

THE BLACK SASH

DIE SWART SERP

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

Price 6d.

August 1960

Vol. 4 No. 4

NO CHANGE

GEEN VERANDERING

THE events that have taken place since the previous issue of this magazine was published (we regret that circumstances compelled us to suspend publication for several months) have not altered the thinking of our government. Neither have they weakened the determination of the Black Sash to carry on the struggle for a better system of government.

It must be recognised that nothing has happened since the 21st of March to convince government supporters that their policy is unworkable. The government shattered the campaign launched by the Pan-Africanist Congress; it suspended the rule of law by declaring a state of emergency under which it has exercised powers normally reserved for dictatorships; it apprehended thousands of people and locked them up without charge or trial; it has remained unshaken in the face of world-wide condemnation, boycotts and immense internal pressure to amend its ways. Having succeeded in maintaining its policy against great odds, the government apparently sees no reason why it should not continue to do so, meeting future opposition with the same weapons it has used in the past.

DIE gebeurtenisse sedert uitgawe van die jongste nommer van hierdie blad (tot ons spyt was ons verplig om publikasie vir etlike maande te staak) het nie die denkwyse van ons regering laat verander nie; ook het dit nie die vasberadenheid van die Swart Serp verswak om die stryd om 'n beter regeringstelsel voort te sit nie.

Daar moet besef word dat niks sedert 21 Maart gebeur het om die regering daarvan te oortuig dat sy beleid onuitvoerbaar is nie. Die regering het die veldtog verpletter wat deur die Pan-Africanist Congress op tou gesit is; dit het die heerskappy van die wet opgeskort deur 'n noodtoestand te verklaar ingevolge waarvan dit magte uitgeoefen het wat gewoonlik slegs by diktatorskappe voorkom; duisende mense is in hegtenis geneem en sonder aanklag of verhoor opgesluit; die regering het onwrikbaar gebly ten spyte van wêreldwye afkeuring, boikotte en ontsaglike druk binne ons eie land om sy optrede te verbeter. Noudat die regering daarin geslaag het om sy beleid ten spyte van sterk weerstand voort te sit, sien die regering skynbaar geen rede waarom daar nie hiermee voortgegaan moet word nie, of waarom weer-

It is true that some government supporters are uneasy about what has happened since the 21st of March. They do not like being reminded of the shootings that took place, the beatings, the forcible removal of people from their homes in the early morning, their lengthy incarceration without trial. But they excuse themselves, saying that it was necessary to take strong action in defence of law and order; that race relations are basically sound but that agitators have been undermining confidence in the government; they lay blame for the disturbances on Communists, the "liberalistic" English-language press, and certain clergymen. They concede that their administration has not been perfect, but they visualise a future state of amity and co-operation (which, they say, the achievement of a Republic would assist), when the benefits of "positive apartheid" become apparent.

This stubborn refusal to change is disheartening to members of the Black Sash, some of whom have been further discouraged by the belief that the government will stop at nothing to achieve its ends. But the Black Sash has remained steadfast to the ideals that brought it into existence.

During the past few months many members have devoted themselves energetically to the task of organising relief for the dependants of detainees and other victims of the emergency. The Sash is not a welfare organisation, but it is our policy to try to mitigate the suffering caused by unjust legislation. We have helped to create new bonds of goodwill between White and non-White, and have made a practical contribution towards achieving the better society we all desire.

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

stand in die toekoms nie met dieselfde wapens bestry kan word as wat die regering in die verlede gebruik het nie.

Sommige regeringsondersteuners voel wel besorgd oor wat sedert 21 Maart gebeur het. Hulle word nie graag herinner aan die doodskietery wat plaasgevind het nie, die geslaan, die verwydering van mense uit hul huise in die vroeë oggend, hul langdurige tronksittery sonder verhoor. Maar hul voer as verskoning aan dat dit nodig was om kragdadig op te tree ten einde die gesag van die wet te beskerm; dat rasseverhoudings basies gesond is maar dat opstokers besig was om vertrouwe in die regering te ondermyn. Hulle lê die skuld vir die onluste aan die deur van Kommuniste, die „liberalistiese" koerante, en sekere kerkmanne. Hulle gee toe dat hul administrasie nie perfek was nie, maar hulle beoog 'n toestand van vriendskap en samewerking in die toekoms (en sê dat die verkryging van 'n Republiek hier toe sou bydra), sodra die voordele van „positiewe apartheid" sigbaar word.

Hierdie hardkneggige weiering om van beleid te verander is ontmoedigend vir lede van die Swart Serp, en sommige van hulle is verder ontmoedig omdat hulle glo dat die regering vir niks sal stuit om sy doelstellinge te bereik nie. Maar die Swart Serp het standvastig geheg gebly aan die ideale waaraan sy ontstaan te danke is.

In die afgelope maande het baie van die lede hulle daadwerklik toegewy aan die organisering van bystand vir die afhanklikes van aangehoue persone en ander slagoffers van die noodtoestand. Die Serp is nie 'n welsynsorganisasie nie; tog is dit ons beleid om die lyding te probeer versag wat deur onregverdige wetgewing veroorsaak word. Ons het daartoe bygedra om nuwe bande van welwillendheid tussen Blanke en nie-Blanke te skep, en het 'n praktiese bydrae gelewer tot die daarstelling van die beter samelewing wat ons almal begeer.

Our main task, however, is to continue to declare that the present system of government is fundamentally unjust. The events of the past four months have shown how well-founded was our fear that the attempt by this government, representing a minority of the population, to impose its will on the majority would have painful consequences. We must point out that the merits of the theory of separate development are irrelevant, and so is the sincerity of those who so patiently expounded it. Government without consent is tyranny: it remains tyranny irrespective of the intentions of the tyrants; and in the end tyranny will fail. While a vestige of hope remains, we cannot relax our efforts to bring about a peaceful change.

Ons vernaamste taak is egter om vol te hou met ons aanvoering dat die huidige regeringstelsel fundamenteel onregverdig is. Die gebeurtenisse van die afgelope vier maande het getoon hoe gegrond ons vrees was dat die pogings van hierdie regering (wat 'n minderheid van die bevolking verteenwoordig) om sy sin op die meerderheid af te pers, pynlike gevolge sou afgee. Ons moet daarop wys dat die meriete van die teorie van afsonderlike ontwikkeling nie ter sake is nie, ook nie die opregtheid van diegene wat dit so geduldig verkondig. Regering sonder toestemming is tirannie: dit bly tirannie, afgesien van die voornemens van die tirane; en uiteindelik sal tirannie misluk. Terwyl daar nog die geringste hoop bestaan, kan ons nie ons pogings om 'n vreedsame verandering te verkry, verslap nie.

The Lesson of the Congo

by Hildegarde Spottiswoode

THE Prime Minister of Northern Nigeria said recently that the chaos in the Congo is due to lack of previous adequate training in self-government. This can hardly be disputed. The Belgian government, unlike British and French governments in other colonial territories, concentrated its development on economic measures and not on training in political responsibility. Its programme for a "model state" was begun only in the last few years, and it is regrettable, to put it mildly, that independence was granted far too soon for the benefits of this training to be felt.

Ghana, Nigeria and French West Africa have benefited from many years of education and training in all forms of political, social and economic responsibility. The path of independence in these territories has been comparatively smooth. But the Congo lagged behind in political training, and also in primary

and secondary education, which brings with it a civilizing influence. Recruits for the Congolese Army were chosen for their toughness rather than for their brains or educational standard. When discipline was suddenly removed, these men reverted to mass violence and savagery. But whatever its probable cause, the shocking violence in the Congo is condemned by all civilized people.

The percentage of African children who receive some schooling in South Africa is 56%, a far higher figure than in any country south of the Sahara. In a generation, up to 1958, 2,086 non-Whites have graduated and 886 have qualified for diplomas at universities. Universities in Ghana, Nigeria, East Africa and Rhodesia have together in the same period produced only 1,738 graduates and 1,058 holders of diplomas. In the Congo there are only 14 graduates! South Africa's record in comparison with other parts of Africa is therefore noteworthy.

But having trained such a considerable number of men and women, we fail to grant them the opportunities commensurate with their attainments, which

—continued on page 13

The Black Sash and THE EMERGENCY

CAPE WESTERN

AFTER the Langa disturbances on March 21st, our office, and individual members, were besieged by people in dire distress. They needed advice on all sorts of matters, and above all they needed food and money for rent.

We opened our Bail Fund office as soon as the military cordon round the African townships was lifted, and it has been busy ever since from Monday to Friday each week. Twice a week the office deals with food and maintenance, and every day with pass law and other problems.

Money from Friends

The office was stocked with sacks of mealie meal, samp, beans, sugar, dried milk, candles and soap and later frozen fish. Members of the Black Sash weighed out quantities of food and a hasty card system was devised. As it was at first impossible to check the names of detainees, we had to take the peoples' word for this, but our trust was not misplaced. When the list of those detained was published, all but two names were on it. Many African women have come all the way in from Nyanga, an 8d. bus ride, to thank us for our help or to tell us that their husbands had been released. In short, 130 families who, up to now, have received no aid from Government or other sources, have been helped with rent, water and lighting, burial dues and other commitments, as well as basic food. This work has also been done in Hermanus, Somerset West, Worcester, Wellington and Paarl by our country branches. Our tiny Wellington branch has looked after 46 families in Worcester alone.

The money came mostly from our members and their friends, and our "Dependants of Political Detainees Fund" has been a veritable widow's cruse. We have never refused aid where it was genuinely needed and we never quite reached rock bottom!

Members also helped to transport relatives of detainees to see their relations in jail, but when they were removed to Worcester and Simondium it became an almost insuperable problem. In conjunction with several other organisations and individuals,

"Madam Chair, I would like to propose a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Erasmus, without whose co-operation in lifting the ban this annual general meeting could not have been held."

—Cape Times



a system of lifts was worked out and a bus has three times been hired to take African and Coloured women to see their husbands at Worcester. Quite a sight to see was Mrs. Stoy trying to tuck 85 large-sized African women into a bus designed for 50. On this occasion we quickly hired a second bus as it seemed inhuman to disappoint so many people.

The Sash has worked in conjunction with other organisations such as the Liberal Party, the Society of Friends and the Churches, who were all doing similar work. After failing to obtain a licence from the Welfare Department to appeal for funds, these bodies welcomed the decision of the Red Cross to take over this function: the Red Cross, of course, already had a licence to appeal publicly for funds, and an efficient organisation with which to administer them.

Special Committee

A special committee has been formed on which representatives of all the bodies who have been doing the relief work serve, also representatives from the Board of Aid, Social Welfare Department and Race Relations. The Government have agreed to pay a small allowance per family to the dependants of all detainees and this will be made up to a minimum of £12 10s. per month and paid in weekly instalments to all those who qualify. This fund will help all those in need as a result of racial disturbances: White, Coloured and Africans whether they are the dependants of detainees or of those injured or unemployed as a result of disturbances. It will also continue to finance the buses which take the relations of detainees out to Worcester and Simondium.

Union Day March

IN contrast to the carnival spirit at Bloemfontein on Union Day, May 31st, an estimated 10,000 Cape Town citizens took part in a march through the city to dedicate themselves to the following tasks:

- Ridding our country of the scourge of poverty;
- Guaranteeing to all South Africans those civil liberties that are regarded throughout the civilized world as inalienable human rights; and
- Achieving inter-racial justice on the basis of government by consent, equal protection of the laws and equality of opportunity for all, irrespective of race or birth, class or creed.

On this winter day, so sunny that it might have been blessed for the occasion, the marchers walked in silence to the beat of muffled drums. Thousands of hushed spectators lined the route on either side.

Those who were fortunate enough to find room in the Drill Hall at the end of the procession were addressed by ex-Chief Justice Centlivres, the Rev. Joorste and Mr. Joe Nkatlo. His Grace the Archbishop of Cape Town was in the chair.

The overflow assembled on the Grand Parade. Unhappily the speeches were not relayed, but the huge crowd outside read aloud the dedication in English, Afrikaans and Xhosa.

The organising committee of the Archbishop's Conference, which included several members of the Sash, deserves our gratitude for the opportunity given to us to express our craving for a future in which all races may live together in trust and freedom.

that the attitude of many Europeans in Worcester had hardened considerably towards the African. They find it difficult to understand why they burnt down their churches, school and clinic.

Those people should have seen, as we did, a police van going off from the location with loads of husbands and fathers—the African women said they were pass offenders. They should have heard a mother of eight small children telling how her husband, with many others, had been removed from the Worcester gaol, where he was detained, to some unknown destination. She really believed that she would never see him again. Perhaps then they would have understood how even the African's natural good humour and patience have a breaking point.

A wonderful relationship has developed between our Black Sash members who weigh out the mealie meal and sugar and the African mothers with babies on their backs or holding on to their skirts. No political work we have undertaken could have done more to build bridges between Whites and non-Whites. It isn't only the material aid they have received—it's the fact the White women stood by them in their hour of need.

Wellington

SINCE the state of emergency was declared, Africans at Worcester have repeatedly appealed to the Sash in Cape Town for help. They also appealed to us in Wellington, as there is no branch of the Sash in Worcester. Although there are big difficulties in having to operate from such a distance, we could not refuse.

One of our members started a scheme to feed detainees' families, and the Anglican Minister at Worcester kindly agreed to give out food parcels every week.

Desperate Plight

Apart from the hundred children and fifty dependants of detainees whom we are helping, we found many others in Worcester who desperately needed help because of unemployment. The implications were brought home to us when we saw nine little children in the location, all taking turns to suck part of an orange. One small child was left out and burst into tears.

It was then that we thought of starting a scheme to help those who do not otherwise qualify for assistance. We bought warm material, at reduced prices for quantity, and cut out little dresses of various sizes, and trousers for boys, and left these with the school principal's wife to distribute with needles and cotton, etc., at cost price.

Clothes in Demand

On returning to the location some days later we found that the cut-out clothes had been in great demand, and they were delighted that we had bought three more rolls of material. The principal's wife had kept careful accounts and the money for the first lot of material was waiting for us.

There is such a demand for children's warm clothes in the location that we appealed to most of the churches in Worcester for old socks in any condition. These, with the feet cut off, can be sewn into the armholes of dresses to make long warm sleeves.

This appeal gave us an opportunity to talk to the Ministers about the conditions in the location, of which some of them were unaware. We learnt

SOUTHERN TRANSVAAL REGION

Emergency Relief Funds

OUR major activity recently has been the collection and distribution of money and goods for the relief of those people in need of help as a result of the emergency.

Immediately after the Sharpeville tragedy, a fund was started in Johannesburg to assist the bereaved dependants and the injured, and the Black Sash office was offered as a receiving depot for donations of food, money and clothing. Unfortunately, it was some time before the fund could be properly launched, and we found ourselves with a good deal of money and goods on our hands with no machinery for passing them on to the needy. Also, with the arrests under the emergency regulations, additional donations began to come into the office for the dependants of the detainees. Our constitution does not authorise us to undertake welfare work, and it was therefore decided that a group of individual women should apply for a permit to enable them to collect and handle the donations. A committee of twelve women, members and non-members of the Sash, was duly formed, with Mrs. Nell Green in the chair, and a temporary permit was obtained from the Chief Magistrate of Johannesburg to enable them to operate as the **Sharpeville and Emergency Relief Committee**.

The money and donations in kind contributed for Sharpeville dependants have been passed on to the Mayor of Vereeniging's fund, and donations for the general relief of persons affected by the emergency are being used in Johannesburg.

The Defence and Aid Fund

This fund, which will be a national fund with associations throughout the country, has now been launched, and an office has been opened at 17, Harvard Buildings, Joubert Street. The fund will provide all possible assistance to persons in need of help as a result of the emergency, including legal aid, but the emergency committee in Johannesburg, and similar emergency funds established in other centres, will continue to function purely as welfare organisations, subsidiary to the Defence and Aid Fund, and receiving assistance from it when necessary.

Anti-Referendum Demonstration

Our demonstration against the Referendum Bill was affected by the emergency regulations, which restricted us to a "gathering" of under twelve people, but we arranged two stands of eleven women each,

maintained at that number from 7.30 a.m. to 9.30 a.m. by relays of different women. Posters read: "Say No to the Referendum".

Sophiatown

After six months of frustration, a solution to the problem of homeless people in demolished Sophiatown appeared to have been found (even if only a temporary solution), mainly as a result of persistent pressure from the Sash.

For some time, sporadic police raids, followed by arrests and imprisonment or fines, had added to the miseries of the unfortunate "illegal residents", with little or no effect, as they invariably drifted back to the only homes they knew. Then the authorities decided to make a final swoop and arrest them all.

Our committee arranged to pay another visit to the township, and this time prevailed upon the Mayor and a Member of Parliament to accompany

As Others See Us

Mr. P. C. Pelser, M.P. for Klerksdorp: I still wonder whether we will have peace and quiet in the country if we allow certain organisations to carry on as they have been doing. I am referring to the Black Sash.

An Hon Member: Should they be banned?

Mr. Pelser: I am not suggesting it. I put the question: Will we have peace and quiet if the Black Sash continues, as happened recently in the riots, to encourage the Natives to continue with their actions with the pretence that shiploads of food will be sent to them from overseas? Will we have peace and quiet if the Black Sash carries on in this way?

Hansard no. 11, cols. 4560/1.

them. The visit had the desired effect, and the Mayor was moved to immediate action. The City Council decided to establish a transit camp, make a complete survey of the homeless families, and house them temporarily in the camp, whence they could be "screened" and ultimately either provided with permanent homes in the townships or assisted to return to their homes in other areas.

The temporary shelters were adequate, and food and clothing were to be supplied to the needy.

We have now received the disheartening news that there are still hundreds of homeless people in the township, police raids are still being carried out, and the problem seems as hopeless as ever. We have not yet decided what action can be taken, but the matter obviously cannot be abandoned.

Why They Joined the Sash

Reward of Service

THE reasons why I joined the Sash are rather obscure, so instead I will try to explain why the Sash means so much to me.

I returned from the first big meeting in Cape Town impressed by the sincerity and straight thinking of the Sash. Members discussed politics without sentimentality or bias.

I wondered then what it was that made some of them prepared to go 500 miles to talk to a branch — or to stand in the street and be spat at; or to work until they dropped from exhaustion; or — let's face it — to neglect their husbands, children and homes.

Where was the reward for all this sacrifice? They were not fighting for their "own," but for truth, justice and human dignity; and despite the high ideals there was often frustration and disappointment.

I believe now that much of the reward lies in those moments when we are aware of being able to love our neighbours as ourselves. Through the Sash we understand the real needs of others and learn to help them actively; their burdens become our burdens.

There is also the realization that our struggle is only a part of an age-long battle against evil. This battle may never be won, but surely the greatest thing for anyone is to take part in it, for only then do we know our true strength and begin to understand the purpose of life.

— ANNA PEARCE.

Righteous Warfare

IN the early days of the Sash I read of their protests and demonstrations with interest, but felt no call to join their ranks. I knew little of the aims and objects of the Sash, I had three young children, was sure I should never have the courage to make a public protest against Nationalist legislation, and felt, vaguely, that I did not wish to be intimately concerned with politics, even though I had done some careful thinking before joining the political party of my choice. But I was interested enough to pay them a monthly donation; this gave me nominal membership and the magazine.

While I was still without real knowledge of the Sash, through some extraordinary circumstance I found myself chair of a branch. For this election I shall be thankful all my days. I was thrown into active work and I had to learn quickly. It is probably true to say that no other organisation puts out

such a steady flow of information for its members as does the Sash — information on civil rights and liberties, on government, provincial and municipal affairs, on bills, and laws, on policies of parties and governments, on constructive work undertaken by the Sash, etc.

The Sash offers me a field of service, particularly in the fight against the government's apartheid legislation (more or less subscribed to by many a non-Nationalist) which I have not found elsewhere, and it is invaluable to work in a non-party political body.

Evelyn Underhill's words regarding the Christian mystic may well apply to those who work in the Sash:

You will find that the world, going its own gait, . . . intent on the satisfaction of greed, the struggle for comfort or for power, will oppose your new eagerness, perhaps with violence, but more probably with the exasperating calmness of a heavy animal which refuses to get up. If your new life is worth anything, it will flame to sharper power when it strikes against this dogged inertness of things: for you need resistance on which to act . . . and righteous warfare is the only way to a living and lasting peace.

The Sash has generated this eagerness, it prods at the heavy inertness of the white electorate, and engages in this righteous warfare. For these reasons I remain in the Sash.

—E. L. W.

Meaning and Hope

THE feeling of horror, despair and frustration that used to surge in me have now been directed into a course that has meaning and hope. I know now that every effort, every voice spoken in protest, every action, however small, in support of the deprived and the oppressed, is a little more on the scale that will eventually weigh in our favour. I do not know who said: "The greatest mistake one can make is to do nothing because one can do only a little," but this mistake is made by too many.

I am proud to belong to a group of women who are willing to sacrifice time, comfort and pleasure in their fight to uphold political morality and to help those deprived of the right to live as human beings.

And though my husband's socks are not darned often enough and my home is upside down, I have the comfort of knowing that the fight is worth it and so are the women beside me.

SHEILA NEWMAN.

A Qualified Franchise or Votes for All?

A SPECIAL commission comprising some of South Africa's leading public figures began in February this year to work out the conditions of a qualified franchise. The results of their labours are awaited with extreme interest.

The necessity to extend the franchise in South Africa on a common roll basis is accepted in principle by a constantly growing number of people, but they differ among themselves about the basis on which it should be extended. There are a number of possible franchise systems, ranging from the simple one-man-one-vote — usually referred to as adult suffrage — to complicated arrangements involving multiple votes. The main dispute, however, is between those who believe the vote should be subject to qualifications, and those who do not.

Simply a Device

It is necessary to make several points clear. Firstly, the vote is always subject to certain qualifications: it is restricted to persons above a certain age, and is not available to lunatics — or, rather, certified lunatics. Secondly, it is usually assumed in discussions about the franchise that qualifications would apply to all people irrespective of race, provided that those who already had the vote at the time of change-over would not be deprived of it because they failed to meet the qualifications laid down. The points at issue, then, are firstly, whether all sane adults have a right to the vote; secondly, if not, on what grounds certain persons should be excluded.

The supporters of a qualified franchise argue their case on a number of grounds. Their main negative argument is that the vote is not a basic human right; it is simply a device for electing a particular kind of government. Every citizen should have his basic human rights protected through constitutional entrenchments that are guarded by the courts, thus the fact that a man does not have the vote should not deprive him of anything material to his wellbeing.

This view is contested by supporters of adult suffrage. A man without a vote, they say, is at a disadvantage which cannot be justified on the grounds

"Now you can prove it, son — you're sane, alive, White, out of gaol and over 18. They've registered you as a voter."

—*Courtesy
Cape Times.*



that he has been unfortunate in not having the necessary education or other qualifications required for the vote. The vote, on this argument, is a necessary protection against discrimination, and no one should be deprived of it.

Many supporters of a qualified franchise take it as self-evident that people who lack a certain standard of education or who live in relatively primitive conditions cannot exercise the vote intelligently and should therefore not participate in elections. The idea of giving the vote to the raw African, to be exercised on an equal basis with a University professor, is too ludicrous, in the opinion of many, to bear serious examination.

The Raw African

Yet a number of quite intelligent people dispute this argument. One of their grounds for doing so is that in their opinion the "raw African" is not as raw as many Whites imagine: he is quite capable of choosing someone to represent him. The fact that he may not understand how modern society works is quite irrelevant — in most societies the average voter knows very little about the complex machinery of government, but that does not prevent the government of the country from being conducted efficiently by those who are trained in the various skilled jobs of administration.

Supporters of adult suffrage also reject the view that if "uncivilized" people are given the vote, the government will tend to be "uncivilized". They say it is impossible to define "civilized" and that a sophisticated, educated body of voters is just as likely to adopt obnoxious policies as a mass of illiterate peasants: Hitler's Germany is cited as an example.

It is not possible to dispose of these arguments lightly. Let us assume, however, that the principle of a qualified franchise is accepted. The problem then arises, where should the line be drawn? A very low qualification—say a Standard III education—coupled with an intensive educational programme, would mean a rapid extension of the franchise to a very large proportion of the population. On the other hand, a high qualification—say a Standard VIII education—would confine the vote to a relatively small number of non-white people.

Here two conflicting considerations emerge. On the one hand, if one accepts the premise that an educated electorate makes for better government, then presumably, the stiffer the qualifications, the better the results. On the other hand, if the white community genuinely desires to share political power with non-white people, a system that excludes all but a handful

of non-white people from participating in elections is likely to be an unsatisfactory basis for future co-operation. Recommendations for reform should not attract the imputation of hypocrisy, and that is one of the dangers that white South Africa faces.

In whatever way the franchise is extended in South Africa, there is no escape from the ultimate end result: a majority of non-white voters. Stiff qualifications for the franchise would merely delay that result for a time; but there may be a good case for delay in order to provide a transitional period and to ease the change-over.

Finally, one should note the existence of two divergent attitudes to the whole franchise question among liberally-minded Whites. One group approaches the matter with the idea of giving something to the non-Whites—this is the "concession" school. The other, smaller group does not think in terms of concessions: it identifies itself more closely with the unfranchised and visualises a situation developing in which the franchise will take the form desired by the broad mass of the people themselves. The former group tends to support qualified franchise, the latter group adult suffrage. But there are exceptions in both camps.

— W. B. W.

The Franchise — Voices from the Past

From "Nineteenth Century Opinion"—
An anthology by Michael Goodwin

WHEN the county franchise was talked of in 1873, there were many who thought the subject ill-timed—that the rural workman was an unfit subject to be invested with political power. The idea in many minds was that those hard-working men in the rural villages of this England of ours had no aspirations or desires above working, eating, drinking and sleeping—that they were content to let their more favoured and better educated superiors think for them, make laws for them, administer those laws; and no matter how unjustly those laws, which he, as a poor man, had no voice in making, might be administered, he, the working man, was expected to sit quietly down and tamely submit to the decision of his rich superiors. . . .

For years the unenfranchised state of farm labourers has been felt to be a grievous wrong inflicted upon them. Their position in life during the past has been such as has to a very great extent prevented them from making their grievances known beyond themselves. A public meeting in a rural village ten years ago, composed of

and got up by the working men to petition for household suffrage, would have caused considerable alarm among the well-to-do people of the village. The village clergyman and the well-to-do maiden ladies would have wondered at the audacity of the village rustics; but, although ten years ago their voice was not heard from the public platform, yet none the less did they feel they were wronged and injured by being denied the vote.

— George Potter — January, 1878.

ONE thing we need to learn is the necessity of limiting individual freedom for the general good; and another, that although decision by a majority of votes may be as good a rough-and-ready way as can be devised to get political questions settled, yet that, theoretically, the despotism of a majority is as little justifiable and as dangerous as that of one man; and yet another, that voting power, as a means of giving effect to opinion, is more likely to prove a curse than a blessing to the voters, unless that opinion is the result of a sound judgment operating upon sound knowledge.

— T. H. Huxley — January, 1890.

Book Reviews

SOUTH AFRICA: THE ROAD AHEAD — Compiled by Hildegard Spottiswoode. (Howard Timmins, 16s.)

THESE essays all deal with the racial situation in some form, and they were all written before Sharpeville and Langa and the proclamation of a state of emergency.

The apartheid standpoint is put forward by Mr. Makapan and Dr. Marolen, both in government employ; by Dr. Bruwer, who believes, however, that the place of the Coloured people is ultimately with the Whites; and jointly by Professor Sadie and Dr. M. S. Louw, who write on ways of putting apartheid into practice.

Another economist, Mr. L. H. Samuels, writing on "Economic Growth and Prospects", says (p. 235): "Substantial improvements in productivity [in the Native Reserves] will require a complete re-organisation of existing tribal economics, the abolition of outworn systems of land use, and the organisation of new patterns of production and economic behaviour."

Ex-Chief Luthuli makes a similar point when he writes of the overcrowding of the Reserves and the fact that the average holding is five acres. He is concerned generally with the waste and misery of minority rule.

Mrs. Ballinger's suggestions show an elasticity of approach that allows for dealing with groups and conditions on the merits—or, rather, the need—of the particular cases. It is a realistic appreciation of the complexity of a situation too often obscured by over-simplifying theories.

By showing in detail how our laws and regulations would operate in a specific case, that of an African who is capable and desirous of skilled or professional work, Mr. Alex Hepple makes real and vivid the frustration of African workers, and reminds us once more that it is individual human beings who suffer.

Professor Z. K. Matthews gives an account of, and commentary on, Bantu Education since Union; Professor Edgar Brookes warns of the false doctrines that University youth are imbibing; and Dr. E. G. Malherbe speaks of the need for training in leadership, in the emergent African states, and in South African Universities.

Professor Ben Marais writes of the challenge to Christianity in Africa, and incidentally answers some long cherished superstitions about Biblical support for apartheid. Mr. Molteno sets out with

great clarity the constitutional choice that faced the founders of Union, and the reasons why their work failed.

These articles, read in the light of what has occurred since they were written, show the danger of taking refuge in theories instead of facing the facts. This has always been dangerous. Gulliver found it so in Laputa, where the academy of projectors was planning the wonderful tools for making a utopia of the country. The following quotation is most apt: "The only inconvenience is that none of these projects are yet brought to perfection, and in the meantime the whole country lies miserably waste, the houses in ruins and the people without food or clothes, by all of which, instead of being discouraged, they are fifty times more violently bent upon prosecuting their schemes, driven equally on by hope and despair."

N. J. M.



Mrs. Spottiswoode (Central Executive) published the book as part of the work of the Black Sash and a contribution towards the Jubilee of Union. It has been received in most quarters with acclamation. Here are extracts from some of the many reviews:

"The 'compère' has gathered the views of men and women of political, economic and intellectual stature in South Africa. Thus, opinions clash, but this is the whole object of this most erudite symposium."

—*Cape Argus*.

"This is certainly one of the most valuable contributions to South African thought that has yet been published. . . . I for one, felt elevated after reading the views of such divergent thinkers, expressed with dignity and a sincere wish for the future of all races in our country."

—*Diamond Fields Advertiser*.

"Because it includes a minimum of the views of party politicians, the series succeeds in introducing an atmosphere of sincerity and honesty, which is more difficult to find in party politics."

—*Cape Times*.

"One is immediately struck by the great possibilities if this discussion on paper could rather have been a discussion in person."

—*The Star*.

"The great thing is that the contributions come from all sides. Native intellectuals write about apartheid and Bantu education, Coloured leaders discuss their problems. A fervid Nationalist, Professor Coetzee, states the case for Nationalism

fearlessly. The more liberal view is in notable hands, but there is a notable absence of the party-political cross section. It is all very well done and well prepared. The alignments are well presented and clearly the result of careful analysis."

—*Daily Dispatch*.

"A valuable contribution to free thinking . . . each person's view is presented by himself—it is open for objective examination by the independent thinker."

—Andre Dale in the *Evening Post*.

"Whether or not the compiler has been influenced by the uncertainty surrounding the government's censorship powers under the emergency regulations is, of course, unknown, but it is, to say the least, a pity that no angrier voices are heard than those of the gentlemen published here.

"From this general criticism must be excused Professor Matthews' clear analysis of Bantu Education, and Professor Ben Marais' worried appraisal of the future of the Church in Africa.

—Timothy Holmes in *Contact*.

This is an extract from a personal letter to Mrs. Spottiswoode by Prof. L. J. du Plessis of Potchefstroom, published here with his permission:

"I found *The Road Ahead* most inspiring, and have already been instrumental in getting it sold to quite a few prominent people locally. In fact I rather feel like writing a sequel to it to combine all the strands of truth and salvation in it into one tough and homogeneous life-line.

"In any case, I only wanted to congratulate you, although I do not have much in common with *The Black Sash*."



DRAWN IN COLOUR: African Contrasts, by Noni Jabavu. (John Murray, 18s.)

THIS is a wholly delightful book, even though the incident that set it off was the murder of Noni Jabavu's brother by gangsters, and her journey from London to Middeldrift for the funeral; for she accepts life, and without being detached is not overborne by tragedy and injustice. It is a quality that one finds throughout the book.

She describes the gathering of the large family. With affectionate humour she tells of the flurried preliminaries of her father's second marriage, and of his prompt escape from his wife and daughter to go and discuss etymology with his old friend the White lawyer.

Afterwards she went to Uganda to find out why there had been no word from her sister since her marriage to a Buganda lawyer she had met at Fort Hare. The conditions she found there surprised

and shocked her, and eventually she and her English husband settled in Entebbe to be near her sister and to try to save her sister's marriage.

The wealth and apparent "civilization" of the upper classes in Uganda, combined with the filth and under-nourishment even among the Cadillac owners' families, the sexual customs and the position of women, gave her food for thought. This was the country that had seemed paradise to her father because the Black man owned the land. A highlight of her first visit was a quite surrealist safari, accomplished by all but one of her companions on gallons of neat whisky.

The differences she found between adaptation to western civilization in Uganda and among the Southern Bantu bring home to the reader how much common ground in the fundamentals of morality and human relations there is between the latter and the West, in spite of the wide differences. She describes the Xhosa language as Elizabethan in its vigour, but the intricacies of social relationships, with their mutual duties and regard for the individual, reflected, as she says, in the innumerable tones and inflections of the language, have something reminiscent of an earlier European society. She tells how custom, the pattern of behaviour that has grown out of the people's needs, gives consolation in time of sorrow; and we are reminded of Yeats' words:

*How but in custom and in ceremony
Are innocence and beauty born?*

The flexibility with which Xhosa custom has adapted itself to western ways is suggested by many things, from the Victorian portraits on the wall to the prayer for the gangster, "lest we find ourselves committing the sin of judging him".

Noni Jabavu herself, as she says, inhabits two worlds, that of her Xhosa childhood, and that of her English life and marriage. But she moves with ease and humour between them, and her book greatly reinforces the belief that in South Africa there exist conditions favourable beyond any elsewhere for the harmonious and enriching development of all its people side by side.

It must not be thought, however, that she preaches any doctrine. She writes with a vivid immediacy, and recounts her experiences at the hand of a great variety of people, with large tolerance. The book ends with a charming picture of her father. His faith—that changes, even shocking changes, need not fill one with alarm or discouragement; that each people and each generation meets the contingencies it has to face in its own way; that human beings and human relationships are what matters—this faith contrasts strongly with the black pessimism of the present government, that seeks to bind human relationships in iron rigidity for all time.

N. J. M.

THE VICTIMS IN COURT

SINCE November, members of the Transvaal Region have been visiting the local Native Commissioners' Courts, to find out for themselves how "criminals" under the Pass Laws are brought to book. It is impossible to describe the shattering impact of even a single visit on heart, mind and conscience.

There are four Courts in the Johannesburg area — two in the city, one at Wynberg, and one in Fordsburg. Most of our visits have been paid to the Fordsburg court. Criminal Court "C" is a small dreary room, furnished with a Bench, a desk for the Clerk of the Court immediately below it, a row of chairs for the Prosecutor and other court officials, a dock and a witness box. There is a wooden form along one wall, where members of the public may sit.

Case in Two Minutes

As one enters, an open window on the right gives one a view of the yard, a smallish enclosure fenced in with very high wire netting, and there the prisoners awaiting trial may be seen, scores of dejected men — and some women — standing about in aimless groups, a scene strongly reminiscent of film shots of prisoner-of-war camps. Most of them have spent several days in jail awaiting trial.

The Magistrate enters the Bench, the Court rises, and the business of the day begins. One by one the prisoners, neatly clad urban workers, ragged rural immigrants or roughly dressed mineworkers, are brought in. The charge is read out, interpreted to the accused; he replies, again through the Court interpreter, the Magistrate may ask a question or two, or the prisoner may elect to enter the witness box to give evidence on his own behalf, and then sentence is passed — £3 or three weeks, £8 or eight weeks, £5 or five weeks, with monotonous regularity. A case occupies, on an average, about two minutes of the Court's time!

Gradually a pattern emerges: failure to produce a reference book, £5 or five weeks; possession of forged permit, £8 or eight weeks; mine employee, book left in compound, £1 or seven days. But sometimes sentences vary inexplicably — why is one man fined £8 or eight weeks for failure to produce his reference book, when he has lost it, according to his

THE SOUTHERN TRANSVAAL Region of the Black Sash has prosecuted its campaign against the pass laws with great vigour. The campaign was conducted on three fronts: within the Sash itself, in co-operation with other organisations, and among the general public. Pamphlets, memoranda and tape-recordings were used to demonstrate the folly and viciousness of the system. The telling article published here formed part of a report by the Region issued before the Emergency.

evidence, and been arrested on his way to report its loss?

Sometimes the accused has been arrested for failure to produce his book, and produces it in Court, completely in order. Sometimes a man claims that the policeman arresting him did not give him time to fetch his book. If he elects to have the policeman in question summoned to give evidence, his case is remanded for a day or two, and he is returned to the cells, to spend a further period in jail. Too often, a prisoner has been re-arrested soon after his discharge from jail, before he has had time to collect the reference book for non-production of which he has just served a sentence!

Pathetic People

Most of these are facts we have known or suspected for some time — they are not new to us; they shock, but do not really hurt. What does hurt almost unbearably, so that it is difficult to restrain one's tears, is the actual sight of these sufferers under the pass laws, these patient, pathetic people, dully and hopelessly accepting their bitter lot. A few of them may be rogues, and all, of course, are law-breakers; but mostly they are simple, inoffensive human beings caught up in troubles not of their own making, and against which they have no defence.

Take one case only, the case of a youth of 20 who is on a visit to his mother from the country during the school holidays, and is arrested for non-production of a reference book. He seems young for his age, and is humble and fearful in what is

WANTED:

A CHANGE OF EMPHASIS

SINCE I believe in the rule of Law, I must believe in the enforcement of Law. I expect magistrates to be uncompromising; they would fail to do their duty if they were not. But after spending a few hours in the Commissioner's Court in Johannesburg, where many "foreign Natives" were on trial for pass offences, I realised that there is something gravely amiss with our laws.

"£10 or two months," intoned the magistrate. "We do not want you here; we do not need your sort. When we are in a foreign country we must carry passports — or else we are punished."

What a brilliant analogy! Is there any democratic country in which a foreigner may be be jailed for a fortnight before being sentenced to a term of imprisonment? Are there no Consulates to assist him? If the African is indeed a foreigner he deserves better treatment.

As the scared defendants filed into and out of the dock, the bored interpreter gazed vacantly into space. "He has nothing to say . . . He does not have a permit . . . He pleads guilty . . . He says he worked for a little time so that he could eat . . . He says he left the train to collect money owed to him by his friend there . . . He pleads guilty, Sir . . . He does not have the permit . . ."

A boy of sixteen, the son of a respected clergyman, was arrested for not carrying a pass when he went shopping for his mother. His frantic father rushed to the police station to explain and to present the pass. Nevertheless, he had to wait until the morning for the Public Prosecutor to appeal on behalf of the boy, who was then released.

One merry fellow well on the way to complete contempt for the law heard his sentence with a jaunty air. He was a relief from the rest of the interminable queue with their strained faces, the hard dry swallow of their throats and their pathetic searches through their rags for the dirty bits of paper which always turned out NOT to be there.

I think that the country would be happier if there were no such restrictive documents. But even if this is not possible, much could be done by a change of emphasis; the pass would then lose some of its terror.

If our laws were made to free rather than restrain, to prevent rather than to punish, to assist rather than to obstruct, then would we not all benefit from the prosperity and peace that would follow?

—D. R.

probably his first brush with the law. He has never had a reference book, he says — he has applied for one but not yet received it. The Magistrate warns him, quite kindly, that he must get his book as soon as possible — but he is still fined £1 or seven days. One wonders as he leaves the Court, as one wonders about so many, whether he has the money to pay his fine, or whether this is to be his first introduction to jail — on a criminal charge — a poor, simple, frightened boy!

We have come away from these visits torn with pity, and oppressed by a sense of guilt after our brief insight into the shocking severity and utter callousness of the pass law system.

THE LESSON OF THE CONGO

—continued from page 3

would create a sense of responsibility and assist the development of the country.

Education, if not given adequate opportunity for expression, turns sour and is liable to lead to so-called "agitation". Even the comparatively small number of educated Africans in the Congo suffered from the frustration of being allowed too little say in their own government. It is time we granted to our qualified non-Whites opportunities for shouldering responsibility in all fields. Black nationalisms are making demands in the rest of Africa, and the Congo is an object-lesson in the necessity for laying a solid foundation before these demands are met. South Africa, unlike the Congo, already has a score of Africans capable of accepting and benefiting from responsibility. We must co-operate now with those who have been trained: not only with those selected by the White authorities, but also with those whom the Africans themselves elect as their leaders. And we must do this as soon as possible — frustration and resentment make co-operation increasingly difficult to achieve.

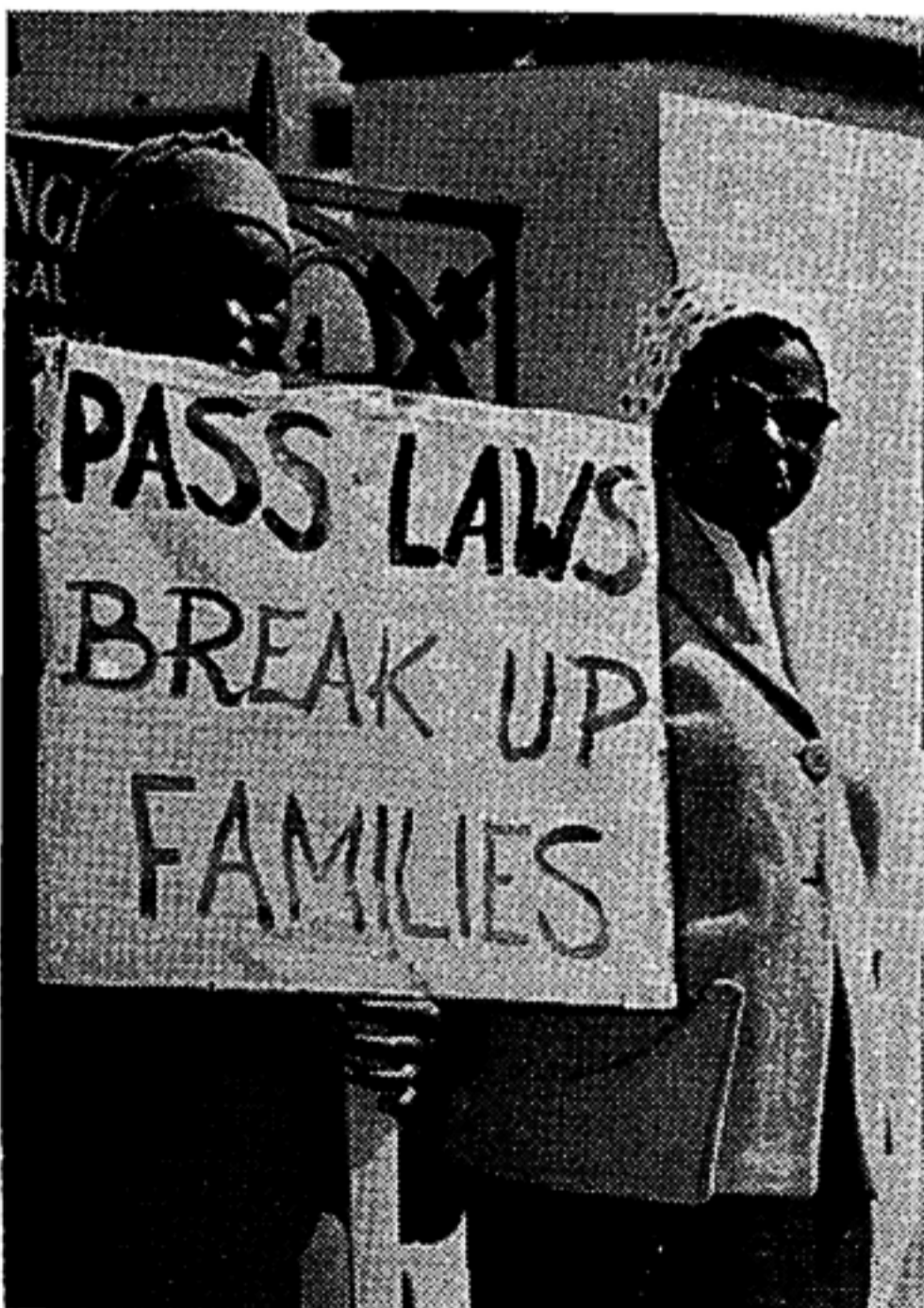
A SPECIAL issue of the *Black Sash* magazine on education in South Africa will appear soon. Order extra copies now through your local branch, or the Treasurer, The Black Sash, Estella House, 47a Main Road, Claremont, Cape Town.

SOUTHERN TRANSVAAL STATES THE FACTS

NINETEEN questions on the pass laws are posed and answered in a memorandum drawn up by the Southern Transvaal Region, extracts from which appear below. The document explains what a pass is and shows how materially it differs from the identity card system for non-Africans introduced by the Population Registration Act of 1950.

- What are the effects of the pass laws on the lives of Africans?

THE possibility of summary arrest for non-production of his reference book on demand haunts the African night and day.



His every move is subject to unceasing control. His choice of work and of employer are restricted. He has little or no hope of advancement, nor can he change his type of work.

He cannot obtain a house or pension, etc., unless he has a reference book.

His family life is constantly disrupted, causing, among other things, an increase in illegitimacy and crime.

Money for food becomes money for fines, and whether the offender pays the fine, reducing his poor earnings to even less, or goes to jail, thereby rendering himself unable to support his family, the results are the same — poverty, malnutrition, disease, and the complete breakdown of family life.

Early introduction to prison on technical offences crowds the jails, and encourages criminality. Technical offenders can become hardened criminals.

—To the African, unfortunately, the police represent tyranny and injustice, because the law is different for white and black. A pathological hatred of the law is developing, largely because of the harshness of these laws, and the way in which they have been administered.

As a result of this harshness, injustice and discrimination, the African tends to look upon all Whites with suspicion.

- What is the cost of the system to the taxpayer?

ACCURATE costs are impossible to calculate. However, we know that:

£380,000 (according to the statement of the Minister of Native Affairs in the Senate in 1952) was the cost of printing the first issue of reference books;

£33,500 was set aside in the 1959 estimates for plastic wallets to contain reference books;

£40,000 was set aside in the 1958 estimates for photographic material and equipment alone;

£328,935 was spent in 1959 for the maintenance of the Central Reference Bureau.

No accurate figures are available for the cost of large and expensive staffs of clerks, technicians, printers, photographers and fingerprint experts, or of recording equipment, offices, files, etc., but the cost to the country must be enormous.

Continued on page 16

NEWS FROM REGIONS AND BRANCHES

NATAL MIDLANDS

A MOST successful tour of our Region was made by Mrs. E. Stott (National Vice-President) and Mrs. S. Johnson, who visited every branch and stimulated renewed interest and activity.

The following committee was elected at the Annual General Meeting:

Chairman: Mrs. G. O'Callaghan; Secretary: Miss D. Anderson; Treasurer: Mrs. E. Solomon.

Committee members: Mesdames Russell, Strauss, Corrigall, Hey and Maple.

Mrs. Russell was later elected Vice-Chairman.

Three "stands" were held during March.

Our members helped to form a committee to assist detainees and their dependants, and have since done much practical work in this field.

On April 3rd a Group Areas protest meeting was held. Attendance was by invitation only. Four speakers addressed the meeting: Dr. Edgar Brookes, Professor Durrant, Mrs. van Wyk (representing the Coloured people) and Mr. Kumalo of Sobantu Village Administration. It was decided to form a Group Areas committee.

On April 27th, a Symposium on "The Future of South Africa" was attended by about 200 people. Mr. Leo Boyd dealt with the political aspect, Professor Horwood the economic aspect, Professor Kuper the social aspect, and Professor Durrant summed up.

A Youth Meeting was held on April 30th, when Dr. Edgar Brookes spoke on democracy to an audience of about 100 young people. This was followed by a political quiz, a tape recording of a political skit, a finger supper, and an address by Professor J. D. White on "Power" in the evening.

On May 11th Mrs. E. Stott and Mr. J. Torres, of the Natal University, spoke on the pass laws.

Mooi River

REGULAR monthly meetings have been held. The Branch has asked the Town Council to inform it about any proposals relating to Group Areas. At the Annual General Meeting Mrs. Hall was elected chairman and Mrs. Torr secretary.

A generous donation has enabled this branch to buy the recordings of Prof. Pistorius' speech on Human Rights.

The branch raised £30 for the Pietermaritzburg Emergency Welfare Fund.

Kokstad

REGULAR monthly meetings have been held. Mrs. Hammond is the new chairman.

Matatiele

FOLLOWING Mrs. Stott's visit a sum of £30 was raised for the Pietermaritzburg Emergency Welfare Fund.

Ixopo

SINCE the visit of Mrs. Stott and Mrs. Johnson there is a tremendous renewal of enthusiasm. The chairman and secretary meet and maintain contact with African leaders in the village area to be informed as to where branch members may best apply their energies.

CAPE EASTERN

BRANCHES in Cradock and Graaff-Reinet were greatly encouraged by a visit from Mrs. A. Pirie and Mrs. Graham, who spoke about the pass laws and explained what was happening in the urban areas.

Early in April a committee was formed consisting of several organisations, including the Sash, to help the dependants of detainees. The committee has been given permission by the chief magistrate in Port Elizabeth to collect funds and carry on activities for a period of 90 days, whereafter it will have to apply for re-registration.

LOWVELD

WE had a very welcome visit from Mrs. Dora Hill and Mrs. Mary Walker, who told us about the work being done in more active Regions, and in particular, by Southern Transvaal. Members came to this meeting from all over the Region.

Miss Marjorie Juta gave a most interesting talk at a meeting attended by 80 people. She spoke about her work as Chairman of the South African Group in the Conservative Commonwealth Council in London and, under the Commonwealth Institute, lecturing about the Union to schoolchildren and others all over England.

Mrs. Rankin came to a small informal meeting to describe the work the Education Vigilance Committee intends to do, and great interest was shown.

In this Region the work of the Black Sash must

OVERHEARD AT A REGISTRATION TABLE

Dear old lady: "I'm sorry, my dear—I'd love to vote, but I haven't been neutralized yet."

NEWS FROM REGIONS—continued

of necessity be confined largely to keeping our members and others alive to what is happening in the country. It is undramatic work and often disheartening, but worth doing in spite of the real difficulties.

CAPE WESTERN

LATELY our All-Branches meetings have been particularly well attended—the attraction being, no doubt, the guest speakers.

The first of them was Miss Christina van Heyningin (Senior Lecturer in English at the University of Natal), who stressed the urgent need to resist any move towards a uniform system of education.

The system of education should be as flexible as possible, she said, and pupils should receive every encouragement to think for themselves. Many of the doctrines of Christian National Education had been introduced into Transvaal High Schools and there were danger signals in other Provinces.

On behalf of all Sashers we presented Mrs. Margaret Ballinger, our second speaker, with a white-gold Sash badge in token of the affection and esteem in which she is held.

She has been forced to retire from Parliament after 23 years as a "Natives' Representative" in terms of the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act.

Mrs. Ballinger received a standing ovation from the meeting. During the simple ceremony of presentation all were moved by the poignancy of the occasion.

Mrs. Ballinger, in her address, asked us not only to continue our work against the pass laws but to campaign for a benevolent system of labour bureaux to replace the existing pass laws.

Our third speaker was Mr. Anthony Delius, well known writer and authority on African affairs. In his lecture, "What is Africa in 1960?", he outlined the successive stages of emergent African States; discussed the "moderate" demands of the Africans in the Union and the point blank refusal of the Government to consider them during the last parliamentary session; and visualised for the future a possible federation of multi-racial states and Bantustans in the larger areas such as the Transkei and Vendaland. Another suggestion was that Africa may become the experimental area for some kind of world control.

*You forget the means condition the end;
If the means be vile, be sure the end
will be viler.*

Musette Morell.

PASS LAWS—continued from page 14

In 1956, 337,604 Africans were convicted for breaches of the pass laws. It is impossible to estimate the cost to the taxpayer of extra courts, prisons, officials and files. The loss of man-hours spent in attendance at Pass Offices, jails, courts, and jails again, affects both employer and employee.

The extra expense of police raids for the express purpose of finding offenders under the Native Urban Areas Act cannot be assessed in terms of money alone. It is believed that 50 per cent. of our entire police force is engaged on the implementation of the Pass Laws!

£233,712 was spent during the year ended June, 1959, by one municipality alone — Johannesburg — on the administration of the Non-European Affairs Department.

● **Could society be organised without pass laws?**

IN our opinion, yes! It could be organised if the abolition of the pass laws were accompanied by provisions such as housing schemes for Africans in rural as well as urban areas; labour bureaux, and other measures designed to improve the economic and social conditions, and consequently the stability, of the African urban and rural population; the economic development of areas mainly populated by Africans; the proper training of Africans, and opportunities for advancement and the full use and development of skill and knowledge; the establishment of a minimum wage for all labourers, including farm labour; the use of migratory labour only where it is unavoidable, e.g., for the harvesting of seasonal crops in certain types of farming.

The abolition of the pass laws and influx control would cause a profound change in labour conditions in South Africa, and it would be necessary for a Commission to draw up workable plans and find ways and means of bringing about a gradual and peaceful change.