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COVER PICTURE: Black Sash demonstration outside the Union Buildings, Pretoria, after a service of re-dedication, on the 31st May, 1960 — the last Union Day.

The Group Areas Act

The idea of providing separate areas for the occupation of different racial groups in South Africa did not originate with the policy of apartheid, nor with the present Nationalist government. Long before Union, separate locations, townships and reserves were set aside for Africans; and from 1885 onwards various restrictions were placed upon the ownership and occupation of land by Asians in the Transvaal, Orange Free State and Natal.

However, the Group Areas Act of 1950 (amended almost every year since then) went far beyond any previous legislation, imposing control throughout South Africa, and dividing the whole country into defined areas for the eventual separation of the population into different racial groups. Under its provisions, hundreds of thousands of non-Whites and a number of Whites are being forced to move from established homes.

A Government spokesman recently claimed that there was no racial discrimination in the application of the Group Areas Act, since both Whites and non-Whites suffered and were called upon to make sacrifices. This drew the retort from the Opposition speaker that it was a sad commentary on Apartheid that the extent of *suffering* should be the criterion of the justice of its laws.

The fact remains, however, that comparatively few Whites are affected, whereas vast population movements of Indian, Coloured and African people are entailed. Furthermore, in many towns the entire built-up area has been allocated to the Whites, and non-Whites are being moved to undeveloped areas some distance outside the towns, without any of the amenities they have hitherto enjoyed. It must be remembered, too, that Whites are free to choose their place of residence, while in most cases the non-Whites have no choice but to live in the area set aside for them, however little it may be to their liking.

In most of the cities, the pattern is not yet complete, and the non-White residents are uncertain what their future is to be. For several years, the non-White communities of the Cape Peninsula have been living under the threat of removal from long-established homes. In many cases, Cape Coloured people are occupying houses where their forefathers have lived for centuries. At the end of 1964, the threat of expulsion from these much-loved homes came nearer, with the publication by the Department of Planning of proposals for the establishment of definite Group Areas in the various districts. Courts of Inquiry were set up to consider objections to the proposals.

In the following pages, members of the Cape Western Region of the Black Sash report on their efforts in the areas in which they themselves live to assist non-White residents in making their representations to the Group Areas Board.

It is heart-warming to note that in most of these cases White people who are not threatened with the loss of their homes have rallied to the assistance of their less fortunate non-White neighbours. It is to be feared, however, that this kindly spirit is becoming rare amongst the Whites of South Africa. Unless they are themselves affected, few of them seem to know much about this heartless uprooting of peaceful communities in the sacred name of apartheid; nor do they realize that such callous laws are passed in their name, as the sole wielders of political power in the multi-racial country.

The implementation of these Group Areas proposals would uproot

The Oldest Community of South Africans on the False Bay Coast

says MARGARET ROBERTS

Chairman of the Black Sash in the Western Cape, and a resident of the area for 18 years.



SOME eight to nine years ago, when the Government first prepared the proclamation of Group Areas in the Cape Peninsula, the Black Sash organized a petition to the Minister then responsible for the administration of the Act asking that the Government refrain from doing so. The petition, which was signed by 30,000 signatories, included the following paragraph: "In the conditions of the Cape Peninsula, which are the result of three centuries of history, it would be impossible to demarcate just group areas."

Ancestral homes

If ever the truth of this prognosis needed illustration, the proposals published by the Department of Planning, which are the subject of this enquiry, bear it out. These proposals, if given effect to, would mean the complete extrusion of the Coloured community from the area extending from the Silvermine stream to Military Road, except possibly for a small, largely undeveloped area in the neighbourhood of Steenberg Station. More particularly this would uproot the entire Coloured community of Kalk Bay, descendants of the fishermen who originally pioneered this area of urban settlement, and banish them from their ancestral homes.

Is this justice?

The Group Areas Board has presumably acquainted itself with the history of the development of the portion of the False Bay coast affected by this Enquiry. In the 1870's and 1880's, there was a boarding-school, and an inn for travellers between Simon's Town and Cape Town. St. James did not exist as such. There were a few houses on the present Main Road, like Barkly House, Beaufort Cottage (still standing) etc. At Kalk Bay alone was there a settled community — that of the fisherfolk, overwhelmingly Coloured (including, of course, Malay). The proposals, therefore, if implemented, would mean the extrusion of the oldest community of South Africans settled in this whole area. Is this justice? If so, by what criterion?

During the last three generations Muizenberg and St. James have been developed — largely as tourist and seaside resorts for visitors, and as residential areas for White people whose work lies "up the line", away from their homes.

Livelihood centred in Kalk Bay

There has also been steady White penetration into the Coloured areas of Kalk Bay — again for the same purposes of recreation and seaside residence. In the process many of the Coloured residents have been pushed out. But those who remain are overwhelmingly fishermen, as their ancestors were. They live as a separate community, and apart from local shopkeepers, hotel and boarding-house proprietors, etc., remain the one and only element whose basic livelihood is centred in Kalk Bay.

White pleasure-seekers and resident commuters

No doubt if the hands of the land speculators and other profit-seekers could be laid upon the area comprising these humble homes, this area could be further developed as a playground for White pleasure-seekers, and resident commuters, whose places of livelihood are situated in the City of Cape Town or elsewhere. Why should the interests of these take precedence over the vital economic interests of the fishermen centred on Kalk Bay Harbour, in the interests of whose industry the Harbour itself was created. Is that justice? Would the Group Areas Board dare

even to investigate a proposal where the racial position was reversed, and a settled White community, whose vital economic interests were dependent on occupation of a particular area, were to be uprooted for the benefit of the Coloured pleasure-seeker or community or land jobber?

Adverse racial discrimination

If such is unthinkable, why should the reverse not be so? Our Foreign Minister told the U.N. Assembly the other day that separate development meant not racial discrimination but mere separation on the basis of justice and absolute equality of treatment. If these proposals are implemented he could *never dare say such a thing again*, because it would be palpably false. For no more blatant a case of adverse racial discrimination against Coloured people by a Government in which they have no single representative, on the advice of a Board on which they are also totally unrepresented, could conceivably be imagined.

Group Area Air



Bob Connolly

Rand Daily Mail

CONVERSATION PIECE

"I'VE just come back from a week-end in Natal — went to visit my friend Mary in Isipingo for the last time. They've got to move, you know — Isipingo's been given over to the Indians. Rather a shame, don't you think? Isipingo's such a lovely place—".

"Well, the Indians have to be given *somewhere* to live."

"Yes, but surely in this vast country they could have found some place to send the Indians that nobody else wanted — why should the White people have to leave Isipingo?—all the lovely homes they've built for themselves."

"The Indians have had to leave their homes often enough. Why, they've been moved out of their homes and businesses in Vrededorp, and that was given an area specially given to them thirty or forty years ago."

"Is that so? Well, who would want Vrededorp, anyway?"

"Obviously the White people — it's extremely valuable trading property! And of course the Indians wanted it, too, but they have had to move twenty miles outside Johannesburg where most of them will find it hard to make a living."

"Well, if they insist on their own Group Areas, what can they expect?"

"But it's not the *Indians* who want Group Areas —"

"Oh, yes it is! My friend told me — they applied to the Group Areas Board for Isipingo to be made over to them. The White people didn't want to leave —"

"Of course they didn't want to leave, and of course the Indians wanted to stay! Nobody wants to leave an established home and start again out in the *bundu* in a place nobody else wants — for the moment! But the Indians had nothing to do with the passing of the Group Areas Act — they have no hand in making the laws of this country — only the White people have the vote."

"Well, of course, they're not really ready for it, are they? But I still think it's a crying shame about Isipingo . . . Mary's lovely house . . ."

(Overheard at the hairdresser's).

THE FISHERFOLK OF KALK BAY

by MONICA RITCHKEN

KALK BAY is a small fishing village on the False Bay coast. Its steep cobbled streets, lined with clean and well kept houses, go up to the mountains and then wind down again to the Atlantic Ocean and to the heart of the village — the Fishing Harbour.

Dates and facts vary, but it is safe to say that the Coloured community of Kalk Bay was established at the turn of the 19th Century. Portuguese, Phillipine, Javanese and Irish seamen settled in Kalk Bay — they in turn intermarried with English, Dutch and Cape Coloured people and their descendants are today the fisherfolk of Kalk Bay.

Favourable conditions

The original seamen chose Kalk Bay because of certain favourable conditions. They discovered, just outside the present harbour, a reef which would afford protection to their boats against the furies of the sea — a reef which even today still protects the harbour. They chose Kalk Bay as a place where they could earn their living as fishermen. It followed logically that they had to live in Kalk Bay in order to care for their boats in case of a sudden storm and to be available to go to sea at any hour of the day and night when the fish were "running".

Many factors had to be observed in order to make this possible. The seamen had to be on the spot to watch the winds and the water which indicate the coming of fish; temperatures had to be gauged, because temperatures are affected by the wind and few fish will "bite" in cold water; movements of the birds aided in locating shoals; the colour of the sea was important, especially patches of colour moving with the currents. In the case of a sudden storm they had to be on the spot to secure their boats firmly and so eliminate the danger of the boats' breaking loose and smashing against the rocks. In fact, they were on call 24 hours a day. All these conditions exist today and it is necessary that he who lives from the sea must live at the sea.

Courage and perseverance over the years have enabled the fishermen to build up what is the only industry in Kalk Bay, and fishing has become traditional amongst the Coloured community. Generation has followed generation in living from the sea. Grandfather has trained father and father has, in turn, trained son, in the ways of the sea and in shipcraft, its use, its maintenance and its protection from the sea. The sea is the driving force in their lives and they have grown

up with the drama, the sorrows and joys of seafaring.

In 1911, the Government, being aware of the importance of the fishing industry, built the Kalk Bay Harbour. This has not only made conditions easier for fishermen and fishmongers, but has also become a great tourist attraction. The only fresh fish to be bought in the Cape Peninsula comes from the fishermen in Kalk Bay. All other fish is frozen or tinned.

There are approximately 120 non-White families living in Kalk Bay today. 340 are seamen and 500 non-White people are dependent upon the sea for their livelihood. Out of a total of 31 boats which ply from the Kalk Bay harbour, 19 are owned outright by Coloured fishermen. The valuation of these boats is R123,000.

Not many of them own their own houses but there are nevertheless 15 Coloured-owned homes, a garage, flats and a guest house. In 1941, the Cape Town City Council erected 54 flats for the use of Coloured fishermen, and these are packed to capacity.

Peaceful co-existence

There are 200 Muslims in Kalk Bay under the spiritual guidance of Imam Fisher, who was born in Kalk Bay over 70 years ago. They have their own Mosque and are an integral part of the community. The remaining Coloured families belong mainly to the Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches. All are law abiding, thrifty and deeply religious people. The police station in Kalk Bay was closed down some years ago owing to lack of crime! The White police sergeant who was in charge of this police station for 18 years developed a great respect and love for the fisherfolk. He still lives among them in Kalk Bay and has written a book on their history and origins, *Die Bloudam is hul Oesland*, he has aided the State Information Department to make a propaganda film on their daily lives and in the January, 1965 issue of *Panorama* he wrote an illustrated article about the fishermen.

Towards the end of the 19th century, White people began to infiltrate into Kalk Bay. They opened up hotels and businesses and, taking advantage of the beautiful sea and mountain views

and the special "fishing village" character of Kalk Bay, they made their homes there. Today there are 417 White owned houses in the village.

This then is Kalk Bay — bustling and at the same time peaceful with the calm and serenity of generations. In the much used words of this Government, Kalk Bay is a living example of "peaceful co-existence".

Bombshell

The bombshell came on the 20th November, 1964, when, under the Group Areas Act, it was proposed to declare the area between Lakeside and Clovelly for White occupation only. Objections in quintuplicate were to be received by the Department of Planning not later than the 18th December 1964. The Cape Western Region of the Black Sash immediately did three things:—

- (a) They lodged objections with the Board, and offered to give evidence at the public inquiry;
- (b) They wrote to the fishermen offering sympathy and support;
- (c) They made a statement to the Press.

At that time I was the only member of the Regional Council living in the area and I wanted to help the fishermen, but at that stage it was difficult to know what I could do. There is only one organization in Kalk Bay which protects the interests of fishermen and that is the Kalk Bay Residents' Association. Nearly all the fishermen belong to this which acts also as a sort of fishermen's union. The Association was formed by Councillor Heeger — one of the three Counsellors representing our ward — and the chairman of the Association is Mr. Vincent Cloete, a fisherman of outstanding character and integrity, who can trace his ancestry in Kalk Bay back 150 years.

Black Sash action

In the first few chaotic days which followed the Government Gazette notice, much advice and guidance was offered to the fishermen by various people. These fishermen are simple people and a proposal such as this was beyond their comprehension and organizational ability. It soon became apparent, however, that some were dissatisfied with their advisers. I will spare you the details of this dissatisfaction and lead you to a Black Sash supper party held at the end of November, 1964. Here I had the opportunity of meeting both Councillor Heeger and Mr. Cloete and when Mr. Cloete asked me if I would help the fishermen I said I would try my best and so it started.

I reported to the Black Sash Regional Council and to the False Bay Branch, stating that I was going to help as a ratepayer. Everyone gave me encouragement. Although I am a ratepayer I am also overwhelmingly Black Sash. The fishermen, Councillor Heeger and many residents knew this. If it had not been for the Black Sash I would probably have done nothing much, but, with nearly ten years of Sash teaching of intellectual awareness and positive thinking in justice and political morality, I felt I had to do a little extra towards helping the victims of this unjust legislation.

Miss Peggy Grant, Chairman of the False Bay Branch, offered to help in any way possible. We consulted Mrs. Barbara Willis, who had experienced the same thing in Simon's Town in 1959, and kept very efficient records of the procedures to be followed. Although she was very busy herself, as Simon's Town was re-advertised a Group Area a few days after the Kalk Bay proclamation, Mrs. Willis gave ready and friendly advice and help.

We drew up drafts of objections for householders, traders and fishermen, which involved 700 householders, 120 fishermen, 100 fishmongers and about 28 traders — all to be submitted in quintuplicate. The "objections" were dropped into letter-boxes, and here members of the False Bay Branch of the Black Sash were most helpful. The fishermen also assisted in this task.

Each objection had the following notice attached:

"Dear Sir/Madam,

If you are in agreement with the attached objection, will you please sign all five copies and post them not later than the 16th December to the address mentioned.

If you do not like the wording, would you please send in your own objections, in quintuplicate, to be posted not later than the 16th December.

Please detach this form before signing.
N.B. Objections close on the 18th December, 1964."

We have no way of knowing how many people signed the roneoed objections but we do know from the Chairman of the Public Inquiry that 46 people took the trouble to send in their own written objections.

We then dealt with the detailed memorandum submitted by the Kalk Bay Residents' Association. Particular thanks must go to Mr. Phillip Herbstein, who greatly assisted us by attending one of our many, many meetings and giving us the benefit of his expert advice.

The Muslim community were formed into an

organization called the "Trustees of the Masjidul-Islam-Kalk-Bay", and we drew up a memorandum for them which was also submitted. Memoranda were also sent in by churches and individuals. We had nothing to do with these, of course, but we did urge that the Mayor call a special meeting of the Cape Town City Council so that they might lodge objections before the 18th December because of the 54 Council flats. This the Mayor and City Council did, and they sent a very efficient delegation to the Public Inquiry.

The *Cape Times* and the *Cape Argus* both produced excellent week-end features on Kalk Bay.

Counsel briefed

At the end of December, all those who had sent in objections were notified by the Department of Planning that the Public Inquiry would be held on the 11th January, 1965, in the Muizenberg Pavilion Theatre Hall. The nightmare was on the way to becoming reality.

After hurried discussions and telephone calls, we agreed that an Advocate must be briefed for guidance and direction, and in due course Advocate Robin Marais was briefed to appear before the Inquiry on behalf of the Kalk Bay Residents' Association. We could not have had a better man. Advocate Marais immediately took possession of my file of cuttings, and was on the job at once. After our first meeting with him, Miss Grant and I smiled and relaxed for the first time for weeks. It was good to be guided by an expert, after scurrying around like rabbits for what seemed an eternity!

By this time, Mrs. Peggy Roberts had returned from England, and she agreed to speak on behalf of the Black Sash at the Public Inquiry.

The Public Inquiry

The Inquiry began on Monday, 11th January, about 300 people being present. The Chairman was Mr. H. S. J. van Wyk, a pleasant and courteous man, and his colleague and committee member was Mr. P. H. Torlage.

Everyone who had sent in a written objection was given the opportunity of speaking, but most people stood by their objections and said they had nothing to add.

On the first day, Advocate Marais questioned in evidence Mr. Cloete, Imam Fisher and others, and then made a magnificent and moving address to the Chairman. He said, *inter alia*:

"I would be interested to know if there is any person in this hall who could advance one good, pressing and cardinal reason for excluding the Coloured folk from Kalk Bay. It can only be an ideological reason. Then you will be able to look with pride at the map of False Bay coast and say: 'Look how clear-cut the cleavage!'"

Not one voice spoke up.

Others who addressed the Inquiry were Mr. Friedlander and Mr. Luyt for the Cape Town City Council; Mrs. Lucy Hall; Dr. Oscar Wollheim, Chairman of the S.A. Institute of Race Relations; Mr. Lewis Gay, M.P., the National Council of Women, and Mrs. Roberts, on behalf of the Black Sash.

The first day's hearing ended at lunch time. Before I report on the second day, I would like to tell you about the film I mentioned earlier. Several people, including Mrs. Roberts, had spoken to me about a film on Kalk Bay, but it was not until the 10th January, the day before the Inquiry, that I decided to try to find out more about it.

A beautiful and moving film

I discovered that it was called "The Fisherfolk of Kalk Bay", and it was made in 1955 by the State Information Department. It had its premiere in Cape Town on the 10th April, 1956, before an audience which included the Governor-General (the late Dr. Jansen), Cabinet Ministers and Members of Parliament. It was a short film, lasting only 15 minutes, and it so beautifully and movingly depicted the fisherfolk that it was translated into seven languages and shown throughout the world.

Mr. Piet Meiring of the Department of Information estimated that in the years 1956/1957 the film had been seen by 80 million people (excluding television viewers). It had won a first prize at Cannes and at Edinburgh, and it was guaranteed to move a heart of stone. Would it not be a good thing, therefore, to show it to the Chairman and of Mr. Torlage?

After the brief second day's hearing, Advocate Marais asked the Chairman's permission to show the film. The Chairman graciously consented to see it before his tour of inspecting Kalk Bay. Yes, somehow a copy of the film was obtained — and in Afrikaans. Father Doran of the Roman Catholic Church arranged for the showing in the Star of the Sea Convent Hall and someone volunteered to work the projector. This was a

(Continued on opposite page)

GROUP AREAS IN SIMON'S TOWN

by BARBARA WILLIS

IN 1959 Group Areas were proposed for Simon's Town, and strongly resisted. The Group Areas Liaison Committee came into being and briefed Counsel to put their case at the Public Enquiry in August, 1959. In 1960 a small area was again advertised, having been overlooked in the first advertisement. Again the Liaison Committee went into action and lodged every possible objection. Nothing further was heard until the 27th November 1964, when, five and a half years later, a new advertisement appeared with proposals far more drastic than any of the previous ones. The new proposals completely excluded all Indians and Africans from Simon's Town and no areas at all were proposed for 'Coloured' — only four areas being proposed 'White or Coloured'. It looked very much as though the whole of Simon's Town was intended to be turned into a 'White' area.

The Marathon begins again

Representations had to be lodged with the Department of Planning by the 31st December, and so the Marathon began all over again. The Group Areas Liaison Committee was called together again, an *ad hoc* committee consisting of representatives from the Anglican, Roman Catholic and Methodist Churches, the Mosque Trustees, the Non-European Group Areas Co-ordinating Committee, the Indian Association, the Chamber of Commerce, Glencairn Civic Association, Simon's Town Ratepayers and Civic Association, the Black Sash's Simon's Town Branch and some non-White clubs and sports organizations.

Very many meetings were held, always at night because the non-White members were all working during the day. The Town Council granted a Round Table Conference for discussion of the

proposals, and this was also attended by African members of the Luyolo Location Advisory Board, Mr. L. C. Gay, M.P., and Mr. Friedlander, M.P.C. The Liaison Committee stated its case very strongly, and the result was that the Council were persuaded to ask for no group areas at all. In 1959 they had asked for Group Areas, but the Liaison Committee had always asked for "no group areas", and their whole case in 1959 had been based on the permissive clause of the Group Areas Act — Section 5(1)(a) — which says that "The board shall enquire into and by means of a written report advise the Minister in regard to the desirability or otherwise of issuing . . . any proclamation . . .". The Liaison Committee has always maintained that Group Areas are *not* desirable in Simon's Town. The Town Council, in their written representation said, *inter alia*:— "My Council desires me to reiterate most emphatically that, in its opinion, there is no necessity for the proclamation of Group Areas in this town, but, if the Department of Planning insists on proceeding with this undesirable project, then the Council submits the following proposals for the most serious consideration." The letter went on to ask for what is the *status quo*.

THE FISHERFOLK OF KALK BAY (Cont.)

dramatic ending to the hearing and I trust the Chairman's heart was moved.

A deep sense of shame and sorrow

Although it seems inconceivable, there is a faint ray of light in this terrible act. In our case, people of every colour tended to draw closer to each other. The suggested harsh uprooting of the Coloured people from their homes provoked a great sense of shame and sorrow in many of us who were not going to lose our homes. Deep and enduring friendships have been formed and whatever the outcome of the inquiry, I pray that these friendships will continue always.

"Group Areas not desirable"

On the 14th December a Public Meeting was called in Simon's Town by the Liaison Committee to inform the public of the proposals, to allow all citizens to air their views and to launch a town petition drafted by the Committee. The Mayor, owing to short notice, was unfortunately unable to attend, but the M.P. did — and so, of course, did the Security Branch! A resolution was unanimously adopted by the meeting,

"That this meeting of citizens of Simon's Town

asks the Group Areas Board to advise the Minister that any proclamation of Group Areas in Simon's Town is not desirable."

Nine hundred and thirty-seven signatures were obtained for the petition, but many more could have been obtained if it had not been for Christmas.

Individual representations

All individual representations have to be in quintuplicate so the committee drew up two:— one "I am an Owner/Occupier . . ." and one "I am a Trader/Fisherman . . .", roneoed them and stapled them into fives. These were taken from house to house and resulted in seven hundred and thirty-three for Owners/Occupiers and 27 for traders. In addition the Chamber of Commerce drew up another petition for traders only and collected 43 signatures. All the organizations belonging to the Liaison Committee lodged objections in quintuplicate, and so did the Luyolo Location Advisory Board, though not a member of the Committee. Some big business concerns in the town and several individuals also lodged objections.

The Black Sash arranged for the petitions to be officially counted on the night of the 29th December by two responsible people not connected in any way with Simon's Town, and their certificates accompanied the petition forms to the Department of Planning, with a covering letter from the Committee. Much help was also given to individual objectors in the village by members of the committee.

On the 31st December two members of the committee delivered a huge carton of representations to the Department of Planning. They had difficulty in obtaining a receipt but did so in the end, and they were also closely questioned as to who had drawn up the objections (the Group Areas Liaison Committee), whose duplicating machine was used (they did not know) and who was this Mrs. Barbara Willis (the Chairman of the G.A.L.C.).

Throughout the campaign the two local English newspapers gave us maximum publicity.

We had not even come up to breathe when on the 8th January we were notified that the Public Enquiry would be held on the 20th January. So off we went again — more meetings, more difficult now because Ramadan was on — Counsel was engaged and evidence had to be brought up to date and collected for the new areas not investigated in 1959. Time was so short that

Counsel only had one consultation with the Committee, lasting from 8 p.m. to long past midnight. Could anything have been timed more inconveniently — Christmas and Ramadan?

Masterly summing-up

The Public Enquiry lasted two days, and included inspection of some of the beaches and Da Gama Park, both outside the scope of the advertised investigation. However, no time was lost in putting in a word for the Non-White rate-payers of Simon's Town with regard to beaches! Not a single person came forward to ask for Group Areas and a masterly summing-up was given at the end by Counsel for the Liaison Committee. Mr. Gay, M.P., gave superb evidence in defence of all people of all races in Simon's Town and received a spontaneous burst of applause, severely clamped down upon by the Chairman of the Board!

No alternative proposals

The members of the Luyolo Location Advisory Board were not allowed to give evidence because the Chairman said that although it had been advertised as 'White' it could not become 'White' until the Location had been de-proclaimed for Bantu. This did not prevent a non-White Councillor and the M.P. for speaking for them however! With regard to the extrusion of all Indians from the town, Counsel gave a note of warning to the Board that a case might be able to be brought, because no alternative proposals had been advertised for them. He quoted from a previous case not yet finalized in the Courts, in which the Indians had won their case but it has been taken to Appeal. The Chairman of the Board thanked Counsel for drawing their attention to this matter and informed the people present that arrangements had been made by the Board for interviews with the Departments of Defence and Fisheries. Very many non-White men are employed in the Dockyard and in the Marine Oil Refinery in Simon's Town.

Having done all we could over the difficult Christmas period we must now await results, which, judging by the haste of the Public Enquiry are unlikely to be as long as five and a half years again. In any court of law the case put up for "no group areas" in Simon's Town was as unanswerable now as it was in 1959, and even more strongly supported because this time the Town Council was on our side, and the M.P. had not give nevidence in 1959.

(Continued on opposite page)

GROUP AREAS IN RONDEBOSCH

by MARY BIRT

IN 1961 the Group Areas Board announced its intention of proclaiming part of Rondebosch always known as Black River as a Group Area for Whites only.

The residents of Black River consist of Whites and non-Whites in almost equal proportions most of whom fall within the middle income group, but in spite of the differences in culture and patterns of living the individuals have got on very well with each other and all sections of the community have been living together in peace and unity.

A group of non-White residents who were aware, through the bitter experience of other areas, of what they stood to lose in the ensuing tussle, formed themselves into "The Black River Ratepayers' and Residents' Association".

The Black Sash assisted them by taking a petition from door to door which asked the Group Areas Board to leave the area as it is. The result of this canvass was that 61 per cent of the Whites and 90 per cent of the total number of residents agreed that the *status quo* should be maintained.

The Black Sash also assisted in calling a Public Meeting in the Rondebosch Town Hall, at which the speakers from the platform and the floor mentioned many of the miseries, hardships, financial losses and general inconveniences that would be caused by the implementation of the Group Areas Act in the Black River Estate.

Nothing more was heard. Several shacks were demolished under slum clearance. Some non-Whites had plans passed by the Council for the improvement of their properties; others had

plans passed for the erection of new houses; while newcomers bought properties on the understanding that it would be a White area.

Homes once more at stake

In November 1964 an advertisement appeared in the *Cape Argus* announcing the Department of Planning's intention to investigate the Frasersdale area with a view to its being declared for White or for non-White or as an area with buffer strips. It took some time for the people living on the Black River to realize that this was Black River under another name and that once more their homes were at stake.

Any objections to the advertised proposals had to be in the hands of the Department in quintuplicate by 18th December. The Acting Committee of the Black River Ratepayers' and Resi-

GROUP AREAS IN SIMON'S TOWN (Cont.)

Heartening response from White residents

For those who may know Simon's Town, the four areas proposed 'Coloured or White', are the Malay Quarter and Ricketts Gardens (behind the shops in the town) the upper portion of Mount Pleasant, near the old Naval Hospital — Dido Valley which is above the Marine Oil Factory — and the area on the right of the Red Hill Road on top of the mountain back to the Waterworks. All the rest of Simon's Town and Clencairn, including the whole business area of the Main Road is advertised 'White'. Quite apart from any humanitarian aspects, if all the non-White trad-

ers were removed there would be no fresh fish, fruit or vegetables, no naval tailors, and no cobblers left in the town. To assist the affected traders large notices were put up in their shops reading "Under proposed Group Areas this business will be forced to close down — help us to continue serving you." Many signatures for the petition were gathered as a result, but owing to the terrific Christmas rush some traders mislaid their petition forms and so signatures were lost. Of course, some customers said they were too busy to read a long document, but those who did signed willingly. There was a most heartening response from White residents and if more time could have been given to house-to-house petitioning we should probably have doubled, at least, the number of signatories for the town petition.

dents' Association spent the first weeks of December drafting a Memorandum summarized in the following points:—

- That some of the 150 families who would have to move had been in their homes for nearly 100 years.
- That properties valued at over R200,000 would be affected and there would be no possibility of replacing the homes for that amount — there would be no suitable alternative accommodation.
- That many stood to lose their livelihood or to suffer loss of business and efficiency of their employees and that the difficulties of re-integration in commerce must be borne in mind.

Sadly different response

The Black Sash was asked to take round a similar petition to that of 1961, again asking residents to sign that they wished the area left as it was. However, the response of the residents in January 1965 was sadly different from what it had been four years earlier.

One White resident had already taken round a petition asking that the non-Whites be moved, and many had signed this thinking that the only alternative to such a proposal was that they would have to move themselves, which, of course, they did not want to do. When the point was put to them that the area could remain as it was, the poison of doubt had already influenced their reactions.

Many Whites were convinced that the petty thieving that had increased in the area was the work of the occupants of the shacks (some of which had been demolished), and they felt that the non-Whites in the area should have controlled these unruly elements. However, there was never any proof to support this assertion. Although the canvassers pleaded that unruly elements in any community were a matter for the police, or maybe social welfare workers, but not for Group Areas authorities, these White residents seemed quite content that about 150 respectable middle-class non-White families should be moved in order to place the suspected pilferers out of reach of their homes, and out of sight.

Many sympathetic Whites

Many residents were sympathetic but feared for the value of their properties. One said, "The non-Whites never worry you — you don't know that they are there." Another regarded the

whole petition as absurd, as she said she knew the area would never be proclaimed for non-Whites. One man said he was a member of the Nationalist Party, and "believed in Apartheid", but he didn't want the Coloured people down the road to be moved.

The Black River Ratepayers' and Residents' Association briefed counsel to present their case at the hearing on January 13th, and one member of the Committee gave evidence on behalf of the residents.

Objections to proposals

He pointed out that the Group Areas Act states that suitable alternative accommodation should be provided, while in fact there is no such suitable alternative accommodation for these people.

All possible developed areas are too far away from their work: for example, one man at present teaches in a school five minutes' walk from home, and his wife, who is a doctor, spends the morning hours at a clinic 10 minutes from her home, and also runs her home and looks after her two young children.

In other developed areas, the prices of plots are beyond their means, owing to the sharp rise in land values caused by the implementation of the Group Areas Act. The price of one plot increased from R850 to R1,000 within 24 hours. Some plots are for sale only on condition that the buyer engages the seller to build for him.

In undeveloped areas they would have the inconvenience of being unwilling pioneers in regard to roads, telephones, distances from schools, etc., yet because of their income they do not qualify for economic Council housing schemes on the 30-year Home Ownership basis.

Hard-working and peace-loving

He stressed that if the Board decided that these non-Whites must go, it could be for no crime: all they wanted was to be hard-working, peace-loving dwellers in the homes they loved.

Mrs. Stott represented the Black Sash at the hearing, and replied to all the arguments put forward by the Whites as to why the non-Whites should go. She also accompanied the members of the Board on their tour of inspection of the area.

And so the non-Whites of Fraserdale await with fear a decision that will vitally affect their future. The fears and greeds that have been unleashed in Black River by the introduction of this wicked legislation will leave us all the losers.

Kommetje, Noordhoek and Soetwater

by NORAH HENSHILWOOD

THIS AREA lies to the South of Chapman's Peak on the Atlantic side of the Cape Peninsula. In the 18th Century two farms, one at Noordhoek, the other at Kommetje, were granted by Governor Baron van Imhoff, to Christina Russouw, the widow of a prominent official in his service. It was quite usual in those days for two farms to be owned by one person, one for a dwelling and the other for cultivation. It would appear that Noordhoek, where the soil is good, was cultivated and "Imhoff's Gift" at Kommetje was the residence. The descendants of the slaves who worked on the farm now live in the little village of Noordhoek. This area is one of those suggested for either White or Coloured occupation.

The Divisional Council is in the process of constructing a new village for Noordhoek to replace the present one which adjoins the main road. Already more than R16,500 has been spent on this development and further plans are being held up until the Group Areas Board has reached a decision. The new village will give easier access to the safe portions of Noordhoek Beach which would then be reserved for the use of non-White people.

Kommetje, the hamlet on the coast a mile from the "Imhoff's Gift" farm, has always been lived in by White people though non-White fishermen use the beaches and a very few families are tenants on White-owned land. The zoning of Kommetje for White people would not cause any particular hardship. The area south of the Slangkop Lighthouse, where a "no man's land" of dunes and beach has in recent years been developed as a non-White seaside resort, known as Soetwater, was placed by the State at the disposal of the Divisional Council. To date the Council has spent R29,400 on providing amenities, which include two tidal pools, two kiosks and three ablution blocks.

Most developed non-White area on Atlantic coast

A portion of this land has been fenced off and is under the control of the Cape Town Rotary Club who have spent money on providing a recreation hall, dormitories and covered fire places for cooking. Special permits are required for entrance to this area.

Should this resort now under discussion be taken from the Coloured people, it will be an everlasting testimony to the greed and selfishness of the White race, as this is the most developed of any of the non-White areas on the Atlantic coast, and is the only existing site for overnight camping. Its popularity is proved by the great numbers of visitors who pour in from many country districts as well as from the Peninsula. Objections have been raised by the White resi-

dents of Kommetje that hordes of unruly Coloured people pass up and down the Lighthouse Road which gives access to Soetwater. (The Divisional Council have already promised to construct a new access road which, when completed, should remove this objection.)

On 6th January at the Annual General Meeting of the Kommetje Ratepayers Association a vote was taken on whether the authorities should be asked to declare Soetwater a White area. The voting was done by a show of hands with no real check on those entitled to vote. As very many residents were not present at the meeting it was not possible to give a true reflection of the opinions of the ratepayers. Those present voted overwhelmingly in favour of Soetwater being declared "White"; only 19 voted to keep matters as they are at present.

Written objections to the scheme had to be sent in before the 29th January. Typed forms were given by a member of the Black Sash to over 30 people who promised to send them in, duly signed in quintuplicate. (In the event only 15 sent in their forms.)

On 23rd February the Group Areas Board Committee sat in the Library Hall at Fish Hoek to hear the opinions of various bodies concerned with the area. The Divisional Council representatives spoke strongly in favour of keeping Noordhoek Village and Soetwater for non-Whites. They were supported by the M.P.C. for non-White Affairs, by the Rotary Club, the M.P.C. for Simon's Town district, (into which these areas fall), the Black Sash (represented by Mrs. Marquard and Mrs. Morris) and the Chairman of the Noordhoek Ratepayers; the latter only stipulated that the new village should be used for local people and not for the overflow from other areas. Only the Chairman of the Kommetje ratepayers raised strong objections on the grounds of noise and the possibility that Kommetje would eventually be closed in by non-White settlements on either side.

"You court the very thing you fear"

An American Looks at S. Africa

by WILLIAM FRYE

(By courtesy of the Argus Group of Newspapers)

PROMINENT in a city square in the attractive seaside community of Port Elizabeth is a monument dedicated with genuine sentiment to the horses that fell in the South African War.

It shows a soldier kneeling before his horse, holding a bucket of water for it to drink.

The inscriptions reads: "The greatness of a nation consists not so much in the number of its people or the extent of its territory as in the extent and justice of its compassion."

I paused a long time before this memorial. "The extent and justice of its compassion." How many South Africans, I wondered, can read that inscription without at least a slight twinge of conscience?

I know you are sensitive to outside critics. I know you feel that foreigners do not understand your problems — and no doubt to some extent you are right.

Differing views

I can only say that I have made an intensive and conscientious effort to understand them. Recently for five weeks, I sampled the whole spectrum of political opinion in this country — from Chief Lutuli and Alan Paton on the left (and, indeed, some people to the left of them) through Mrs. Suzman to Sir De Villiers Graaff, Marais Steyn and such Nationalists as Dr. Hilgard Muller.

I have talked with educators, business men, newspaper men, Africans, Indians, Coloureds, churchmen, diplomats, military men — the lot (as I have learned to say).

Lovely beaches

I was asked to come here by the Brookings Institution of Washington, D.C., a respected research organization, to assess for them and for United States opinion the wisdom and effectiveness of American policy towards this part of the world.

And I have been asked to set down some of my

thoughts under the broad heading of "An American looks at South Africa and some of its problems."

So I hope you will give me a hearing. Any mistakes I may make will not spring from lack of goodwill.

Port Elizabeth is blessed with mile after mile of magnificent white beach — enough for every man in a radius of 20 miles to swim and sunbathe in total comfort.

A new look

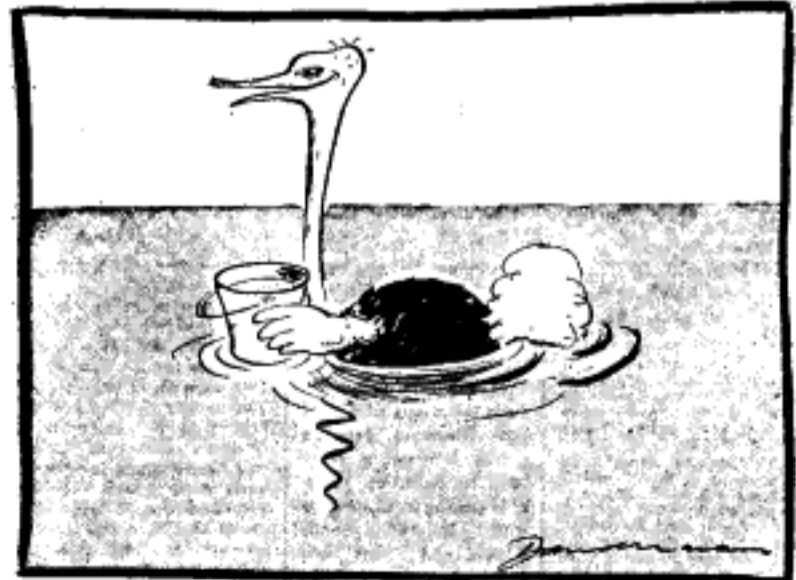
But the one beach set aside for Africans is so close to the city's sewage-disposal outlets that it has been condemned as a hazard to health. No one may use it.

This has been the situation for something like three months. The City Council says it recognizes the need to find another, but they have not got around to doing anything about it.

So the Africans have to go 14 miles to have a swim.

David Marais

Cape Times



"Floods of criticism? I don't care — I carry my own sand."



"Job Reservation? What's that?"

A small matter? Of course, in the broad scope of things. But is it perhaps symptomatic of a frame of mind, a need for a new look at the extent and justice of your compassion?

Not by colour

Many nations have built prosperity in part on the ill-paid labour of an uneducated class.

Many people have pushed an indigenous people off their land, as we in America did with our Indians. Indeed, I realize that in parts of South Africa, the White man arrived first.

These are not the principal reasons why South Africa is criticized abroad.

The principal reason is that you seem unwilling to give the non-Whites hope — hope for a truly better future, hope of sharing fully in the better things of life, hope of joining in the government of the country when they are fully able, hope of being judged by their capacity and character rather than by their colour.

If there is any one idea that is sweeping the 20th century, it is that a man should be judged by what he is and what he does, not by the pigmentation of his skin; that no man is by nature an inferior being; that every man is entitled to full free opportunity to improve his status in life.

It is because South Africa has held out against this great sweep of history that she is criticized abroad.

Not all of this criticism arises from misunderstanding, nor is all of it wrong.

Slippery slope

I know you fear the results of full political rights for the non-White majority.

But I find it harder to understand why you are not willing to share the franchise with the educated, the responsible, the intelligent non-Whites with whom I have talked.

This would not be to get on a slippery slope. It would be to get off one. That is where you are now.

I know that you do many compassionate things for "our Blacks".

I have seen some of the hospitals, and the children in them suffering from malnutrition. I have seen the high-grade housing in some locations, and know of the fear of being "endorsed out".

But when a sweet lady takes me by the arm and purrs, "Our Blacks are content", I think of Sharpeville and Paarl, and the 90-day detention law, and the Bultfontein trial, and the 45.8 per cent of Bantu families that are below the poverty line.

Their discontent is not all fanned from outside, as many would like to think. It is real, it is to a large extent indigenous, and much of it—I hope you will not be offended—is justified.

Discontent is, for the time being, suppressed. But the price of suppression is a serious modification of the rule of law, which endangers the Whites as much as it does the non-Whites.

Not too late

The price is also an atmosphere of suspicion in which "liberalism" and, of all things, "humanitarianism", can become derogatory terms.

Is this really where South Africans want this beautiful country to go? I cannot believe this is really your free choice.

I think you have decided on this course because you are afraid, and believe there is no alternative.

For what it is worth, I am persuaded that there is an alternative. It is not too late.

The alternative is to demonstrate the extent and justice of your compassion.

And real compassion consists of treating a man as an individual child of God — free to take the job for which he is qualified, free to live where he chooses, free to join fully in a shared society.

There are many in the outside world ready and eager to extend a hand of genuine co-operation in such a venture if you in South Africa want such help.

WINSTON CHURCHILL

by SIR ROBERT MENZIES,
Prime Minister of Australia

(speaking from the Crypt of St. Paul's Cathedral after the funeral service of Sir Winston Churchill)

AS THIS HISTORIC PROCESSION goes through the streets of London to Tower Pier, I have the honour of speaking to you from the Crypt of St. Paul's Cathedral.

I do this in two capacities. One is that I, Prime Minister of Australia, happen to be in point of time, the senior Commonwealth Prime Minister, and therefore speak on behalf of a remarkable world organization which owes more than it can ever express to our departed leader, Sir Winston Churchill. He is one of the famous men whom we thank and praise.

"I knew him and was his friend"

My second capacity is more personal and more intimate. I am sure that you, most of you, have thought about Sir Winston Churchill a great deal and with warmth in your hearts and your recollections. Some day, some year, there will be old men and women whose pride it will be to say, "I lived in Churchill's time." Some will be able to say, "I saw him and I heard him, the unforgettable voice and the immortal words." And some will be able to say, "I knew him and talked with him and was his friend."

The great crucial moment of modern history

This I can, with a mixture of pride and humility, say for myself. The memory of this moves me deeply, now that he is dead; but his glories will be remembered by me as he goes to his burial, amid the sorrow and pride and thanks of all of you who stand and feel for yourselves and for so many millions. Many of you will not need to be reminded, but some, the younger among you, the inheritors of his master strokes for freedom, may be glad to be told that your country and mine and all the free countries of the world stood at the very gates of destiny in 1940 and 1941, when the Nazi tyranny threatened to engulf us, and when there was no second front except our own. This was the great crucial moment of modern history. What was at stake was not some theory of government, but the whole and personal freedom of men and women

and children, and the battle for them was a battle against great odds. That battle had to be won, not only in the air, on the sea and in the field; but in the hearts and minds of ordinary people with a deep capacity for heroism. It was then that Winston Churchill was called by Almighty God, as our faith makes us believe, to stand as our leader and our inspirer. There were, in 1940, defeatists who felt that prudence required submission on such terms as might be had. There were others who, while not accepting the inevitability of defeat, thought that victory was impossible. Winston Churchill scorned to fall into either category. And he was right. With courage and matchless eloquence and human understanding he inspired us and led us to victory.

The very spirit of human freedom

In the whole of recorded modern history this was, I believe, the one occasion when one man with one soaring imagination, with one fire burning in him and with one unrivalled capacity for conveying it to others, won crucial victory not only for the Forces (for there were many heroes in those days), but for the very spirit of human freedom. And so on this day, we thank him and we thank God for him.

He lit the lamps of hope

There are two other things I want to say to you quite quickly on a day which neither you nor I will ever willingly forget. One is that Winston Churchill was not an institution, but a man, a man of wit and chuckling humour, and penetrating understanding. Not a man who spoke to us from the mountain tops, but one who expressed the simple and enduring feelings of ordinary men and women. It was because he was a great Englishman that he was able to speak to the English people. It was because he was a great Commonwealth Statesman, that he was able to warm hearts and inspire courage right around the seven seas. It was because he was a great human being that in our darkest days he lit the lamps of hope at many firesides and released so many from the chains of despair. There has been nobody like him in our lifetime.

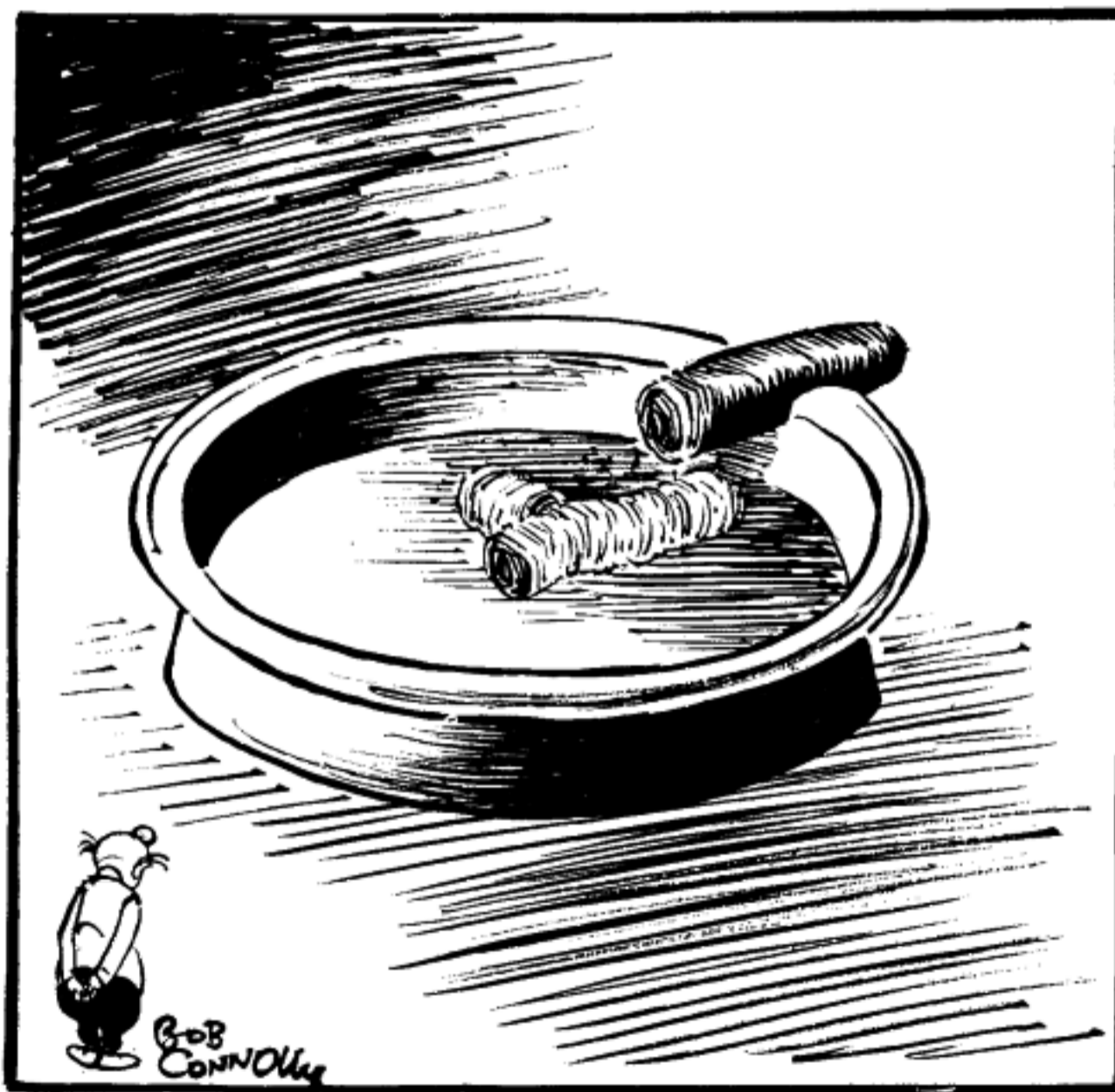
We must and do thank God for him and strive to be worthy of his example.

Rich remembrance

And the second thing that I will never forget is this: Winston Churchill's wife is with us here in London, a great and gracious lady in her own right. Could I, today, send her your love and mine? She has suffered an irreparable personal loss, but she has proud and enduring memories, happy memories, I venture to say. We share her sorrow, but I know that she would wish us to share with her those rich remembrances which the thought of the great man evokes. There have been, in the course of recorded history, some men of fire who have cast shadows across the world.

Winston Churchill, on the contrary, was a fountain of light and of hope.

Now, as I end my talk to you from the Crypt of St. Paul's, with its reminders of Nelson and Wellington, those marvellous defenders of long ago, the body of Winston Churchill goes in procession through the streets of London, his London, our London, this most historic city, this ancient home of freedom, this place through which, in the very devastation and fire of war, his voice rang with courage and defiance and hope and rugged confidence. His body will be carried on the Thames, a river full of history. With one heart we all feel, with one mind we all acknowledge, that it will never have borne a more precious burden, or been enriched by more splendid memories.



Bob Connolly

Rand Daily Mail

LIBERALS AND THEIR CRITICS

by PROFESSOR G. H. L. LE MAY

'WHATEVER happened to South African liberalism?' is a question to which I, in company with you, would dearly love to have the answer. There are excellent political reasons why South African nationalists should loathe South African liberals and, that being so, why they should identify liberals or, as they prefer to say, 'liberalists', with communists. It is an effective, although disreputable, tactic of propaganda to identify your opponent with something which is popularly regarded as abhorrent. But that is not a sufficient explanation of why the nationalists should have been as successful as they have been and why so many people who are not nationalists, who should, one would have thought, have known better, and who have liberal backgrounds themselves, should have accepted the identification. In this paper I shall try to suggest some possible explanations, sometimes playing *advocatus diaboli*.

Liberal and conservative

The word 'liberalism' passed into general use in the 19th Century as a shorthand expression for the political programme and the underlying attitude of mind of those who called themselves liberals in politics. The natural political antithesis of the liberal, at that time, was the conservative. It could be argued that these two types, liberal and conservative, represented the necessary qualities required for a healthy continuing society: the instinct for preservation represented by the conservative, without which order might disintegrate into anarchy, and the instinct for innovation represented by the liberal, without which the society might become fossilized, like the Chinese before the 20th century, or decadent, like the Spanish after the 19th century. These protagonists, the liberal and the conservative, it has been suggested, represented two natural attitudes of mind, the conservative that of the man whose instinctive reaction to a proposal was: 'Things are pretty unsatisfactory, but meddling with them is likely to make them worse'; the liberal mind that of him whose reaction to the same situation was: 'Things are pretty unsatisfactory, and we ought to be able to improve them.'

Liberalism in Britain

Liberalism has its most spectacular successes in Britain; indeed, British political history in the 19th century can be plausibly represented as a dialogue between liberals and conservatives. 'We can,' said *The Times* in 1852, 'enjoy a wise conservatism because we have displayed a timely liberality', and the label 'liberal-conservative' could, without paradox, be used as a meaningful political description. *The Times* had some justification for its complacency: Britain was the only European major power, with the exception of Russia, to escape revolution in the 19th century; but Britain, unlike Russia, was able to accomplish peacefully the transition from a form of government at the beginning of the century which was based upon aristocratic privilege to a form at the end which was based upon popular parties drawing their support from a mass electorate. The continuity that was maintained throughout this process of fundamental change

may be illustrated by the career of Mr. Gladstone, who first held governmental office in 1834 and gave it up, with considerable reluctance, in 1894: at no time in his political life was Gladstone, the greatest liberalist of his day, an anachronism. On the continent, liberals fared less well; they came into violent collision with the established régimes in two cycles of revolutions, in 1830 and 1848, and in the event their movements were either absorbed into the swelling currents of nationalism or dwindled into articulate but ineffective pressure-groups. Among the European Great Powers, liberals were continuously effective only on the mainland of the British Isles, and they were effective there, I suggest, largely because they operated within a general framework of consent, which they did not seek fundamentally to change. Where this *consensus* was lacking, as it was in Ireland, liberals were not particularly successful.

Two other things may be said by way of introduction. The Liberal Party in Britain declined in fortune when liberals, as advocates of change, were challenged by a Labour Party which demanded much more extensive changes, which was animated by an ideology, and which drew its support largely from a particular class which, by definition, formed a majority of the population. Second, liberals did not succeed to any notable extent in implanting their political beliefs in the British possessions beyond the seas. The expansion of empire and the spread of liberalism did not go easily together.

Liberalism and communism: the differences

With regard to the absurd contention that liberalism and communism are essentially alike, it will be enough, I think, to remark that liberalism is an attitude of mind and communism is an ideology dogmatically expounded and varied from the heights of superior authority; that liberalism is centred on the related hope of human reason and knowledge of human ignorance, and communism is rooted in the deadly certainty of those who claim to know the ineluctable laws of history; that liberalism has its first regard for the individual and attempts to widen the effective choices which he may make, and communism has no regard for the individual at all except as a

unit in the mass or the class; that liberalism tries to expand the voluntary and spontaneous actions of men, and communism requires that men should act only as they are directed by the 'vanguard of the proletariat', i.e. the leaders for the time being of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; that to be a liberal does not imply that you must abandon your code of ethics, but to be a communist means, in Lenin's words, that you must regard morality as that which is useful to the Communist Party.

The 20th century ideologists

Why has liberalism not been politically more effective in the 20th century? One answer may be sought in the change of the antagonists on the political battlefield, and in the arrival of the totalitarian, or proto-totalitarian, party. The antithesis of the 19th century liberal was the 19th century conservative: the antithesis of the 20th century liberal is the 20th century ideologist. The ideologies which loom in dark menace over the times in which we live are of two main kinds: those based upon economic determinism, which are communist, and those based upon racialism, which are nationalist. Both have this in common, that they do not attempt to operate within an agreed framework. Both are revolutionary movements, in that they do not aim merely at improving society but at transforming society utterly and completely, and doing so by compelling the members of society to conform to the truth as they see it. They do not seek to compromise with their opponents, or even to persuade them: they seek to eliminate opposition altogether. Politics becomes not a dialogue but a monologue.

The liberal has found himself outflanked to the left and to the right. Where the main danger to what he believes in comes from the communist he may find himself in unhappy alliance with the lunatic fringe of nationalism: thus liberals in the United States sometimes find it hard to escape the kiss of death of the followers of Senator Joseph McCarthy. Where the main danger comes from the racist, the liberal may be hard put to it to escape from the proffered help of the communist. The argument that 'the enemy of my enemy is my friend' is one that is attractive, for all that it is fallacious. The failure of liberalism in the 20th century is in part to be explained by the inability of neo-liberals to resolve the contradictions involved in translating their intellectual convictions into a creed sufficiently intelligible and attractive to compete with the appeals of the ideologists. And, in making the attempt, the neo-liberal has taken on some of the characteristics of his opponents. Neo-liberalism has become more ideological in content, and it has lost, in the becoming, some of the characteristics which gave it the moral strength which it used to enjoy.

The term 'ideology' requires some definition. An ideology, in the sense in which I am using the word, means a related set of beliefs which purports to explain and justify all human action — and sometimes to predict the future development of society as well — by reference to a single

Strange allies



Bob Connolly

Rand Daily Mail

mastering principle. An ideology is quite literally what its name implies — the logic of an idea. Most ideologies have in them a fictitious consistency, fictitious because the subject matter is not reality but what is to become reality — not human beings as they are but human beings as the ideologist thinks they ought to be and as the ideologist is certain that they must become. You will all remember the story of the Communist orator explaining to his audience at Hyde Park Corner how, when comes the revolution and the gutters of Park Lane run with the blood of capitalists, the toiling masses will feed off caviare and strawberries. A voice from the back: 'But I don't like strawberries.' 'Comes the revolution, you *will* like strawberries.'

Dual standards

Ideologists do not hesitate to apply dual standards to political action — one standard for their own side, and another for their opponents. Liberals, I have suggested, are in some danger of taking on this, as well as some other characteristics of their opponents. Some examples may make clearer what I mean. Take the problem of human suffering. Not all suffering is preventable, not all of it is the punishment of wickedness, and some of us bring it upon ourselves. If the object is to persuade others to desist from a course of action which produces suffering, one's cause is not always helped by oversimplifying every situation into a crude moral battlefield, with pure victims upon one side and impure oppressors upon the other. Let us examine the attitude of some neo-liberals to juvenile delinquency, a sufficiently neutral example. (You may be able to find other examples nearer home.)

There are, unhappily, lots of delinquent juveniles. Delinquency may have a multitude of causes; but some people have over-simplified its genesis, and depicted it as a natural reaction to

an undesirable environment for which parents are to blame. The fact that a juvenile has become a delinquent is thus taken to imply that he has behind him a background of suffering, for which somebody else is to blame. This may be true in many cases, but it is observably not true in all cases. But once we adopt this simplified point of view, we may easily reach the position from which the teen-age thug with a cosh is regarded as a victim and his parents as his oppressors. (One of the fallacious assumptions here is that virtues are natural and vices are unnatural and always the product of an environment.) In this argument there is a serious inconsistency. The victim — the thug with his bird and his dagga and his knuckle-duster — is the helpless product of his environment: he cannot help but be what he is. But his oppressors — his parents — are simultaneously not the products of their environment. They are wicked; he is not. The dual standard is apparent; determinism for one of the parties, free will for the other.

Partisan attitude to violence

Let us examine another example of liberalism contrasted with what, for convenience, I will call neo-liberalism. It is one of the most important of liberal beliefs that persuasion is better than force, and that violence in politics is to be deplored, both on the moral ground that violence is usually an evil and on the practical ground that violence usually produces more difficulties than it removes. There is a tendency among some neo-liberals to regard violence from a more partisan standpoint, and to judge it not objectively but according to who is using it. Violence by those who are regarded as being on 'our' side may be excused, or regarded with tolerant regret; violence by those on the 'other' side, even in defence of a manifest threat to the public peace, is to be deplored. Some neo-liberals were more tolerant of violence by Dr. Banda than of counter-violence by Sir Roy Welensky, more tolerant of Castro than of Batista, more tolerant (to go back twenty years) of violence by Mao Tse-Tung than of violence by Chiang Kai-Shek. It would have been revealing, if it were possible, to have measured and compared the index of horror at the shooting of Kennedy and the shooting of Verwoerd. I think I know what the result would have been: yet both actions were essentially of the same kind and should, by an objective standard of judgement, have called forth the same kind of reaction.

What this means is that the criterion of judgement has shifted from the act itself to the agent who performs it. This is the criterion of totalitarian morality.

There is, outside Dublin, a roadside monument to a 16-year-old boy who was killed during the troubles of the rebellion. The guide's description of it, so far as I can remember it, went thus: 'O 'twas shocking. The poor innocent lad lay behind the wall, and when the Black and Tans came in their lorry he shot the driver and he shot the captain. But there were soldiers in the back, and before the poor lad could throw his grenade they had foully murdered him. O, Ireland will never forget.'

An example of this kind of reasoning — I do not know who is the author — arrived in the post a few days ago, in *Focus* '64 for December. The article in question was concerned with the execution of the three Africans who were convicted of killing a man who was to have given evidence in certain sabotage trials. *Focus* says this.:

"The three men who killed an informer were Africans who were allowed no voice in the government of their country and to whom avenues of legal protest against this situation had, one after another, been closed. Whatever one's views of the cause which they espoused, like members of the French Resistance, working underground, they acted on the principle that in such circumstances traitors to that cause should not be allowed to remain alive".

Here, the dual standard is equally apparent. The analogy used as a mitigating circumstance is that drawn from a state of war. But the essence of a state of war is that you have the right to kill your enemy and he has the right to gill you. You cannot claim the rights of warfare for one side and deny it to another. Nor can you claim the right to kill, on the ground that you are at war, and the right not to be killed, on the simultaneous ground that there is a state of peace, or even on the ground that you were justified by your conscience.

There are two other problems to which liberals once knew, crudely but effectively, a provisional answer, but which neo-liberals have found difficulty in resolving. There are two famous paradoxes in political philosophy — the paradox of freedom and the paradox of tolerance. Both are as old, or older, than Plato: both are as relevant to the present day as the dilemma of Antigone.

The paradox of freedom

The paradox of freedom is this: it may be impossible for freedom to exist without a certain amount of non-freedom. If I am perfectly free, I am free to kill you if I want to. But at the same time you are equally free to kill me; and where then is the freedom of either of us if each of us must lock himself up to protect himself from the other? In a subtler, and more political context, Plato raises this question in *The Republic*: what if it is the will of free people that they should not rule themselves but be ruled by a tyrant instead? What if they should choose to use their freedom to throw their freedom away? The free man, Plato suggests, may exercise his absolute freedom, first by defying the laws and ultimately by defying freedom itself and clamouring for a tyrant. Karl Popper says this:

"This is not just a far-fetched possibility; it has happened a number of times; and every time it has happened, it has put in a hopeless intellectual position all those democrats who adopt, as the ultimate basis of their political creed, the principle of majority rule (that is to say, that the will of the majority must always be right) or a similar principle of sovereignty.

On the one hand, the principle they have adopted (that the majority is always right) demands from them that they should oppose anything but majority rule, and hence the new tyrant; on the other hand, the same principle demands from them that they should accept any decision reached by the majority, and thus the rule of the new tyrant”.

This is the ambivalent position in which some neo-liberals have found themselves with regard to Ghana, where precisely that has happened. Such a dilemma is probably unavoidable once liberals attempt to compete, on the same ground, with the mass ideological parties. It is practically impossible for a liberal party to gain any support of any numerical weight if it does not adopt the principle of universal suffrage; and if it does adopt the principle of universal suffrage, of one-man-one-vote, it adopts by implication the view that the majority is right. It is an observable fact that universal franchise has almost always worked in directions which liberals deplore. It is difficult to square with the rest of the liberal's creed the dogma that the majority is always right. If the majority principle alone is to be regarded, how can one logically object to what was done by Hitler, who unquestionably had the majority of the German people behind him?

The paradox of tolerance

The paradox of tolerance is of the same nature. Unlimited tolerance leads to the disappearance of tolerance. If we extend unlimited tolerance to those who are intolerant, if we are not prepared to defend a tolerant society against the attack of the intolerant, then it is likely that the tolerant will be destroyed and tolerance with them. The problem may be put in another way: is a democratic state necessarily required to extend the protection of its laws to those whose object is to overthrow that state and replace it with a state which is not democratic? Some neo-liberals have found great difficulty with this problem: their predecessors, less concerned with logical consistency, had little difficulty. The reply of common-sense would run something like this (here again I follow Popper). It would be very silly indeed to prohibit every intolerable statement, or even to prohibit the systematic utterance of intolerant philosophies, provided that they remain upon the level of persuasion in action.

“But we should claim to the *right* to suppress them if necessary even by force; for it may easily turn out that they are not prepared to meet us on the level of rational argument, but begin by denouncing all argument; they may forbid their followers to listen to rational argument (because it may lead them astray), but teach them to answer arguments by the use of their fists or pistols. We should therefore claim, in the name of tolerance, the right not to tolerate the intolerant. We should claim that any movement preaching intolerance places itself outside the law, and we should consider incitement to intolerance and persecution as criminal, in the same way as we should consider incitement to murder, or to kidnapping, or to the revival of the slave trade, as criminal”.

When I was talking about the paradox of freedom I touched on the perfectly reasonable argument that a party which did not advocate universal suffrage would attract no support. I have heard South African liberals reply that, if their party did not advocate one-man-one-vote, the Africans would not support them. That is a perfectly good empirical answer, on one level, to an empirical question. But there is another implied question in the nature of the answer. Does this not mean that support is looked for, not from individuals but from a group; that the communist standpoint is approached if Africans are regarded as a class — as toiling and oppressed masses — and the nationalist standpoint is approached if they are regarded as a racial entity?

To recapitulate, it seems that there is some danger that South African liberals are moving a long distance from what would have been recognized as liberalism by any of the great philosophers or men of affairs whose names are associated with that set of beliefs. The danger lies in two characteristics: in a certainty of judgement, and in a singleness of mind. The one produces a dogma in the place of persuasion, the other leads to a concentration upon only one problem and, it may sometimes be felt, only one set of people.

The problem of the dubious ally

There are three other points of difficulty that I must mention. The first is the problem of the dubious ally. I think it was Churchill who remarked, on the entry of Russia into the war in 1941, that if you are attacked by a bandit with a club, and someone comes to your assistance, you do not stop to ask him the colour of his shirt. In political warfare, help always seems encouraging. I do not think that there is any truth at all in the contention that communists and liberals have common principles, but I can visualize many situations in which it would be a communist interest to pretend that this was so. There is

David Marais

Cape Times



“Let's not have any of this nonsense about One Man, One Boat.”

now enough in print in English to make it possible for any person who is interested in the subject to make a study in the depth of the theories and tactics of contemporary communism. Two things should be remembered here: communists have always regarded parties of the left — liberal parties and democratic socialist parties — as more formidable enemies than parties of the right, precisely because they offer an alternative to communism to the working classes and those on the fringes of the working classes. The infiltration of such parties, with a view to their capture or destruction, is a well-known communist tactic. The second is to remember that the idea of the 'united front' is another well-known tactic. Both have been successful where the parties or organizations infiltrated, or drawn into a united movement, have been naively unaware of what is happening to them. A detailed knowledge of communism is, I suggest, a prerequisite to the successful leadership of any liberal organization.

Claims to perfectionism

Two things have, more than anything else in my opinion, bedevilled South African politics — the argument of the irreconcilable alternative and the logic of the ultimate consequence. These are particularly evident in the ideology of nationalism. "The alternative to apartheid is integration". "Either you must be black or you must be white". "If you give equal opportunities to black men then the future of white civilization will be in danger". One of the terrors of an ideology is that it really does believe in perfectionism: that is one of the things which make it into a ghastly unreality. It would be a pity to see any more claims to perfectionism made in South Africa, or the emergence of any more creeds which claimed to have final solutions to any problem. Liberalism, as it *was* understood, was a set of beliefs which dealt with men as they are, and not as they might become in Heaven. One of its strengths was its realization, as Bertrand de Jouvenel has put it, that 'What characterizes a political problem is that no answer will fit the terms of the problem as stated. A political problem therefore is not solved, it may be settled, which is a different thing altogether. By settlement, we here mean any decision arrived at, by whatever means, on the question which gave rise to the political problem'. In other words, a political problem is not analagous to a problem in chess — 'white to move and mate in two moves'. Puzzles, by definition, have solutions: problems may have them or not. One example of the insoluble problem may be found in the horrible question which the British had to face when they held the mandate over Palestine, which could be stated thus: 'Find an arrangement whereby all of Palestine shall form an Arab national State as required by the Arabs, and whereby at least a large part of Palestine shall form an Israeli national State as required by the Jews'. It is clear that a problem posed in those terms admits of no solution whatsoever. Many South African problems are of the same nature: they are strictly speaking insoluble, and those who claim that they have the secret are deluding themselves and others.

Most of us will remember, in committees and the like on which we have served, the feelings of frustration, amounting to fury, when an honourable compromise which would give to all parties something of what they have claimed, but would satisfy in full the demands of no one, has been wrecked by the intransigence of some perfectionists, whose attitude was: 'If I cannot have all that I want, I will have nothing. My conscience does not permit me to compromise'. And the result is that, for the moment, nobody gets anything.

Honourable compromise

What I am suggesting is that liberalism should return to the liberal tradition, have regard to the fact that perfection is not possible, take more account of individuals and less of problems, and have some regard to such questions as how much one is prepared to give up for the sake of living together. In fact, I would suggest a return to the principles set out by John Morley, whose book *On Compromise*, published towards the end of last century, is one of the landmarks in political thinking. Honourable compromise is one of the first arts of politics: the alternative is the elimination of enemies, or a state of perpetual undeclared civil war. It may be claimed that what I am advocating is *toenadering*. I am doing nothing of the kind. *Toenadering* is something of a dirty word in South African politics, and with good reason. It has usually meant a bargain in which one side has given up some of its essential beliefs for the sake of office, while the other side has given up practically nothing. By honourable compromise I do not mean absorption. But it is worth while asking from time to time, as Thiers did, 'What is it that divides us least, and can we not make a start at least on agreeing about that?'

All government, indeed every human benefit and enjoyment, every virtue, and every prudent act, is founded on compromise and barter.

EDMUND BURKE.

We can never be sure that the opinion we are endeavouring to stifle is a false opinion; and even if we were sure, stifling it would be an evil still.

JOHN STUART MILL.

The Problem of the Coloured Immigrants in Britain

by DR. ROBERT BIRLEY

THE PROBLEM of the pressure in Britain of a considerable number of coloured immigrants is one which is at the moment attracting a good deal of attention in that country and, in fact, in other parts of the world, including, not surprisingly, South Africa.

For reasons which I shall try to explain, it is not at all easy to discover the facts about the problem, and it is even more difficult to assess the reactions of the British people towards these immigrants, or those of the immigrants towards the people among whom they have come to live. Almost every statement made to me in casual conversation about the coloured immigrants during my recent visit to Britain was countered directly by a statement on another occasion to the exactly opposite effect. One is told, for instance, that they tend to crowd together in certain districts or certain streets, often referred to as ghettos; and then, shortly after, that it is remarkable how seldom they do so. Fortunately, however, there are a few people who have made objective studies of the problem. I was very fortunate in being able not only to read what they have written, but to talk with some of them.

Exaggerated stories

I was able also to stay with the Rector of a large parish in Birmingham which has an unusual concentration of these immigrants, and to meet them and hear their point of view. Here again the variety of experiences was bewildering. In contrast to the stories one heard of racial discrimination, one young Jamaican, who had been in England for ten years, told me that he had only experienced it once. But it would be quite as wrong to regard his experience as typical as it would be to believe that the coloured immigrants are always discriminated against. One hears constant stories of discrimination in the labour market against West Indians on account of the colour of their skins. Often when these are investigated it turns out to be that they were rejected for a job because they were manifestly unsuited for it. Exaggeration, in fact, works both ways, and I suppose this is only to be expected. One hears exaggerated stories of the difficulties caused by the immigrants and of the difficulties under which they live.

Perhaps I might add that I am very doubtful about the wisdom of legislation against racial discrimination, which it is the intention of the Government to pass. I believe it may have exactly the opposite effect to that intended by making martyrs of people who are not deserving of that honour. It is the kind of legislation which it is very difficult to enforce.

It is a great mistake to think that discrimination against coloured immigrants in Britain is

necessarily due simply to the fact that they are coloured. Prejudice against them is often merely an aspect of the prejudice against all immigrants. The shadow of the great slump of the 1930's still hangs over Britain, and the British worker has not yet lost his fear of unemployment.

I rather think that the most important lesson to be learnt from the quite extraordinary exaggerations which come into ordinary people's statements about the coloured immigrants is the fact that the subject is one which is emotionally very highly charged. Thus a worker questioned in Islington, a district in London with an unusually high proportion of coloured immigrants, said of them, "I think they get jobs as easy as a finger snap; for us we are thousands out of work. They should give the white people first chance". At that time there was, in fact, hardly any unemployment in Islington at all.

Proportion of coloured immigrants in Britain

It is difficult to tell exactly the number of coloured immigrants in Britain. Until the Commonwealth Immigration Act came into force on 1st July, 1962, no records were kept of those entering the country from Commonwealth countries, and their children when born in Britain are not separately registered. It is impossible to say how many will remain in the country. The figures include students, of whom there are rather more than 60,000, and the very great majority of these will return to their own lands. An investigation made recently by the Institute of Race Relations in London gives the number as 820,000, made up of 430,000 West Indians, 165,000 Indians, 100,000 Pakistanis and 125,000 others, mostly West Africans and Chinese from Hong Kong. Of these some 170,000 are children born in Britain, the great majority being West Indians.

This means that the proportion of coloured immigrants in the United Kingdom is about 1.6 per cent. It may help to give this figure some meaning if I give some comparative figures from other countries. The proportion, of course, is far less than that of the Negroes in the United States, which amounts to 10.5 per cent. It is only a quarter that of Maoris in New Zealand, 6.2 per cent; rather less than that of "non-whites" in Canada (Asians, Red Indians and Esquimaux); half as much again as the proportion of Aborigines, Asians and half-castes in Australia. Or to look at the matter in reverse, as it were, the

proportion of coloured immigrants in Great Britain is a good deal lower than that of Europeans in Southern Rhodesia (which is 5.4 per cent), rather less than in Zambia, 2.1 per cent, but nearly three times as much as in Kenya. Finally, to make one more comparison, the proportion, 1.6 per cent, is just over half that of the Asians in the Republic of South Africa.

This does not give a complete picture, however. The coloured immigrants in Britain are, naturally, not scattered equally all over the country. Nearly half of them are to be found in about 25 towns. In some of these the proportion is considerably above the average for the country, Birmingham having 6.3 per cent, Bradford 5 per cent and Nottingham 4 per cent. In the same way they will be found in very different densities in different parts of London: the Borough of Kensington which includes Notting Hill, 5.8 per cent, Hackney, 5.5 per cent and Willesden 5.3 per cent. The most remarkable concentration is that to be found in Southall, a growing industrial town about twelve miles west of London, where the proportion is 12.3 per cent, mostly made up of Sikhs.

Cause of immigration

The main cause of this immigration is quite clear. It is that with an expanding economy Britain has needed more workers. Exactly the same phenomenon is to be found in other countries of Western Europe. The proportion of foreign workers is highest in Switzerland, where it is about 12 per cent, nearly all Italians, it is higher in France, with 2.2 per cent, than in Britain, and about the same in Sweden and West Germany. These are mostly Italians and Spaniards, though West Germany, for instance, has about 90,000 Turks. What is unusual in Britain is the high proportion of coloured immigrants, though one should not forget the others, such as the Italians in Bedford, amounting to about 10 per cent of the population there, or the Cypriots who easily outnumber the coloured immigrants in some parts of London where both are found. It is difficult to see what would happen in Britain if these immigrant workers were removed. It would be impossible to run the London Transport system or the Hospitals, the woollen industry in Bradford and the brickyards of Bedfordshire without them. The very fact that such a low proportion of the immigrants are unemployed, and that there is a low overall unemployment figure in Britain, is proof that they are needed. What is new, though not wholly unprecedented, is the fact that they have come from so far off.

This is due in part to the appearance of air transport, though by no means wholly so, as most West Indians have come by sea. Fundamentally it is a visible sign of the fact that for various reasons, of which improved transport is the most important, the world has shrunk. Why for example, do West Indians come to England? A lecturer at Leeds University, whose work on the immigrants in Yorkshire has been outstanding, told me that he believed that the migration started as one of the results of the war. A good many West Indians served as members of the ground staff in the Royal Air Force and came to

England. Some stayed after the war; of these some sent for their wives and families, others wrote to friends suggesting that they should join them. The classic causes of migration were at work: under-employment in one country and the need for labour in another with a developing economy.

The total population of the British West Indies is about 3,500,000. A migration of some 450,000 is, therefore, a social movement on a very large scale. The position is quite different when one turns to India and Pakistan, where out of populations of about 440,000,000 and 94,000,000 the immigrants in Britain are 165,000 and 100,000. From the point of view of these countries the movement is imperceptible. Looking to the future, this seems to me a factor of great importance. It is not likely that immigration from the West Indies will continue at anything like the same rate as between 1952 and 1962, quite apart from any curtailment due to the coming into force of the Commonwealth Immigration Act. There are already signs that it is declining. But, in spite of the greater difficulties of transport, one may well feel, bearing in mind the tremendous yearly increase of population in Indian and Pakistan and the poverty of so many of the people that an unchecked migration from them might swell to something very large indeed. Looked at from the point of view of the home country the loss of a million people to India would be the equivalent of one of only 8,000 from the West Indies.

But, if the main cause of this migration to Great Britain is the normal one, affecting many countries besides Britain, of a labour shortage in one country and a lack of employment in the other, the situation is made quite different from that of other countries by the fact that it is the centre of a Commonwealth. In this Commonwealth about 53,700,000 are in the United Kingdom, and approximately 18,000,000 in Canada, 11,000,000 in Australia and 2,600,000 in New Zealand, making 85,300,000 in the predominantly "white" countries. But there are rather over 550,000,000 in Asia, about 90,000,000 in Africa, 2,500,000 in Oceania, and 700,000 in Central and South America. About one-ninth of the population of the Commonwealth is to be found in the predominantly "white" countries, like the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, about one-fourteenth in the United Kingdom itself.

The force of Commonwealth sentiment

It would be a very great mistake to underestimate the force of Commonwealth sentiment in Britain today. Everyone realizes, of course, that the Commonwealth is something quite different from the Empire. But it is not only that the Commonwealth gives Britain a position on the world stage which it would certainly not have by itself. There is a strong feeling in Britain, which is by no means only to be found among supporters of the Labour and Liberal Parties, that through the Commonwealth Britain is leading the world towards a future relationship between the races, one of co-operation rather than of hostility, on which the future of civilization may well depend.

It is as well to recollect this before we turn to consider two ways in which this problem of the coloured migrants has changed in recent years. The first was the passing of the Commonwealth Immigrants Act, which came into force in July 1962, the first time that an Act of Parliament has restricted Commonwealth Immigration in British history. It should be understood that this Act did not put Commonwealth citizens in the same position as aliens. It applies to all Commonwealth immigrants, not only those who are coloured. It does not specifically limit the number of migrants to a fixed annual figure. Prospective immigrants are divided into four classes: first, those who have the offer of a specific job from an employer, and are let in without question; second, those who have certain specific skills to offer, such as doctors, who are also, so far, let in freely; third, unskilled workers who are allowed in according to the state of the labour market; and the wives, prospective wives and children of resident immigrants, who can enter freely. A more recent regulation limits the number from any one country to 25 per cent of the total. This Act has certainly had the effect of reducing the number. In 1962 just under 100,000 Coloured Commonwealth immigrants entered Britain; in 1963, just over half this number and in 1964 the same number, about 50,000. Incidentally, I do not think that too much should be made of the number of immigrants who slip through the net illegally. Compared with the total number it is very small indeed and it hardly affects the main problem. But if it is not a serious difficulty, it is a very tiresome one, and it is certainly right for the Government to do what it can to stop illegal entries.

I do not believe that there are many in Britain now who regret the passing of the Act and it is to be noted that the Labour Party, which opposed it, has now accepted it. The reason is that the British people are now much more aware than they were of some of the problems involved in this phenomenon.

Smethwick

But, before I come to consider them, it would be as well if I considered another recent development, the appearance of the problem on the political scene. To most people in Britain and in this country this means "Smethwick", which is a town of nearly 70,000 inhabitants on the South Western edge of Birmingham. Of Smethwick, it was well said, in a report I read on the election there by someone who had made a careful and first-hand study of it, that it "was both an exception and a portent". It was an exception because there was practically no other evidence of the problem of the coloured immigrants affecting the result of the general election. There were those who pointed to Slough, no doubt because the defeated Labour candidate, Mr. F. Brockway, was known to be a strong opponent of any kind of racial discrimination. But, besides the fact that the successful Conservative candidate was scrupulously careful not to introduce this question into the election, as Mr. Fenner Brockway himself admitted, and as I know for certain from

information given me by people living in the constituency, there was no real evidence to support the view that the colour question affected the issue. In 1955 the Labour majority had been 2,443, in 1959 it fell to 88. The Conservative candidate in 1964 won by only 11 votes. Slough, in fact, is a perfect example of an area where the prosperity of the last decade is changing the nature and the views of the electorate. If one hundred people, or 0.2 per cent of those who voted, had voted for the Labour rather than the Conservative candidate, Mr. Brockway would not have lost the contest. He would have doubled his previous majority.

Other areas

Some consideration of three areas may help one to see what happened elsewhere. Nottingham has one of the highest proportions of coloured immigrants in the country. In 1958 it was one of the two areas where there were "race riots". The people of the city took the matter seriously. A Nottingham Commonwealth Citizens Consultative Committee, first set up in 1954, has received a great deal of support from the City Council in its work, especially in dealing with the housing problems of the immigrants. A West Indian, who is the first Coloured immigrant to become a Justice of the Peace, is employed by the City Education Committee to deal with questions relating to the education and vocational training of immigrants. Before the General Election of 1964 the Conservatives held three of the four parliamentary seats in the Borough; after it the position was exactly reversed and the Labour Party held three.

Birmingham has an unusually high proportion of Coloured immigrants. Before the Election the Conservative Party held seven of the thirteen seats and Labour six; after the Election Labour held eight and the Conservatives five. Perhaps the most remarkable case was that of Willesden. Willesden is one of the London Boroughs which has the largest proportion of coloured immigrants and the work done there by the Borough Council and by voluntary societies to help them is generally regarded as outstanding. In fact, the National Committee for Commonwealth Immigrants often advises other towns to copy the organization in Willesden. The moving spirit behind it was a Borough Councillor, Mr. Freeson. At the General Election he succeeded in winning one of the two Willesden Constituencies, East Willesden, for Labour from the Conservatives. And in West Willesden the Labour majority was increased by about 50 per cent.

A portent

But if Smethwick was an exception, it was also a portent. For at Smethwick for the first time there was a deliberate attempt by a political party to turn the problem of the coloured immigrants into a political "issue", not during the election by the Conservative candidate, who had been warned not to do so by the Central Office of his party, but by his supporters. It was assured on all sides in Birmingham and especially by the Bishop of Birmingham's Chaplain for the Immi-

grants, who spends his whole time on the problem, that the position in Smethwick was not a particularly awkward one. In fact, there had been a general improvement in the situation which had been difficult to begin with, largely because, out of the 5,500 coloured immigrants, 4,000 were Sikhs, who, it is generally recognized, are the most difficult immigrants to assimilate. There was no trouble between the immigrants and the local workers in the Foundries, and in the schools the Education Officer said that there was "almost no problem now". In 1956 a Commonwealth Welfare Council for the Midlands had been set up, on which the Borough Council of Smethwick was represented. It is of great significance that when the Conservatives secured control of the Borough Council in the summer of 1963, they immediately withdrew from it. There can be no doubt that the Conservatives, though not their candidate, made an issue of the problem at the Election and that this served them in good stead, though it should not be forgotten that the Labour vote in Smethwick had been steadily declining for the last fifteen years.

On the whole, I believe that the Smethwick Election may have done more good than harm, as it woke people up to the fact that there is a problem. There had been a general tendency to leave it to local voluntary agencies and quite often, on the official level, to deny that any difficulties existed. I should like to say something of two of these, Housing and Education, but first I should explain that there are what one might call two schools of thought on the problem among those interested in it. The first would say that what is chiefly needed is just patience. Assimilation cannot be looked for in the first generation. They point to what happened with the Russian and Polish Jews who came to England in the 1880's and 1890's as a result of pogroms in Russia. There were about 100,000 of them, living largely in London and even more concentrated in certain areas than are the coloured immigrants of today. Though not "coloured" they were marked off from the rest of the population by their ignorance of the English language, their way of life, which seemed very strange to their British neighbours, and above all by their religion, which made it peculiarly difficult for them to be assimilated. To begin with they were all very poor. But in course of time they began within themselves to stratify, some rising to different levels of the middle-classes. As they did so the different strata, if one might put it that way, became detached from the main body and floated off to different areas of the town where they lived, according to their social status. Assimilation is still far from complete, but they can no longer be regarded as a social problem.

Positive efforts needed

The other school of thought holds — and I must say that I agree with them — that the factor of colour makes the problem so much more difficult that positive efforts are needed to deal with it. As an example of the way in which it can be dealt with I might mention the practice of the Willesden International Friendship Council. It is sponsored by the Borough Council, and

the secretary is an official in the Town Clerk's Department. Whenever they hear of trouble arising in any block of tenements occupied by both English and coloured immigrants two persons are dispatched by the Friendship Council to sort it out, consisting of one Englishman and one coloured immigrant. In an increasing number of towns special officers are being appointed by local authorities or by voluntary organizations, which are supported financially by these authorities, to act as the immigrants' "bridge into the community". They can help him by explaining housing or health regulations, by letting him know what is expected of him in his new country or by seeing that that the officials with whom he is dealing understand the immigrant's difficulties. As the Secretary of the Commonwealth Immigrant Advisory Council has said in a recent paper, "Segregation is brought about, not necessarily by intent, but sometimes by default. If the host community holds off and does not make positive efforts to integrate the newcomer, he in turn will draw back into his own group and cease to seek social integration."

Housing shortage

There is no doubt that Housing is the main difficulty. The situation is that in Britain there is a need for more workers to assist an expanding economy at the same time as there is a very serious shortage of housing accommodation. It is not far wrong to say that many English towns are making do with houses in their centres which should have been condemned long ago, but cannot be because there is nowhere to put those who would be turned out. There are, I suppose, many reasons for this, among them the fact that England has spent about a quarter of the last half century at war, if you include the year or so after the war ends, before the resumption of building is possible. But, when there is such a shortage, it is almost inevitable that newcomers will be disliked and that stories to their discredit should be exaggerated. And, because, they are poor and are newcomers, they tend to congregate in areas where the housing is worst and overcrowding greatest. It is often said that the entry of coloured immigrants into a district lowers property values. Of this there is no evidence whatever.

Noticeably different in appearance

Moreover, the difference in colour will seem to make such stories more plausible. All immigrants are bound to seem different and the differences will seem more obvious. I have little doubt that the disturbances that used to occur until very recently year after year in certain parts of Liverpool, on the anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne, between Protestants and the Catholic Irish, were more serious than all but a very few disturbances caused by the presence of coloured immigrants, but England was used to them and the coloured immigrants are a new phenomenon.

Of these immigrants the West Indians are more noticeably different in appearance, but they have the advantage of speaking English and they are

Christians, even if some of their Churches are very strange to English people. Inability to speak English tends to keep the Indians and Pakistanis more apart from the people among whom they are living, especially the Pakistanis, and so do their religions. These two peoples themselves resist assimilation in a way that the West Indians do not. Probably the most difficult of all are the Sikhs, of whom there are some 6,000 in Southall, working in unskilled or at best semi-skilled jobs in rubber factories there, in a large local bakery and at London Airport, for instance in the catering business of B.O.A.C. Their top-notches, their turbans and their untrimmed beards make the men more "visible", as it has been expressed, than any other Indian immigrants, though it is significant that the beards are disappearing. Three-quarters of the Sikh men in Southall are now clean-shaven. The women wear their very distinctive dress and few of them can speak more than a very little English.

Perhaps nothing much can be done to assimilate the coloured immigrants of the first generation, though it became clear to me in Birmingham that hundreds, if not thousands, of West Indians are living normal and contented lives. The most that can be done is to make relations between the races as easy as possible and a remarkable number of people are engaged in trying to do this. What of the future? For this we must look to the schools.

But first we might consider how many of the first generation will stay in England and how many return. It is impossible to say. The immigrants often do not know themselves. One Jamaican woman said to me that she thought she would go back, but her husband smiled at me as she said so. Her little son had been at a primary school for a year and she was loud in its praises. Most of his friends, she said, who came round to her house were English children. I shall be very surprised if she does not stay in England. Incidentally she spoke of one of her next door neighbours in exactly the same way as English people are liable to speak of Jamaicans. They were noisy; they kept the noise going on all night; they neglected to use the rubbish bin. These neighbours were an Irish family, also migrants.

I have a very strong impression that the schools in England are doing remarkably well in their treatment of these children. The teachers are often faced with very difficult problems. In some areas the number of immigrant children is greater than that of the English. When these children are Indians or Pakistanis, who will know no English, the teachers are set a well-nigh impossible task. In some cases the Indian or Pakistani children are specifically distributed in order to ensure that they do not form a majority in any one school. This practice is becoming more common and it is criticized by some people as being an unfair discrimination against the immigrants. This seems to me unreasonable. The first need is that these children should learn English.

Little colour prejudice

It is clear that there are difficulties in schools, especially those with older children, between different racial groups, but these seem to be surpris-

ingly little influenced by the difference of colour. Thus in a comprehensive school in Isington, that is one with children from eleven to eighteen, out of 777 boys and girls questioned by a sociologist, almost 660, or 85 per cent, showed evidence of prejudice against other racial groups, but only one child gave colour as a reason for this hostility. The answers to the questionnaire showed that it was the Greek Cypriot children whom the British children disliked, not the West Indians.

In a recent admirable book by Mrs. Elspeth Huxley on the Immigrants in Britain there is a charming story told of the Sikh girls at school in Southall. "Most Sikh girls", she writes, "come first to school in trousers and shrink from the notion of abandoning them for P.T. shorts and vests. No one tries to force or even persuade them. They stand around at first looking appalled, and then wistful. Sooner or later, one by one, unobtrusively the cord is loosed, down slide the trousers, shorts replace them and the brown-skinned little Indian joins in. 'We measure the rate of integration by the trousers', a teacher told me".

In Southall, as I have said, the difficulties have perhaps been greater than anywhere else, certainly greater than in Smethwick. In the autumn of 1963 a Residents' Association was formed which put forward the only definite demand for some kind of complete social segregation which I know of in Britain. They wanted entirely separate schools for English and immigrant children. The Conservative Minister of Education, Sir Edward Boyle, visited the town, met the members of the Association and emphatically rejected this demand. Instead it was decided to spread the Sikh children throughout the schools of the towns, a solution which was not very popular with some parents of schools in completely "white" areas. However, the arrangement seems now to be generally accepted. There can be no doubt of the effect on the Indian children. Mrs. Huxley notes that of five Indian girls who left a secondary modern school in Southall at the end of the previous term, one went to the British Broadcasting Corporation as a translator, one to a technical college to study science and mathematics, one to a secretarial course, one to become a machinist in a factory and "only one to stay at home and groom herself for an arranged marriage to an unknown man", which had been the inevitable destiny of all their mothers.

Assimilation

In the end, of course, the test of assimilation will be inter-marriage, and it is as well to face this issue. Strangely enough there has been some previous experience of this in England. At the end of the eighteenth century there was a considerable number of negroes in England, freed slaves after the Somerset judgment of 1772, and "black" servants and their children. The lowest figure I have seen for these is 15,000. This may not seem very many, but it must be remembered that the population of Great Britain then was about 10 million, or a little under a fifth of what it is now. To make a comparison with today, the equivalent number of negroes would be about 75,000, to 100,000. A few hundred went to Sierra

Leone, but the rest stayed in England and have become totally assimilated. There is not the least trace of them to be found and, in fact, hardly any Englishmen are aware now that they ever existed.

Naturally it is too early to say what will happen. Experience shows that assimilation through inter-marriage takes a long time. It is seventy or eighty years since the Jews from Poland and Russia came to England. It is reckoned that even now not more than a minority marry Gentiles, a quarter to a third of the men and a tenth to a fifth of the women. But no one now thinks that they create a problem as a separate social group. There can be little doubt that the same kind of process will take place in the case of the coloured immigrants. For some time inter-marriage will be very rare, as it is now. Incidentally, this is the reason why every social worker I met working among these immigrants deplored the proposal made recently that the families of those resident in England should in future be reckoned in the quota allowed into the country. It is generally agreed among them that one of the most difficult problems in this sphere is the presence of a large number of young men either separated from their wives or unlikely to find young women of their own race to marry. The sooner they get their families over, the better.

Exaggerated forecasts

It is not unusual to hear very exaggerated forecasts of the number of immigrants there will be in the country in years to come. If 50,000 continue to enter each year, the Commonwealth Immigrants might make up about 3.5 per cent of the population in the year 2000. It is unlikely however, that as many as 50,000 a year will come: about 30,000 a year seems more probable. There does seem to be a good case for limiting the number of new arrivals, perhaps more drastically than is done now, if objective research which is now being carried out, and the views of sympathetic workers in the field, give evidence that some such limitation is necessary for assimilation to proceed reasonably smoothly. And may I repeat that by this I do not mean the immediate inter-marriage of the coloured immigrants and the people among whom they are now living. It may well be generations before this becomes at all general, though there can be no doubt that the coloured immigrants of the twentieth century will eventually be absorbed as completely as their predecessors of the eighteenth century have been.

Difficult problem to be solved

Anyone who studies the problem of the coloured immigrants in Britain is bound to come across distressing examples of prejudice, exclusiveness and unsympathetic behaviour on the part of the indigenous population. It would be wrong to ignore the race riots which broke out six years ago in Notting Hill and Nottingham, though these turned out to be isolated instances. They had the effect of waking many people up to the fact that there was a difficult problem to be solved. Any one who witnessed the rise to power of the Nazis in Germany will be unlikely to regard the activities of small groups displaying violent racial

prejudices as of no significance because they represent only a "lunatic fringe". Many feel, and I agree with them, that a good deal more help might be provided by the central government towards those voluntary bodies who are working among the immigrants. But I must say that my own experience leads me to believe that a remarkably large number of people in Britain are making a genuinely constructive effort, often in small fields, to deal with the problem. But my own experience has been small. I should like, therefore, to call on that of someone who has lived much of her life in a country where the situation is exactly reversed, where it is the "whites" who form the small minority, not the "coloureds". In the book to which I have referred Mrs. Huxley says,

"Sandwiched between the nether ratepayers and the upper policy-makers in Westminster and Whitehall lies a whole layer of unobtrusive persons, who occupy a sort of non-commissioned rank in our social hierarchy. These are the local government officials and junior civil servants in the Ministries that touch most closely on our social living: housing managers and education officers, public health inspectors and welfare experts, school teachers and probation officers, health visitors, public transport managers and the like. Faceless individuals, they get on with their jobs and keep out of the lime-light. They have taken the brunt of the invasion and their attitude has, I think, been the unacknowledged but decisive factor in shaping our national response. Like a cloud forming in the sky, or like a tide exerting its invisible suction, their leadership, their pressure, has been exercised and applied to one consistent direction: towards helping, accepting and eventually assimilating the newcomers.

"A housing manager said to me 'This is a crisis. My whole policy will collapse if we give way'. There were tears in his eyes. The council stood firm and the strike collapsed. This was a rent strike among white tenants who objected to the allocation of a house to a coloured family on a new housing estate. The housing manager's policy was to ignore completely, in his system of priorities, any aspect of race.

"Or from a factory manager: 'To start with, we had trouble over the canteen — immigrants bringing their own food and so on. With the co-operation of the union and the shop stewards we invited the High Commission to send a man from London to give a talk about their homes and backgrounds. It went off well and after that everything died down'."

Mrs. Huxley then gives three quotations from three different towns. "We're trying to build up a civic consciousness among the immigrants. We've issued pamphlets in seven languages" . . . "We run a voluntary panel to investigate causes of friction between coloured and white neighbours, we try to meet trouble before it gets even halfway" . . . "A petition against a coloured family being given a council house at Hitchin in Hertfordshire was ignored by the Urban District Council on a unanimous vote." Such instances can be multiplied indefinitely and found in

(Continued on page 29)

A HAVEN FOR THOSE WHO SEEK AID

by PETER HAZELHURST

(By courtesy of the Rand Daily Mail)

CLUTCHING a battered hat, the greying man knocks and opens the frosted glass door. With the automatic servility born of life-long subservience to the White man, he shambles over to the woman seated behind the desk and hands over a sealed letter. He waits for her reaction, for this is his last hope of getting his son back.

The White woman, also greying and fragile, looks up and says: "Will you take a seat, Mr. Khumalo."

For an instant confusion shows on the wrinkled face. This is the first time he has been called "mister" by a White.

His last contact with a White had been the sound of the rubber stamp on his son's pass book which left the bewildering words: "Endorsed out of Johannesburg." He had been confident when he went to the pass office.

Years before he and his wife had sent the boy to the country for schooling. They did not want him roaming the township streets while they worked.

Then came the day when Thomas returned. He was almost a man, had his matriculation certificate, and was ready for a "good" job in the city.

"Endorsed out"

The old man had taken time off to have the boy's papers fixed. After all, he thought, Thomas was born in Johannesburg.

And then the sickening thud of the "Endorsed out" stamp.

Despondent and heartbroken, the old man returned to work. It was here that a White clerk, after hearing his trouble, told him to go to the Black Sash Free Advice Bureau in the central city.

And it is behind the frosted door of a modest office that hundreds of Africans like Mr. Khumalo find a few White women who are prepared to take up their problems with kindness and relentless energy.

The Free Advice Bureau system was formed by the Black Sash in Cape Town in 1958, after hundreds of Africans were arrested in police "permit" raids.

Black Sash women immediately started a "temporary relief" organization to help the arrested people with bail and in their defence.

The story spread, and within weeks hundreds of African women — still not quite sure why they had been arrested — were queueing for help and advice at the homes of Sash members in Cape Town's suburbs. At first the assistance was there only for women.

Free advice bureaux

The movement decided then to open offices in Cape Town to form the first free advice bureau for African women with problems under the influx control laws.

Later, when men, despondent and pleading for help, drifted into the office, the movement lifted the restriction on men. Two years ago a similar office was started in Johannesburg — with its largest population of urban Africans in the country.

The Advice Bureau's services — and concern — are for the thousands of Africans who are entitled to live and work in the urban area under present regulations, but, because of the complicated and bewildering influx, group areas and pass laws, have inadvertently forfeited their rights by adopting incorrect procedure when approaching employers and pass officials.

The Bureau's clients are people who have been separated from their families; men who ask that they may live with their wives, and people who simply want to be able to work.

The Johannesburg office deals with about 500 cases a year. Black Sash members — now self-taught experts on the relevant laws and regulations — voluntarily give free advice, carry out investigation, plead with officials and employers and interview people five days a week throughout the year.

For these women, who are putting in hundreds of hours at the bureau, sometimes at the expense of their own social and family life, it becomes a heartbreaking job when the law is found to be inflexible, and that man who has placed all his



**MRS. JEAN
SINCLAIR,
National
President of
the Black Sash.**

hopes in them, must be told: "I'm afraid there is nothing more we can do. You must go."

The "success rate" is low. Only nine out of every hundred cases succeed.

"Nevertheless, if nine out of every hundred families can be kept together, then the work is worthwhile," says Mrs. Jean Sinclair, president of the organization.

The people who come to the Black Sash for help invariably have one of four problems:

- Endorsement out of an urban area where they can earn enough to support their families.
- They seek permission to have their children with them.
- The need for homes. Regulations only permit people who qualify under influx laws and certain conditions to obtain council houses.
- Permission and clearance to be allowed to live with wives or husbands.

"It is often said that these people would not have these problems if they returned to a tribal area. But in most cases they cannot earn enough to keep their families, and in other cases men who were born and bred here have no affiliation with the rural areas to which they are sent and are completely uprooted," an official told me.

"Our main function is to see that the people — some uneducated and naive — adopt the correct procedure to enable them to remain here and have their families with them.

"The laws are so complicated that anyone who has not made a proper study of them is confused and does not understand exactly where or why he might have transgressed the law or procedure," Mrs. Sinclair said.

"In most cases we have discovered that the people who come to us are not 'chancers'. They

try to comply with the law. In fact, they are confident when they approach the pass office and officials that everything will be all right — and then they are surprised and bewildered when they are endorsed out."

Mrs. Sinclair says that in some cases people who are entitled to remain in Johannesburg are actually endorsed out because they have adopted the wrong procedure when approaching their problems.

"We can help these people particularly if they come to us," she said.

"We find government and municipal officials helpful and sympathetic on the whole — but in most cases there is little that they can do. They must apply the law rigidly."

A vicious circle

Another function that the bureau fills is that of an agent prepared to 'run about' getting official documents for African workers — something that White industrialists and employers are reluctant, or could not be bothered to do.

White employers, rushed with labour problems and the urgency of making money, find it easier to employ an African whose papers are in order or a person who will give them the minimum amount of trouble with official documents.

Men who need their prospective employers' guarantee and time for authorized passes, are

The Crack



Bob Connolly

Rand Daily Mail

often rejected. The job is given to a man whose papers are the nearest to being in order.

The man finds himself in a vicious circle: officials will refuse to grant a permit to work in Johannesburg until he has a guaranteed job. Employers refuse to guarantee a job unless they are assured that his papers are in order.

It is here that the Advice Bureau acts as an intermediary between employer and officials, and gives the time, normally required of the employer, to get the papers in order.

Another problem — which has recently increased — is that of working African parents who have sent their children to the country for schooling, rather than let them roam township streets during working hours.

Born in Johannesburg

"The children were born in Johannesburg and naturally the parents assume that they can automatically return from the country after schooling.

"This is not the case, and the people are heart-broken when their sons are forbidden to return.

"I tremble to think how we would feel if our sons were cast loose in the country. Our efforts, through correct legal procedures, are attempts to help these people get their children back," Mrs. Sinclair said.

There are other problems that the bureau accepts for investigation.

Jonathan X., a 38-year-old father, was born in Pretoria and came to Johannesburg in 1944.

In 1948 he was employed by a large stationery concern. He was happy and worked conscientiously for the firm for 12 years. In 1960 the firm asked him to go to Pretoria where a new branch office was being established.

Forfeited his right

He agreed and moved to Pretoria. Six months later the firm closed the office and at the same time he had an accident which put him off work for three years.

When he recovered he applied for a job in Johannesburg, but was told that he had forfeited his right to live here because he had worked in Pretoria.

It was with this problem that he approached the Advice Bureau.

After pleadings and investigations the bureau was told that if Pretoria officials gave Mr. X per-

mission to leave the area, and if his previous employer gave him a job, he could return to Johannesburg.

The former employers have told the bureau that there is no vacancy for Mr. X at the moment. This means that he is jobless and is on the verge of being endorsed out of the urban area.

... In walks Mrs. B ... she is divorced with two children and has no house ... she does not qualify for a house under present regulations ...

And so the never-ending queue of "clients" files past the frosted glass door every day — for it is here that their last hope for a normal family life lies.

COLOURED IMMIGRANTS IN BRITAIN

(Continued from page 26)

almost every borough, council and town hall. This unsung leadership has never been more solid, united and consistent than it has been, on this issue, in the last few years.

Of course there have been exceptions. But over the country as a whole, those in closest touch with the ordinary people in their homes and schools, their neighbourhoods and daily work, sickness and health — these paid officials, while they are the servants of the public, have in this case unobtrusively acted as its masters. They have told it there must be no colour bar in the allocation of housing, in schools, in hospitals, in public places. "I'm proud of my city", said a man who deals with immigrants in Birmingham, "where tens of thousands have been taken in without any overt trouble, and with a great deal of goodwill."

"World society"

The twists and turns of history are indeed mysterious. No one in Britain at the end of the war could have foreseen that the country would be faced twenty years later with this particular problem. There are many who regard it merely as a piece of very bad luck, or very bad management. But I believe that what is happening now in Britain should be looked on rather as an extremely interesting experiment, though not a conscious or deliberate one. For it points the way to developments in what one might call "world society", which will inevitably take place in the twenty-first and following centuries. And the main lesson to be learnt from this experiment is that these developments will only be accomplished satisfactorily and the problems they will cause will only be solved by the exercise, not only by governments but by countless individuals, of the social qualities of friendliness, sympathy, imagination and tolerance.

News from Regions and Branches

SINCE the Bantu Laws Amendment Act came into force on the 1st January, 1965, the Black Sash Advice Offices have been increasingly busy. In spite of a continuing demand for labour in all branches of the South African economy, there are thousands of Africans, many of them with firm offers of employment, being "endorsed out" to the rural areas.

In Cape Town, on the one hand labour is being introduced in "bulk consignments" on the basis of a contract for one year. On the other hand, Africans are "endorsed out" in almost as large numbers as they are being brought in.

In Johannesburg, many cases are concerned with young men between the ages of 18 and 24, who have been at school in the country and who wish to return to their families, who are legal residents of Johannesburg's African Townships. They are often refused permission to remain in town and are sent back to the country, where they have no work and no home, their grandparents having died. This causes great distress to the parents, who worry that their sons, being denied parental supervision and advice at this impressionable age, may develop into "idle and undesirable" men.

It is increasingly difficult for an African woman to enter an urban area to work or to live with her husband. Before she can come to live with her husband, a wife must prove that she entered the area lawfully and that she "ordinarily resides" with her husband. As few women are now given permits to come to work in the towns, it is difficult to enter lawfully; and as the husband may have spent several years working in the town and the wife has been in the country, it is not considered that she "ordinarily resides" with him.

Despite the heavy demands on time and personnel made by the Advice Offices, all Regions have found time for a full programme of other activities since the National Conference.

HEADQUARTERS AND TRANSVAAL REGION

TRANSVAAL Region has settled down to another year as "Headquarters", a formidable task in terms of time and woman-power. The Region has been without the help of one of its most active members, Mrs. Jeanette Davidoff, who had a bad accident early in the year. She will be unable to walk for several months, but is always available for consultation and advice. Mrs. Gita Dyzenhaus, the National Treasurer, was also lost to the Region for several weeks, as she stood as a candidate in the Provincial elections.

We regret to report that Mrs. Barbara Brock is leaving the Transvaal to settle with her husband in the Cape. The Region will miss her more than we can say, but we know that Cape Western Region will in due course reap the benefit of her wisdom and fantastic capacity for hard work.

Mrs. Bobbie Cluver has taken over the arduous dual office of National and Regional Secretary, in succession to Mrs. Bobbie Johnston, who held this exacting position for a gruelling two years. The Region wishes to record its sincere thanks to Mrs. Johnston for a wonderful job.

A feature of the opening months of 1965 in this Region has been a series of three open General Meetings, held at night and addressed by most interesting speakers.

On February 9th, Professor G. H. L. le May spoke on "Liberals and their Critics", and gave his hearers a great deal to think about. Mr. Alan Paton came to Johannesburg from Natal and addressed a public meeting in the Vrede Hall on March 3rd on the subject of his book, "Hofmeyr". On March 16th, Professor Robert Birley, recently returned from England, spoke about the "Problem of the Coloured Immigrants in England".

All three meetings were very well attended, and were of great interest to Black Sash members and their friends. Professor le May's and Professor Birley's addresses appear elsewhere in the Magazine.

Demonstrations. When the Minister of Justice suspended Clause 17 of the General Law Amendment Act of 1963, it was considered wise to cancel the regular demonstrations against 90-day Detention, but the Black Sash made it clear, in a Press Statement, that it would never cease to work for the repeal of this clause.

A monthly Newsletter compiled by Mrs. Dorothy Hacking is proving a great boon to our country members in Rustenburg, Witbank, the Lowveld and the Free State. It is being sent to every member of the Region.

A Planning Committee is being set up, in terms of a National Conference resolution, to co-ordinate Black Sash activities in all Regions, especially with a view to changing present South African attitudes and misconceptions.



Mrs. Cluver



Mrs. Johnston

CAPE EASTERN REGION

THE Eastern Cape Region went into recess for December and January, and opened the year's work on February 10th with an all-day *Regional Conference*. Reports were read, and future activities outlined, and a tape-recording of *Mrs. Jean Sinclair's* Presidential Address to the Pietermaritzburg Conference was played. After lunch the *Rev. Herbert Lovemore* of the Walmer Methodist Church addressed the Conference on the need to have the courage of one's convictions.

A *Discussion Group*, based on the idea of the *Transvaal Saturday Club*, has been launched by Cape Eastern.

Mrs. Peggy Levey continues as Regional Chairman, with *Mrs. Ann Bolton* as Treasurer. *Mrs. Diana Davis* has once more taken on the office of Regional Secretary, an office she held for some time a year or two ago.

NATAL COASTAL REGION

NATAL Coastal is in the happy position of being able to report a constant increase in membership, even if it is a very slow and gradual process.

The Region has held three *General Meetings* since the National Conference. The first of these was held in October, and was a closed report-back meeting. A most successful meeting held in November was addressed by three members of the Regional Committee: *Mrs. Guinivere Ventress* gave a talk on present world leadership; *Mrs. Doris Wallace* spoke about her work at *Cato Manor* and *Kwa Mashu*; and *Mrs. Susan Francis* reviewed Mr. Alan Paton's book "*Hofmeyr*."

The first *General Meeting* of 1965 was addressed by *Mrs. Padayachee*, who spoke about the effects of *Job Reservation* and *Group Areas* on the Indian community, especially with regard to children.

Members continue to work in their *Advice Office*, and although there are comparatively few cases there is a good ratio of successful ones.

A combined *Book and Cake Sale* held just before Christmas realized about Sixty Rands.

Members also continue in their individual capacity to support "the banished", and R10 per month is contributed towards this cause.

NATAL MIDLANDS REGION

AT the Pietermaritzburg Branch Annual *General Meeting* on the 24th February, the Branch Office-bearers, who automatically become the *Regional Office Bearers*, were elected. The new *Regional Chairman* is *Miss Iris Friday*, with *Mrs. G. Phillips* as Secretary, and *Mrs. Joy Hey* as Treasurer.

On the last night of the *National Conference* in October, *Mrs. Noel Robb* of Cape Western Region addressed a *House Meeting* in Pietermaritzburg on the *Break-up of African Family Life*. This was recorded, and the Region now has tapes of talks by *Mrs. Jessie Hertslet* and *Professor Monica Wilson* as well. It is hoped that these will be used by the Branches and by outside organizations. So far, *St. Alpheges Anglican Church* has used the tapes at a *House Meeting*, and *Pietermaritzburg Branch* has used two of them.

The Region continues to hold stands and demonstrations. Two demonstrations have been held since the *National Conference on bannings*, and one was held on *Human Rights Day*.

Natal Midlands collected 303 signatures for its *Christmas Goodwill Message*. A quarter page in the *Natal Daily News* and in the *Natal Witness* were taken for Christmas Eve, but as the Region had undertaken not to publish the signatures unless more than 500 were collected, the message did not stand out as well as had been hoped.

BORDER REGION

THE Region opened the year with a committee of nine, including *Mrs. Daphne Curry*, who was re-elected as *Regional Chairman*. As *Mrs. Curry* has now taken up a full-time business appointment, however, the Committee has divided the year into six, and a member will act as *Chairman* for each period. The same procedure has been adopted in regard to secretarial duties: three members have undertaken a four months' spell each. *Mrs. Babette Sparg* has taken over as *Treasurer* in place of *Mrs. Deena Streek*, who has gone overseas on a well-earned holiday.

The first General Meeting of the year was held on the 16th March, a closed meeting for the discussion of past and future Regional activities. It has been decided to hold morning, evening and Saturday meetings in rotation, to enable Mrs. Curry and Mrs. Sparg (who is also in business) to attend two-thirds of the meetings.

Border's activities continue to be directed almost exclusively to work in the *Advice Office*, as, with their limited number of active workers, this is considered to be the most worthwhile and concrete work they have been able to achieve.

Owing to lack of funds, the Region has reluctantly been obliged to decline the invitation to support another banished person. The man *Gwentshe* whom they previously supported no longer needs help, and is working.

CAPE WESTERN REGION

THE most urgent issue in Cape Western Region during the last months has been *Group Areas action* proposed in *Kalk Bay, Simon's Town, Fraserdale, and Kommetje*. *Mrs. Ritchken, Mrs. Willis, Mrs. Birt and Miss Henshilwood* worked ceaselessly, in their individual capacities, over the Christmas recess and afterwards, organizing protests, attending meetings, engaging lawyers and drawing up memoranda. Detailed accounts of their fine work are to be found elsewhere in the Magazine. The Region also made official representations on behalf of the Black Sash and sent representatives to each of the Public Inquiries before the Group Areas Board. *Mrs. Stott* represented the Black Sash at the Fraserdale hearing, *Mrs. Roberts* at the Kalk Bay hearing and *Mrs. Marquard* at the Kommetje hearing.

On 2nd November *Pinelands Branch* gave a multi-racial party, at which there were about 45 people, 15 to 20 of them non-White. It was, as usual, a very pleasant and successful function.

Sponsored by ourselves, a message of goodwill and sympathy with Africans whose family life had been broken by the laws of our land appeared in the *Cape Times* on Christmas Day, supported by more than 600 names of members and friends who had signed it. It was well placed, and aroused a good deal of interest and comment, mostly, though not all, sympathetic.

A "new-look" stand took place on 25th and 26th February with the object of drawing the public's attention to the restrictive legislation passed by this Government which is *legal now, but unjust for ever*. A lorry was hired and dressed with

nine posters (in both languages) which read: Pass Laws, Job Reservation, Enforced Group Areas, Existing separate representation, Closed Universities, withholding of African freehold property rights, breaking of African homes through migrant labour, Banning and banishment without trial, Enforced apartheid at public entertainment destroys Cape tradition. A banner ran down the middle of the lorry with the slogan "Legal now unjust forever". Five Sashers in relays sat and stood in the back of the lorry while it slowly drove round Cape Town and the northern and southern suburbs.

Arising from the Department of Planning's advertisements of meetings to be held throughout the Peninsula to arrive at the "final solution" of the allocation of beaches, the Cape Western Region wrote expressing its utter abhorrence of *beach apartheid*, and its earnest desire that, if allocations had to be made, they should be equal in all respects. Because of this principle it was felt that the Sash could not appear at the advertised meetings, although some members, where beaches in their areas are being discussed, are attending as individuals, being "interested persons."

The Athlone Advice Office continued its work daily, under the able supervision of *Mrs. Parks*, with only a short break for Christmas. According to figures given by Mr. Vorster in Parliament, 3,763 Africans were *endorsed out* in 1963 and 4,870 in 1964. Of these, 1,248 came to the Advice Office in 1963 and 1,250 in 1964 — in each year roughly one-quarter of the total. We feel, more than ever, that these figures prove the value of the Advice Office to the Africans.

The Region wrote *letters to the Press* on the subject of *Group Areas*, the suspension of the *90-day Clause*, the ban on *Professor Simons*, on the proposed *allocation of beaches*, on the *segregation of audiences*.

Mrs. Peggy Roberts has taken over the Chair of the Region, in place of *Mrs. Moira Henderson*, who is now a Vice-Chairman. *Mrs. Barbara Wilks* and *Mrs. Barbara Willis* continue as Regional Secretary and Treasurer, respectively.

IN SYMPATHY

MEMBERS of the Black Sash in all Regions would like to offer their deepest sympathy to Mrs. Moira Henderson, who lost her only son, Angus, in an accident in Swaziland on January 29th, 1965.

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BORDER

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

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Dedication . . .

IN pride and humbleness we declare our devotion to the land of South Africa, we dedicate ourselves to the service of our country. We pledge ourselves to uphold the ideals of mutual trust and forbearance, of sanctity of word, of courage for the future, and of peace and justice for all persons and peoples. We pledge ourselves to resist any diminishment of these, confident that this duty is required of us, and that history and our children will defend us.

So help us God, in Whose strength we trust.

Toewydingsrede . . .

MET trots en nederigheid verklaar ons ons gehegtheid aan die land van Suid-Afrika, ons wy ons aan die diens van ons land. Ons belowe plegtig die ideale te handhaaf van onderlinge vertrouwe en verdraagsaamheid, van die onskendbaarheid van beloftes, van moed vir die toekoms, van crede en regverdigheid teenoor alle persone en rasse. Ons beloof plegtig om ons te verset teen enige vermindering hiervan vrede en regverdigheid teenoor alle en dat die geskiedenis en ons kinders ons sal regverdig.

Mag God ons help, op Wie se krag ons ons verlaat.