afgesien van 'n paar Kleurlingstemmers). Is dit nie genoeg om elke Suid-Afrikaner, ongeag die politieke reëlins wat hy as *wenslik* beskou, te laat wonder of 'n instelling soos die huidige Suid-Afrikaanse Parlement in die moderne wêreld kan voortbestaan nie?

DAAR bestaan sterk geskiedkundige regverdiging vir die begrip dat die bewind by die volk rus, dat regering op toestemming gegrond is. En toestemming vir 'n geheel-Blanke regering in Suid-Afrika word onttrek. Dit word deur 'n toenemende getal mense onttrek, Blankes en nie-Blankes, en hierdie proses sal ontetwyfeld voortduur. Daar was 'n tyd voordat die Nasionaliste aan die bewind gekom het, toe die nie-Blankes ten minste 'n beroep op die Parlement kon doen om hul begeertes in ag te neem; maar dié tyd is verby, en die verrigtinge in die Parlement het nou in 'n sekere sin hul betekenis vir die oorgrote meerderheid van die bevolking verloor. Wat buite die Parlement gebeur, word nou meer belangrik as wat daarbinne plaasvind.

Ons wat die stemreg het en weet dat hierdie dinge waar is — en ons moet besef dat hulle waar is as ons enigsins daarvoor dink, al is ons Nasionaliste — kan nie op die gees van 'n verkiesing ingaan soos dit in 'n demokrasie moet bestaan nie. Ons weet dat ons die uiterlike skyn van die demokrasie vaskleef, maar die demokrasie ontbreek.

In die weke wat voorlê sal ons as individue ernstig of minder ernstig vir die kandidate werk wat ons goedkeuring wegdra, en aanstaande maand sal ons na die stembus gaan om te stem. Maar baie van ons sal met weemoed gaan, soos onwillige deelnemers aan 'n toneel wat voor 'n afkeurende gehoor afgespeel word.

THE BIGOT

A Study of the Prejudiced Personality

By JOHN HOOD-WILLIAMS, M.A.

FEW people are prejudiced against one group and one group only. If a person is prejudiced against Negroes, he is likely also to be antagonistic towards Jews, Catholics, Communists, Asiatics. . . . To such people, who are prejudiced against almost every group other than the one they themselves belong to, the name "bigot" has been given.

The personality-structure of the bigot has been the subject of considerable study in recent years, and a number of unexpected aspects have come to light. Most of the studies are American, but the broad outline of their findings has been found to apply elsewhere, with certain modifications that will be discussed later.

First and foremost, the bigot has an authoritarian outlook on life. He has an overblown admiration for power. To him, society is a hierarchy, in which everyone has a particular place in a graded system of superior-inferior relationships. Unquestioning obedience is demanded by a superior of his underlings. Superiors always expect great respect from their inferiors, and know that they themselves must also behave equally deferentially towards those who are in turn superior to them.

No In-betweens

The democratic concept of leadership based upon popular consent, and its correlative that those who govern are accountable to the governed, is entirely absent. The concept that replaces it is a quasi-military one of degrees of rank, with the private having to jump to the sergeant's orders, the sergeant to the lieutenant's, the lieutenant to the major's, and so on up the scale. Equality is possible only among individuals of the same "rank"; relationships across different ranks are only of the command-obey type. Furthermore, just as the General in an army need not take into

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consideration the wishes of the private soldiers in formulating policy, so also the Head of the State guides the body politic out of his superior wisdom and ability, and his dictates must always be obeyed.

The bigot likes life to be orderly, and he likes it to be easily comprehended. His thinking falls naturally into either-or categories, and he is most uncomfortable with in-betweens.

In an experiment, subjects were shown a series of pictures in which, by a series of minute changes, a drawing of a Pekinese dog was changed in twelve different pictures to one of a Persian cat. Most non-authoritarian people considered that the first few drawings were still "dogs," then that there was an intermediate number of drawings that were "something in between," and that the last few were clearly "cats". The bigots persisted in seeing the gradually-changing pictures as "dogs" far longer—sometimes right up to the end of the series, only allowing that the last one was a cat—and they also showed a marked tendency to exclude "either a dog or a cat." The drawing *had* to represent either one or the other, and they forced their perceptions to correspond to their preconceptions.

The bigot, then, is rigid. He tends to be a stickler for the observance of "correct" forms of outward behaviour. And he also insists upon this in his children. An item in one of the questionnaires designed to detect bigots asks: "Do you think that obedience is the most important thing to teach a child?" Most democratically-minded persons reply in the negative, stressing instead values like truthfulness, co-operation and tolerance as the most important to develop in children. The bigot, however, replies in the affirmative.

It is a matter of common observation that the

THE BIGOT—Continued

children of authoritarian parents are dragooned into "polite" and "correct" behaviour very early. So long as they are "good" in the presence of adults, their parents are satisfied. What children think or feel, or how they behave in other situations, is immaterial.

Rigidity shows itself also in attitudes to the other sex: the bigot has strong views about what is a man's rôle and what is a woman's in life. Men should be "manly" — decisive, courageous, strong-minded. Theirs is the business of the practical things of life. This includes a strong emphasis on maintaining discipline, and a complete derogation of everything "cissy" — which appears to mean anything to do with the arts or with emotions of the tender kind. Women are equally rigidly sex-typed; their place is in the home. They are allowed, indeed expected, to be weak at times, to lean on men and to look up to them; and they are allowed to concern themselves with artistic matters and to have a feeling-life, provided these pursuits do not interfere with the housework. Curiously enough, both male and female bigots hold much the same ideas about sex-rôles.

Nasty Emotions

What is going on beneath the surface of the personality of the bigot? Beneath the level of consciousness, he is a seething mass of inchoate emotions, mostly rather nasty ones. Hostility ranks high among them — hostility that is primitive and murderous, and that threatens to overwhelm the personality entirely unless it is kept on a very short rein. The bigot is on such bad terms with his emotional and instinctive life that he feels it to be an ever-present threat to his sanity, which indeed it is. He is quite unable to allow even a small amount of his negative emotion to find expression directly, lest it should release the floodgates and destroy him in a torrent of turbulent feeling.

In his childhood, he will typically have had a stern and overbearing father, whom he both hated and feared, and one who seemed to him to threaten the direst consequences for even the slightest transgression of inflexible codes of behaviour. It is impossible to rebel against such a father—any hint of rebelliousness in the child is severely dealt with. It is equally impossible to

show antagonism to such a father, since even this would be a major transgression which needs must call down terrible punishment. It is not even possible to allow oneself to *feel* hostility towards such a father, since this would be what Orwell in "1984" has dubbed a "thought-crime," which is perhaps the most heinous offence of all.

Consequently the child of necessity represses entirely every trace of hostility towards his father, and builds great bastions of personality defences to keep these highly dangerous feelings for ever out of conscious awareness.

One of the lessons that psychoanalysis has taught us is that repression does not destroy the repressed impulse. Though excluded from consciousness, it strives constantly for expression, and uses every trick in the book in order to find it. The violent hostility that cannot even be felt for the father can only find substitute expression in hatred of "foreigners" of all kinds.

Foreigners are hated because they seem to embody all that the bigot has denied himself. Having built up a rigid and self-limiting personality, full of high-sounding moral codes, he sees Negroes (for example) being tempestuously aggressive or casually licentious. Deep in his heart he knows that he would like some of their spontaneity and easy enjoyment of instinctual living. But much more importantly he feels threatened by them — they are in a devious way a sort of temptation to sin. And so he hates them.

American Study

Thus it is that two processes in the bigot's mind reinforce each other to produce rabid prejudice. One process is the need to find something to hate as an outlet for his own intense repressed hostility. The other is the projection of his own tempestuous feelings on to minority or ethnic groups so that he feels that their very existence is a threat to his well-being. He attributes to them his forbidden and hated impulses, and so comes to hate them as he hates his own impulses.

The personality-pattern of the bigot was first described in an American study undertaken during the last World War. In the United States at that time there was concern at the success of Nazi propaganda in America, and in particular at the growth of anti-Semitism. The study was undertaken to find out more about what kinds of people



“You feel insecure. You have a deep-seated subconscious urge to know that you are loved and accepted. Go out and hold an election.”

—*Cape Times.*

were receptive to Nazi propaganda. Two questionnaires were developed, one to study prejudiced attitudes as such, and the other to study agreement or disagreement with Fascist ideology in general.

As is to be expected in any heterogeneous community, a wide range of variation was found in the extent to which people were prejudiced against minorities or ethnic groups, and a correspondingly wide range of agreement or disagreement with Fascist ideology. Perhaps the most interesting finding was the marked tendency for the same individuals to appear at the highly-prejudiced end of the scale of prejudice, and also at the highly Fascist-minded end of the Fascism scale. The highly prejudiced persons were dubbed “bigots,” and the highly Fascist-minded were referred to as “authoritarians.”

The two terms are not entirely synonymous; not all the bigots were highly authoritarian, nor were all the authoritarians bigots. But the extent to which the two categories coincide is so remarkably high that for practical purposes the distinction can usually be ignored.

Let it be emphasised that the bigot or authoritarian is essentially a mentally “sick” person. Though he may never be hospitalised or treated in any way for mental illness, the later stages of the research (when depth-interviews were undertaken with the high-authoritarians) show quite clearly that his is a personality shot through with pathological trends.

Every community contains a proportion (usually small) of such people. The original studies were undertaken in parts of the United States where race-prejudice is officially frowned upon (the Northern and Pacific Coast states), and here it was found that the extent to which

race-prejudice existed in the community was directly related to the extent to which the authoritarian or bigoted personality existed there.

However, when the studies were later extended to the Southern states with their traditionally anti-Negro attitudes, it was found that prejudice was far more widespread than in the North, though the level of authoritarianism was much the same in both regions. Closer analysis revealed that though far more Southerners were *anti-Negro* than would be the case in the North, the incidence of *generalised prejudice* was only fractionally higher in the South, and in fact there appeared to be less anti-Jewish feeling in the South than in the North.

It follows from this that bigots, with their wide spread of prejudice, occur in roughly equal proportions in both Northern and Southern communities, but that while the authoritarian personality accounts for most of the rabid prejudice in the North, a number of other factors are responsible for the greater incidence of prejudice in the South.

North and South

One study in particular is most interesting in that it shows how the North and South differ in the way that prejudiced persons are distributed throughout the community—the differences in social status and social participation of the prejudiced individuals in the two regions.

Dr. Pettigrew studied two almost perfectly-matched communities, small towns that were equivalent to each other in almost every respect except that one was in New England and the other in the Deep South.

He found that prejudice in the North was associated with the social deviants—those people who were in most respects atypical in the community. The unprejudiced (or only slightly prejudiced) New Englander is either socially stable or upwardly mobile. (Social mobility is defined by whether the individual has a higher or lower status than his father had—usually in terms of manual or non-manual occupation. If the father’s occupation was lower on the social scale than the son’s, the son would be called upwardly-mobile; if the same, socially stable; if higher, downwardly-mobile.) The prejudiced individuals proved to be mostly downwardly-mobile—they had slid on the social scale.

—continued overleaf

THE BIGOT—Continued

Another interesting finding was that in the North church-going was associated with lower prejudice, and non-attendance at Church with higher prejudice.

In the South, the reverse trends were found. The downwardly-mobile and the non-church-goers were *less* prejudiced than were the socially stable or upwardly-mobile and the church-goers.

Pettigrew interprets these findings in terms of social conformity. In the North, the climate of opinion sets strongly against prejudice, and the people who run counter to the general trend are people who are at odds with society—the kind of authoritarian that has been described. In the North, authoritarianism is definitely linked with lack of social and financial success.

In the South, on the other hand, Pettigrew found that the *absence* of prejudice was linked to a similar lack of social and financial success. He suggests that since the South is more a region of small towns than the North, small-town conformity dominates its social attitudes. The individual who rejects small-town values (e.g. refusal to be “all friends together”) or who finds that it rejects him (lack of material success, downward mobility) appears to go into revolt against every aspect of Southern *mores*, including its race attitudes, and is in consequence less prejudiced.

Emphasis on Conformity

Upward-mobility is usually associated with an over-emphasis on conforming to every socially accepted code, so it is not surprising that in the South it is associated with a vigorous assertion of anti-Negro attitudes, since to do otherwise would not be “in the swim.” But the association of attendance at church and increased prejudice is more puzzling.

Pettigrew tries to explain this by pointing out that in the North, church-going is largely a matter of individual conscience.

Matters are different in the South, where church-going is a ritual observance that is expected of everyone, where *not* to be *seen* at church would cause adverse comment and where, in general, attendance at church is more likely to be related to social conformity than to the

affirmation of religious values—a situation that will be readily appreciated by any South African small-town clergyman. Thus church-going in the South is really related to prejudice through the intermediate variable of social conformity.

Some interesting conclusions can be drawn from Pettigrew's Southern findings. He reports how discouraged he felt when he encountered the high level of prejudice in the South, and how later he felt more hopeful when it became clear that Southern prejudice was related less to bigotry than to social conformity. In a small study he later made in Durban, he found similar factors operating in South African race-attitudes, though he did find some evidence to suggest that there is more authoritarian bigotry among Afrikaans-speaking persons than among English.

Attitudes Can be Changed

He feels hopeful about Southern-type prejudice, for he points out that it is not entrenched in the personality dynamics of the individual as it is in bigots. The bigot can be relieved of his prejudices only by a lengthy process like psycho-analytic treatment, which in the nature of things he is unlikely to undertake and which in any event is unlikely to be successful, since research has shown that this type of personality does not respond well. But the values which obtain in a community as a whole can be changed—by education, the techniques of advertising, even by legislation in certain cases—and thus social-conformity prejudice can be reduced by changing the *mores* of a society at large—as is being done successfully in parts of the South.

The Southern States have a guilty conscience about racial discrimination. People who practise it know it to be morally indefensible and even (in recent years) against the law. We hear much of the intransigence of Little Rock, but little about the quiet acceptance of integration in hundreds of Southern communities.

The lesson of the American South appears to be that social attitudes *can* be changed. Racial *discrimination* can exist by force of tradition only, without deeply-held racial *prejudice* to enforce it. Once discrimination becomes illegal, the majority of the citizens accept integration as automatically as they once accepted segregation.

This holds out some hope for us in South Africa.

THE MALMESBURY CONVENTION

A Preliminary Report

By DENNIS BRUTUS

(Reprinted by kind permission of "Contact")

ON 8th and 10th July, 1961, on the farms Dassenberg and Rondberg in the Malmesbury district, some thirty miles north of Cape Town, representatives of the Coloured section of the South African population met in a "Coloured National Convention". The holding of the Convention had been banned by the Minister of Justice under the Suppression of Communism Act on the night of the 6th July. The ban applied to the magisterial districts of the Cape, Bellville, Wynberg, Simonstown, Paarl, Wellington, Somerset West, Stellenbosch and Worcester.

The Convention was the most representative gathering ever held of the Coloured section of the South African population, in spite of the fact that many delegates did not travel to Cape Town after news of the ban and many others were not informed of the venue of the Convention because of the necessity of concealing the Convention from the Security Police. All the provinces of the Republic were represented and the widest variety of political opinions was expressed.

The Preamble

On Wednesday, 8th February, 1961, 15 members of the Coloured community who are leaders in the Church, educational, cultural, trade union and political organizations, met in Cape Town, and since then a series of meetings attended by many more influential leaders have taken place with African leaders.

The primary purpose of the meeting was to set in motion the machinery for the calling of a National Convention and also to bring together all democratic organizations, people and forces in a non-racial movement against the existing system of apartheid and White domination.

As a result of these meetings it was agreed:

(a) That the only policy that can succeed in South Africa is one of complete equality for all people;

(b) Having accepted that we stand for complete equality in a non-racial South Africa, we therefore reject all political and social agencies that have as their purpose the perpetuation of a system which implies the inferiority of, and imposes inequality upon, any South African of whatever race or colour;

(c) Bearing in mind the stated policy of the Government as enunciated by Dr. Verwoerd, and the political and social institutions which are being used to implement that policy which is entirely repugnant to, and inimical to, the true interest of the people, it was agreed: **THAT THERE COULD BE NO COMPROMISE OR COLLABORATION WITH THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT;**

(d) After consultation with, and the approval of, African opinion, it was decided to call an initial conference of Coloured people;

(e) That the basis of discussion at the convention would be the clear and unmistakable demands of the people for:

(i) **THE TOTAL ABOLITION OF THE COLOUR BAR IN EVERY SPHERE;**

(ii) **FULL CITIZENSHIP FOR ALL THE PEOPLES OF SOUTH AFRICA.**

This Preamble was unanimously adopted by the full Convention as the Original Policy Formulation with the addition of the following clause:

(f) The Convention is satisfied that this Original Policy Formulation is a correct reflection of the feeling of the Convention and accordingly ratifies it for inclusion in the Findings of Convention.

The main items on the Agenda, with the names of the introducers of subjects given in brackets, were:

1. **The Status of the Coloured people** (V. Benjamin).

—continued overleaf

THE MALMESBURY CONVENTION

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2. **A Bill of Rights** (Dr. R. E. van der Ross).
3. **The Franchise** (Rev. Dr. F. Gow and D. A. Brutus).
4. **Commissions on Special Issues.**
5. **The Mechanics of Calling a National Convention.**
6. **A Continuation Committee — future tasks** (J. C. A. Daniels).

Findings of the Convention

1. **The Status of the Coloured People**

This Convention declares that the Coloured people are a separate group only by discrimination.

We declare we have no separate destiny and therefore reject the principle of a separate racial status with its embracing separate culture, politics and economy from the rest of the other peoples of South Africa.

We will work for a closer relationship with all true South African patriots, irrespective of race, colour or creed, on the basis of a common humanity for the creation of a non-racial democratic South Africa.

2. **A Bill of Rights**

Convention resolved that it was necessary to work for a new non-racial and democratic constitution for South Africa which would embody a "Bill of Rights" protecting the rights of all individuals. The substance of the "Bill of Rights" would be determined by a National Convention.

3. **The Franchise**

Convention unanimously adopted a resolution that it rejected all forms of group or separate representation and that it was convinced that universal adult suffrage "the right to elect and be elected" was the only just form of representation in South Africa.

A few preferred this principle to be stated as follows: a common, non-racial roll with no other arbitrary requirements.

4. **Special Issues**

Group Areas: Convention condemned the Group Areas Act and called for its repeal.

Job Reservation and Labour: Convention condemned the colour bar and all forms of discrimination with regard to labour; it expressed its absolute condemnation of Job Reservation.

Education: Education should be free, integrated and compulsory, and all institutions of learning should be open to everybody. Parents should have the right to decide in which manner their children should be educated.

Citizen Rights: Convention agreed that there should be full and equal citizenship rights for all.

Civil Rights: These would be embodied in the Bill of Rights still to be formulated. Convention stood for the abolition of all laws which discriminated against people on a basis of race, colour or creed.

Policy Formulation

Constitutional Policy (see (e) under Preamble):
Convention agreed that:

- (a) It is necessary to draw up a new Constitution, fully democratic and truly representative of the people of South Africa.
- (b) That such a Constitution must embody a Bill of Rights.

Economic Policy: Realising that the mere granting of political freedom will not lift our people out of the dire poverty and state of semi-starvation to which they have been subjected for hundreds of years, and knowing full well that this exploitation has been perpetuated under the guise of racialism, we propose the following Economic Policy:—

That all restrictions on the right of the individual to enter skilled trades be abolished, that the colour bar in Commerce and Industry be scrapped, and that the principle of **equal pay for equal work**, irrespective of sex, be firmly entrenched in the statutes of the land.

That the natural resources of the country should be used to promote the welfare of the entire population.

Labour: In formulating a healthy economic policy, we feel that the Tot System, Contract Labour, Child Labour, Compound Labour and Convict Labour **must** be abolished.

Land: We feel that a re-division of the land should take place, so that it can be developed to full productivity for the benefit of the country as a whole.

Union Council for Coloured Affairs: Convention repudiated the Union Council for Coloured Affairs as an instrument of oppression and dis-



On the farm in the Malmesbury district, where the S.A. National Coloured Convention found sanctuary. Standing in the foreground, right, is Mr. D. van der Ross, chairman, with the owner of the farm behind him. Standing in front, from left, are Mrs. van der Ross, Mrs. E. Stott (national president, Black Sash) and the wife of the owner of the farm.

crimination which did not represent the voice of the Coloured people. It rejected the Council and all similar bodies.

5. The Mechanics of calling a National Convention

Convention instructed the Continuation Committee to work to make contact with leaders of all other organizations and movements who support the idea of a national convention with a view to calling a national convention of all the people of South Africa as soon as possible on the basis of the Findings of the Convention.

6. The Continuation Committee: Future tasks

Convention elected unanimously the Chairman of the National Convention, Mr. D van der Ross, as Chairman of the Continuation Committee.

The duty of the Continuation Committee would be to enter into negotiations with all other bodies with similar aims with a view to organizing for a national convention.

Each Province would elect three representatives to serve on the National Continuation Committee.

The members of the Executive Committee of the Cape Town Planning Committee were elected en bloc to the Continuation Committee.

They are: **Mr. D. van der Ross** (National Chairman), **Dr. R. E. van der Ross** (National Deputy Chairman), **Mr. D. B. Smith** (Finance Chairman), **Mr. J. C. A. Daniels** (National Secretary), **Rt. Rev. Dr. F. Gow**, **Rev. R. Joorst**, **Mr. H. J. Carelse**, **Mr. N. Daniels**, **Mr. B. Desai**, **Mr. E. F. Doman**, **Mr. M. A. Gierdien**, **Mr. N. S. H. Kearns**, **Mr. C. Marney**, **Councillor H. E. Parker**.

Convention elected the following additional members to the Continuation Committee:

Mr. D. A. Brutus (Eastern Cape), **Mr. E. Bydell** (Natal), **Mr. S. Lollan** (Transvaal), **Mr. S. Leon** (Northern Cape), **Mr. I. Stone** (Western Cape).

The English-Speaking Whites

Are they the lowest form of South African political life?

THE rôle of the English-speaking minority in South Africa has become politically unimportant and not very creditable. This opinion was expressed by the *Manchester Guardian* in an article headed "The Boer Millennium" published on 31st May.

The newspaper said that the English-speaking minority "seems for the most part content to allow international anger to fall on the Nationalists and at the same time to reap what benefits it can in status and income from being part of the dominant white race. It is likely that when the change comes the English will be held in lower respect among Africans than the Afrikaners."

The *Cape Times* reacted to what it called these "shrill comments" by expressing surprise that a newspaper with the reputation of the *Guardian* should have recourse to such a "hoary half-truth" about English South Africans. It admitted that the English section did not consist of moral giants, but behaved in much the same way as people from, say, Manchester would behave in similar circumstances. It doubted whether the people of Manchester would "voluntarily abandon status and wealth to accommodate a great inrush of West Indians."

Washing Their Hands

Nevertheless, the *Cape Times* was clearly unhappy about the English section and "the disappointment frequently expressed in it by non-Whites and international observers."

"However much they may wash their hands of Dr. Verwoerd's granite apartheid," it wrote, "English-speaking South Africans will find that much of the pitch of White *baasskap* still sticks to them. Simply registering opposition is not enough." A considerable part of the leadership and astuteness which the English section tradi-

"Darling, don't expect me to believe that profits are down and you can't afford a new mink coat this year. You're just introducing politics into the discussion."

—*Cape Times.*



tionally put into commerce, industry and the professions would have to be shared with politics as well if South Africa were to come through its crisis in one piece.

"Not until we have the best brains and ability of all White and non-White groups sharing fully in the country's administration will we once more become the leading State of Africa and the world's corner of good hope."

The *Cape Times* also described as "gratuitous and unnecessary" the *Guardian's* warning to the British Government not to identify itself with the attitudes of the English section in South Africa. The English-speaking South Africans did not ask the British Government to identify itself with them, nor did they look to it for any special help, guidance or advice. [The *Guardian's* words were: "Britain ought not to share in this prevarication."]

"Whatever results," said the *Cape Times* in conclusion, "we do not believe that the English-speaking South Africans will do anything finally of which their cousins in the English-speaking world will have any reason to be ashamed — nor for which the *Guardian* will have any real need to apologise."

Three days after this leading article appeared, the *Cape Times* published a series of comments

under the headlines 'GUARDIAN' ATTACK STINGS S.A. ENGLISH — "Arrant Rubbish," 'Wildly Unfair,' Say Most.

The Mayor of Cape Town, Mrs. Joyce Newton Thompson, thought the *Cape Times* article "a fair statement" and said, *inter alia*, that what the Englishman in South Africa today was looking for was a signpost towards the "unity" that was so often on everyone's lips — "for instance his appointment to boards, not political but national boards such as the boards of the S.A.B.C., school boards, potato boards and so on, where he can use his gifts to serve this country."

Several businessmen were "too busy" to comment, but one of them said it was an unfortunate fact that the English-speaking section was not pulling its weight in the country's political affairs. "It is time someone pulled us up . . .", he added, "but it is a pity that this rebuke should have to come from overseas."

Mr. Ralph Horwitz, economist, expressed the view that the *Guardian* was not so inaccurate and unfair as the *Cape Times* had suggested. On the other hand the Dean of Cape Town thought the *Guardian's* criticism was "wildly unfair and one-sided." English-speaking South Africans had often tended to take the line of least resistance, he admitted, but as far as he knew they had never accepted the kind of attitude fostered by Nationalist politicians on the platteland, where the most fantastic racial feelings were stirred up at election time.

Among other comments published for and against, was one that adduced as "evidence of our apathy" the fact that we were willing to listen daily to the one-sided propaganda of Radio South Africa, which was being reduced to the level of Radio Moscow.

What do you think?

Have they a Future?

IS there a future for the English-speaking White section of South Africa? This question was posed and answered in a critical appraisal by Mr. Laurence Gandar in the *Rand Daily Mail*. Writing while there were still voices crying, in futility, for resistance to the coming Republic, he stated the political position of the English-speaking people as "a section composing roughly 35 per cent. of the total White population dependent on the support of a quarter of the remaining 65 per cent. to retain a position of power and influence."

Until the post-war years it had enjoyed this support, but since 1948 the tide had turned. It had lost one battle after another, and today saw itself condemned to the status of an embittered and impotent minority, compelled to live under a constitutional dispensation foreign to its own experience.

But, asked Mr. Gandar, was this a correct assessment of the predicament of the English section? Were they satisfied to be seen as a frustrated and hostile minority, dragged, shrieking protestations, into the Republic? Had they anything important and worthwhile to say?

WE have, I fear, to recognise (said Mr. Gandar) that the image of the English section, built up over the years by its political leaders and institutions, is a thoroughly unsatisfactory and distasteful one.

It is the image of a self-assured, materialistic, over-sophisticated group, busy career-building and pleasure-seeking, disdainful of politics and public life, perpetually dissatisfied with the state of affairs but content to grumble in private rather than strive to do anything about it in public.

Cruel Portrait

While it tends to regard itself as somewhat superior to the Afrikaner section, it subscribes readily to the prevailing social *mores* of the country with its highly conservative racial outlook and its easy-going beer-and-Rugby civilization. Politically it has been anti-Nationalist rather than *for* any very distinctive philosophy of its own, unless it be a kind of *laissez faire* attitude to life and events.

This is a cruel portrait and it is, of course, an over-simplification, but it is the kind of image of the English section that has emerged. When one comes to examine how this should be so with a people of such a proud and noble heritage, the

THE ENGLISH—Continued

reason emerges only too clearly. The crucial mistake that the English section has made down the years—and it is a mistake for which its political leaders must share responsibility—is that it has continuously confused the symbols of its traditions and culture with the substance.

It has fought stubbornly for its flag, its anthem and all the other emblems of the British connection, but it has all too often failed to take an equally strong stand on the moral principles that are the true essence of the British tradition, especially in the vital sphere of Black-White race relations. It has allowed itself to be provoked—and side-tracked—into a barren struggle between purely sectional sentiments, responding to Afrikaner Nationalism with a kind of jingoism of its own.

No wonder it has failed to hold a decisive degree of Afrikaner support. Why should Afrikaners fight for those things that are of merely sentimental importance to the English section, things of no enduring value unless they are actively associated with deeper spiritual values? By entering the political struggle on this level, the English section has ensured its own decline and eclipse. . . .

Serious Crisis

On the analysis set out above, the coming of the republic brings the English section face to face with the most serious crisis of its existence. Its real struggle for survival as a meaningful entity is about to begin. This is because anti-republicanism and the defence of British symbols have been the major binding forces on the English section till now. Within a year or two, when it has become reconciled to the republic as it has to the loss of its flag and anthem, it will have, if it is not very careful, only the English language left as a distinguishing feature of its group identity.

With the conflict of sectional interests subsiding, and its own sources of cohesion weakened, it will find itself more and more vulnerable to the seductive policies of White supremacy. This is what the Prime Minister saw very clearly when he referred to the chances of political reorientation that would follow the republic. The political struggle, concluded on the sectional plane, will

move on to another, more critical plane—that of liberalism versus conservatism.

This will be the real hour of decision for the English section. Which side will it choose? Up to now the English-speaking people have not been unduly forthcoming in their support for liberal political policies.

They were not, as a group, impressively vocal about the disgraceful happenings during the Emergency last year. They took the deportation of their Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg with only token objections. They are remarkably philosophical about the subversion of the S.A.B.C., the persistent threats to the Press, the rule of force in Pondoland, and so on.

Political Powerlessness

Much of this, it is true, stems from a pervading sense of political powerlessness, but this is not the whole story. The English section has allowed its own values and principles to deteriorate through neglect or to be compromised by its identification with wider considerations of White self-interest.

It is vitally necessary therefore, for the English-speaking people to rediscover themselves, to re-examine the basis of their beliefs, re-think their aims, and re-create a valid rôle for themselves in our nation's affairs. They must cast aside their preoccupation with sectional strife and embrace once more the distinctive liberal philosophy and the enduring Western values that are the true content of their heritage.

If they do this, with courage and humility, with vigour and with sensibility, they can win back their rightful share of the power to shape this country's future. For they will find growing numbers of Afrikaners ready to share with them what is essentially a Western tradition and outlook.

This is the challenge of the republic. Will the English-speaking people respond to it?

In anger let the thought be ever present that indignation is not a form of courage.

—Marcus Aurelius.

Looking Back on 1960

A YEAR OF DECLINE



By

M. E. FISHER,

*A Vice-Chairman of
the Southern Trans-
vaal Region*

*From an address given at the
Annual General Meeting of the
Southern Transvaal Region,
Johannesburg.*

THE Union of South Africa's Jubilee Year, 1960, which should have been a proud and happy occasion for all South Africans, was instead a year of shame and sorrow for most of us. In one year we had a festival, a state of emergency and a referendum. It was a year of pageant and prison, of festivals and frustration and fear, of shootings and of attempted assassination. It was the year when the dove of peace did not fly.

As it was Jubilee Year, the Prime Minister promised us a "quiet" session and a short one. His idea of a quiet session was to spring upon the country in January his announcement of a referendum to decide the republican issue, a referendum in which a majority of one would suffice, a referendum which was to divide the people as never before.

Sharpeville and Langa

On March 21st came the tragic events at Sharpeville and Langa. It is really at this point that the year we are reviewing begins. The news of Sharpeville rang round the world and deepened the open hostility in Britain and other Western countries to South Africa's racial policies. On the heels of Sharpeville came the State of Emergency in which over 1,500 persons were arrested and detained without trial, languishing in prison for months while the Union celebrated its Jubilee.

The attempt on the Prime Minister's life shocked the country. No acting Prime Minister was appointed, but Mr. Paul Sauer, the senior Cabinet Minister, surprised the whole country by the liberal tone of his speech at Humansdorp,

when he said: "The old book of South African history was closed a month ago at Sharpeville." He spoke of a new approach to the Native question, an altered application of pass and liquor laws and the need to establish "healthy contacts" with the urban African. There was undoubtedly support for Mr. Sauer, not from the Government, but certainly from *Die Burger*, *Dagbreek* and S.A.B.R.A., but the tragedy of this new thinking is that it concerns itself only with the application of Government policy. It does not, or dares not, recognise that it is the principle, the doctrine of White superiority, and the permanently inferior status of the non-White, which has made South Africa the "pole-cat" among the nations.

In May Mr. Louw attended the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London in Dr. Verwoerd's place. Before he went we had warnings from Britain that there was a danger of South Africa's expulsion from the Commonwealth, and that even Britain's friendship might not be able to counter the hostility of the other member nations. However, after the Conference the Prime Minister, not Mr. Louw, issued a statement to the effect that South Africa could have her republic, plus apartheid, and still be a welcome member of the Commonwealth. It is to be noted that other members of the Conference did not appear to have that impression.

It was very obvious by now that the Government had learnt nothing from Sharpeville, except a hardened determination to enforce apartheid more rigidly. When the Association of Chambers of Commerce drew up a 5-point "plan for prosperity," and the voice of the business men spoke up in favour of such matters as relaxation of the pass laws and collective bargaining through trade unions, even for unskilled workers, the

YEAR OF DECLINE—Continued

Government's answer was a direct snub, an emphatic No.

About this time, too, the country was beginning to realise that the once unbiased S.A.B.C. was becoming more and more a means of propaganda for the Nationalists. The "slant" was becoming ever more perceptible.

The shock of Sharpeville and the emergency made many of us realise, also, the complete unreality of Parliament and its isolation from the lives of the people.

The State of Emergency dragged on, with a few people being released from time to time, still without trial. The Festival dragged on, too, culminating in the celebrations at Bloemfontein, the day when the dove did not fly. It was a relief when the festival farce was ended. It was in fact nothing but a party political demonstration with the republic as its main theme. July was a normal happy holiday month in South Africa. After all, why worry about 250 people still in prison, and their starving families, when the sun is warm on the beaches? In fact, why worry about a state of emergency at all?

Progressive Election Test

In August the young Progressive Party had its first election test, in an unexpectedly close contest in a Johannesburg municipal by-election against the United Party.

That was followed by the referendum campaign into which both Republicans and anti-Republicans threw much energy and ardour. Undoubtedly the Nationalists were nervous after Cato Manor, Sharpeville, the emergency, the flight of capital and the loss of confidence abroad, but Dr. Verwoerd continued to assure the electorate that the republic would remain in the Commonwealth. The Congo was a gift to the Nationalists, too, since it appeared to prove to a people only too anxious to be convinced how dangerous were liberal ideas in Africa's multi-racial states. One writer called the Congo "a tranquilliser for a hangover of Sharpeville nerves."

The referendum campaign and the referendum itself showed only too clearly the decline, in a year of general decline, of the influence of English-speaking South Africa in politics, the civil service, the armed forces and education. In spite of many warnings that if they failed to win



"With bilingual radio we'll be able to slant the news two ways at once."

—Cape Times.

the referendum, they would have little further opportunity for useful service, some English-speaking South Africans and some non-Nationalist Afrikaners succumbed to Dr. Verwoerd's appeal for "White unity" and to his assurances that South Africa would remain in the Commonwealth, with a constitution and legislation following as closely as possible the constitution of Union. They failed to see that the "White unity" appeal was a fraud, they also failed to remember the ultimate aim of the Broederbond: an Afrikaner-dominated, Christian-National, totalitarian State, divorced from the Commonwealth.

October 5th came, and 52½% of the electorate voted for a republic, without knowing its proposed constitution. Three-quarters of a million voters were left to decide how best to carry on the fight.

Trouble in Pondoland

Trouble broke out in Pondoland early in November, with the now familiar pattern of saracens and mass arrests, but with an iron curtain (or should it be a granite curtain?) imposed on the Press; combined with the post-referendum confusion in the Union it did not have the impact of Sharpeville.

In this month the Indian people of South Africa commemorated the centenary of their arrival in this country. Like the Festival of Union this was

a joyless occasion, since they have little to celebrate after a hundred years but the frustration and unhappiness caused by Group Areas and job reservation laws. This is felt particularly by the emerging middle and professional classes, who see new opportunities opening up in other parts of Africa, which are denied them in the land of their birth.

Also in November came the National Conference of the Progressive Party held to discuss the report of the Molteno Commission on a new, rigid constitution for South Africa. The Report recommended a franchise based not on colour but on a civilization test, and a Bill of Rights designed to safeguard the rights of minorities. It was shortly afterwards that Stanley Uys wrote that "the White electorate is moving forward . . . Progressive Party policies no longer appear so outrageously progressive."

The main business of Parliament when the new session opened in January was to change the constitution. The Republican Bill was sent to a Select Committee which was to report back in March. In the meantime the country was asking the vital question "In or out of the Commonwealth?" The answer came on March 15th: the Prime Minister had led us out of the Commonwealth into cold isolation.

Republican Constitution

After a lengthy debate in Parliament, the new Republican Constitution Bill was passed. The United Party brought forward a new federal scheme and the Progressives tried to substitute race policies for the eternal English-Afrikaans conflict. Nothing had any effect on the byelections in Bethal-Middelburg, Natal or Swellendam, where the electorate endorsed Government policy by increased majorities.

The Treason Trial ended after four and a half long years, with the acquittal of all the accused, only to be followed by a wave of police raids and a great display of police strength. The Government's preoccupation with internal disorders was reflected in the large amounts of money voted for police and defence forces in the budget in March, one year after Sharpeville. If you cannot govern by consent, you must govern by sten gun and saracen.

In closing, let us look at this "painless Republic." True, there has been the minimum of change in the existing constitutional position, but let us

not be deluded. There is nothing to prevent its radical amendment at any future date. What is obvious is that the republic will hasten the decline of Parliamentary democracy, already weakened by 13 years of Nationalist government.

Already the screws of Government control are being tightened—national control of education, pre-publication censorship, the indemnification of the Government against claims arising from Sharpeville and similar events, the debarring of citizens from voting unless they can produce an identity card and the measure enabling the State to put a citizen in gaol for twelve days without trial or bail.

How Much Further?

We ask ourselves: how much further can we sink in a State which can deport a Bishop, remove the passport of an Alan Paton, gaol its citizens without charge or bail, fetter its Universities, foster religious intolerance, threaten its legal profession, indoctrinate its children, deny elementary human rights to millions on the ground of colour alone, and do all this with the concurrence, or lack of protest, of the majority of its White people?

Perhaps the greatest danger is this lack of protest. People have become accustomed to this way of life. The ending of the State of Emergency caused hardly a ripple on the South African scene. How many paused to think what had caused it or to determine that it should not happen again? What can we citizens do to arrest this terrible moral decline and to start on the long, slow upward climb to national self-respect and the respect of the nations of the world? There are signs of the stirring of conscience among thinking people on the Government side. Will those consciences awake in time, will we all have the courage to face what the civilized world demands of us? I leave that question with you.

The attitude of the spectator is not enough. Spectators of life are not those who will fight to retain their liberties.—Gen. George C. Marshall.

A State without the means of some change is without the means of its conservation.—Edmund Burke.



THE NEW CENSORSHIP BILL

Coming attack on "undesirable" publications

BY

ALEX HEPPLE

Former Member of Parliament and author of "Censorship and Press Control in South Africa."

AT the end of last year freedom of the press was being menaced by the monstrous Publications and Entertainments Bill. Now we have hanging over our heads the somewhat milder Undesirable Publications Bill.

Having been threatened with murder, sections of the press now seem to be delighted at the news that they are merely to be crippled. If there is no stronger protest against the new proposals the Government may well chuckle at the success of their technique.

To compare the 1961 Bill with the 1960 product is misleading, because it shows only that the latest proposals are more moderate. It is also dangerous, because it might persuade those who opposed last year's Bill to support this year's edition.

I dealt with the 1960 Publications and Entertainments Bill in the *Black Sash* of December 1960/January 1961. Among other things, that Bill provided for a Censorship Board endowed with powers to ban all publications which its members considered undesirable or objectionable, and made it a criminal offence to publish or sell an "undesirable newspaper".

The New Proposals

When the Minister of the Interior announced on 9th February this year that he had decided to drop the Publications and Entertainments Bill, he said he would investigate the application of censorship under existing legislation, without introducing drastic measures.

On 8th June he submitted his new proposals to Parliament in the form of the Undesirable Publications Bill. The Bill repeals the pre-Union censorship laws of the Transvaal, O.F.S. and Cape and amends censorship sections of the Customs and Post Office Acts. It leaves untouched the censorship provisions of some 16 other laws which affect freedom of opinion and expression in South Africa.

The Undesirable Publications Bill prohibits the printing, publication, manufacture, production, distribution, display, exhibition, sale, or keeping for sale of "any publication or object which is undesirable".

In terms of the Bill, a publication or object is deemed to be undesirable if it (1) is indecent or obscene or is offensive or harmful to public morals; (2) is blasphemous or is offensive to the religious convictions or feelings of any section of the inhabitants of the Republic; (3) brings any section of the inhabitants of the Republic into ridicule or contempt; (4) is harmful to relations between any sections of the inhabitants of the Republic; (5) is prejudicial to the safety of the State, the general welfare of the peace and good order; (6) discloses certain specified particulars regarding judicial proceedings.

The Board of Censors

At the request of any person the Board of Censors is empowered to examine any publication and judge whether it is undesirable. If the Board decides that a publication is undesirable it can ask the Attorney-General to prosecute.

The Board is appointed by the Minister of the Interior in terms of the Entertainments (Censorship) Act, 1931, and only four of its fifteen members need be present at the taking of decisions on the undesirability or otherwise of publications.

The Bill lays down a number of guiding principles for the Courts when they have to decide whether publications are "indecent, obscene or offensive or harmful to the public morals". Among other things, the Courts are asked to convict if in the opinion of the presiding magi-



"Why not let's just ban
U.N.O.?"

—Cape Times.

strate the publication concerned "is outrageous or disgusting to persons who are likely to read or see it".

Many White South Africans find social or political fraternisation of the races outrageous and disgusting, so it would not be surprising if some Courts decided that publications praising or advocating racial equality were violations of the law.

Imported Publications

The Undesirable Publications Bill preserves the existing censorship of all imported publications through the Customs Act, which prohibits the importation of any goods which are "indecent, obscene or on any grounds whatsoever objectionable". The Minister has used this wide definition to ban nearly 7,000 books during the past ten years.

In terms of the Bill, it will be the Board of Censors which will do the banning in future. The Board is to take over the Minister's power to ban, but its decisions can be challenged in the Courts.

The penalty for offering or keeping for sale, distributing or exhibiting any issue of a banned publication from overseas is the same as that applicable to banned local publications, viz. R400 and/or 12 months imprisonment. However, there is a further and much heavier penalty attached

to imported publications. This penalty is laid down in the existing law and has not been repealed or modified. Anyone found in possession of an imported publication which has been banned by the Board of Censors can be prosecuted on a charge which carries a maximum penalty of £1,000 and five years imprisonment.

Why Censorship?

What created this pressure for stricter censorship in South Africa? Was it because the country was being flooded with locally produced pornography? It could not have been on account of imported pornography, because the Minister not only has powers to keep such publications out of the country but has used them extensively.

The background to the Undesirable Publications Bill is important. It provides no evidence that the Government was finding it difficult to control indecent and obscene publications. Dirty books have not been the problem. On the other hand, there are the incessant railings of intolerant Nationalists against the English language press. They have persistently demanded that the press should be put under control. Compared with their tremendous thundering against the "English press", how often have we heard Nationalist politicians denounce pornography?

We must not fool ourselves. The intention is to silence those publications which forthrightly attack the policies of the Government, expose the true character of baasskap apartheid and tell South Africa and the world the facts about discriminatory laws and practices.

The Undesirable Publications Bill should not be accepted on the grounds that it is better than the 1960 Bill. Other important factors must be taken into consideration.

- The Bill leaves the State with all the wide censorship powers contained in some 16 other laws, among which are the Public Safety Act, the Suppression of Communism Act and the Riotous Assemblies Act.
- The Government has not yet disclosed its intentions regarding the enquiry by the aging Press Commission. Until the Commission's recommendations are known and the Government's decision in regard to them is declared, it would be dangerous to surrender even a fragment of press freedom.

—Continued overleaf.

CENSORSHIP BILL—Continued

- As it stands, the Bill might intimidate newspapers to sub-edit severely and cut reports and articles to avoid possible prosecutions. Newspapers, magazines, pamphlets and circulars issued by anti-government groups are sure to receive special attention on the passing of this law. Progressive, liberal and left-wing publications will be carefully scrutinised and prosecuted at the first opportunity. Organisations like the Black Sash may find it difficult to carry on their propaganda and steer clear of the law.
- The definition of "undesirable" in Section 2 of the Bill is dangerously wide.
- Interpretation of what is "offensive or harmful to the public morals" in Section 3 is so worded as to make it extremely difficult to persuade a Court that no offence has been committed, even in the case of political, sociological, biographical or other writings.
- The right of appeal to the Courts in regard to imported publications is a great improvement on the existing position. However, this fundamental democratic right (which never should have been excluded) is not in itself a complete safeguard. Appeals cost time and money, factors which will discourage court action in most cases. Fearing the law's delays, few overseas publishers will bother to lodge appeals against decisions of the Board of Censors, especially where they believe that the Court's judgment will be delivered after the book concerned has lost its topicality and is out of date.

The Bill has to go before a Select Committee when Parliament assembles in January next year. There is a general impression that Bills come out of Select Committees in a more acceptable form than when they go in. This is not so. Very often members of the Select Committee decide to stiffen the provisions of measures which come before them.

It should not be forgotten that the Government always has a majority on Select Committees and its representatives will decide in accordance with the demands of party politics. If there is no outcry against the Undesirable Publications Bill, the Select Committee may think it is too tame and make it even worse.

WHY I JOINED TO MAKE MY CONTRIBUTION

By J. GIE

Chairman, Rondebosch Branch, Cape Western

MANY people have badly mistaken ideas about the Black Sash through no fault of the organization itself.

I was one of the mistaken myself until a year ago, and I had less excuse for ignorance than most people because two of my daughters had been active and enthusiastic members for several years and had urged me to join. I had watched — with admiration and emotion — the amazing procession when the convoy converged on Cape Town in February, 1956; I had read *The Black Sash* by Mirabel Rogers; I had read many a copy of the monthly magazine. And I still thought that the Sash was almost entirely a protest organization.

Then one evening I was invited to hear Mrs. M. Stoy speak about the Bail Fund office in the Klipfontein Road. I realised for the first time that the Sash is doing a great deal of important work which is not seen and appreciated by the public.

Unique Opportunity

There is no need here to remind Sashers of all that the organization is doing for the community, but let me say what, to my mind, it is doing for its own members, in the hope that some non-member may be persuaded to join for self-enlightenment, if for no other reason.

Black Sash members have a unique opportunity to gain personal experience of what is going on in this country. Membership makes it possible — through working in Sash offices, attending courts of law, visiting African locations and so on — to see how customs, conventions, laws and regulations actually operate. Seeing for oneself is much more impressive than reading articles and hearing platform speeches. A woman Member of Parliament once truly remarked that in South Africa people were eager to discuss politics on every



This picture of the Black Sash protest outside Parliament against the General Law Amendment Bill appeared in the Illustrated London News.

possible occasion but were not willing to take the slightest trouble to become politically educated. The Sash is helping to put that right.

The Sash is a single-minded body of women. In a country where politics affects almost every human contact, and where friendships are often strained because of differing attitudes to race relations, one turns with relief to fellow members of the Black Sash knowing that there is a bond of mutual understanding and that one's membership is a passport to new friendships with people of all races and religions.

There is, too, the satisfaction of knowing that "one is engaged in the pursuit of an ideal" (*The Black Sash* editorial, June, 1961). Not failure, but a low aim is crime. Failures the Sash may appear to be having, but the aim is indeed high.

Ours is not a popular movement; it is not an organization that attracts the social page photographer. But members have the deep satisfaction of knowing that they are making a personal contribution toward ridding South Africa of the fears, tensions and injustices of the present regime.

DR. JORDAN VICTIMISED

Sash Statement to the Press

TO deprive Dr. A. C. Jordan of the right to visit America seems to the Black Sash an irresponsible and wanton act. It constitutes an affront to the Carnegie Corporation, which has, over a long period of years, enabled many South Africans of all races and all shades of opinion to benefit by visiting, studying and lecturing at American institutions, and so to enrich our own country by the acquisition and exchange of ideas.

Dr. Jordan has devoted himself to the education of our University students for many years, instructing them in African language and custom, in the lecture room and on field expeditions, and it would be of the greatest advantage to them and to American students for him to meet members of the Africa Studies Programmes in America.

The Minister gives no reason for his refusal, and to us it seems, even by the standards of the present Government, impossible to account for his action, which appears to the man in the street to be indicative of a pettiness incompatible with the dignity of any civilized state.

Do exactly what you would do if you felt more secure.—Meister Eckhardt.

Leo Marquard condemns

THE ABUSE OF POWER

Address at a protest meeting after the banning of the Coloured Convention

AFTER months of preparation, a few hundred South African citizens began to gather in Cape Town for the sensible purpose of discussing their common interests. The discussions were to take place in public, and the delegates represented a large number of organizations, including ex-servicemen who had helped to defend their fatherland against the threats of Hitler's tyranny.

Then, without warning, Francois Christiaan Erasmus banned the meetings because, as he says, "in my opinion there is reason to believe that the achievement of the objects of communism would be furthered" by such an assembly.

We do not know on what Mr. Erasmus's opinion was based. We do not even know whether, as his banning order states, he was acting "under and by virtue of the powers invested" in him, or whether by any chance he was acting "on orders received." But of one thing we are certain: the Government was and is determined to suppress the right of free and lawful assembly.

At the Government's Mercy

I hope that no one will be lulled into a false sense of security by the fact that we are freely meeting to protest against the Government's action. We are meeting because the Government has decided not to use its undoubted legal powers to stop this particular meeting. But our right of free assembly is at the mercy of the Government. It has, in fact, ceased to be a right and has come to depend on the opinion and good grace of Francois Christiaan Erasmus, or whoever it may be.

Lord Chesterfield said: "Arbitrary power has seldom or never been introduced into any country at once. It must be introduced by slow degrees, and as it were step by step, lest the people should see it approach."

Is that not what has been happening to us? When the Suppression of Communism Act was

being debated in 1950, the Government speakers, with deep emotion, were outraged by those who dared to doubt their motives by suggesting that the Act could be used against non-communists and anti-communists whom the Government feared or disliked. Yet that is precisely what has happened. Year by year this Act, and many others like it, have been used in an attempt to stifle criticism, to terrify the timid, and to create the atmosphere of fear and suspicion in which authoritarianism thrives.

And, always, the excuse is used that it is necessary to take away our freedom for the time being because of the exceptionally dangerous circumstances. Not two months ago, the local mouth-piece of the Government argued that, much as it disliked the thought, we should begin to accustom ourselves to less freedom. Individual freedom must be curtailed in the interests of society.

Arbitrary Arrests

Under that excuse, 10,000 men and women (and I do not take my figures from the wicked English press) were arbitrarily arrested, with no charge laid against them, and with the right of granting bail removed from the Courts. And a great many people who do not ordinarily support the Government accepted this plea of necessity. Let me remind them of what William Pitt said about it: he said, "Necessity is the plea for every infringement of human freedom. It is the argument of tyrants; it is the creed of slaves."

Step by step, year by year, the Government has taken legal powers for the avowed purpose of securing the public peace, of suppressing unlawful assembly and conspiracy, and for the better government of our country. And every year sees a greater abuse of those powers in order to suppress free criticism and lawful assembly.

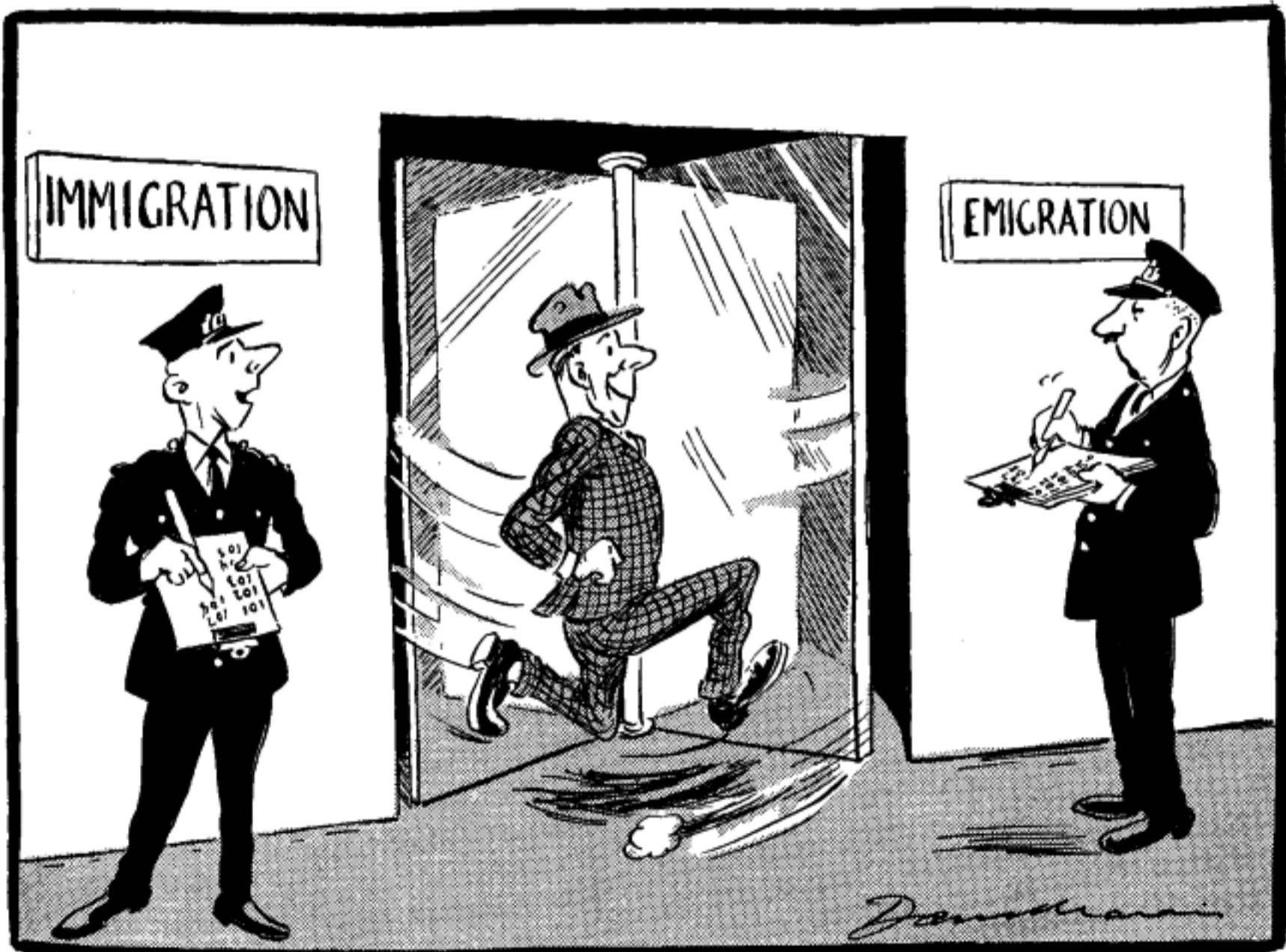
Such abuse of legal powers by the state portends the collapse of just government. It is the epitome of lawless rule. It is government by men and not by law. It is what most clearly distinguishes tyranny from democracy.

Such authoritarian dictatorship may enforce obedience, but it can never command loyalty. So long as there are men and women who cherish freedom, so long will the barbarian philosophy of force and power be challenged.

We are protesting tonight against a particularly flagrant example of the abuse of power, namely, the banning of the South African Coloured National Convention. I want, in the first place, to say to the members of the Convention and to those whom they represent, that millions of South African citizens are behind them. We know that they will not be intimidated; and we know that they will not be bribed by false promises of good things if they are "good boys." We have already seen how quickly they were able to take advantage of a loosely drawn banning order and to meet elsewhere. And I am proud that, freedom of assembly denied them in Cape Town, they found hospitality from an Afrikaans-speaking farmer.

In the second place, I should like to say a word to those White South Africans who do not normally support the present Government but who have been deluded or frightened into believing that "a show of force" is necessary and that freedom must be curtailed in the interests of the state. And I can do no better than to quote an American called Wendell Philips who said: "No matter whose the lips that would speak, they must be free and ungagged. The community which dares not protect its humblest and most hated member in the free utterance of his opinion, no matter how false or hateful, is only a gang of slaves."

Then I should like to say something to those Afrikaner Nationalists who, I am convinced, are perturbed and unhappy about the trend of events in our country, and I would say to them: *We are not here concerned with a question of Cape Coloured rights. We are concerned with our*
—continued overleaf



"I think he's employed by the Department to keep the figures up." —Cape Times.

ABUSE OF POWER—Continued

common freedom, a proud freedom inherited from our forefathers.

We and you know how the machinery of state has been seized by a group of people in the name of Afrikanerdom, and that this machinery is being used to stifle all criticism and opposition, inside and outside the Nationalist Party.

You have seen this travesty of Afrikanerdom being abused in order to retain power. You have seen it used against Black and Coloured and against your own church leaders and intellectuals.

We—White and non-White—have watched with bated breath for signs that you would no longer accept the domination against which your fathers would have revolted.

We know, because you have said so, that Afrikaner nationalism is reassessing its beliefs and policies. Those policies can never succeed, but we have seen how their failure can involve disunity and violence.

Politically speaking, the initiative rests with you. You, and you only, can modify those policies constitutionally before we reach the point of no return.

Is it not time that you make a public protest and that you take the action necessary to restore democratic government? Is it not time that you place your country—our country—above party?

When we protest, as we shall continue to do, we can be derided and discounted as kafferboeties and boer haters. The moral value of your protest will be immense. You, and you only, can restore the good name of the Afrikaner that has become a byword among the nations.

No Moral Authority

Finally, I want to say a word about that section of the Nationalist Party that is in temporary control. The present Government has no moral authority left. All that remains of its vaunted White civilization is to use force, to abuse power, and to threaten. It will not stop us from speaking out except by the abuse of power. And its writ does not run beyond its borders. Inside those borders, the writ will run only as far as the range of its saracens. Even if we are stopped from speaking here, the fight against authoritarianism will go on until, in God's good time, free government is established in our beloved land.

THE CHANCE OF WHOSE LIFETIME?

AS a ratepayer and registered property-owner . . . I received a letter from the Muizenberg - False Bay Publicity Association asking me to support the vote of R180,000 for Muizenberg seaside improvements. It was said to be a "life-time opportunity for me and my children."

They forgot one thing, and that is my children and I will enjoy Muizenberg only from a distance. You see, we are Coloured and fit only to pay rates and taxes.

—Letter to the Cape Argus from "Black Ratepayer."

ACROSS THE COLOUR-BAR

Sash Statement to the Press

THE Black Sash welcomes the urgent appeal to Whites, by Mrs. Flora Snitcher, to stretch across the colour bar through friendly social contact with non-Whites (*Cape Times*, June 13th, 1961). It welcomes, too, the call by the Natal Convention Committee for a move to crash the colour bar within the law.

There are, of course, many opportunities for Whites and non-Whites to meet through various societies and cultural organisations which do not practise racial discrimination. Those who have taken advantage of these occasions will readily admit that they do not see each other primarily as members of a particular racial group, but as fellow South Africans, beset by the anxieties and longing for security common to us all.

In recognition of the fact that for many there are restricted opportunities for friendly association, the Black Sash in Johannesburg, Durban, Port Elizabeth and East London has organised a series of discussions through conferences and tea-parties to which members of the public, both White and non-White, are invited as individuals free to speak as they choose . . .

The Black Sash offers to sponsor or to help in the organisation of gatherings where White and non-White may meet each other as fellow human beings and so break down the barriers of suspicion and mistrust.

People in Court

From a letter in *The Sunday Telegraph* (London),
July 16th, 1961, by JANE COOPER

IN your leader page last Sunday you referred to the trial in Johannesburg of a white man for an offence of "immorality" with a black woman. The defendant comes of a distinguished South African family and I agree with you that the spectacle of women "socialites" filling the galleries to watch his trial has a macabre ring.

And while the defendant's friends (many of them probably seeing a courtroom for the first time) attract attention, another group of women, members of the Black Sash, do not. These sit every day of the judicial year in the non-European courts, watching the trials of Africans. Many of them were once "socialites" — but not any longer.

Now it is no longer smart to belong to the Black Sash, and some of these women who have stuck to it have drifted away from their old circles of friends.

But in fact the Black Sash now is doing far more valuable work than it ever did in the days of marches and demonstrations.

Bridging the Gulf

Those women in the non-European courts keep a constant vigil. Outside they run committees and offices to try to help some of those victimised by the pass laws; investigate cases; explain formalities; make arrangements for bail, and for defence where the cases warrant it. Their most recent project has been an "Experiment in Consultation," an attempt to bridge the gulf between African and European women by real social contact.

And what is the cost? Expulsion from the circles of the elite is small worry. To know that you are watched, perhaps your telephone tapped, your mail tampered with, to have to be constantly aware of the legal implications of everything you do, constantly careful what you say, let alone write . . . these tensions make the courtroom no social event, and the present much-publicised trial something of less individual significance.

The Black Sash, September, 1961

The Cause of Unrest

THE Black Sash is gravely concerned at the deep-seated sense of grievance among the majority of our people.

In April last year, the Black Sash asked the Prime Minister to call a national conference of leaders of commerce and industry and of all political groups, irrespective of race, to try to find a solution to our race problems which would be acceptable to all. No reply was received to this request.

Recently some non-Whites asked for a national convention and proposed to call a stay-at-home if their request was not granted. This call for a national convention coupled with the multi-racial conference previously organized by non-Whites indicates the readiness of many non-White leaders to look for a solution by common agreement . . .

The learned and wise group of men who drew up the Declaration of Human Rights made this statement which both the Government and people of South Africa would do well to heed: "It is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law."

Future efforts by non-Whites to free themselves from the yoke of present discriminatory legislation and the hardships which it imposes on them may well take forms which would be quite abhorrent to the Black Sash and all those who believe that change should be brought about peacefully by democratic means.

The Black Sash, therefore, asks once again that the unrest among our politically powerless non-White citizens should not be dealt with by introducing more and more discriminatory legislation, but by legislating to remove the causes of the grievances.

It urges that every political group that wants good government for South Africa should make an increased effort to see that this is brought about by the abolition of discriminatory legislation and by the provision to South Africans of all races of democratic means of bringing about change peacefully and legally.

—*Issued to the Press by the Black Sash, June, 1961.*

Postbag

THE MIGHTY FEW

From Mr. K. E. Tollie, Zwelitsha Township,
King William's Town.

ON behalf of my family and of Worcester people in particular, I wish to thank the Black Sash for the marvellous work they have done and are still doing. I want to repeat what I once said to one of your members. For a long time most of us regarded all White South Africans as oppressors of the Black masses. That accusation has vanished into thin air, thanks to the teachings of the outlawed A.N.C. and more thanks to the foundation of the Black Sash because your theories have turned into positive ACTION.

Your wonderful work makes me think that when the Almighty wanted to destroy Sodom, he said yes to a questioner who asked whether He would save Sodom if there were only five people who were honest and obedient. Unfortunately, the "mighty few" who would have saved many lives could not be found. But during this Space Age, fortunately, we have got the mighty few, the Black Sash. I say to you, fear not, for the world is with you in your struggle of ideas. Come what may, the Truth will prevail.

Nkosi Sikelela iAfrika! God Bless Africa!

(Letter shortened.—Ed.)



KIPLING DEFENDED

From Mrs. Nell Marquard, "Windrush," Draper
Street, Claremont, C.P.

I READ with great interest Mr. Hood Williams' excellent article on race prejudice in *The Black Sash* of June, 1961.

If I may be allowed one criticism it is that he classes Kipling with those who speak of Niggers and Coolies — "The White Man's Burden" and Kipling's condescending attitude towards 'Natives' belong here," he says. Since "Take up the White Man's burden" has become a catch-phrase, one

is apt to forget that the next line reads, "Send out the best ye breed."

Kipling was of the 19th century, and did not hold the 20th century view that there was anything wrong with imperialism. The Roman Empire had taken civilization over the world; the British Empire could perform a more or less similar task. But for Kipling, as for many thinking people of his time, this involved great responsibility; and the Indian Civil Service did demand, and get, much of England's best talent. These men administered the law with impartial justice. After the shooting down of unarmed Indians at Amritsar 30 years ago, the officer responsible was cashiered. This is, of course, not the whole story, and the time came when Kipling saw the dangers and wrote "Recessional" —

*When drunk with sight of power, we loose
Wild tongues that have not Thee in awe.*

It is a prayer for humility.

But to read Kipling's "Gunga Din" is to see that he was not condescending —

*My brother kneels (so saith Kabir)
To stone and brass in heathen wise,
But in my brother's voice I hear
My own unanswered agonies.
His God is as his Fates assign —
His prayer is all the world's — and mine.*

The Tibetan Lama whose feet Kim, the young Sahib, kisses, not only in reverence but in love, says, "To those who follow the Way there is neither black nor white, Hind nor Bhotiyal. We be all souls seeking escape." And when Colonel Creighton gives Kim advice before sending him to school he says, "Do not at any time be led to condemn the black man. I have known boys newly entered into the service of the Government who feigned not to understand the talk or customs of black men. Their pay was cut for ignorance. There is no sin so great as ignorance. Remember this."

*It is my certain conviction that no man loses
his freedom except through his own weakness.—
Mohandas Gandhi.*

*The greatest conqueror is he who overcomes
the enemy without a blow.—Chinese proverb.*

NEWS FROM REGIONS AND BRANCHES

CAPE WESTERN

AT the All Branches meeting held in August Mr. Donald Molteno, Q.C., was presented with a plaque for an office chair, which had been given to him in recognition of his devoted service to the Sash. Mr. Molteno complimented the Sash on the success they had achieved, and assured members that he would continue to be a firm supporter of the movement.

Meetings on Group Areas and Pass Laws

A public meeting was held in the Rondebosch Town Hall on 19th July to discuss how to help those affected by the Group Areas Act in the Black River area of Rondebosch. Dr. R. E. van der Ross emphasised that the Group Areas Act threatened the security of everyone, whatever his race.

Homes were built on sentiment and emotion, but the Group Areas Act reduced these same homes to nothing but brick and mortar. "When you touch that part of a man's life you are depriving him of the meaning of living," he said.

Mrs. E. Stott announced that a petition would be circulated among residents of Rondebosch to protest against the action contemplated by the Group Areas Board against the residents of the Black River area.

Differing views on the effectiveness of the pass laws were expressed at a meeting held in Green Point on August 4th.



"Safe constituency or not — I still think we should apply for postal votes."

—Cape Times.

The economist, Dr. J. de V. Graaff, said the laws had been effective in reducing African migration to the towns. Dr. H. J. Simons of the African Studies Department of the University of Cape Town and Mrs. E. Stott, National President of the Black Sash, said they had not. Dr. Graaff said he thought the pass laws were the worst of all possible solutions, but he could not see how they could be replaced if their objective was to be achieved.

"In my opinion," Dr. Graaff said, "the patient suffering from the disease which the pass laws are trying to cure, is going to die."

Library Apartheid

Signatures to petitions against library apartheid were collected by members.

"Endorsed Out"

Nearly a full page of the *Argus* week-end magazine section (June 10th) carried the story of "Kleinbooi" and Mrs. Mary Birt's journey with his family (this story was published in the March, 1961, issue of *The Black Sash*).

Simonstown Branch

As a result of assistance from members, a deaf mute African was granted permission to remain in the area.

Visits to Regions from Headquarters

Mrs. E. Stott (National President) addressed two public meetings every day for a week during her tour in August of the Cape Eastern Region of the Black Sash.

Speakers at Branch Meetings

Elgin: Mrs. E. Stott addressed a public meeting organized by Elgin Branch.

False Bay: Mrs. M. Wilson spoke on night schools.

Fund-raising

More than R112 was raised at a rummage sale held by Plumstead Branch.

Annual Regional Conference

The conference will be held on October 23rd. Branch chairs are requested to call meetings of their members at the beginning of October.

Annual National Conference

This will take place on November 6th, 7th and 8th. Resolutions should be submitted not later than September 15th.

BLACK SASH CHAIRS, SECRETARIES AND TREASURERS

Headquarters Region

National President and Hon. Sec.: Mrs. E. Stott, 6 Bishopscourt Road, Claremont, C.P.

Treasurer: Mrs. B. Willis, Boulders House, Simonstown.

Office (for correspondence): 4 Oakdale Flats, Main Street, Newlands, C.P.
Tel. 6-6827.

Border

Chair. Mrs. D. Curry, 3 Carisbrooke Road, Stirling, East London. Tel. 8-8979.

Sec. Mrs. J. Niddrie, 15 Lukin Street, Selborne, East London.

Treas. Mrs. F. W. Taylor, 6 Hazelmere Flats, Rees Street, East London.

Cape Eastern

Chair. Mrs. A. Pirie, 68 Westview Drive, Port Elizabeth. Tel. 3-5962.

Sec. Mrs. D. Davis, 196 Main Road, Walmer, Port Elizabeth.

Treas. Mrs. A. Bolton, 19 Linton Road, Mill Park, Port Elizabeth.

Natal Coastal

Chair. Mrs. A. D. Powell, 60 The Crescent, Hillary, Natal. Tel. 8-4459.

Sec. Mrs. K. E. Brummer, 6 Glynnwood Grove, Bellair, Durban. Tel. 8-1203.

Treas. Mrs. A. Keen, 7 Chiltern Place, Westville, Durban. Tel. 8-5186.

Natal Midlands

Chair. Mrs. S. Johnson, Miller St., Howick, Natal. Tel. 294.

Sec. Mrs. P. Masters, Brookdales, P.O. Merrivale, Natal.

Treas. Mrs. W. Reid, 164 Swartkop Road, Pietermaritzburg.

Southern Transvaal

Chair. Mrs. D. Hill, 41 The Valley Road, Parktown, Johannesburg. Telephone 41-1832.

Secs. Mrs. M. W. Cluver, 21a Argyle Street, Waverley, Johannesburg. Telephone 40-1306. Mrs. E. D. Grant, 16 Knox Street, Waverley, Johannesburg. Tel. 40-2830.

Treas. Mrs. K. Fleming, 17 St. David's Road, Houghton, Johannesburg.

Cape Western

Chair. and Hon. Sec.:
Mrs. E. Stott, 6 Bishopscourt Road, Claremont, C.P. Tel. 77-3368.

Treas. Mrs. M. Green, Three Valleys, Kromboom Road, Rondebosch, C.P. Tel. 6-6243.

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