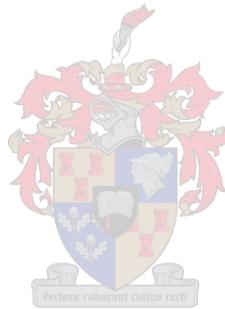


**Reading the Voices of a Fractured Coloured Elite:
Coloured Intellectuals and Newspapers in the Cape,
c. 1959-1966**

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Declaration

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Abstract

The history of Coloured politics, especially in the Cape, imbibed notions of race, belonging, identity and even linguistic or cultural distinctions. The rise of a Coloured elite who spoke “on behalf” of its people eventually gave rise to a fractured elite who grappled with its identity and place within a broader South African context. Various Coloured organisations were established which represented assimilationist, collaborationist or rejectionist factions. Each birth necessitated a platform from which organisational ideologies could be disseminated to a wider public. This dissertation will trace the divergence amongst the Coloured elite during the particularly volatile period of 1959 to 1966, and how they articulated their political ideologies through three alternative newspapers geared towards a largely Coloured readership: the *Torch*, *Die Banier* and the *Cape Herald*. This dissertation contends that these publications have been described as the political “mouthpieces” of particular political parties but it is argued that they rather serve as an intellectual space for political debate which over time, becomes the mouthpiece of particular individuals who dominated Coloured politics at that time.

Key words: South Africa, Coloured, media, apartheid, identity, *The Torch*, *Die Banier*, *The Cape Herald*

Opsomming

Die geskiedenis van Kleurlingpolitiek, veral in die Kaap, het begrippe van ras, behoort, identiteit en selfs taalkundige of kulturele onderskeidings ingesamel. Die opkoms van 'n Kleurling-elite wat "namens" hul mense gepraat het, het uiteindelik aanleiding gegee tot 'n gebroke elite wat met sy identiteit en plek in 'n breër Suid-Afrikaanse konteks geworstel het. Verskeie Kleurlingorganisasies is gestig wat assimilasië, samewerkende of verwerpende faksies verteenwoordig het. Elke geboorte het 'n platform genoodsaak vanwaar organisatoriese ideologieë na 'n wyer publiek versprei kon word. Hierdie proefskrif sal die verskille tussen die Kleurling-elite gedurende die besonder wisselvallige tydperk van 1959 tot 1966 naspur, en hoe hulle hul politieke ideologieë verwoord het deur drie alternatiewe koerante wat gerig is op 'n grootliks Kleurling-leserspubliek: die *Torch*, *Die Banier* en die *Cape Herald*. Hierdie proefskrif voer aan dat hierdie publikasies beskryf is as die politieke "spreekbuis" van bepaalde politieke partye, maar daar word aangevoer dat dit eerder dien as 'n intellektuele ruimte vir politieke debat wat mettertyd die spreekbuis word van bepaalde individue wat die Kleurlingpolitiek op daardie stadium oorheers het.

Slutelwoorde: Suid-Afrika, Kleurling, media, apartheid, identiteit, *Die Torch*, *Die Banier*, *Die Cape Herald*

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Abbreviations

AAC	All African Convention
ANB	African National Bond
APO	African People's Organisation (name changed in 1919 to African Political Organisation)
ANTI-CAC	Anti-Coloured Advisory Council
ANTI-CAD	Anti-Coloured Affairs Department
ANC	African National Congress
BCESL	Coloured Legion of the British Ex-Servicemen League
CAC	Coloured Advisory Council
CAD	Coloured Affairs Department
CCPC	Cape Coloured Permanent Commission
CDC	Coloured Development Corporation
CPC	Coloured People's Congress
CPC	Coloured People's Convention
CPNU	Coloured People's National Union
CPPP	Coloured People's Political Party
CPRC	Coloured Persons Representative Council
CPSA	Communist Party of South Africa
CPSA	Communist Party of South Africa
FP	The Federal Coloured People's Party

FRAC	The Franchise Action Committee
GSSA	Genealogical Society of South Africa
IFP	Independent Federal Party
LP	Labour Party of South Africa
NAD	Native Affairs Department
NCPP	The National Coloured People's Party
NEF	New Era Fellowship
NEUF	Non-European United Front
NEUM	Non-European Unity Movement
NP	National Party
NPU	Newspaper Press Union
NLL	National Liberation League
NLSA	National Library of South Africa
NRC	Native Representative Council
PAC	Pan Africanist Congress
PFP	Progressive Federal Party
RCP	Republican Coloured Party
SAC	South African College
SACPO	South African Coloured People's Organisation
SALP	South African Labour Party
SAP	South African Party

TEPA	Teacher's Educational and Professional Association
TLSA	Teachers' League of South Africa
UCCA	Union Council of Coloured Affairs
UCT	University of Cape Town
UNISA	University of South Africa
UP	United Party
UWC	University of the Western Cape
WITS	University of Witwatersrand

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Chapter One

1.1 Introduction

The apartheid era in South Africa (1948 to 1994) ushered in a multitude of challenges for the different population groups in South Africa. Some of these challenges were overt, such as discriminatory legislation, and others more covert, such as ideological divergences which had developed over time and took place on a public forum. The prominent figures within these divergent groups, commonly referred to as the elite,¹ had an array of ideological standpoints which challenged the status quo. These were articulated in different mediums such as political pamphlets and group meetings, with attempts being made to target a larger audience through newspapers.

Communication experts, Keyan Tomaselli and Eric Louw suggest that the press in South Africa can be categorised into nine definable phases. The anti-apartheid conservative-liberal press were supported by an English monopoly from 1850. The conservative Afrikaans press aligned to the National Party from the 1930s. Publications for black readers from the 1970s were anti-apartheid in ideology but were supported by English and pro-apartheid Afrikaner capital. Regional publications were apolitical and focussed on local interests. They were linked to either English liberal or Afrikaans conservative publications. The social-democratic independent press were prevalent from 1985 with the left alternative press active since 1980. Concurrently there existed a pro-apartheid press and opposition to the National Party. Bantustan infrastructures were the focus of some newspapers while the state produced propaganda sheets from 1986.²

According to another seasoned communications expert, Les Switzer, there are four identifiable phases in the history of the alternative media in South Africa. The African mission press was active between 1830s-1880s, primarily focussed on missions and mission life. The independent protest press was active between 1880s-1930s, and represented the black middle class. The early resistance press were largely radical left-leaning working and middle class people who

¹ Terms such as “elite” and “intelligentsia” are probed in the methodology section.

² K. Tomaselli and E. Louw, “Alternative Press and Political Practice: The South African Struggle” in M. Raboy and P. Bruck (eds.), *Communication For and Against Democracy* (New York: Black Rose Books, 1989), pp. 203-218.

promoted nonracialism and nonsectarianism between the 1930s and the 1960s. The later resistance press operated between the 1970s and 1980s and focussed primarily on black consciousness.³ Between the 1940s and 1960s, certain publications reflected national interests beyond the confines of the formal press, focussing on other areas such as race, gender, class, politics and culture. Political scientist Pieter Fourie further asserts that race and language have dictated how the history of the press in South Africa has been organised.⁴

This study is positioned at the intersection of hardening apartheid laws and censorship and the role of media in challenging the status quo. Much of the existing literature tends to focus on the stark racial and linguistic dichotomies of black/white, Afrikaans/English with much attention placed on more popular newspapers and acclaimed alternative presses. The focus in this study will be shifted to “mixed” terrains which transcends many of these silos.

There is a long history of Coloured⁵ politics, especially in the Cape. Imbued are notions of race, belonging, identity and even linguistic or cultural distinctions. The rise of a Coloured elite who spoke “on behalf” of its people eventually gave rise to a fractured elite who grappled with its identity and place this within a broader South African context. Various Coloured organisations were established which represented the assimilationist, collaborationist or rejectionist factions. Each birth necessitated a platform from which organisational ideologies could be disseminated to a wider public. Historian Mohammad Adhikari already unpacks some of these dynamics when he reflects on some of the “mouthpieces” of political movements during apartheid.

Three interesting and intersecting publications, *The Torch*, *Die Banier* and *The Cape Herald* are argued to be the official mouthpieces for various Coloured organisations during the 1940-1960-period. *The Torch* for example, was rejectionist in approach while *Die Banier* preached collaboration. There are clear continuities and ruptures between them which suggest cohesion but also dissent, reflecting the prevailing tensions between the various Coloured elites. In

³ L. Switzer (ed.), “Introduction”, *South Africa’s Alternative Press: Voices of Protest and Resistance, 1880-1960*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 3, 11.

⁴ P. J. Fourie. *Media Studies: Media history, media and society*, (Cape Town: Juta Company and Ltd., 1996), p. 44.

⁵ Coloured refers to the population group which encompassed all South Africans not classified as Bantu (black), white, or Indian according to apartheid legislation. The Coloured population group alludes to a “phenotypically varied” population group that is comprised of people from vastly diverse cultural and geographic origins. The author acknowledges that these socially constructed terms fail to represent the diversity and complexities of belonging. The racially discriminatory terminology is employed as a conceptual tool in this dissertation.

many ways, they too could be considered propagandist in foregrounding their own ideas. This was a moment of significant change in the political climate in South Africa. It was marred by a plethora of discriminatory legislation and significant censorship laws and practices. In addition, it marked a period of significant change amongst the Coloured elite at the Cape.

This dissertation will identify the objectives and ideologies behind the establishment of these publications and it will investigate how the various organisations strategically voiced their ideologies within these publications. Significant emphasis will be placed on *Die Banier*, which has hitherto only been briefly mentioned in the secondary literature but more importantly this dissertation foregrounds the fractured nature of the Coloured elite during this period through the lens of the press. Importantly, the dissertation attempts to trace the trajectory of these ideological differences within these publications. This will be achieved by critically engaging with these publications and placing its content within a broader context as well as locating it within debates regarding the formation of Coloured identities.

This dissertation contends that the stark differences between Coloured elites and the general population as well as between political elites dilutes over time thus suggesting that these publications should not be referred to as “mouthpieces” of particular political parties but rather as intellectual spaces in which various elites attempted to make sense of the changing political climate. It further contends that these publications do not fit neatly onto the categories identified by Tomaselli, Louw and Switzer (above), because of the fragmentation amongst the Coloured elite which manifested in the print media which also unfolds in a political context where the “Coloured question” – allies or foe – continued to circulate. It suggests a reappraisal of the role of media within South African society which takes into consideration this “mixed terrain” and its place in the Fourth Estate.⁶

1.2 Literature Review and Theoretical Points of Departure

This dissertation is located at the intersection of Coloured identity formation, Coloured political articulation and the role of media in South Africa.

⁶ A term attributed to Edmund Burke who distinguished between the nobility, the clergy, the common person and the press in 1787.

1.2.1 The Coloured Population of South Africa

According to Historian J. S. Marais the Coloured people sprung from four main sources: slaves, Europeans, “Hottentots” and “Bushmen”. He argues that miscegenation between the Europeans, slaves and the indigenous people of South Africa led to a large number of people of “mixed blood” which he referred to as the “early Coloured people”. Such levels of miscegenation blurred racial boundaries. One of the founder members of the Genealogical Society of South Africa (GSSA), Johannes A. Heese estimated that by 1867, so-called white Afrikaners had a genetic composition of at least 6.9% of slave or mixed blood.⁷ His son former Lecturer and Researcher at the Institute for Historical Research at the University of the Western Cape, Hans Heese, commented on the many racial varieties which contributed to the formation of the Coloured racial group and stated: “What makes the South African melting pot far more complex (than the American in the case of the Negro) is the fact that European, Indian, Negro, Bantu, Khoi-Khoi, San, Chinese and East Indian have all contributed to the formation of a group of Coloured people which still does not show signs of physical homogeneity”.⁸ There is therefore a long and contentious history of what constitutes a Coloured race. This had to be resolved as apartheid, based in large part on scientific racism, became entrenched.⁹

The Population Registration Act (Act 30 of 1950) instituted racial classification according to perceived racial characteristics. This Act defined a Coloured person essentially as a by-product of the white and black¹⁰ population:

i.e. a person who is not a White person or a Bantu. If one or both natural parents of a person have been classified as a Coloured person, such person is classified as a Coloured person, such person is classified as a Coloured person irrespective of whether he would qualify by appearance and/or general acceptance as a White person. Where a person's parents have not been classified and he is classified as a Coloured person, if he wished to be reclassified as white, he would have to prove beyond all reasonable doubt that he qualified by general acceptance to be a white person (and such a person must not in appearance obviously not be a white person).¹¹

⁷ R. E. van der Ross, *The Rise and Fall of Apartheid: A Study of Political Movements among the Coloured People of South Africa, 1880-1985*, (Cape Town: Tafelberg, 1986), p. 2. Also refer to J. A. Heese, *Die Hierkoms van die Afrikaner, 1657-1867*, (Cape Town: Balkema, 1971).

⁸ H. F Heese, *Groep sonder grense – Die Role en status van die gemengde bevolking aan die Kaap*, (Bellville: Institute for Historical Research, University of the Western Cape, 1984), p. 14.

⁹ See: S. Dubow, *Scientific Racism in Modern South Africa*, (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1995).

¹⁰ The generic term “black” is employed here to refer to the groups known as “Bantu” during the apartheid era. Again the author employs the term conceptually and rejects the essentialist undertones which can be attributed to such racial profiling.

¹¹ R.P 38/1976 *Commission of Inquiry into Matters Relating to the Coloured Population Group*, (Pretoria: Government Printer, 1976), pp. 23-24.

The negative association not only stigmatised the Coloured population group within South Africa but also reinforced ideas of being the “excess”. Zimitri Erasmus discusses the negative relativity of the term Coloured by referring to it “in terms of ‘lack’ or taint, or in terms of ‘remainder’ or excess which does not fit a classificatory scheme”.¹²

This racial classification was also the premise to which the implementation of other racial based laws such as the Group Areas Act of 1950, the Immorality Amendment Act of 1950, Separate Representation of Voters Act of 1951, Bantu Education Act of 1953, were aligned. These instituted further restrictions on marriage and “carnal intercourse”, job opportunities, wages and taxes, residence and ownership, education, administration of justice, criminal offences, public amenities, political powers and capacities, to name a few.¹³ Thus race determined position and restriction and this would have implications for those vying for dwindling power and recognition within a hardening racialized society. As a collective, Coloureds were poignantly termed by Mohamed Adhikari as “Not White Enough, Not Black Enough”.¹⁴ They were arguably compelled to position themselves above black people within the racial hierarchy in South Africa and accept that they were not white enough to fully benefit from apartheid all within these arbitrary and somewhat fluid categories.¹⁵

Of significance here, however, are the distinctions made within the so-called Coloured category. The classification of Coloured encompassed divisions and sub-groups which had legislatively fractured the Coloured race into seven subgroups. Section 5 of the Population Registration Act of 1950 refers to “The Cape Coloured Group, the Malay Group, the Griqua Group, the Chinese Group, the Indian Group, the Other Asiatic Group and the Other Coloured Group”.¹⁶ These subdivisions further disaggregated according to notions of cultural practice,

¹² Z. Erasmus, *Coloured by History, Shaped by place: perspectives on coloured identities in Cape Town*, (Cape Town: Kwela Books, 2001), p. 17.

¹³ U.G. 30/1950 *The Population Registration Act, No. 30 of 1950*, (Union of South Africa: Government Printer, 1950). For a brief description of this act and amendments made to it see: M. Horrell. *Legislation and Race relations: A summary of the main South African laws which affect race relations*, (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1971), pp. 9-12.

¹⁴ M. Adhikari, *Not White Enough, Not Black Enough: Racial Identity in the South African Coloured Community*, (Cape Town: Double Storey Books, 2005).

¹⁵ See also literature on racial reclassification in South Africa by D. Posel, "Race as Common Sense: Racial Classification in Twentieth-Century South Africa," *African Studies Review*, (44), (2) September 2001, pp. 87-113.

¹⁶ R.P 38/1976 *Commission of Inquiry into Matters Relating to the Coloured Population Group* (Government Printer, Union of South Africa), p. 23.

heritage and language. The grouping of all of these subgroups under the umbrella term of Coloured later led to the proliferation of internal divisions.

Essentially, the arbitrary nature of racial categorisation, the fluid subdivisions and the subsequent laws which offered more benefits to those who found themselves at the upper echelons of the racial hierarchy, led to dissention, fracturing and divisions amongst communities compelled to negotiate the onslaught brought in under apartheid. This had a severe impact on identity formation and political allegiance over time.

1.2.2 Coloured Identities

Researchers Euichul Jung and Changho Lee regard identity as “a cultural and historical product of constant negotiation processes influenced by specific social and cultural contexts”.¹⁷ Literature on Coloured identity/identities especially in the Cape, is in itself fractured. The predominant scholarship/historiography on Coloured identity, according to Adhikari, is oversimplified and reduces Coloured identity to something which is fixed. He believes that these writings fail to take into account the fluidity of Coloured self-definition which are inherent in the process. He argues that this over-simplified image stems from a focus being placed on Coloured protest politics which resulted in the exaggeration of the resistance of Coloured people towards white supremacism which ignores the accommodation of the Coloured population in the racial system of South Africa. Moreover, there has been a lack of attention given to the role played by Coloured people in the construction of their own identity or to how political consciousness impacted their process of self-definition.¹⁸

History Professor Vivian Bickford-Smith argues that Coloured identities emerged from freed slaves and their descendants between the period of 1875 to 1910. Moreover, Coloured identities arose from the social and political identities which had formed during the era of slavery in the Cape. He notes that:

By the early 1890s, overtly Coloured political organisations began to emerge to fight white discrimination and were active among communities of slave descendants in Cape Town [...]

¹⁷ E. Jung and C. L. Lee. “Social Construction of Cultural Identity: An Ethnographic Study of Korean American Students,” *Atlantic Journal of Communication*, (12), (3), 2004, p. 146.

¹⁸ M. Adhikari, “The Product of Civilization in its most Repellent Manifestation: Ambiguities in the Racial Perceptions of the APO (African Political Organisation), 1909-23,” *Journal of African History*, (38), 1997, p. 283.

Coloured became an acceptable self-description for many slave descendants in Cape Town to distinguish themselves from ‘Natives’ for pragmatic reasons. But also (and significantly) because such distinction made sense at the time in terms of existing kinship, occupational and communal ties, the culture these supported and because new divisions of labour were tending to confirm a tripartite division of Cape Town’s social formation into ‘white’, ‘Coloured’ and ‘native’ as migration of the latter into the city increased.¹⁹

This displays the impact that historical events had on the formation of Coloured identities particularly in the Cape. This would continue beyond the period discussed with the unfolding of subsequent historical events affecting this population group.

In the introduction of Richard van der Ross’ book, *The Rise and Decline of Apartheid: A Study of Political Movements among the Coloured People of South Africa, 1880-1985* he presents a discussion on the removal of Coloured people from the common voters roll. In the introduction, Hermann Giliomee states that white Afrikaners believed the disenfranchised Coloured people would embrace a separate voters’ roll and other apartheid institutions to “realize their own identity”.²⁰ This implies that politicians believed Coloured people would view themselves as a separate group and by virtue of that develop an identity which is separate from the white Afrikaner identity. Conservative writings by J. S. Marais, F. van Jaarsveld, H. P. Cruse and A. J. Venter portrayed Coloured identity as having developed from miscegenation during the period of Dutch colonial rule.²¹ These writings assume Colouredness to be “an inherent quality derived from racial mixture”.²² This reductionist view failed to consider the differences of the sub-groups which constituted the Coloured population.

An identity of “ambiguity” can be found in existing literature which acknowledges miscegenation. This can be seen in the writing by former lecturer at Cambridge University, Andrew Tucker who claimed that:

¹⁹ V. Bickford-Smith and E. van Heyningen, *The Waterfront*, (Cape Town, Oxford University Press, 1994). pp. 308-309.

²⁰ See also Introduction written by H. Giliomee in R. E van der Ross, *The Rise and Decline of Apartheid: A Study of Political Movements among the Coloured People of South Africa, 1880-1985*.

²¹ See also J. S. Marais, *The Cape Coloured People, 1652-1937*, (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1939); F. van Jaarsveld, *Van Van Riebeeck tot Verwoerd, 1652-1966: ‘n inleiding tot geskiedenis van die Republiek van Suid Afrika*, (Johannesburg: Voortekkerpers, 1971); H. P. Cruse, *Die Opheffing van die Kleurlingbevolking*, (Stellenbosch: Christen Studente-Vereniging, 1947); A. J. Venter, *Coloured: A Profile of Two Million South Africans*, (Cape Town: Human & Rousseau, 1974).

²² M. Adhikari, “The Product of Civilization in its most Repellent Manifestation: Ambiguities in the Racial Perceptions of the APO (African Political Organisation), 1909-23”, *Journal of African History*, (38), 1997, p. 283.

From the very beginning, this community was marked by its precarious position ‘between’ black African and white groups. Unlike, black African individuals, Coloured individuals could not easily be grouped together as one ‘race’. Neither could they be easily relegated to the status of black Africans within the country. After all, Coloured as both a burgeoning community and as a racial classification could not have come about without the actions of white individuals. No matter how socially inferior, in the eyes of white racist ideology, they would never and could never be classified with black African groups.²³

It should be noted that Tucker makes the assumption that grouping the black population under one identity is satisfactory which is an area of contention as it refers to a number of different groups encompassing different cultures, practices, languages and histories.

Furthermore, Coloured identities within the era of segregation and apartheid, is complex due to this demographics’ psychological and social ambiguity which is related to their political, social and economic marginality. Albert Luthuli speaks to this ambiguity in stating that a division existed within the Coloured population group in terms of their attitude towards white supremacy with the rejection of this by some because of the accommodationist policies which levied some benefits to the buffer population of Coloureds. He argues that this translates to a dichotomy of seeking identification with whites and rejection of identification with the black population. This he concludes was the result of having to negotiate the apartheid system. This also resulted in a split between those seeking equality for all South Africans and those who were willing to settle for some of the privileges proffered by the political dispensation during the 1960s.²⁴

In his book *Burdened By Race: Coloured Identities in Southern Africa*, Adhikari presents four approaches to Coloured identity formation and the history of the Coloured population namely, the Essentialist school, the Instrumentalist approach, the Social Constructionist approach and conceptualising Coloured identity as a product of creolisation. The Instrumentalist approach considers Coloured identity as artificial concept imposed on Coloured people by the white supremacist South African state as a mechanism of social control.²⁵ This approach encompasses two stances of which the first regarded Coloured identity to be an instrument of exclusion of those regarded as “mixed race” from dominant society.²⁶ The second stance

²³ A. Tucker, *Queer Visibilities: Space, Identity and Interaction in Cape Town*, (New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, 2009). p. 71.

²⁴ A. J. Luthuli, *Let My People Go*, (London: Collins, 1962). pp. 134-135.

²⁵ M. Adhikari, *Burdened By Race: Coloured Identities in Southern Africa*, (Cape Town: UCT Press, 2013), pp. 7-16.

²⁶ R. H. du Pre. *Separate but Unequal: The ‘Coloured’ People of South Africa – A Political History*, (Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 1994), p. vii.

viewed Coloured identity to be an intentional tactic of divide-and-rule by the white minority, as a prevention of non-white people forming a united front opposing white supremacy.²⁷ Instrumentalists approach apartheid histories write from an oppositional standpoint and thus place a greater focus on the resistance aspect of Coloured politics. The *Torch* and to a large extent, the *Cape Herald* fits snugly into this category.

The Social Constructionist approach considers Coloured identity as a culmination of both the imposition by white supremacy as well as the agency of Coloured people within the construction of their own identity. This approach acknowledges the fluidity of identity and supposes that the complexity of political, social and cultural factors have an influence on the agency of Coloured people constructing their identity. This approach views Coloured identity to be an ongoing process of construction. Conceptualising Coloured identity as a product of creolisation is a viewpoint that shares similarities with social constructionists as it also accepts the agency of Coloured people in constructing their own identities. However, it considers creolisation as the ongoing process of cultural transformation within a complex heterogenous society.²⁸ In large part, *Die Banier* promotes this philosophy.

Of the four approaches to Coloured identity and the history of the Coloured population group especially at the Cape, the “Essentialist school” is the most common within this study. This school observes Coloured identity to be a product of miscegenation that stemmed from the early settlement of Europeans in the Cape. This inferred that the Coloured population were “deficient in positive qualities associated with racial purity and handicapped by negative ones derived from racial mixture. Having internalized the racist values of dominant society and having accepted racial mixture as the defining characteristic of their identity”.²⁹ It dismisses the notion of people having the agency to determine their own racial identity through the interpretation that “Colouredness” is an inbred quality that automatically developed from miscegenation. This interpretation is dismissed by Gavin Lewis as he clarifies Coloured identity to be a white-imposed categorization according to the belief that there are four racial

²⁷ I. Goldin, *Making Race: The Politics and Economics of Coloured Identity in South Africa*, (Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman, 1987), p. 4.

²⁸ M. Adhikari, *Burdened By Race: Coloured Identities in Southern Africa*, (Cape Town: UCT Press, 2013), pp. 14, 35-37.

²⁹ M. Adhikari, *Not White Enough, Not Black Enough: Racial Identity in the South African Coloured Community*, (Cape Town: Double Storey Books, 2005), p. 14.

groups in South Africa.³⁰ This clarification makes provision for the agency of self-identification. This dissertation does not delve into the debates on self-identification but restricts itself to the Coloured political elites who propagated the dichotomies mentioned above with particular focus on how they strategically voiced their opinions on public platforms such as newspapers. As such, attention will be given to the formation of Coloured political organisations which were propagated by these elites.

1.2.3 Coloured Political Organisations

It is of great importance to this study that context is provided leading up to the period under investigation. For that reason this section will discuss the initial political organisations that were formed and influenced subsequent organisations. Additionally this section will identify the contributing factors as well as discuss the differences between these organisations, along with the divisions which arose between them which led to the proliferation of a fractured Coloured elite. Lastly, this section shall also introduce the newspapers established which primarily allowed these elites to publicly voice their divergent opinions.

The history of Coloured politics in South Africa dates to the colonial era. The proclamation of Ordinance 50 in 1828 abolished the “Hottentot Laws” and introduced the pass system for “African” workers in the Cape Colony. This had two major consequences. Firstly, it introduced the *principle* of legal equality before the law for all citizens within the Cape Colony. It led to the franchise vote for all males. Coloured voters in Cape Town constituted 20 percent of the electorate in the Cape. Secondly, the franchise was implemented during a period of growing British concern over the numerical imbalance between the Dutch and English in the Cape Colony. Increasingly, Coloured people could be touted within the political economy.³¹ The extension of the Cape franchise represented exceedingly manipulative efforts within the British Colonial administration to encourage “non-white”³² support in order to counter the numerical clout of the growing Afrikaner population. This reduction of a consolidated white power would eventually lead to resistance culminating in the establishment of the Boer republics.³³ The

³⁰ G. Lewis, *Between the Wire and the Wall: A History of South African ‘Coloured’ Politics*, (Johannesburg: David Philip, 1987), p. 4.

³¹ R. Elphick, “Hermann Giliomee and the Shaping of South African Society: Memories of a Collaboration,” *South African Historical Society*, 60, (4), 2008, p. 47.

³² All population groups except the white group i.e. Coloured, black and Indian.

³³ T. Abrahams, “‘Coloured Politics’ in South Africa: The Quislings’ Trek into the Abyss”, *Review of African Political Economy*, 29, July 1984, pp. 132-133.

Coloured population therefore served as viable allies in a white man's tug-of-war but also served as a buffer between white and black groups in years to come.

In response, Coloured and black political organisations had begun forming late in the 19th century within a year of each other. On 26 September 1882 the first political organisation for black South Africans was formed in Port Elizabeth and named *Imbumba Yama Afrika*.³⁴ They sought to unite black Africans on political issues and are considered a forerunner of the ANC (African National Congress) or rather its predecessor, the SANNC.³⁵ Richard Van der Ross claims that during these early elections, Coloured voters were not sufficiently organized and resorted to supporting candidates which were popular within their local areas.³⁶ Thus, they did not consolidate their power.

In December 1883 the first Coloured political organisation was formed due to vulnerability experienced by Coloured people in Kimberley as a result of the diamond dispute and creation of the two Boer Republics (the Orange Free State and the Transvaal), with the Coloured population being overlooked in the settlements of this dispute. The Afrikaner League (Coloured) was established "to promote [their] own interests and those of [their] class in Griqualand West", with the main interests being that of Coloured diggers at the diamond fields and other Coloured people servicing the transportation network.³⁷ This is the first recorded occasion when the Coloured people are referred to as "our class", thus distinguishing themselves as a separate entity. The use of the term class, rather than race is also symbolic of the stark connections between race and class, the former only having traction as racial legislation began to solidify towards the end of the 19th century. It is also a significant moment when a Coloured elite began to challenge the status quo.³⁸

In 1890, a group of West Indian men under the leadership of the Pan Africanist Francis Zaccheus Santiago Peregrino founded "The Coloured Men's Protectorate and Political

³⁴ English Translation: the Union of Africa, H. R. Madhubuti, *Enemies: The Clash of Races*, (Chicago: Third World Press, 1978), p. 91.

³⁵ A. Odendaal, "Even White Boys Call us "Boy"!" Early Black Organisational Politics in Port Elizabeth," *Kronos*, (20), November 1993, p. 5.

³⁶ R. E. van der Ross, *The Rise and Fall of Apartheid: A Study of Political Movements among the Coloured People of South Africa, 1880-1985*, p. 9.

³⁷ J. Western, *Outcast Cape Town*, (Cape Town: Human & Rousseau, 1981), p. 31.

³⁸ I. Goldin, *Making Race: The Politics and Economics of Coloured Identity in South Africa* (South Africa: Maskew Miller Longman, 1987), p. 30.

Association of the Colony of the Cape of the Good Hope”.³⁹ The organisation’s constitution indicated a growing awareness that Coloured people were being discriminated against. The objective was open dialogue to promote political awareness.⁴⁰ Instrumental was the dissemination of information on a larger scale.

The first black newspaper in South Africa was *Imvo Zabantsundu*.⁴¹ It was first published on 3 November 1884 in King Williams Town.⁴² Peregrino established *The South African Spectator* which first appeared on 1 December 1900, two weeks after he reached Cape Town.⁴³ He dedicated the newspaper to the progression of black⁴⁴ interests in South Africa. There were three major themes that were reflected in the newspaper. Firstly, he campaigned against racially discriminatory measures affecting black people and rejected all theories of black racial inferiority. Secondly, he emphasized “race pride” and thirdly, Peregrino advised blacks to adopt habits of respectability and sobriety. In an arguably condescending manner, his goal was to convey messages and habits which would elevate blacks to supposedly “civilised” status. For him, the Coloured population was black. This led to resistance by a faction of the Coloured people in Cape Town who vehemently opposed his leadership. They were unwilling to be led by someone foreign. Unperturbed, he continued to preach about “civilised” standards and values in the hope that a class-allegiance could be established with the white middle-class society.⁴⁵ What he failed to adequately challenge was the increasing impoverishment of Cape Coloureds and their continual exclusion from the political economy.

There were a number of factors contributing towards the challenges faced by the Cape Coloured population during the 19th Century. The first of which was the dire economic impoverishment born out of slavery. They had little capital, limited skills, were insufficiently educated and trained and they had to compete with whites. Secondly, they were excluded from the economic growth in South Africa sparked by the discovery of diamonds in 1867 and gold in 1886. Thirdly, they were excluded from the economic growth in the Transvaal after the

³⁹ L. Switzer, *South Africa’s Alternative Press: Voices of Protest and Resistance, 1880s-1960s* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1997), p. 128.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ English translation: Black Opinion

⁴² K. Moropa, “African Voices in *Imvo Zabantsundu*: Literary pieces from the past,” *South African Journal of African Languages*, (30), (2), p. 135.

⁴³ V. Bickford-Smith, *The Emergence of the South African Metropolis: Cities and Identities in the Twentieth Century* (United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2016), p. 150.

⁴⁴ Peregrino uses the term “black” to refer to non-white people in South Africa during the early 20th century.

⁴⁵ G. Lewis, *Between the Wire and the Wall: A History of South African ‘Coloured’ Politics*, pp. 17-18.

discovery of gold. Fourthly, they were not part of the black political organisations gaining traction at the time. The fifth factor was the absence of any benefits following the South African war, 1899-1902. Lastly, was the continued desire for self-determination led by an elite from their own ranks.⁴⁶

By the beginning of the 20th century, Coloured Capetonians began to hold meetings to discuss the plight of the Coloured population. The aptly named “Stone meetings” took place at 10 o’ clock on Sundays at a location which had large boulders in Clifton Street, Cape Town.⁴⁷ This area was later named District Six.⁴⁸ When the South African war broke out in 1899, Peregrino’s Coloured Men’s Protectorate and Political Association was in a state of decline and these Stone Meetings created a space for a collective attempt to challenge the state. It developed into the APO (African People’s Organisation) which was formally established in 1902. The main contributors in these meetings were John Tobin, Peter Eksteen and William Collins.⁴⁹

The APO was formed as “a permanent organisation to protect the liberties of the Coloured people” in reaction to the increasing discrimination and decline in civil liberties of Coloured people in the interior.⁵⁰ Adhikari makes the claim that “the APO was a vehicle for the assimilationist programme of the Coloured elite”.⁵¹ From its inception, it was a conservative and elite organisation which insisted that “civilized Coloureds” ought to be allowed to take their place beside whites as “civilized men”.⁵² It simultaneously aimed to “promote unity between the Coloured races”, which implied all non-white population groups.⁵³ In the Cape, up until 1956, the Coloured population had a higher socio-political status than that of the majority of black South Africans due to still being on the common voter’s roll with white parties being dependent on Coloured votes in order to win elections. The APO leveraged the “Coloured vote” to incentivize white political parties to promise the Coloured electorate a share

⁴⁶ R. E. van der Ross, *The Rise and Fall of Apartheid: A Study of Political Movements among the Coloured People of South Africa, 1880-1985*, pp. 14-16.

⁴⁷ G. Lewis, *Between the Wire and the Wall: A History of South African ‘Coloured’ Politics*, p. 18.

⁴⁸ R. E. van der Ross, *The Rise and Fall of Apartheid: A Study of Political Movements among the Coloured People of South Africa, 1880-1985*, pp. 17-19.

⁴⁹ M. Adhikari, “Protest and Accommodation: Ambiguities in the Racial Politics of the APO, 1909-1923,” *Kronos*, 1993, p. 94.

⁵⁰ C. Jung, *Then I was Black: South African Political Identities in Transition* (Yale University Press, Connecticut, 2000), p. 169.

⁵¹ M. Adhikari, “Between Black and White: The History of Coloured Politics in South Africa,” *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, (25), (1), 1991, p. 107.

⁵² C. Jung, *Then I was Black: South African Political Identities in Transition*, p. 169.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

in the privileges experienced by whites and preferential treatment above that of the black population group. An example of this was in 1923 when the National Party declared a “New Deal” for the Coloured population which entailed a labour policy which granted advantages for Coloureds above their black compatriots.⁵⁴ The so-called “Civilised Labour policy”, supposedly protected the economic status of Coloured people yet they still faced fierce competition from white workers and were restricted from certain professions and supervisory roles.⁵⁵

The Coloured businessman John Tobin was the chief organiser of the Stone meetings. This was to be a platform for “political education of the masses”. Tobin and Peregrino both sought black upliftment and self-help, race pride and justice. Their emphasis was the principle of equal rights for civilized men. Tobin would frequently encourage audiences at the Stone Meetings to “acquire education and to qualify themselves for the franchise”.⁵⁶ Tobin believed strongly that this could be achieved by supporting the Afrikaner bond and the South African Party (SAP).⁵⁷ The aligning of Coloured politics to that of white politics displays that there was an area of contention within the APO from its inception. It did, however, mark an increase in political awareness for Coloured people in the Cape during the early years of the 20th century. It also foreground a long history of political divisions amongst the Coloured elite.

The fracturing of ideas revolved around two divergent approaches. Firstly, the alignment of Coloured politics to white politics by certain Coloured leaders within the APO as early as 1904. The incumbent vice president of the APO, John Tobin, supported the South African Party and the president, William Collins, supported the progressives during the election for members of the Cape Parliament. This fracture led to Matt Fredericks convening a conference in Somerset East in 1905 where a constitution for the APO was adopted. At this conference both Tobin and Collins were expelled for violating the provisions of the organisation. The organisation was not supposed to support any political party. After their expulsion, Dr. Abdullah Abdurahman was called upon to be president of the APO. He would become a prominent figure within the Cape Coloured community.⁵⁸ The second reason for the fracturing was the lack of consensus

⁵⁴ C. Jung, *Then I was Black: South African Political Identities in Transition*, pp. 169-170.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 171.

⁵⁶ G. Lewis, *Between the Wire and the Wall: A History of South African ‘Coloured’ Politics*, p. 19.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ R. E. van der Ross, *The Rise and Fall of Apartheid: A Study of Political Movements among the Coloured People of South Africa, 1880-1985*, pp. 34-36.

amongst members of the APO, with some having attempted to further the rights of Coloured people in collaboration with white politics and others through alternate means such as Pan Africanism.

In 1904 restrictions in the Northern parts of South Africa were increasing while there was an increase in political activity in the Cape with the emergence of new potential leaders. These restrictions included exclusion from the franchise of black and Coloured people, who moved to the north. Three prominent political leaders who emerged were Sylvester Williams who was the first Coloured person to be called to the Bar in South Africa, M. J. (Matt) Fredericks and Dr. Abdurahman. Growing discriminatory practices led to a “Mass Meeting of Coloured People” hosted by the APO.⁵⁹ This was the first meeting of any considerable size and importance that was addressed by Dr. Abdurahman. Courtney Jung characterizes Abdurahman’s politics as reactionary to specific legislation or threats to Coloured privileges. She argues that he consistently attempted to align the APO with other non-European organisations and rejected calls to consider Coloureds as a separate racial group or political category.⁶⁰

The APO was regarded as the first substantive Coloured political organisation which would come to dominate Coloured politics for nearly four decades. As with Peregrino’s *The South African Spectator*, the APO decided to publish a newspaper to disseminate its ideas, ideologies and to discuss the challenges facing Coloured communities. The *African Political Organisation*, was first published on 24 May 1909. It promoted the APO’s protest towards the draft South Africa Act. In Bloemfontein during May 1909, a National Convention was held by the four colonies namely: the Orange Free State, Transvaal, Natal and the Cape where the draft constitution of the South Africa was signed. South Africa was to become a union instead of a federal state. The Union of South Africa was inaugurated on the 31st of May 1910 with Louis Botha as its first Prime Minister.⁶¹ The APO attempted to utilize the newspaper to campaign against the clauses of the act which denied black and Coloured people, outside of the Cape, the franchise and deprived those within the colony the right to be elected within the Union Parliament. They also attempted to use the newspaper as a tool to politically educate the

⁵⁹ M. Adhikari, “‘The Product of Civilization in It’s Most Repellent Manifestation’: Ambiguities in the Racial Perceptions of the APO (African Political Organisation), 1909-23.”, *The Journal of African History*, (38), (2), 1997, p. 286.

⁶⁰ C. Jung, *Then I was Black: South African Political Identities in Transition*, p. 170.

⁶¹ L. M. Thompson, *The Unification of South Africa, 1902-1910*, (London: Clarendon Press, 1961), pp. 305-306.

Coloured community and further the aims of the organisation.⁶² They were not the only politically active entity.

Peter John Daniels is another notable figure in the early years of Coloured politics. Originally a tailor from Stellenbosch, he attempted to establish an organisation in Kimberley, with little success. He then went to Johannesburg where he observed that Coloured people were struggling to obtain diggers' licenses and were restricted to working with mine debris and not in the actual mines. They were also compelled to wear yellow armbands for easy identification. In response, he organised a passive resistance movement in Johannesburg. He was a representative of Transvaal as part of the delegation that visited England in 1906 to plead for the rights of Coloured people. In 1910 while being an executive member of the APO, he was elected as the Chairman of the Barkly West District Coloured Diggers' Union. The mandate of this union was to obtain fair treatment for all on the diggings, irrespective of their race.⁶³

In June 1913, the Teacher's League of South Africa (TLSA) was inaugurated in Cape Town. It was the first professional association specifically for Coloured teachers. The TLSA was established by a group of teachers influenced by Dr. Abdurahmaan. The aim was to align Coloured teachers with the APO who placed much emphasis on educational upliftment as an essential tool in the advancement for the Coloured population.⁶⁴ Their activities, as will be shown, play an important role in this study.

The APO continued to dominate Coloured politics towards the end of the 1930s when it was eclipsed by the National Liberation league (NLL) who aspired to revive the anti-colour bar and anti-imperialism movement.⁶⁵ The 1930s was also marked by the Great Depression and the Second World War which began in 1939.⁶⁶ These were two significantly impactful events on

⁶² Part of the APO manifesto was (a) The promotion of unity between the Coloured races of British South Africa; (b) The attainment of better and higher education for the children of these races; (c) The registration of the names of all the coloured men who have the necessary qualifications as Parliamentary voters on the Voters' List; (d) The defence of the social, political and civil rights of the Coloured races; (e) The general advancement of the Coloured races in British South Africa; *APO*, 25 February 1911, p. 4.

⁶³ R. E. van der Ross, *The Rise and Fall of Apartheid: A Study of Political Movements among the Coloured People of South Africa*, 1880-1985, pp. 19-21.

⁶⁴ M. Adhikari, "Coloured Identity and the Politics of Coloured Education: the Origin of the Teacher's League of South Africa," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, (27), (1), 1994, pp. 112, 115-116.

⁶⁵ A. La Guma and M. Adhikari (ed), *Jimmy La Guma: A Biography*, (Cape Town: Friends of the South African Library, 1997), p. 58.

⁶⁶ S. Chetty, "Imagining National Unity: South African Propaganda Efforts during the Second World War," *Kronos*, (38), 2012, p. 107.

the transformation of Coloured politics with Coloured unemployment and poverty being accentuated by the global economic depression. In the political sphere, General Jan Smuts' South African Party and General James Barry Munnik Hertzog's National Party (HNP) merged to form the United Party in 1934 which strengthened the segregationist impetus in parliament.⁶⁷

Given the political climate of increasing segregation and economic challenges, the National Liberation League represented a radical political movement which emerged from the call of workers from all races to unite around their interests and economic oppression. It was formed in 1935 under Zainunnissa "Cissie" Gool, who was the daughter of Dr. Abdurahman, and Jimmy La Guma as General Secretary. A fundamental principle of the National Liberation League was the abolition of racial discrimination. This included, among other things, the abolition of discriminatory taxation, segregation and pass laws. This also included advocating for universal adult suffrage, direct representation in parliament despite racial classification, full rights of property ownership for all, as well as equal rights for all regarding firearms, marriage, Trade Unions, sport, press, speech, free assembly and education.⁶⁸ Most of its members resided in Cape Town with many members being the children of the Coloured elite. According to Crain Soudien, the NLL failed to achieve unity as a consequence of the fracturing of its leadership, which was comprised of Stalinists and Trotskyists.⁶⁹ Consequently it was divided into two factions: activists and non-collaborationists. The one faction was led by Cissie Gool and the other by her brother-in-law, Goolam Gool. Historian Alan Wieder refers to the group led by Cissie as the "more activist" faction and the group led by Goolam as the "more academic and purist" faction.⁷⁰

In 1937, John Gomas and Goolam Gool as leaders of the NLL, published a newsletter known as the *Liberator*. It was used to urge unity among the black working-class while attacking imperialism and criticizing the APO. In the same year, the NLL fractured into two groups. This sparked a small group of intellectual-activists which were located in Cape Town, deciding to establish a cultural society known as the New Era Fellowship (NEF), with Goolam and Gomas being the prominent members.⁷¹ They viewed the NLL as no different to the collaborationist

⁶⁷ G. Lewis, *Between the Wire and the Wall: A History of South African 'Coloured' Politics*, p. 150.

⁶⁸ A. Drew, *South Africa's Radical Tradition: 1907-1950*, (Cape Town: Buchu Books, 1996), pp. 256-257.

⁶⁹ C. Soudien, *The Cape Radicals: Intellectual and Political Thought of the New Era Fellowship 1930s-1960s*, (Johannesburg: WITS University Press, 2019), p. 71.

⁷⁰ A. Wieder, *Ruth First and Joe Slovo in the War Against Apartheid*, pp. 42-43.

⁷¹ C. Soudien, *The Cape Radicals: Intellectual and Political Thought of the New Era Fellowship 1930s-1960s*, pp. 71-73.

APO. The intention for establishing the NEF was to introduce an organisation which would disrupt the ruling-class ideologies of racial superiority. Integral to this was the ideological debates on a range of social issues.⁷² It should be noted that Goolam and Gomas differed in their conception of “consciousness”. Gomas rejected the concept of race and had little interest in how it worked. Whereas, Goolam had begun to develop an understanding of how racial consciousness worked along with how it was a social construct which had been deliberately fabricated to divide people for the purposes of upholding hegemony.⁷³

Goolam began unpacking hegemony and provided clarity on this concept and its function within South African society. This was displayed in a statement communicated at the founding of the NLL which stated:

The National Liberation League of South Africa identifies itself with the convictions and aspirations of the South African peoples, more especially the non-Europeans and determines to realise those convictions and aspirations. It declares in direct opposition to all assertions concerning an alleged ‘civilizing’ mission of imperialist nations. In opposition to all assertions concerning the alleged superiority of certain races and peoples. It declares that no natural or social superiority or subordination exists within the human race and that any such superiority or subordination is inadmissible.⁷⁴

Although Soudien regarded Goolam and Gomas as “the two most critical organic intellectuals of their day”,⁷⁵ a degree of ethnocentrism existed within the NLL under their leadership as is made visible in a document on “how to work among urban Africans” in which they inadvertently support the notion of three separate races - the Coloured, the Indian and the African.⁷⁶ Moreover they claim that “The three of them differ in custom, tradition and cultural development. The African, the least developed of the three, is by far the largest”.⁷⁷ What this indicates is even the most “woke”, to use a contemporary term, politician during this period struggled to take a firm stance. It is this indecisiveness and uncertainty that permeates through the pages of the newspapers under investigation in this dissertation.

⁷² K. Breckenridge, *Biometric State: The Global Politics of Identification and Surveillance in South Africa, 1850 to the Present*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 20.

⁷³ C. Soudien, *The Cape Radicals: Intellectual and Political Thought of the New Era Fellowship 1930s-1960s*, p. 73.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 73

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

This notwithstanding, the notion of a collective Coloured community, in the singular, was concertedly packaged under the term, “we Coloured people” from the 1940s, especially among the majority of the Coloured elite who continued to support the notion of a separate racial identity. Soudien recalls, “The National Liberation League is not clear in its thinking, with much of its membership still thinking in terms of special status for Coloured. Many now hope for developments of non-European business as a way out”.⁷⁸ The assimilationist tendencies towards whiteness became increasingly visible amongst the so-called elites. Resistance to this continued.

The forums that were put in place were debating societies, study circles and cultural initiatives. Carla Bernardo upholds that these forums by the NEF made it an incubator for “an incredible new culture” and created an “intense intellectual space of study” in Cape Town.⁷⁹ In turn these were catalysts for new political formations, civic and social organisations. Soudien argues that over 25 years the NEF introduced both a sense of entitlement to dignity as well as awareness of new human possibility. He refers to their significance as the pioneers in South African political history to locate the wider global discussions about race and class dynamics within the discourse of political and economic domination. With this understanding they attempted to uncover how the social construct of race could be utilized to capture the cognitive and sense-making faculties of oppressed people – the infamous “mental slavery”.

The writings of Frantz Fanon in his book, *Black Skin, White Masks*, wrote: “Blacks had to realize that the fear of whites and the attendant inferiority complex were direct products of the racial superiority and socioeconomic ascendancy whites had acquired throughout the colonial period”.⁸⁰ This inspired “Black Consciousness” even amongst the Coloured intellectuals at the time.⁸¹ Soudien observes that Goolam and Gomas aspired to bring an end to this “mental

⁷⁸ C. Soudien, *The Cape Radicals: Intellectual and Political Thought of the New Era Fellowship 1930s-1960s*, p. 75

⁷⁹ C. Bernardo, *Ben Kies: The Cape Radical*, <https://www.news.uct.ac.za/article/-2020-01-22-ben-kies-the-cape-radical> (Accessed 12 September 2021).

⁸⁰ F. Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, (New York: Grove Press Inc., 1967). p. 93.

⁸¹ “Black Consciousness is in essence the realisation by the black man of the need to rally together with his brothers around the cause of their operation- the blackness of their skin- and to operate as a group in order to rid themselves of the shackles which bind them to perpetual servitude. It seeks to demonstrate the lie that black is an aberration from the “normal” which is white. It is a manifestation of a new realisation that by seeking to run away from themselves and to emulate the white man, blacks are insulting the intelligence of whoever created them black... It seeks to infuse the black community with a new-found pride in themselves, their efforts, their value systems, their culture, their religion and their outlook to life... Liberation therefore, is of paramount importance in the concept of Black Consciousness, for we cannot be conscious of ourselves and yet remain in bondage. We want to attain the envisioned self which is a free self”, This definition was provided during an address at a black

slavery” as well as sought to bring about a new society where all people could live with dignity. They came to understand that the way to achieve this was through education. As the ruling class used tools such as conditioning and the reinforcement of white supremacy in social and political structures to construct their hegemony within South African society, so too the NEF aspired to promote education to deconstruct the ideas of racial and class superiority.⁸² This was done through weekly meetings that were held on anti-imperialism and nonracialism.⁸³

Although its goals were never realized, three significant outcomes can be observed. Firstly, it served as a means of expressing the leadership aspirations of the new generation to guide the organisation towards non-collaboration with segregated institutions. Secondly, it displayed the dissatisfaction with some methods and policies of the APO that were not aligned with the policy of noncollaboration. Lastly, it presented an alternative class struggle imbued with “intellectual and theoretical facets of politics”.⁸⁴

Under the leadership of Hertzog as Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa, a two-third majority was attained in parliament for the removal of black franchise rights in the Cape and imposed the segregation between black and white people territorially and politically by 1936.⁸⁵ This was in the form of the Representation of Natives Act (Act 12 of 1936).⁸⁶ Initially this did not affect Coloured people but there was insecurity as to what the incumbent government would do with the Coloured population and this was referred to as “the Coloured Question.” Social Anthropologists Handri Walters and Kees van der Waal define the “Coloured Question” as an area of uncertainty where “the racialization and othering of a social category that is considered as being too close to the dominant group” is presented in terms of how it is to be positioned within the South African social and political structures.⁸⁷ This resulted in more

theology seminar in Pietermaritzburg on 28 August 1971 by Stephen Bantu Biko, S. B. Biko, *Defining Black Consciousness* <https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/defining-black-consciousness> (14 September 2020).

⁸² C. Soudien, *The Cape Radicals: Intellectual and Political Thought of the New Era Fellowship 1930s-1960s*, pp. 4-6.

⁸³ A. Wieder, *Ruth First and Joe Slovo in the War Against Apartheid*, (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2013), p. 37.

⁸⁴ R. E. van der Ross. *The Rise and Fall of Apartheid: A Study of Political Movements among the Coloured People of South Africa, 1880-1985*. pp. 104-105.

⁸⁵ S. C. Patterson, *Colour and Culture in South Africa: A Study of the Status of the Cape Coloured People within the Social Structure of the Union of South Africa*, (London: Routledge & Paul, 1953), p. 363.

⁸⁶ *Representation of Natives Act, Act 12 of 1936*.

⁸⁷ H. Walters and C. S. van der Waal, “Creating the Coloured Other in South Africa in Light of the “Jewish Question” in Germany,” *Religion & Theology*, (27), 2020, p. 203.

pressure being placed on the APO and presented the opportunity for the NLL and other political organisations to form and pursue approaches neglected by the APO.

The faction of the NLL which Cissie led, had ties with white members of the Communist Party to which she was a member. She also provided testimony for the 1937 *Wilcocks Commission of Inquiry Regarding the Coloured People of the Union of South Africa*. This Commission was to “study health, employment, housing, and education in the Cape Coloured Community” and report on the findings without any analysis or recommendations.⁸⁸ However, recommendations were made by members of the commission of which Abdurahman was the only member that was not white.⁸⁹ In 1938 she, like her father, was elected onto the Cape Town City Council. Alie Fataar referred to her as a pioneer for being the only non-white women serving on the council.⁹⁰ This indicates that the principle of non-collaboration was one which Cissie as well as Abdurahman were more flexible in compromising in terms of their activism to assist with asserting themselves in positions that they believed would further their interests and that of the Coloured population.

On 10 February 1943 the proposal for the creation of the advisory Cape Coloured Permanent Commission (CCPC) was approved. This meant that Coloured representatives from across the Union of South Africa would be appointed. This commission was meant to advise the government on matters related to the areas of political, economic and of social interest, that would affect the Cape Coloured and Malay communities. In March 1943 the name changed to the Coloured Advisory Council (CAC).⁹¹ It was set up by Jan Smuts and Harry Lawrence who was the incumbent minister of the interior.⁹² The CAC ceased to exist in 1950 when all four of its members had resigned due to increased frustrations regarding the NP’s non-negotiable policy.⁹³

There was support for the CAC by the APO, with their incumbent president, Francis Gow, being named as the chairperson of the CAC. He believed the CAC would assist in improving

⁸⁸ A. Wieder, *Teacher and Comrade: Richard Dudley and the Fight for Democracy in South Africa*, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2008), p. 32

⁸⁹ A. Wieder, *Ruth First and Joe Slovo in the War Against Apartheid*, pp. 32-33.

⁹⁰ Y. Omar, ““In my stride”: A life-history of Alie Fataar, teacher,” PHD Dissertation, University of Cape Town, 2015, p. 50.

⁹¹ G. Lewis, *Between the Wire and the Wall: A History of South African ‘Coloured’ Politics*, pp. 208-210.

⁹² C. Soudien, *The Cape Radicals: Intellectual and Political Thought of the New Era Fellowship 1930s-1960s*, p. 120.

⁹³ C. Jung, *Then I was Black: South African Political Identities in Transition*, p. 171.

the social welfare and education of the Coloured community and at a meeting in April 1943, he declared “no segregation. No Coloured Affairs Department. No tampering with your votes. No introduction of measures affecting us without reference to the Council”.⁹⁴ On the other hand, the NEF believed that the council would rather support state policies. Both Goolam Gool and Ben Kies publicly stated that the government would follow the Native Representative Council and with the assistance of the CAC, create a Coloured Affairs Department (CAD) plus a Coloured Representative Council (CRC). Despite the Coloured elite being split into two main factions, they had the mutual goals of pursuing a democratic, non-racial South Africa. The Smuts government intended for the CAD to be similar to the Native Affairs Department (NAD), with its mandate to “advise the government on all matters affecting the economic, political and social interests of the Cape Coloured and Cape Malay communities”.⁹⁵ Kies believed that it was yet another “means of divide and rule”.⁹⁶

The anticipation of the CAD, sparked the formation of the Anti-CAD which was seen as a radical movement which had the aim of securing united non-white action opposing the CAD and by extension the government. They thus mobilized on the basis of non-racialism and were non-collaborationist. The Anti-CAD were critical towards members of the CAD, condemning them as “quislings”⁹⁷ and traitors. They also supported the boycotting of the CAD and published a note intended to discourage people from engaging with the “quislings” by commanding:

Don't have any social or personal intercourse with them. Don't greet them. Don't have any conversation with them. Don't visit them, and don't invite them to your home. Don't meet them, even if it is necessary to cross over to the other side of the street. Don't see them, even if you do come face to face with them.⁹⁸

The above statement displays the degree to which the tension and disagreement among Coloured intellectuals had manifested as a result of some members becoming members of the CAD and supporting its agenda. This was seen by the non-collaborative faction as a threat to the Coloured population and was thus strongly condemned.

⁹⁴ G. Lewis, *Between the Wire and the Wall: A History of South African 'Coloured' Politics*, p. 212.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

⁹⁶ A. Wieder, *Teacher and Comrade: Richard Dudley and the Fight for Democracy in South Africa*, p. 58.

⁹⁷ “Quisling” refers to a former Norwegian leader, Vidkun Quisling, who cooperated with the Nazis during World War II. This term was appropriated to refer to Coloured leaders and politicians considered traitors and colluders, A. T. Abraham, “‘Coloured Politics’ in South Africa: The Quislings’ Trek into the Abyss”, *Review of African Political Economy*, (29), 1984, pp.132-133.

⁹⁸ G. Lewis, *Between the Wire and the Wall: A History of South African 'Coloured' Politics*, p. 214.

The Anti-CAD campaign was started on 28 February 1943 with Dr. Goolam H. Gool, a medical practitioner, as the Chairman. Twenty-five different organisations were represented at the meeting. This excluded the APO and Communist Party as some of its members were considered traitors to the cause. At an emergency meeting held on 14 March in the same year, they made their intentions clear:

[The Anti-CAD] unconditionally rejects segregation measures known as the *Cape Coloured Permanent Commission* and the *Coloured Affairs Department*. The Anti-C.A.D. urges *everyone* to boycott the Commission and the C.A.D. by Public Protest meetings and to continue to strive for *full democratic rights of all*. The Anti-C.A.D. condemns all Non-Europeans who serve on the Commission as Judases and traitors to the Non-European people. The Anti-C.A.D. calls on *everyone* to boycott the Commission and the C.A.D. if the government persists in forcing them on us.⁹⁹

Their method of mobilisation was educating people through the use of pamphlets, bulletins and articles which revealed the “real” intentions of the CAC and CAD. These two organisations were heavily condemned and members were asked to protest and boycott their policies. They did, however, promote unity between different non-white organisations such as religious, civic, trade union, political, welfare, to name a few.¹⁰⁰

Part of the collaborationist faction was the Coloured People’s National Union (CPNU) which was established in 1944 by George Golding who was of the belief that the interests of the Coloured population group would be best pursued through the cooperation with the proposals of the CAC and the government.¹⁰¹ The constitution of the CPNU made provision of powers for the Executive Committee which ensured that the committee would have full control of the organisation.¹⁰² The Anti-CAD regarded them as “sell-outs” and referred to them as “quislings” as they did with members of the CAC.

The incumbent chairman of the CPNU, George J. Golding, was also a member of the CAC and later became president, a position he held until his death in 1967.¹⁰³ Van der Ross describes him as a flamboyant person who had gained prominence through his participation in

⁹⁹ R. E. van der Ross, *The Rise and Fall of Apartheid: A Study of Political Movements among the Coloured People of South Africa, 1880-1985*, p. 176.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 183.

¹⁰¹ T. Abrahams, “‘Coloured Politics’ in South Africa: The Quislings’ Trek into the Abyss”, *Review of African Political Economy*, (29), 1984, pp.132-133.

¹⁰² R. E. van der Ross, *The Rise and Fall of Apartheid: A Study of Political Movements among the Coloured People of South Africa, 1880-1985*, pp. 183-184.

¹⁰³ A. Wieder, *Teacher and Comrade: Richard Dudley and the Fight for Democracy in South Africa*, p. 58.

conferences in which he expressed his perspectives on the disadvantages that the Coloured population were subjected to. He was more concerned with the day-to-day issues facing Coloured people and this made him resonate with a section of the Coloured working class. He favoured the approach of compromising and cooperating with the authorities.¹⁰⁴

Similar to the case of the CAC, the CPNU, were more adamant that their approach should view Coloured identity as separate from black South Africans in order to appease the ruling class so that they could be assimilated into white dominant society. This approach was expressed through overtly emphasizing Coloured identity as separate to the broader non-white identities promoting rather similarities with the white population group and promoting black rejectionism.¹⁰⁵ This was a way to attain and maintain relative privilege above the black population group. Thus, through the rejection of black unity and the acceptance of the segregation of black South Africans, the CPNU hoped to alleviate fears of mass mobilization of the non-white population against the ruling white minority.¹⁰⁶

Although the CPNU subsumed elements of both the Afrikaner National Bond (ANB), a group which emerged during the late 1920s concerned with Coloured interests, and the APO, it differed from the latter because it had a greater willingness to compromise based on the principle of opposing segregation in the interest of pragmatic reform. It established branches across the country in attempt to garner national support.¹⁰⁷ On the 20th of April 1944, it published a news sheet, the *Coloured Opinion*.¹⁰⁸ It was at intermittently published and ceased to exist by 1948 because it failed to gain any traction. Its intentions were made clear. This included the fear of economic competition with cheaper black labour. The second issue of the *Coloured Opinion*, for example, condemned the migration of black people from rural areas into the urban centres of the Western Cape. Van der Ross quotes the statement reflected in the *Coloured Opinion* on the 20th of May 1944 which uttered:

¹⁰⁴ R. E. van der Ross, *The Rise and Fall of Apartheid: A Study of Political Movements among the Coloured People of South Africa, 1880-1985*, pp. 205.

¹⁰⁵ *Black Rejectionism* pertains to the rejection of the black lineage as part of Coloured ancestry and that there is any relation to the black population group or similarity shared between the identities of these two groups.

¹⁰⁶ G. Lewis, *Between the Wire and the Wall: A History of South African 'Coloured' Politics*, pp. 240-241.

¹⁰⁷ M. W. Hommel, *Capricorn Blues: The Struggle for Human Rights in South Africa*, (Toronto: Culturama, 1981), pp. 90-92.

¹⁰⁸ National Library of South Africa (NLSA) *A List of South African Newspapers, 1800-1982: With Library Holdings*, (Pretoria: State Library, 1983), p. 35.

But the objection does arise when the presence of a huge reservoir of Native Labour jeopardises the very existence of Coloured men and their children. The Coloured man of the Western Cape Area has nowhere else where he may go and seek shelter, and no reserve where he may return and be received if he were coming home. . . We'd be very puny and backboneless men indeed if we allowed the Native to come into our very midst and oust us from our jobs, drive us from our homes and threaten us in the streets where we have lived all our lives.¹⁰⁹

While it could be argued that this was an attempt to secure the interests of Coloured people, albeit through black rejectionism, the Non-European Unity Movement (NEUM) was quick to condemn such remarks claiming that the CPNU was attempting to drive a wedge between black and Coloured people in South Africa. They were quickly branded as puppets of the state.¹¹⁰

The NEUM was created in 1943 by the All-African Convention (AAC) and Coloured pressure groups such as the Anti-CAD, which refused to accept the authority of the government-sponsored Coloured Affairs Department.¹¹¹ Through unity, it hoped for more radical action in its quest for non-collaboration with whites.¹¹² This unity was outlined in a “Ten Point Programme”.¹¹³ While the Anti-CAD and AAC were the backbone of the NEUM, the two continued to operate independently and would occasionally host joint conferences under the banner of the NEUM. As historian Bill Nasson points out, it promoted internationalism, nonracialism, promoting national identity rather than differences between the various races.¹¹⁴ Isaac Bangani Tabata adds that “the cleavage is one of class, not of colour”, therefore the leadership of the NEUM made a tactical concession to overlook racial identities to achieve its goal of national liberation.¹¹⁵ Adhikari too states that from its inception, it fostered black unity¹¹⁶ and the policy of non-collaboration. The intention is evident in the name of the

¹⁰⁹ R. E. van der Ross, *The Rise and Fall of Apartheid: A Study of Political Movements among the Coloured People of South Africa, 1880-1985*, pp. 207-208.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 208.

¹¹¹ L. Switzer and D. Switzer, *The Black Press in South Africa and Lesotho: A Descriptive Bibliographic Guide to African, Coloured and Indian Newspapers, newsletters and Magazines, 1836-1976*, (Boston: G. K. Hall & Co., 1979), p. 61.

¹¹² M. Horrell, *Action, Reaction and Counteraction: A Review of Non-White Opposition to the Apartheid Policy, Counter-measures by the Government, and the Eruption of New Waves of Unrest*, (Johannesburg: The South African Institute for Race Relations, 1963), p. 5.

¹¹³ For a copy of the NEUM's “Ten Point Programme” See A. Drew: *South Africa's Radical Tradition: 1907-1950*, (Cape Town: Buchu Books, 1996), pp. 62-63. It called for “the removal of all the disabilities and the restrictions based on grounds of race and colour, and acquisition by the Non-Europeans of all these rights enjoyed by the European population. It also demands for the inclusion of non-Europeans to be included in the franchise, civil liberties, free education, redistribution of land and the revision of the legal code, labour and taxation laws aligned with the principle of equality”.

¹¹⁴ B. Nasson, “The Unity movement: Its Legacy in Historical Consciousness,” *Radical History Review*, (46), 1990, p. 35.

¹¹⁵ I. B. Tabata, *The Awakening of a People* (Nottingham: Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation for Spokesman Books, 1974), p. 4.

¹¹⁶ *Black unity*: implies the unification between the generic non-white population groups.

organisation which placed emphasis on “Non-European” which referred to African, Indian and Coloured people collectively.¹¹⁷ More contemporary debates would reject the pejorative undertones of the terms non-European or non-white but at the time, this would have had a dramatic ideological effect.

While the broader movement tussled with ideological debates on international socialism and state nationalism, other factions continued to concern themselves with bread and butter issues. In 1944, another teacher’s organisation was formed and would later become the opposition to the TLSA. The TEPA (Teachers’ Educational and Professional Association) was formed by moderate members of the TLSA who left the increasingly radical TLSA. Influenced by the Anti-CAD faction, the TLSA was to expand its mandate to include socio-economic issues of a broader non-white community.¹¹⁸ Two of the founding members of TEPA were Alie Fataar and Richard van der Ross.¹¹⁹ They wanted an organisation which focussed purely on education and professionalising the Coloured population.¹²⁰

The internal friction and fracturing of the cause based on racial belonging is best captured by Gavin Lewis. He explains the tensions between those who rejected black unity and those who wished to promote Colouredness. When reflecting on the Coloured leaders of the Anti-CAD and African leaders of the AAC within the NEUM, he argues that when prominent leaders in the Coloured community attempted to cultivate a sense of Coloured racial pride, there was a clear rejection of African heritage.¹²¹ This is likened to the assimilationist aspirations of a portion of the Coloured elite. This manifested in an Anti-CAD delegation refusing to attend a NEUM conference between 14th - 16th of December 1958, incidentally during a period of hardening racial laws in the country which placed racial classification at the core of the political agenda. The contingent was torn between the notion of Coloured identity as a separate identity from the non-white group and the pursuit of black political unity as a prerequisite for the

¹¹⁷ M. Adhikari, “Fiercely Non-Racial? Discourse and Politics of Race in the Non-European Unity Movement, 1943-70,” *Journal of Southern African Studies*, (31), (2), June 2005, p. 407.

¹¹⁸ R. E. van der Ross, *The Rise and Fall of Apartheid: A Study of Political Movements among the Coloured People of South Africa*, 1880-1985, p. 189. The original aims of the TLSA were:

- (I) To study the theory and practice of education generally, but more particularly in relation to the Cape Coloured population throughout South Africa, and to promote the discussion thereon;
- (II) To raise the status and promote the best interests of all teachers.

¹¹⁹ A. Wieder, *Teacher and Comrade: Richard Dudley and the Fight for Democracy in South Africa*, p. 61.

¹²⁰ R. E. van der Ross, *The Rise and Fall of Apartheid: A Study of Political Movements among the Coloured People of South Africa*, 1880-1985, p. 189.

¹²¹ G. Lewis, *Between the Wire and the Wall: A History of South African ‘Coloured’ Politics*, pp. 249-250.

overthrowing of white rule. The “Trotskyist ideas” of the AAC which called for a universal revolution from the bondages of capitalism were also in conflict with that of the Anti-CAD.¹²²

Prior to the 1948 election, Coloured political organisations attempted to secure equal rights for all. Concessions were made for Coloureds and they were given some privilege over blacks. They were also granted limited franchise in the Cape and thus had a limited amount of political power in the country. Upon the narrow victory of the 1948 general election, the National Party (NP) began implementing racial segregation through legislation such as the *Separate Representation of Voters Act* of 1951 which established a separate voters roll for Coloured people in the Cape as well as in Natal.¹²³ This sparked a growing fear that they too would be politically decapitated in years to come.

The Franchise Action Committee (FRAC) was formed in 1951, as a lobbyist organisation against the disenfranchisement of Coloured people.¹²⁴ This committee was led by Sundra Pillay, Reggie September, Johnny Gomas and Cissie Gool. It resisted the Separate Registration of Voters Bill and sought to collaborate closely with the exiled ANC. It failed to gather adequate support within the Coloured community but was instrumental in fostering unity and cooperation between Coloured and other anti-apartheid organisations. They gained support from white organisations such as the Civil Rights League and the War Veterans Torch Commando of which the majority of members were white ex-servicemen. Vivian Bickford-Smith notes this as the first time in South African history where there was a broad multi-racial front which emerged and opposed legislated racial discrimination.¹²⁵ Their main focus was to ensure participation by Coloured organisations in the anti-apartheid campaigns of the ANC, especially during the Defiance campaign of 1952, which was a non-violent passive resistance campaign against the unjust laws in apartheid South Africa.¹²⁶

The NEUM were reluctant to collaborate with FRAC as it believed that this committee was not concerned with the issue of Coloured Voting rights and did not adhere to its own policies. This aversion intensified when FRAC embarked on its own anti-Separate Representation of Voters

¹²² D. J. Kotze, *Communism and South Africa*, (Cape Town: Tafelberg, 1982), p. 18.

¹²³ T. Abrahams, “‘Coloured Politics’ in South Africa: The Quislings’ Trek into the Abyss,” *Review of African Political Economy*, 29, July 1984, p. 133.

¹²⁴ V. Bickford-Smith et al, *Cape Town in the Twentieth Century: An Illustrated Social History*, (Cape Town: New Africa Books, 1999), p. 160.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 161.

¹²⁶ A. Wieder, *Ruth First and Joe Slovo in the War Against Apartheid*, p. 80.

Bill campaign in 1951 which encouraged the stayaways from schools and places of work on an alternate-day basis. This too failed as a result of the lack of participation by other Coloured organisations. The CPNU, for example, believed such protest to be counterproductive action. The NEUM declared that these stayaways were “adversative” and “irresponsible” and therefore actively campaigned against FRAC meetings.¹²⁷

With the decline of FRAC, Coloured leaders feared that their views were being misrepresented by the CPNU. This suspicion was heightened when in 1953, the incumbent Prime Minister of South Africa, D. F. Malan, held a convention for Coloured leaders in Cape Town in August during that year. This convention sparked the creation of the South African Coloured People’s Organisation (SACPO). It had a twofold agenda: to mobilise and to unite the Coloured population towards resistance of legislation such as the Separate Representation of Voters Bill. The second facet of their agenda was to align itself with the ANC’s campaign against apartheid and to advocate for egalitarianism in South Africa. Alex La Guma and Reggie September were the two founding members, with La Guma elected as the president and September as secretary.¹²⁸ Both SACPO and FRAC set themselves up as national Coloured organisations with branches across the country, hosting regular conferences similar to the APO.

In 1955, “the Eiselen line” was drawn around the Western Cape which declared this region an area of Coloured Labour Preference.¹²⁹ It was an attempt by the government to remove black people from the Western Province and bolster Coloured support through job reservation.¹³⁰ In 1956, however, the *Separate Representation of Voters Amendment Act* was passed which removed Coloured voters from the common voters’ roll.¹³¹ They were placed on a separate voters’ roll and they would elect four white members of parliament along with one senator which was nominated by the government, to act on their behalf.¹³² These elected figures were meant to represent Coloured interests in the House of Assembly. This Act also made provision

¹²⁷ R. Fine, *Beyond Apartheid: Labour and Liberation in South Africa*, (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1991), pp. 107-108.

¹²⁸ C. Soudien, *The Cape Radicals: Intellectual and Political Thought of the New Era Fellowship 1930s-1960s*, pp. 34-36

¹²⁹ The *Eiselen Line* was a theoretical border which denoted the Western Province as a Coloured preferential area upon the announcement by the secretary for Native Affairs, Werner W. Eiselen in January 1955. The intention was to eventually remove blacks from this area, M. V. Friedmann, *I Will Still be Moved: Reports from South Africa*, (London: Arthur Barker Ltd., 1963), p. 32.

¹³⁰ A. J. Christopher, *The Atlas of Changing South Africa*, (New York: Routledge, 1994), p. 121.

¹³¹ *Separate Representation of Voters Amendment Act*, Act 30 of 1956.

¹³² V. D. Johnson, “Social Identities: Coloured South Africans: A Middleman Minority of Another Kind,” *Journal for the Study of Race, Nation and Culture*, (23), (1, 4-28), May 2016, p. 13

for Coloured voters within the Cape to elect two white provincial councillors. Lastly, the Act provided for a new advisory body known as the Union Council of Coloured Affairs (UCCA) which was formed in 1959.¹³³ This council was to advise the government on matters concerning the Coloured population in liaison with the Coloured Affairs Department and the Minister of Coloured Affairs, who was P. W. Botha at the time.¹³⁴ This Act became an area of intensified concern for Coloured elites as it challenged the Coloured franchise in the Cape, which had long been a symbol of the rights and aspirations of the Coloured elite. It is from here that this dissertation departs.

The Cape was the only place in the Union of South Africa where non-Europeans still held the franchise at the time.¹³⁵ This marked a significant turning point in Coloured politics as it reduced their privileges and indicated that their numerical presence was no longer seen as significant. It was an attempt to disassociate Coloured and white people both culturally and politically.

1.2.4. The Coloured Elite

What was evident from the turn of the 19th century onwards was despite a growing exclusionist political agenda, there was optimism among the Coloured elite which was based on two assumptions. The first assumption was that society was embarking on a journey of progression and evolving to higher levels of “civilization”, and secondly, that all people had the capacity for self-improvement regardless of their subjugation.¹³⁶ They continued to cultivate the ideal of upliftment and progression of the Coloured population.

Education was essential for future political, economic and social prosperity and class mobility. However, there existed a strong assimilationist policy into white middle-class society in South Africa. For these reasons the Coloured elite regarded teachers as essential role players in the

¹³³ R. E. van der Ross, *Myths and Attitudes: An Inside Look at the Coloured People*, (Cape Town: Tafelberg, 1979), p. 3.

¹³⁴ G. Lewis, *Between the Wire and the Wall: A History of South African 'Coloured' Politics* (Johannesburg: David Philip, 1987), pp. 269-270.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 270.

¹³⁶ S. Trapido, “The Origin and Development of the African Political Organisation,” *Institute of Commonwealth Studies Collected Seminar Papers*, (1), pp. 89-92.

social advancement of the Coloured community.¹³⁷ The so-called elite comprised of teachers, artisans, small retail traders, clerks and a handful of professionals. They were, it could be argued, indoctrinated with Western bourgeois culture in terms of its aspirations, values and social practices. They followed assimilationist aspirations.¹³⁸

The APO spearheaded the Coloured elite up until the end of the 1930s. It frequently reiterated that “it is not race or colour but civilization which is the test of a man’s capacity for political rights”.¹³⁹ Adhikari argues that it was this “meritocratic egalitarianism which underpinned the political strategy” of the Coloured elite.¹⁴⁰ He further argues that as a marginalized racial group, their default choice was assimilation into white dominant society as their options were limited. They were compelled by circumstance to mobilise along racial lines in order to sustain the rights they had and promote the interests of its population group.¹⁴¹ This viewpoint is complimented by political scientist Vernon Johnson who posits “Forced segregation compelled the elites of all the subaltern races to engage more seriously with the masses of their peoples in grassroots political organizing”.¹⁴² This required effective mechanisms for the dissemination of ideas, such as newspapers.

It also compelled diverse groups from within to find commonality in overcoming religious or class restrictions. As an example, calls for a separate organisation for the subgroup of Muslim Coloureds, referred to as Malays, were ignored in favour of Coloured solidarity. Disparity also existed between the Coloured elite and the Coloured labouring class. With a majority of the Coloured elite having experienced poverty in their lives, often the product of working class homes, they maintained relationships across these boundaries.¹⁴³ However, certain choices had to be made to satisfy prevailing notions of “civilisation” and “progress”.

¹³⁷ M. Adhikari, “Coloured Identity and the Politics of Coloured Education: the Origin of the Teacher’s League of South Africa,” *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, (27), (1), 1994, pp. 116-117.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 101-103.

¹³⁹ APO, 18 December 1909.

¹⁴⁰ M. Adhikari, “Coloured Identity and the Politics of Coloured Education: The Origin of the Teachers’ League of South Africa,” *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, (27), (1), 1994, p. 101-103.

¹⁴¹ M. Adhikari, *Not White Enough, Not Black Enough: Racial Identity in the South African Coloured Community*, p. 8.

¹⁴² V. D. Johnson, “Social Identities: Coloured South Africans: a middleman minority of another kind”, *Journal for the Study of Race, Nation and Culture*, (23), (1, 4-28), May 2016, p. 15.

¹⁴³ C. Soudien, *The Cape Radicals: Intellectual and Political Thought of the New Era Fellowship 1930s-1960s*, p. 71; M. Adhikari, *Straatpraatjies: Language, Politics and Popular Culture in Cape Town, 1909-1922*, (Pretoria: J. L. van Schaik, 1996), pp. 5-6.

Though they had strong ties to the Coloured working class culture, the emerging Coloured elite regarded English bourgeois culture as the embodiment of “civilisation” during the colonial, pre-apartheid era. However, they were fluent in Cape vernacular Afrikaans¹⁴⁴ which was the language generally spoken by the Coloured working classes at the time. The predominance of English in the APO newspaper, however, indicates the commitment to conforming to English ideals. A greater prestige was associated with English by Coloureds as discussed by Adhikari who argues that this was due to it being an international language which had a rich literature and was also the language of “civilization”, “culture” and “progress”. It was through English ideals that the Coloured elite mistakenly believed they would secure social and occupational advancement for all Coloureds.¹⁴⁵

Dissenting voices amongst the Coloured elite has been demonstrated in the preceding section. The self-proclaimed “Coloured Intelligentsia” claimed to speak on behalf of the entire Coloured population. According to Lewis, within the Coloured population, the elite status was conferred through a number of factors: economic, religious, social, occupational and in certain cases skin colour and complexion.¹⁴⁶ To a large extent Coloured politics was the politics of Coloured elites as they embodied the attempt to defend the dignity and relative privilege of the broader Coloured population, while possessing aspirations to advance their own societal position.

Despite the ideological differences there were commonalities. Lewis discusses these commonalities and states that they “never advocated violence as a possible solution for their plight” and did not consider the exclusion of whites from their vision for the future of South Africa. He further argues that this is due to Coloured leaders sharing Western cultural and intellectual values.¹⁴⁷ Peter Randall probes this point by suggesting that similar to western communities, social class and status are derived by occupation, wealth and one’s level of education. He states that the educated individuals serve as the role models within their communities.¹⁴⁸ It is these individuals and their divergent and changing opinions which

¹⁴⁴ Now referred to as *Afrikaaps*.

¹⁴⁵ M. Adhikari, “‘The Product of Civilization in It’s Most Repellent Manifestation’: Ambiguities in the Racial Perceptions of the APO (African Political Organisation), 1909-23,” *The Journal of African History*, (38), (2), 1997, p. 289.

¹⁴⁶ G. Lewis, *Between a wire and the wall: History of South African Coloured politics*, p. 248.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 249-250.

¹⁴⁸ P. Randall. *South Africa’s Minorities*, (Johannesburg: Study Project on Christianity in Apartheid Society, 1971), p. 69.

become the focus of this dissertation. On close inspection of the supposed mouthpieces of the various organisations, it is clear that the role of the individual voice plays a larger role in the dissemination of ideologies than any party affiliation. However, these “voices” were also mediated by prevailing censorship of the media during this time-period.

1.2.5. Print Media and Censorship

Media fulfils certain functions in society which are determined by the requirements it has to achieve. The analysis of newspaper articles has been informed by the categorisations of articles proffered by various authors. Attention has also been given to inherent media bias especially during political strife, in this instance, the political instability ushered in by the apartheid state.

Theorist of Mass Communication, Denis McQuail, provides five functions of media for society which are apt in this dissertation: information, correlation, continuity, entertainment and mobilization.¹⁴⁹ Information refers to media reports on local and international events and conditions within society including power relations and innovation, development or adaptation. Correlation encompasses the explanation, clarification and articulation of the implications of information and events reported on in the previous category. Correlation also involves the support for recognized authority and norms, fostering consensus through its content and highlighting and indicating positions of status. Continuity pertains to the presentation of the dominant culture, recognizing the subcultures and the advancement of new cultures. Continuity also refers to the shaping and conserving of common values. Entertainment refers to media simultaneously offering amusement and the easing of social tension. Lastly, McQuail refers to mobilization as a purpose of media which entails “the campaigning of media for societal objectives in the sphere of politics, war, economic development, work and sometimes religion”.¹⁵⁰

According to Psychiatrist, James A. C. Brown, mass communication can be located within four main functional categories: “(i) the surveillance of the environment, or supplying the *news*; (2) the commentaries on current issues or news, which take the form of *editorial* or *propagandist*

¹⁴⁹ A. L. Dick, *The Hidden History of South Africa's Book and Reading Cultures*, p. 5.

¹⁵⁰ D. McQuail, *Mass Communication Theory- An Introduction*, (London: SAGE Publications Ltd., 1983), pp. 79-80.

activities; (3) the transmission of the social heritage or *education*, whether in the sense of formal education or the provision of social norms; (4) *entertainment*".¹⁵¹

Print media makes provision for covert or overt messages to be communicated. This provides the opportunity for repetition in order to emphasise the messages. This technique has the potential of conditioning the mind which could also be used to promote propaganda. According to William Hachten, the two types of control that the press was subject to in apartheid South Africa were coercive and manipulative. Coercion refers to legislation that dictates who is allowed to publish, what content they are allowed to publish and includes forms of intimidation which could lead to self-censorship. Manipulative controls encompass "the extensive state machinery" utilized for the suppression of unfavourable information and promotion of a positive image of official policies.¹⁵²

Apartheid saw the implementation of several discriminatory laws. Some had a direct impact on the media. *The Suppression of Communism Act* (No. 44 of 1950), and subsequent amendments outlawed any activities with radical socialist leanings. *The Defence Act* of 1957 restricted the freedom of the press and was randomly applied against those not conforming to state ideology. It also made it a punishable offence to publish information about people or organisations banned under the provisions of any Act. *The Unlawful Organisations Act* (No. 34 of 1960) allowed for the silencing of any individual or organisation who acted out against the state. This allowed for the banning of publications. *The Official Secrets Act* (No. 16 of 1956) and the *Riotous Assembly Act* (No. 17 of 1956 and amendments) also curtailed freedom of speech and regulated any publishable content which could incite insurrection.

The *Commission of Enquiry in Regard to Undesirable Publications* which unfolded in 1957 centred around the perceived threat of communism and publications which contradicted segregationist policies of the state. The apartheid government was in the process of hardening its policies and many newspapers, such as *The Guardian*, were closed down. In 1954, *The Torch* was also scrutinised after it published an article which criticised state educational policies. The Board of Censors was established and by 1956, 4 000 titles were banned.

¹⁵¹ J. A. C. Brown, *Techniques of Persuasion: From Propaganda to Brainwashing*, (London, Penguin, 1963), p. 12.

¹⁵² W. A. Hachten, *The Press and Apartheid: Repression and Propaganda in South Africa*, (New York: Springer Publishers, 1984), pp. vii-viii.

Censorship hardened as the media reported on the Defiance Campaigns which began in earnest in 1952.¹⁵³

By February 1962, the Van Zyl Commission was tasked with assessing subversive material but focussed its efforts on the international press. It made the recommendation to establish a statutory Press Council who could regulate the local press, issuing fines where necessary. After severe press backlash, the proposal was never implemented. However, censorship worsened after the Sharpeville massacre on 21 March 1960 and the subsequent demonstrations by Pan African Congress (PAC) and ANC members which ushered in the first State of Emergency under the provisions of the *Public Safety Act* of 1953. This marked a period of severe restrictions, the banning of publications, detention without trial and random harassment by security forces. The most severely affected publications were independent or radical anti-apartheid newspapers. Hendrik Verwoerd himself warned against radicals who threatened the republic by inciting violence through their publications.¹⁵⁴

According to Pieter Fourie, the South African government used this strategy to place a high premium on press freedom while simultaneously influencing the press to regulate itself through the application of self-censorship. Self-censorship is “the act of intentionally and voluntarily withholding information from others in the absence of formal obstacles”.¹⁵⁵ This resulted in a great deal of uncertainty on what could be printed.¹⁵⁶ Throughout the period under review, the South African government was authoritarian in order to suppress information and the spread of ideas of revolt against the state and its apartheid policy. Fourie argues that the 1948 election of the National Party was a turning point which forced the press to take up an ideological stance which was either pro or anti the state. It is argued that editorial privileges were limited, editorial freedom was bound to be reduced and the publication would either be labelled as supportive or oppositional of the state and its policies.¹⁵⁷ Alexis Tan argues that this served to cultivate social behaviours through observational learning, as espoused by social learning theory. Political

¹⁵³ A. Hepple, *Press Under Apartheid*, (London: International Defence and Aid Fund, 1974); J. Phelan, *Apartheid Media: Disinformation and Dissent in South Africa* (Westport: Lawrence Hill, 1987) and C. Merrett, *A Culture of Censorship: Secrecy and Intellectual Repression in South Africa*, (Georgia: Mercer University Press, 1995), pp. 34-35.

¹⁵⁴ C. Merrett, *A Culture of Censorship: Secrecy and Intellectual Repression in South Africa*, (Georgia: Mercer University Press, 1995), p. 68.

¹⁵⁵ D. Bar-Tal, *Self-Censorship in Contexts of Conflict: Theory and Research*, (New York: Springer Publishers, 2017), p. 1.

¹⁵⁶ P. J. Fourie, *Media Studies: Media history, media and society*, p. 46.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

responses are learnt particularly from mass media. Desired behaviour is, for that reason, positively reinforced and undesirable behaviour punished.¹⁵⁸ Print media in apartheid South Africa was largely employed as a platform for the distribution of propaganda and largely promoted the idea of segregation. However, Tan maintains that the contents of media may lead to “political trust, efficacy, support and political activity. On the negative side, media contents may lead to distrust, political cynicism and erosion of support”.¹⁵⁹ Therefore, print media and newspapers are tools which possess the potential for significant influence and thus is a research area that makes provision for further study of a given time-period in order to observe the events and experiences within this period as it was reflected by the editorial board and authors. This offers insight into positions and approaches adopted by these individuals, the organisations they represented, and were affiliated with. This will be explored in this dissertation.

Similarly, such a study could qualify existing literatures on the role of media in political contestation. Richard van der Ross, for example, claims that the eventual demise of *Die Banier* can be attributed to the presence of class differences and linguistic aptitude.¹⁶⁰ His argument is based on the fact that the newspaper had aligned itself with the viewpoints of the nationalist government, especially within large portion of Afrikaans articles. The irony is that Afrikaans is the home language of a vast majority of the Coloured population that reside in the Western Cape. It can be deduced that here he refers to the growth of different registers of language particularly within the “working classes” of the Coloured population and his contention that the newspaper was reluctant to take this into consideration. They linguistically severed themselves from their readership. This is further enhanced by his view that the more “sophisticated and “upmarket” readers had a greater preference for English.¹⁶¹ What should be taken into consideration is the life of the newspaper as it shifted focus over time and thus too led to its demise. In other words, the history of the newspaper and its messages also sheds light on its untimely demise.

There is a distinctive connection between the fractured Coloured elite, their changing political affiliation and, which, this dissertation will show, is articulated within the various public

¹⁵⁸ A. Tan, *Mass Communication Theories and Research*, p. 280.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 281.

¹⁶⁰ This is most prevalent in in article by M. Adhikari: “A Drink-Sodden Race of Bestial Degenerates: Perceptions of Race and Class in the *Educational Journal, 1915-1940*,” *Studies in the History of Cape Town*, (7), 1994, pp. 109-129.

¹⁶¹ SU – van der Ross Collection, Unpublished Manuscript of Richard van der Ross, *A Political and Social History of the Cape Coloured People in 1880-1970*, p. 652.

platforms established to promote organisational goals. The focus here is on *The Torch*, *Die Banier* and the *Cape Herald* which explicitly claimed in their mastheads to promote the ideals of a particular organisation. Of central importance is the lesser researched *Die Banier* newspaper which circulated between 1959-1966 and served as a strategic link during a time of significant change in anti-apartheid newspaper production between *The Torch* and *The Cape Herald*. The themes or content in these newspapers changed over time and thus their position as a mouthpiece for an organisation requires further clarification. These publications cannot be considered conventional newspapers nor can the role of politicised individuals who acted as editors or main contributors be underestimated because in all cases they dictated the content reflected in these newspapers.

Various authors have employed a variety of theoretical tools to analyse the role of media in society. Hermeneutic scholars, for example, assume that readers approach a text with their own understanding, misconceptions, assumptions and these can be challenged or reinforced by that text. But these texts are mediated or curated. Literary critic, Mikail Bakhtin provides an apt way in which one can question the role of those creators. He employs the terms “monologic” or hierarchical authoritarian voice and univocal ideological perspective and “dialogic” which is plurality of voices, a democratic voice and he argues that this is exhibited in cultural texts. Subaltern subjects, it is argued, are subjected to these dynamics.¹⁶² This has proven to be a useful guide within this study. It should also be made explicit that this dissertation places its focus on these dynamics rather than trying to unpack the reception of these ideals amongst its readership.

1.3 Thesis Question

This dissertation asks, were the three newspapers mouthpieces of the divided Coloured organisations which proliferated in South Africa between 1959-1966?

This requires one to ask the following sub questions, which form the structure of the content chapters: How were the various newspapers established? What was their objective? Who are the most significant contributors to these publications? Which movements did they represent?

¹⁶² L. Switzer (ed.), “Introduction”, *South Africa’s Alternative Press: Voices of Protest and Resistance, 1880-1960*, p. 13

What themes were discussed? How did this change over time? What is the significance of these changes? Does the content reflect a shift in discourse from protest against the government to a national politics of resistance? Are there any similarities across the three publications? Do these localised publications concern themselves with local and/or national issues?

1.4 Methodology

This study will employ a qualitative analysis of the newspapers to ascertain whether the voice of the collective factional organisation or that of individuals is more prominent thus questioning the validity of the assumption that these periodicals served as a mouthpiece for the organisation. This qualitative analysis will be done on the issues of the three identified newspapers for the period of 1959 - 1966 as this is the period in which the lifespan of these periodicals overlap. By doing so, it will also challenge the existing categorisation of the alternative press in South Africa.

The most significant methodological challenge is the portrayal of Coloured intellectuals who found themselves in different ideological camps at that time. This study does not intend to open old wounds, to be accusatory nor does it support ahistorical contemporary judgements about past political decisions. Factional fighting occurs within a specific context in which foreseeable gains are dictated to by sometimes choosing between lesser-evils. Political figures are complex and their ideas change over time. This study is a mere snap-shot view of the lives of some of these actors as portrayed in newspapers which also had a strong ideological underpinning. The purpose of this study is to reflect on these processes rather than to pass judgment on past actions.

The continued use of apartheid terminology is strategically maintained to illicit the conceptual undertones which underpin this dissertation. The terms employed within the newspapers will also be retained for the same reason. It should be noted that this dissertation does not attempt to engage in contemporary debates around identity politics but rather aims to further our understanding of Coloured politics during the mid-20th century. The author fully acknowledges that these terms are socially constructed and can be in many instances considered racist. It was also necessary to maintain some of the original terminology of the sources. In addition, for historical effect, the author employs the problematic term “non-white” in reference to black,

Coloured and Indian populations as a way of portraying the broader racial camps of “white and everything else”, which proliferated at that time. The terms “Coloured elite” and “Coloured petty bourgeoisie” will be employed in this dissertation to refer to the social group of identified individuals within the Coloured population which was distinguished from the Coloured proletariat due to their literacy, relative affluence and adherence to the norms and values of white middle-class respectability.¹⁶³

The primary source of information are the periodical issues of *The Torch*, *Die Banier* and *The Cape Herald* newspaper for the time period ranging from December 1959 to February 1966 housed at the Compact Storage facility at the Stellenbosch University Library and Special Collections at the University of Cape Town (UCT) as well as at the National Library of South Africa (NLSA) in Cape Town. These collections included both the monthly and bimonthly issues of the newspapers. Some issues were unattainable.¹⁶⁴ That which is of particular significance is the penultimate issues of *Die Banier* in February 1966. Unfortunately, this has led to much of the demise of the newspaper being speculative.

The qualitative analysis of these issues included a systematic and comprehensive examination of all the elements of the newspaper. This includes its editorial board, contributors, layout, advertisements and articles. Because of the politically charged nature of some of the articles which appeared within an increasingly hostile apartheid environment, most of the articles fail to explicitly name its author. It is for this reason that much of the secondary literature would connect political organisation with the publication and its collective membership. This is challenged in this dissertation. It is possible to discern the individual voice by reflecting on the tone, language employed and message sent out when these names are published in other publications during the same period. One can also infer authorship when subsequent articles reveal the identity of an author or when the apartheid state instituted censorship proceedings against a specific contributor.

¹⁶³ M. Adhikari, “‘The Product of Civilization in It’s Most Repellent Manifestation’: Ambiguities in the Racial Perceptions of the APO (African Political Organisation), 1909-23.”, *The Journal of African History*, (38), (2), 1997, p. 287; For a discussion on the concept of petty bourgeoisie as it applies within the context of South Africa see A. G. Cobby, *Class and Consciousness: The Black Petty Bourgeoisie in South Africa, 1924-1950*, (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990), pp. 2-12.

¹⁶⁴ Missing issues: January, February, March, April, July and October of 1960; Bimonthly issues of January and February of 1966.

The lack of comprehensive secondary literature regarding *Die Banier* proved to be inhibiting as a considerable amount of the contextual information concerning the establishment and distribution of the newspaper proved difficult to locate. This was further inhibited by the Covid restrictions and its impact on access to the archives. Therefore, information that is stated in the newspaper regarding statistics, the distribution figures, and its readership were not verified according to the rigorous validation process of the discipline. Additional sources such as state commissions of enquiry and Acts of parliament as well as an unpublished manuscript by Richard van der Ross were accessed. Further documentation on some of the main protagonists would have enhanced the analysis but unfortunately the closure of archival repositories during Covid lockdown made this impossible. This extends to the initial aim of the dissertation to also analyse the *Educational Journal* because of glaring overlaps with articles which appeared in *The Torch*. Unfortunately this publication had to be abandoned for the same reason. Some intermittent references are made to it in Chapter 2 as both publications were rejectionist and there existed overlaps in both content and contributors.

There is also a lack of distribution statistics for these alternative publications. This dissertation does not focus on reception of newspapers because of these difficulties but also due to the nature of newspaper circulation within the communities under investigation. One sold copy of a periodical does not equate to one reader nor does it reflect the robust discussions that emanated from one particular report during organisational meetings or on an informal level.

1.5 Thesis Outline

Chapter One discusses the literature pertinent to this study. It contextualises the rise of the Coloured elite during a turbulent political period of apartheid and the formation of Coloured organisations and movements in South Africa. It also discusses print media and censorship within South Africa. The intersection between Coloured political organisations, political elites and newspapers is also outlined. This chapter also discusses the methodology used in this study as well as the limitations of the study.

Chapter Two introduces the *Torch* newspaper by discussing the ideology behind its establishment, what the objectives of this newspaper were as well as which strategies and approaches were used in the newspaper. This chapter also reflects upon to political movements

and organisations of the Non-European Unity Movement, the affiliated Teachers League of South Africa and the *Educational Journal* sister periodical. This chapter specifically explores fractures among the coloured elite and how this was reflected in the newspaper. This discussion is presented thematically reflecting on themes namely, education, the Coloured elite, censorship and suppression.

Chapter Three looks at *Die Banier* newspaper and how this newspaper intended for a Coloured audience differed from other newspapers present at the time which also targeted Coloured readership. It discusses the objective of the newspaper and how this may have changed over time. The most significant contributors are discussed in order for the reader to draw insight into how they may have utilised this newspaper as not only a mouthpiece for the organisation of their affiliation but for their personal interests as well. This chapter also explores how fractures within the Coloured elite were reflected during its lifespan through a thematic discussion indicating the divergence of viewpoints by members of the Coloured elite.

Chapter Four reflects on the first two years of the *Cape Herald* newspaper by discussing its approach to Coloured affairs within the climate of intensified apartheid legislation. This chapter looks to what themes the significant contributions of the newspaper placed greater emphasis and why. It also explores for whom this particular newspaper served as a mouthpiece and how they utilised this platform of dissemination. In so doing, the discussion regarding fractures amongst the Coloured elite will be discussed within the context of how it was reflected in the *Cape Herald*. The centrality of Richard van der Ross throughout these publications also becomes apparent.

Chapter 2

The Torch, 1946-1963

On the 25th of February 1946, approximately three years following the establishment of the Non-European Unity Movement (NEUM), the *Torch* released its first edition. The final publication appeared on the 4th of December 1963.¹ This was due to the government banning its publication and distribution as it viewed it as a threat towards the apartheid policy and systems in place.² It is argued, by communications experts, Les and Donna Switzer, to have served as the official mouthpiece of the NEUM.³ They make no attempt to analyse the content to support this claim nor do they reflect on any change over time. The editorial team of the newspaper, on the other hand, branded the publication as, “The Only Independent Non-European Newspaper”, at that time. This was indicated on the right side of the mastheads of the newspaper.⁴ It was promoted and advertised by its sister periodical, the *Educational Journal*, which targeted the Coloured teachers as its readership, thus suggesting a strong ideological connection with the Teachers’ League of South Africa (TLSA).

The *Educational Journal* was conceived and published by an affiliated organization of the TLSA in May 1915.⁵ In November of that year, the *APO* newspaper temporarily ceased due to financial constraints. It was then resurrected in August 1919. The circulation of the *Educational Journal* was inconsistent as monthly issues circulated between May 1915 to December 1923 when it was temporarily suspended. This coincided with the demise of the *APO* newspaper which had contributors from both the APO (African People’s Organisation)⁶ and the TLSA such as Dr. Abdurahman, who Adhikari declares to have had “the greatest

¹ NLSA, *A List of South African Newspapers, 1800-1982: With Library Holdings*, p. 149.

² A. Wieder, *Teacher and Comrade: Richard Dudley and the Fight for Democracy in South Africa*, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2008), p. 159.

³ L. Switzer and D. Switzer, *The Black Press in South Africa and Lesotho: A Descriptive Bibliographic Guide to African, Coloured and Indian Newspapers, newsletters and Magazines. 1836-1976*, (Boston: G. K. Hall & Co., 1979), p. 61.

⁴ *The Torch*, 25 February 1946, p. 1.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 179.

⁶ Previous name was the African Political Organisation. It was changed to the African People’s Organisation in 1919 in order to reflect it’s shift to being less “outspoken and less aggressive” M. Adhikari, “‘The Product of Civilization in Its Most Repellent Manifestation’: Ambiguities in the Racial Perceptions of the APO (African Political Organization), 1909-23, (38), (2), 1997, p. 291.

influence in shaping the political outlook of the newspaper”.⁷ Two years later in 1925, quarterly issues were sold up until 1940 when it reverted back to a monthly issue until 1948. It included

articles in both English and Afrikaans, with a strong bias towards publishing in English. This is attributed to the leadership of the TLSA and associated APO. According to political stalwart, Richard van der Ross, English held greater prestige amongst the urban Coloured people.⁸ In addition, he argued that the Afrikaans-speaking working-class were linguistically unable to follow the high Afrikaans which appeared in the Afrikaans press. English was therefore considered not only a viable substitute but an egalitarian mode of communication. These differences reflect the diverse frustrations, aspirations and values of the Coloured elite, as contextualized in the previous chapter.⁹

The paper appeared within a “hostile press” climate, with the NEUM proclaiming they would fill the conciliatory lacuna established by the Anti-CAD *Bulletin*, a single page publication.¹⁰ The NEUM maintained that the *Bulletin* was contradictory in terms of calling for “sacrifice in the battle of Fascism and Nazism overseas” in the presence of “Nazism and Fascism in [their] own country”.¹¹ The Torch Printing and Publishing Company was established as a result of the failure of the *Bulletin* to adequately represent the agenda of the NEUM and also to satisfy the need for a periodical to serve its own ideology. Three additional organisations were involved in the discussion leading to the establishment of the *Torch*: the All African Convention (AAC), Anti-Coloured Affairs Department (Anti-CAD) and TLSA.

The Torch, described itself as “The only independent, voluntarily produced, non-profit-making newspaper in the struggle for full citizenship rights”.¹² It was an eight-page publication named after the Bolshevik publication *Iskra*,¹³ in line with the newspapers’ own socialist leanings. Far

⁷ M. Adhikari, “‘The Product of Civilization in Its Most Repellent Manifestation’: Ambiguities in the Racial Perceptions of the APO (African Political Organization), 1909-23, (38), (2), 1997, p. 286.

⁸ R. E. van der Ross, *A Blow to the Hoop: The story of my life and times*, (Cape Town: Ampersand Press, 2010), pp. 88-89.

⁹ M. Adhikari, *Not White Enough, Not Black Enough: Racial Identity in the South African Coloured Community*, (Cape Town: Double Storey Books, 2005), p. 79.

¹⁰ The National Anti-C.A.D. Committee, “No. 131,” *Bulletin*, 9 March 1948.

¹¹ C. Fink et al., 1956: *European and Global Perspectives*, (Leipzig: Apresys, 2006), p. 224.

¹² Author unknown, “Read ‘The Torch,’” *Educational Journal*, September 1960, p. 11.

¹³ *Iskra* is Russian for (Spark). It was an illegal Marxist newspaper founded by Vladimir Lenin in 1900. It promoted liberty and revolution. P. Kenez, *The Birth of the Propaganda State: Soviet Methods of Mass Mobilization, 1917-1929* (United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 26; M. Adhikari, *Beyond Black and White: Racial Identity in the South African Coloured Community*, (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2005), p. 104.

from being apolitical, this publication came under scrutiny when the *Suppression of Communism Act* in 1950 came into effect. Coupled with this, it struggled to secure funding.

Despite being labelled a newspaper, it followed a magazine format and proffered critical analyses of political events in South Africa and abroad through the ideological lens of the national liberation movements. Its content was therefore political commentary rather than the simple reporting of newsworthy scoops. In addition, the choice to publish in English was of ideological significance to the fluctuating Coloured-identity formation amongst intellectuals at the time.

To expand its appeal, this weekly newspaper contained contributions in both English as well as isiXhosa, with its first isiXhosa article appearing in the 27 October 1959 issue. From its inaugural issue the *Torch* would occasionally contain Afrikaans articles with the addition of a few non-political related articles. According to historian, Mohammad Adhikari, during its infancy the *Torch* would contain a small amount of community news articles, a single page reporting on sports and regular items he regarded as “mundane” which included puzzles, recipes and household tips.¹⁴ From its inception the *Torch* primarily reported on events in the Western Cape, however it also provided coverage of the national resistance movement in the rest of South Africa.¹⁵ It attracted a significant readership in Johannesburg, which prompted the editorial team to establish a separate “northern addition” from May to December 1950. It focused on local political and sport news. It allowed for debate but not to the degree of open discussion as it did not open its columns to any political opponents. Adhikari is of the opinion that in its prime, it was distributed as far as the Northern and Eastern Cape and even South West Africa (current Namibia).¹⁶ Its readership were “non-white” readers who believed in the idea of black political unity as a means to dismantle white rule. It discussed topics regarding the ramifications for the “non-white” population groups and heavily opposed the Union Council of Coloured Affairs (UCCA), Coloured Advisory Council (CAC) and (Coloured

¹⁴ M. Adhikari, “Hope, Fear, Shame, Frustration: Continuity and Change in the Expression of Coloured Identity in white Supremacist South Africa, 1910-1994,” PHD thesis, 2002, p. 196.

¹⁵ L. Switzer and D. Switzer, *The Black Press in South Africa and Lesotho: A Descriptive Bibliographic Guide to African, Coloured and Indian Newspapers, newsletters and Magazines, 1836-1976*, p. 61.

¹⁶ M. Adhikari, “Hope, Fear, Shame, Frustration: Continuity and Change in the Expression of Coloured Identity in white Supremacist South Africa, 1910-1994,” PHD thesis, 2002, p. 196.

Affairs Department (CAD). This was evident in the frequent appearance of articles lambasting the actions of these organisations regarded as collaborators with the government.¹⁷

One is confronted with the ways in which the class divides were challenged between a so-called intellectual publication, *The Educational Journal*, and the more popular-based *Torch*. The *Torch* promoted the *Journal* periodical to its readers and would suggest articles of particular interest. The tone between the two periodicals was fairly similar although the *Torch* was understandably more assertive given its more radical political stance. While both publications targeted different audiences, the *Torch* made a concerted effort towards uniting a broader “Non-European” demographic befitting of the ideals of the NEUM. These two publications therefore provide a window into the re-evaluation of stark racial differences but already suggests some synergy and porosity in the somewhat clear demarcations expressed in the secondary literature.

Initially the *Torch* distanced itself from being affiliated to a specific party or political organization. In the first issue it pledged “full and uncompromising support to the movement for full democratic rights for all, irrespective of race, colour or creed” insisting that this platform “will be used to enlighten, to fight discrimination in every form and to unite the oppressed and exploited people”.¹⁸ It misleadingly also stated it was “not tied directly or indirectly, to any political party” and was “neither the official or unofficial mouthpiece” of any political organization.¹⁹ Three years later in 1949 it reiterated that it “owes allegiance to no political sect or section of the oppressed”.²⁰ It promoted an image of being independent of any political affiliation, which is a perspective shared by historian Gavin Lewis who regarded it as an independent newspaper that happened to also support the point of view of the NEUM.²¹ Adhikari argues that it tactically intended to distance itself from a specific political affiliation in order to allow room for the white working-class to potentially join the movement.²² It is the contention of this chapter to show that the articles reflected in the newspaper strongly suggest a heavy leaning towards the NEUM not as an organization, *per se*, but rather as a reflection of

¹⁷ L. Switzer and D. Switzer, *The Black Press in South Africa and Lesotho: A Descriptive Bibliographic Guide to African, Coloured and Indian Newspapers, newsletters and Magazines, 1836-1976*, p. 61.

¹⁸ Author unknown, *Torch*, 25 February 1946, p. 1.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ Author unknown, *Torch*, 26 June 1949, p. 3.

²¹ G. Lewis, *Between the Wire and the Wall: A History of South African ‘Coloured’ Politics*, (Johannesburg: David Philip, 1987), p. 229.

²² M. Adhikari, “Hope, fear, shame, frustration: Continuity and Change in the Expression of Coloured Identity in white Supremacist South Africa, 1910-1994”, PHD Dissertation, University of Cape Town, 2002, p. 200.

the collective of specific individuals who regularly contributed to the publication and who devoted themselves to the goals of the NEUM.

Contributors to the *Torch* included twenty to thirty activists who produced, wrote, and in some cases, even sold the newspaper at bus stops and street corners. They received no compensation and received no outside funding for the production and distribution of the paper. Advertising and the revenue from sales in part only covered the overhead costs such as printing which required the editorial board to regularly organize fundraising functions such as bazaars, dances and house parties in order to cover the shortfall. It was an independent publication. The importance of these fundraisers became of increasing importance as time passed, with revenue from advertising diminishing from the early 1950s. One of the editorial team, Richard Dudley, stated that “most of the regular contributors found it a highly rewarding experience that played an important part in their personal and political development”.²³ What can be deduced from Dudley’s statement is that there was a strong desire to use the newspaper to disseminate information, promote non-racial ideology and entrench inclusive philosophies, on a humanitarian basis. Importantly, it also challenged essentialist and racist narratives in subtle ways.

Adhikari makes an interesting observation about the discourse of the newspaper from 1957. Socially constructed terms such as African, Bantu, *Kleurling*, Coloured and *Herrenvolk*²⁴ were placed in quotation marks, italicised or prefaced with “so-called”, for example, “so-called Coloured”, when referred to in articles.²⁵ On the one-hand this distanced the publication from the prevailing racist terminology but it also served as a direct challenge to the era of separateness taking root in the country. In particular, it criticized those who supported separateness. This coincided with the coining of terms in the newspaper such as “Colouredisation”²⁶ and “Bantuisation”²⁷ which challenged segregated institutions and

²³ M. Adhikari, “*Hope, Fear, Shame, Frustration: Continuity and Change in the Expression of Coloured Identity in white Supremacist South Africa, 1910-1994*”, PHD thesis, 2002, p. 196.

²⁴ A Nazi German term referring to Aryans as an inherently superior race. The term was used to liken apartheid fascism with German Nazism.

²⁵ M. Adhikari, “Fiercely Non-Racial? Discourses and Politics of Race in the Non-European Unity Movement, 1943-1970,” *Journal of Southern African Studies*, (31), (2), June 2005, p. 414.

²⁶ *Colouredisation*: Implied adapting, designing or designation of something, for example: education “relevant” (as perceived to be relevant) to the Coloured population group. This entailed the constraints imposed on this group; M. Adhikari, *Not White Enough, Not Black Enough: Racial Identity in the South African Coloured Community*, p. 106.

²⁷ *Bantuisation*: Implied the adapting, designing or designation of something, for example: the designation of a particular area for black people such as the Transkei and Ciskei. The Bantustan policy was by extension the

curricula. As will be discussed further, much emphasis was placed on the separate Coloured and “Bantu” education systems supported by the CAD and Native Affairs Department (NAD), respectively, which moulded children to fulfil their perceived roles within an unjust society.

Switzer asserts that the *Torch* was the first newspaper in South Africa which advocated non-collaboration as a strategy of passive resistance and this is largely attributed to the African and Coloured intellectuals who steered the NEUM.²⁸ Roslynde Ainslee adds that it was “a vituperative, bitter weekly [...] advocating total withdrawal from white society through boycott”.²⁹ The radical nature and overt display of opposition by the NEUM and its factions towards other Coloured political organisations and institutions, makes the *Torch* a valuable source to observe how divisions between the broader Coloured intelligentsia were articulated.

In an article reflecting on the 14th birthday of the *Torch* it explicitly declared that it continued to be based on the same principles on which the NEUM was founded. It stated that the *Torch* “remains today, as it has been for fourteen years, the only politically independent, voluntarily produced, non-profit-making weekly supporting and advancing the struggle for the implementation of the 10-point programme³⁰ of the NEUM and the establishment of a fully democratic, non-racial, single South African nation.”³¹ Although claiming to be ironically independent its editorial board and prominent contributors were all politically active members of the NEUM, TLSA and/or the Anti-CAD.

2.1 The Editorial Board and Prominent Contributors

In order for one to understand the discourse reflected in the newspaper and its somewhat monologic curation, to borrow from Mikail Bakhtin, insight into the editorial board and prominent contributors is necessary as they played the pivotal role of dictating what was to be included within this newspaper. The *Torch* served as a collective mouthpiece for these individuals.

‘Bantuisation’ of that area (or as perceived to be relevant) to the black population group; M. Adhikari, *Not White Enough, Not Black Enough: Racial Identity in the South African Coloured Community*, p. 106.

²⁸ L. Switzer, *South Africa’s Alternative Press: Voices of Protest and Resistance, 1880s-1960s*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 45.

²⁹ R. Ainslee, *The Press in Africa: Communications Past and Present*, (London: Gollancz, 1966), p. 61.

³⁰SU – van der Ross Collection. Document 69. *Ten-Point Programme of the Non-European Unity Movement*, 1943.

³¹ Author unknown, “Our 14th Birthday,” *Torch*, 29 March 1960, p. 3.

The main editor and initial directors of the *Torch* were labelled “Coloured radicals”. They resided in Cape Town and were namely Richard Dudley, H. N. Jacobs, J.M. Joshua, B. Magan, Edward Ramsdale, W. S. Rule and Mrs. W. B. Scholz.³² Historian Alan Wieder, who reflected upon the life of former NEUM members and *Torch* contributors, wrote that the five initial people involved in the managing, writing and publishing of the newspaper were Randolph Fowler, Allie Fataar, Richard Dudley, Salie Edross and Ben Kies.³³ The first main female editor was Joyce Meissenheimer who along with the initial directors of the newspaper were influenced by the Trotskyite movement which in a South African context encompassed different socialist groups that were independent from the Communist Party.³⁴

2.1.1 Joyce Meissenheimer (1922-2019)

Joyce Sophia Wilcox was born on the 24th of November 1922 in Cape Town and died on the 7th of June 2019 in Calgary, Canada.³⁵ Upon marrying George Meissenheimer she took his last name. In 1937, when she was 15, her father took her to her first protest against racial discrimination.³⁶ Following this, her father started taking her to meetings where she began studying Marxist readings.³⁷ In 1948, at the age of 26, she became the second editor of the *Torch* after taking over from Solly Edross and continued to fill this position until 1961.³⁸ She was responsible for all the editing, sub-editing and headlines related to political news.³⁹ This was a pivotal role as she had the final say in what was to be published.

She also had to stave off critics and state censorship. In the 15th of March 1960 issue in an article titled “Alleged Criminal libel of Six U.C.C.A Men: State’s Action Against “Torch”-

³² T. Karis and G. M. Carter, *From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa, Volume 2*, (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1973), p. 323.

³³ A. Wieder, *Teacher and Comrade: Richard Dudley and the Fight for Democracy in South Africa*, p. 62.

³⁴ L. Switzer, *South Africa’s Alternative Press: Voices of Protest and Resistance, 1880s-1960s*, p. 45.

³⁵ *Joyce Sophia Meissenheimer (nee Wilcox)*, <https://www.evanjstrong.com/obituary/Joyce-MeissenheimerneeWilcox> (Accessed 3 April 2021).

³⁶ B. Bernardo, “Joyce Meissenheimer: Communist fighter,” *The Militant*, 8 July 2019, p. 9.

³⁷ J. Steele and J. Young, “Joyce Meissenheimer was ‘on right side of history’,” *The Militant*, 12 August 2019, p. 4.

³⁸ S. J. Salm and T. Falola, *African Urban Spaces in Historical Perspectives*, (New York: University Rochester Press, 2005), p. 185.

³⁹ H. Baruch, “A Short History of the Non-European Unity Movement: An Insider’s View,” *Searchlight South Africa*, (3), (4), 1995, p. 72.

Case Remanded in Regional Court Until April 25th,”⁴⁰ the charge against the *Torch* was publicised: “wrongfully, unlawfully and maliciously contriving and intending to injure” in an article it published on the 3rd of November 1959.⁴¹ They were being sued for libel by six UCCA members who claimed that the newspaper wrongfully attacked them, “in their good name, credit and reputation and to bring them into public contempt and disgrace”.⁴² On the one hand this could be a case of poor reporting but on the other, it reflects the state’s response to anti-establishment reporting and the relationship between the UCCA and the state. It also places the publication under the watchful gaze of the apartheid state who was under severe political pressure in the days preceding the Sharpeville Massacre.

This would not detract the militant editor. Unfortunately, after a barrage of policies were implemented to curb the publishing of seditious material,⁴³ on the 27th of September 1961, a report appeared in the *Torch* on the banning of Meissenheimer from any gathering in any place within the Republic of South Africa or the territory of South West Africa, for a period of five years.⁴⁴ This decree was issued in terms of the *Suppression of Communism Act* (Act 44 of 1950) which forbid any form of what was coined, communist “propaganda” – any activity which promoted socialist leanings.⁴⁵ Meissenheimer was banned, it could be argued, due to her affiliation with the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA), her involvement with the *Torch* in the capacity as an editor, along with being the Chairlady of the Peninsula Council of Parent Teacher Associations (PTAs) and as a member of the national Anti-CAD Movement.⁴⁶ Continued state pressure led her to immigrate to Vancouver in Canada in 1965 where she lived with her husband and four children and joined the League for Socialist Action.⁴⁷

Her successor, Joan Kay too was banned under the same Act in 1963.⁴⁸ The *Torch* announced this on the front page of their 30th of October 1963 issue and claimed that it was an attempt to

⁴⁰ Author unknown, “Alleged Criminal libel of Six U.C.C.A Men: State’s Action Against “Torch”- Case Remanded in Regional Court Until April 25th.” *The Torch*, 15 March 1960, p. 1.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² This is an example where further archival research on the actual court case could have been illuminating if the National Archives of South Africa was operational 2020-2021.

⁴³ Refer to Chapter 1.

⁴⁴ Author unknown, ““Torch” Editor and Teachers Banned,” *Torch*, 27 September 1961, p. 1.

⁴⁵ *Suppression of Communism Act*, Act 44 of 1950.

⁴⁶ Author unknown, ““Torch” Editor and Teachers Banned,” *Torch*, 27 September 1961, p. 1.

⁴⁷ J. Steele and J. Young, “Joyce Meissenheimer was ‘on right side of history’,” *The Militant*, 12 August 2019, p. 4.

⁴⁸ A. Wieder, *Teacher and Comrade: Richard Dudley and the Fight for Democracy in South Africa*, p. 62.

drive the newspaper out of business.⁴⁹ During the latter part of 1962 and throughout 1963 the *Torch* was also experiencing financial difficulties and requested support from its readership through monetary donations. It faced its greatest crises since 1945 and required R750 for its October 1962 and subsequent issues to continue as an eight page-publication.⁵⁰ This marked the end of the publication.

While the editors Meissenheimer and Kay had clearer socialist leanings, two contributors who clearly blurred the lines between different Coloured factions within the *Torch* were Ben Kies and Richard Dudley.

2.1.2 Ben Kies (1917-1979)

Benjamin Magson Kies, commonly known as Ben Kies, was born in Cape Town on the 12th of December 1917 and died at the age of 62 on the 19th December 1979 in a Hermanus Court while defending four men who were being charged under the Terrorism Act. Vernon February described him as “a powerful orator, brilliant and full of ideas”.⁵¹ He studied at the University of Cape Town (UCT) where he graduated with a BA in 1937 followed by an MA in 1938 and Bachelor in Education in 1939. Following this, he taught at Trafalgar High School in 1940 where he would be denied the principalship in 1953 due to his “political activities” which would also result in him being dismissed from the teaching profession in 1956.⁵²

He was an important activist, promoting non-collaboration as a political strategy especially among the Coloured population especially during the infancy years of this periodical. His activism and promotion of non-collaboration as a political strategy was in the form of his work within the Anti-CAD, as a member of the NEUM and by extension a prominent contributor to the *Torch*. He was also an educational columnist for *The Sun*⁵³ in which he wrote under the

⁴⁹ Author unknown, “Mrs. J. T. Kay Banned, Pegged, Restricted, Forced to Resign: Torch Loses Second editor in months,” *Torch*, 30 October 1963, p. 1.

⁵⁰ Author unknown, “‘Torch’ Faces a Crises: An Appeal to all in the Liberatory Movement,” *Torch*, 19 September 1962, p. 1.

⁵¹ V. A. February, *From the Arsenal: The Teacher’s League of South Africa: A Documentary Study of “Coloured” Attitudes Between 1913-1980*, (Leiden: African Studies Centre, 1983), p. 14.

⁵² C. Bernardo, *Ben Kies: The Cape Radical*, <https://www.news.uct.ac.za/article/-2020-01-22-ben-kies-the-cape-radical> (Accessed 12 September 2021).

⁵³ *The Sun* was a weekly newspaper containing both English and Afrikaans articles from August 1932 to September 1956; L. Switzer and D. Switzer, *The Black Press in South Africa and Lesotho: A Descriptive Bibliographic Guide to African, Coloured and Indian Newspapers, newsletters and Magazines, 1836-1976*, p. 60.

pseudonym, “In Fandum”.⁵⁴ Like many members of the NEUM, he was also a member of the TLSA. His role in the TLSA saw him become the editor of the *Educational Journal*.⁵⁵

On the 1st of April 1959 he was served with an order signed by the Minister of Justice, banning him from attending any meeting or gathering in the Union of South Africa and the South West Africa for the period of five years.⁵⁶ He was succeeded as editor of the *Educational Journal* in 1959, by his wife Helen Kies whom he met while teaching at Trafalgar High School.⁵⁷ She too was a prominent member of the TLSA. The *Educational Journal* displayed their disapproval of this order as well as their reverence of Kies in two articles in the April 1959 issue.⁵⁸ In this article the President of the TLSA stated:

He is well known throughout the country as one who has played a leading part in progressive organisations opposed to the political and social system which denies elementary democratic rights to the overwhelming majority of people in South Africa. This ban is an attack not only on Mr. Kies as an individual, but also upon the organisations with which he has been associated, as well as upon all other organisations opposed to the system of *Herrenvolkism*. It is significant that this order comes at a time when the Government is aware of the concerted opposition of the Non-White oppressed people, and of other forces inside and outside South Africa, to the continuation of the reactionary system of *Herrenvolkism* in South Africa. It is further, another example of the extent to which the term Communist is being employed to cover all persons and activities opposed to the concept of *Herrenvolkism* prevailing in this country, and the extent to which the Suppression of Communism Act is being used as a political instrument to silence all opposition to the State ideology.⁵⁹

The TLSA demanded that this order be withdrawn. Soudien argues the importance of Kies in the formation and principles of the NEUM and by extension in the *Torch* as its mouthpiece. He claimed that: “The story and contribution of Ben Kies are inseparable from that of the Non-European Unity Movement. He was at the heart of the political debates and discussions that led to the development of its political agenda.”⁶⁰ His prominence in the existence of this newspaper can be gleaned by the role he played in not only being a contributor but a strategic

⁵⁴ C. Bernardo, *Ben Kies: The Cape Radical*, <https://www.news.uct.ac.za/article/-2020-01-22-ben-kies-the-cape-radical> (Accessed 12 September 2021).

⁵⁵ L. Switzer, *South Africa's Alternative Press: Voices of Protest and Resistance, 1880s-1960*, p. 29.

⁵⁶ W. P. van Schoor, “T.L.S.A. Official Statements: ON THE BANNING OF ITS EDITOR, MR. B. M. KIES,” *Educational Journal*, April 1959, p. 4.

⁵⁷ M. Adhikari, “Fiercely Non-Racial? Discourses and Politics of Race in the Non-European Unity Movement, 1943-1970,” *Journal of Southern African Studies*, (31), (2), June 2005, p. 415.

⁵⁸ W. P. van Schoor, “T.L.S.A. Official Statements: ON THE BANNING OF ITS EDITOR, MR. B. M. KIES,” *Educational Journal*, April 1959, p. 4; W. P. van Schoor, “Kies Cases,” *Educational Journal*, April 1959, pp. 8-9.

⁵⁹ W. P. van Schoor, “T.L.S.A. Official Statements: ON THE BANNING OF ITS EDITOR, MR. B. M. KIES,” *Educational Journal*, April 1959, p. 4.

⁶⁰ C. Bernardo. *Ben Kies: The Cape Radical*, <https://www.news.uct.ac.za/article/-2020-01-22-ben-kies-the-cape-radical> (Accessed 12 September 2021).

link between the *Torch* and its sister periodical, the corresponding mouthpiece of the Coloured elite in the form of the *Educational Journal*. As a founder member of the Anti-CAD and a proponent of non-collaboration, this influence was ever present in the *Torch* until its demise in 1963.

2.1.3 Richard Dudley (1924-2009)

Richard Owen Dudley was another figure who contributed to both the *Educational Journal* and the *Torch*. He was born in Newlands, Cape Town in 1924 and raised in a home that his family owned since the 1850s. On the 7th of April 2009, he received an honorary doctorate in education from UCT.⁶¹ The following month, he died at the age of 85. He attended St Andrews, a local Mission School and later Livingstone High School which was designated for Coloured pupils.⁶² He would go on to attend UCT after matriculating at the age of 15. By the age of 20 he was awarded a Bachelor in Science, Master of Science and a Bachelor in Education. He went on to teach at his *alma mater* Livingstone High School⁶³ until he retired in 1984.⁶⁴ The philosophy of this school was promoting consciousness and awareness of oppression which he dedicated his life to as a teacher and later as deputy headmaster.

He was politicized as a student and was a committed socialist who engaged in resistance against apartheid policies and practices based on principles of non-racialism⁶⁵ and non-collaboration. As a member of the Anti-CAD movement in the 1940s, he was also integral in the formation

⁶¹ *Obituary: Richard Dudley*, <https://www.news.uct.ac.za/article/-2009-06-02-obituary-richard-dudley> (14 May 2021).

⁶² B. Nasson, "R. O. Dudley: Teacher, Educator and Political Dissenter (1924-2009)," *South African Journal of Science*, (106), (9/10), September 2010, pp. 1-2.

⁶³ This school along with others such as Trafalgar and Harold Cressy would come to play an influential role in cultivating members of the Coloured elite, particularly those involved in the resistance towards apartheid. In an article reflecting on his time as a student at Livingstone High School, Bill Nasson recalls a teacher whose mantra was: "This school has a mission to teach you history which will liberate you. We are here to make sure that you aren't contaminated by the Herrenvolk poison contaminated in your textbook. We as the oppressed cannot afford colonized minds. Our history, our liberation are inseparable. Because it teaches us that we should never salaam before this countries rulers"; B. Nasson. "The Unity movement: Its Legacy in Historical Consciousness," *Radical History Review*, (46), 1990, p. 35.

⁶⁴ C. Kirkwood, *The Papers of Richard Dudley and anti-apartheid liberation movements*, <https://digitalcollections.lib.uct.ac.za/article/papers-richard-dudley-and-anti-apartheid-liberation-movements> (Accessed 14 May 2021).

⁶⁵ Within this context "non-racialism" refers to the emancipatory concept of racial deconstruction; R. Stuttner. "Understanding Non-Racialism as an Emancipatory Concept in South Africa", *Theoria: A Journal of Social and Political Theory*, (59), (130), March 2012, p. 22.

of the NEUM in 1943. In 1974 he would become the president of NEUM.⁶⁶ According to Bill Nasson, Dudley was an influential intellectual figure who was revered in the spheres of both anti-racist politics as well as in education.⁶⁷ He was a leader in the TLSA, NEUM, New Era Fellowship (NEF) and Anti-CAD as well as one of the founder members of the *Torch*.⁶⁸ Special Collections Archivist at UCT, Clive Kirkwood wrote that he would tell his students:

The government in this country wants the boys in the class here to go and work on farms. My job is to keep them off the farms. They want the girls here to go work in the farmer's wife's kitchen. I want to keep them out of the kitchen. I think you're worth far more and you've got a contribution to make. You've got to be new people in a new South Africa.⁶⁹

In addition to being a strong believer in progress through education, he was also a staunch rejectionist of racial categorisation which continued into the post-apartheid era. During an appeal by Nelson Mandela to help persuade Coloured voters to vote for the African National Congress (ANC) in the forthcoming 1999 elections he retorted, "I am not a Coloured person [...] other people have classified me as that but I am not a Coloured person".⁷⁰ His stance echoed those of the *Torch*. In a 1961 article which declared that the NEUM and TLSA never sought special concessions or privileges for "so-called Coloured" people, they rejected the official racial policy of December 1960.⁷¹ The *Educational Journal* too rejected the term Coloured in a similar article in 1962 titled: "Ons Bruinmense" (Brown people). This article made the argument that accepting Colouredness and a Coloured identity would taint them with "a badge of inferiority, of being less than human".⁷²

In 1961 banning orders were served on Dudley and some of his colleagues such as Alie Fataar, Victor Wessels and Peter Abrahams, all of whom were associated with both the TLSA and NEUM. Kies, unfortunately, was the only one banned from teaching at Livingstone High School.⁷³

⁶⁶ B. Nasson, "R. O. Dudley: Teacher, Educator and Political Dissenter (1924-2009)," *South African Journal of Science*, (106), (9/10), September 2010, pp. 1-2.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

⁶⁸ C. Kirkwood, *The Papers of Richard Dudley and anti-apartheid liberation movements*, <https://digitalcollections.lib.uct.ac.za/article/papers-richard-dudley-and-anti-apartheid-liberation-movements> (Accessed 14 May 2021).

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ A. Wieder, *Teacher and Comrade: Richard Dudley and the Fight for Democracy in South Africa*, p. 149.

⁷¹ Author unknown, "T.L.S.A. Rejects "New Deal," *Torch*, 25 January 1961, p. 3.

⁷² Author unknown, "Ons Bruinmense," *Educational Journal*, April 1962, p. 4.

⁷³ A. Wieder, *Teacher and Comrade: Richard Dudley and the Fight for Democracy in South Africa*, p. 91.

There is a clear connection between the main contributors or editors to the *Torch* and their political affiliation. This newspaper claimed to be apolitical but was heavily influenced by the individuals who occupied positions within the publication. Despite serious political fracturing occurring during this period, as outlined in Chapter One, there are also overlaps which circulated within this publication which claimed to be apolitical, yet clearly socialist in leaning. This is also made apparent in the main political themes which have been identified within the content of the newspaper.

2.2 Let's Talk About Education, Identity, Protest and Censorship: Political Themes in the *Torch*, 1959-1963

The layout of the newspaper was consistent during its existence, however the focus of its content changed over time. The name of the newspaper was located at the middle on top of the front page between two mastheads, the one to the left would contain an advertisement. On the right masthead was the slogan of the newspaper: "The Only Independent Non-European Newspaper".⁷⁴ The front page would also indicate two major headlines while the subsequent pages would contain various articles and advertisements from plumbing services, fruit and confectionary, to choir competitions and fundraising events such as dances.

During its infancy the *Torch* reported on community news and community sporting events and results. Adhikari argues that it was undeniable that the intention of those involved with the content of the *Torch* was not to utilise it as a medium for the objective reporting of news but rather to promote the political agenda of the NEUM. This was more reflective from 1952 with an increase of themes that were aligned with their approach of nonracialism. This was evident by their attempt to debunk myths associated with race and white supremacy. Such as in the case of a series titled, "The true story of Jan van Riebeeck" where it sought to debunk the rhetoric associated with the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck and members of the Dutch East India Company in the Cape in 1652.⁷⁵ By 1953 the reporting on topics not related to politics or the expression of political viewpoints would come to be eclipsed by content with a greater political focus which continued until its demise in 1963.

⁷⁴ Author unknown, *The Torch*, February 1946, p. 1.

⁷⁵ M. Adhikari, "Hope, fear, shame, frustration: Continuity and Change in the Expression of Coloured Identity in white Supremacist South Africa, 1910-1994," PHD Dissertation, University of Cape Town, 2002, pp. 197-198.

Two themes that dominated the newspaper between 1959 and 1963 were egalitarian education and condemning the “quislings”, ideological underpinnings of the TLSA and the Anti-CAD movements. Protest and censorship were topics of discussion in moments of crisis such as changing censorship laws, the Group Areas Act, the Sharpeville massacre and the Langa March. This latter group can be classified according to Dennis McQuail’s categorisation of information and James Brown’s surveillance of environment.

2.2.1 Egalitarian Education

The overarching objective of the NEUM was to achieve egalitarianism in South Africa. This was to be achieved through education. This was embodied by the concept of “Egalitarian education” which referred to “the ideal of making education available and useful to all”.⁷⁶ Challenges faced in the pursuit of egalitarian education in South Africa manifested in two related sub-themes: general education, which pertains to schooling and educational systems; and, “University apartheid”. Of central importance was the condemnation of racially segregated facilities but also an attack on some members of the Coloured elite who fostered assimilationist educational policies.

2.2.1.1 General Education

Education was unanimously viewed as a means for the social advancement of non-white groups amongst the Coloured elite. However, some factions advocated for superior education of Coloured people, while others such as the NEUM, encouraged improved education of all non-white population groups in accordance with their policies on “black unity”.⁷⁷ Simultaneously, the *Educational Journal* also rejected the assimilationist approach by some members of the Coloured elite. Both the TLSA and NEUM rejected the educational policies implemented by the government but importantly chastised Coloured political organisations and individuals who supported these proposals.

⁷⁶ Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, *Illinois Journal of Education*, (568), 1972, p. 49.

⁷⁷ *Black* in this instance referring to all non-white South Africans.

The implementation of the *Bantu Education Act* of 1953⁷⁸ and the subsequent Bantu Education system articles called for the “abolishment of divided education; superior and inferior education”.⁷⁹ This was in opposition to systems which would harbour “mental slavery”, and foster a position of inferiority.⁸⁰

Approaching the 50th anniversary of the Union of South Africa, the *Torch* featured a series in 1960 titled, “The 10-Point Programme⁸¹ vs 50 Years of the Union”. This series would engage with an array of issues, the second point focussing on education. Calls were made for “compulsory, free, uniform education for all children up to the age of 16. With free meals, free books and school equipment for the needy. This means the extension of all educational rights at present enjoyed by European children, with the same access to higher education on equal terms”.⁸² The risk of separate education was also articulated: “The education of the White child prepares him for life in a dominant society and the education of the Black child for a subordinate society”.⁸³ Attention was also given to six mechanisms⁸⁴ which would enforce, promote and sustain white domination.

⁷⁸ The Bantu Education Act (47 of 1953) proposed to: “provide for the transfer of the administration and control of native education from the several provincial administrations to the Government of the Union, and for matters incidental thereto; *Bantu Education Act, Act 47 of 1953*.”

⁷⁹ Author unknown, “‘Education and the Building of a Nation: Education as an Oppressive Weapon’,” *Torch*, 11 August 1959, p. 2.

⁸⁰ “Education and the Building of a Nation: Education as an Oppressive Weapon,” *Torch*, 8 September 1959, p. 2.

⁸¹ The 10-Point Programme of the NEUM:

1. The Franchise, i. e., the right of every man and woman over the age of 21 to elect and be elected to Parliament, Provincial Council and all other Divisional and Municipal Councils.
2. Compulsory, free and uniform education for all children up to the age of 16, with free meals, free books and school equipment for the needy.
3. Inviolability of person, of one’s house and privacy
4. Freedom of speech, Press, meetings and association.
5. Freedom of movement and occupation
6. Full equality of rights for all citizens without distinction of race, colour and sex.
7. Revision of the land question in accordance with the above.
8. Revision of the civil and the criminal code in accordance with the above.
9. Revision of the system of taxation in accordance with the above.
10. Revision of the labour legislation and its application to the mines and agriculture.

SU – van der Ross Collection. Document 69. *Ten-Point Programme of the Non-European Unity Movement*, 1943, p. 1.

⁸² Author unknown, “The 10-Point Programme vs 50 years of Union: Point II: Education,” *Torch*, 23 February 1960, p. 2.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, pp. 2, 7.

⁸⁴ The 6 mechanisms referred to in Author unknown, “The 10-Point Programme vs 50 years of Union: Point II: Education,” *Torch*, 23 February 1960, p. 7:

- (a) separate schools for the so-called racial groups;
- (b) separate teachers (schools staffed along racial lines);
- (c) separate courses of study for each “racial group”
- (d) separate control (state school education for whites and Mission system, now giving way to control by special departments of State, the N.A.D. and the C.A.D. for Non-Whites);

The publication also drew on international critics. An example of this appeared in the 26th of February 1959 issue of popular newspaper the *Cape Argus* and subsequently referred to in the *Educational Journal*. Dr. Joseph Lauwerys, a professor of comparative education at the University of London as well as the co-editor of the *Year Book of Education Fellowship*, wrote: “the educational policies being pursued in the Union are self-defeating. They will not bring about the results desired by those in power. They will divide the nation to no purpose and thereby not only weaken but impoverish it”.⁸⁵ The TLSA and NEUM attempted to achieve greater credibility by referring to international authors such as this. Contemporary critics would no doubt reject this “turn to the west” but in this turbulent context, endorsement of this kind may well have proven beneficial to the assimilationists.

The *Torch* was also quick to rebuke erroneous claims. An administrator of the Cape Education Department made a rather bold claim that the “burden” of Coloured education was placed on the “white taxpayer”. He argued that the majority of Coloured people live in the Cape, and suggested that the cost of Coloured education should not be covered from the national coffers. He further claimed that Coloured people contributed too little in taxes and thus would continue to be a “burden for white taxpayers”. The rebuttal was swift and scathing.⁸⁶

In addition to criticising state policy, the newspaper also confronted its ideological opponents. In an article that can be found in the 21st of April 1959 issue of the *Torch*, reference is made to an article written by Adam Small which was published in the 11th of April 1959 issue of *Die Burger*.⁸⁷ He argued that “we shall naturally have a new type of pupil, a new type of child, a home and parent”.⁸⁸ The *Torch* likened Small to the *De Vos- Malan Commission* which

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- (e) separate training facilities and conditions of service for each “racial” group;
 - (f) separate education subsidies

⁸⁵ J. Lauwerys, “Tribal “Universities” and Building a Nation”, *Educational Journal*, March 1959, p. 1.

⁸⁶ Author unknown, “The White Mans “Burden”: Cost per “white” child R152, PER “Coloured” R60,” *Torch*, 30 May 1962, p. 7.

⁸⁷ *Die Burger* is popularly known as the mouthpiece of the National Party during apartheid especially from December 1960; I. Goldin, *Making Race: The Politics and Economics of Coloured Identity in Africa*, (Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman, 1987), p. 59. However, it too has a complex history.

⁸⁸ Author unknown, ““Coloured Nationalist” Adam Small: Aparte Colleges to be indoctrination centres,” *Torch*, 21 April 1959, p. 8.

endorsed the transfer of Coloured education to the CAD.⁸⁹ The complex figure of Small was harshly caricatured as “one of the indoctrinated robots”.⁹⁰

A fair amount of attention was spent on critiquing the fractured Coloured movement, in particular, the CAD, UCCA and the breakaway faction of TLISA, the Teacher’s Educational and Professional Association (TEPA), formed in 1944.⁹¹ TEPA under the leadership of moderates Richard van der Ross and George Golding adopted the approach of collaboration with the government in a bid to secure greater privileges for the Coloured population. Branded as collaborators, traitors and quislings, the van der Ross-Golding alliance was referred to as the “collaborator teaching group” in 1961.⁹² This followed the transfer of Coloured education from the Cape Education Department to the CAD. A month before, in May 1961, “Golding Welcome Transfer” was published - “former C.A.C. Quisling George Golding is bending over backwards in his effort to make propaganda for the C.A.D and the Nat. government”.⁹³

This “onslaught” followed more recent events where the incumbent Minister of Coloured Affairs, P. W. Botha, was to introduce a Bill to transfer of “Coloured education” from the Cape Provincial Council to the CAD. Pending the enactment of the legislation, articles warning readers of this transfer proliferated.⁹⁴ An appeal was made to the readership and the message was strong. The government wanted to produce cheap labour by “Colouredising” schooling. Attacks were also made on rival movements and Van der Ross was condemned for writing a lukewarm column in the *Cape Times*.⁹⁵ Here it is evident that the Coloured elite were completely fractured on the approach to education for Coloured people and this was to continue with the enactment of the *Coloured Persons Education Act* of 1963.⁹⁶

In this climate, attention was also given to the “special Coloured intelligence tests”. Months leading up to the transfer, the CAD was preparing to carry out special tests to measure the

⁸⁹ V. A. February, *The Afrikaners of South Africa*, (London: Kegan Paul, 1991), p. 137.

⁹⁰ Author unknown, ““Coloured Nationalist” Adam Small: Aparte Colleges to be indoctrination centres,” *Torch*, 21 April 1959, p. 8.

⁹¹ A. Wieder, *Teacher and Comrade: Richard Dudley and the Fight for Democracy in South Africa*, p. 159.

⁹² Author unknown, “No Opposition to Colouredisation”, *Torch*, 21 June 1961, p. 6.

⁹³ Author unknown, “Golding Welcomes Transfer,” *Torch*, 23 May 1962, p. 3.

⁹⁴ Author unknown, “New Session of Herrenvolk Parliament: War Against Non-Whites more bitter than ever,” *Torch*, 17 January 1962. p. 5.

⁹⁵ Author unknown, “Crippling the “Coloured” Oppressed: Detailed Plan is “Coloured Education Bill,” *Torch*, 27 February 1963, p. 1.

⁹⁶ This Act proclaimed “to provide for the control of education of Coloured people by the Department of Coloured Affairs.”; *The Coloured Persons Education Act*, Act 47 of 1963.

“intelligence” and scholastic abilities of Coloured and Asiatic pupils through the South Africa National Bureau of Educational and Social Research. This was perceived by the NEUM as an instrument to derive data which would scientifically segregate the education systems: “special syllabuses, special examinations, certificates, lower wages, job reservation and the rest of Colour discrimination”.⁹⁷ Attention was also shifted to tertiary education.

2.2.1.2 University Apartheid

The first formal university to be established in South Africa in 1918 is the University of Cape Town in 1918 which grew from the South African College (SAC) which was founded in 1829.⁹⁸ Preceding the introduction of apartheid policy in 1948, universities had already been divided along ethnic and racial lines with Afrikaans and English-language institutions catering for the white student population, with the University of Fort Hare being reserved for black students.⁹⁹ In 1957, the NP government embarked on a campaign to further segregate tertiary institutions. This was vehemently opposed by institutions such as UCT and the University of Witwatersrand (Wits).¹⁰⁰ This was articulated at a conference, which resulted in the publication of a 47-page booklet titled, *The Open Universities in South Africa*, in 1957.¹⁰¹ Former Prime Minister and President, Balthazar Johannes (BJ), Vorster and former vice-chancellor of Wits, Guerino Bozzoli claimed that less than 6%, or 1 300 of the total 22 000 students, at the nine South African residential universities were either black, Indian or Coloured.¹⁰²

On the 21st of June 1959, “University Apartheid” was enacted through the implementation of the *Extension of University Education Act* (Act 45 of 1959), which barred non-white students from attending “white universities”. University colleges were established for the other population groups, “to provide for the establishment, maintenance, management and control of university colleges for non-white persons; for the admission of students to and their instruction

⁹⁷ “Crippling the “Coloured” Oppressed: Detailed Plan is “Coloured Education Bill,” *Torch*, 27 February 1963, p. 1.

⁹⁸ H. Phillips, *The University of Cape town, 1918-1948: The Formative Years*, (Cape Town: University of Cape Town, 1993), p. viii.; W. Ritchie *et al.*, *The History of the South African College, 1829-1918*, (Cape Town: Maskew Miller, 1918), p. 1.

⁹⁹ J. Davies, “The State and the South African University System under Apartheid,” *Comparative Education*, (32), (3), 1996, pp. 321-322.

¹⁰⁰ B. J. Vorster and G. R. Bozzoli, “Academic Freedom in South Africa: The Open Universities in South Africa and Academic Freedom 1957-1974,” *Minerva*, (13), (3), 1975, pp. 428-430.

¹⁰¹ *The Open Universities in South Africa*, (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1957).

¹⁰² B. J. Vorster and G. R. Bozzoli, “Academic Freedom in South Africa: The Open Universities in South Africa and Academic Freedom 1957-1974,” *Minerva*, (13), (3), 1975, p. 428.

at university colleges; for the limitation of the admission of non-white students to certain university institutions; and for other incidental matters”.¹⁰³

UCT, Wits and the University of Natal (Durban Campus) admitted some non-white students. Non-white students could enrol in degree programmes at the distance learning institution of the University of South Africa (UNISA). The University of Durban-Westville was designated for Indians, Fort Hare University was reserved for Xhosa people, the University of Zululand at Ngoye was reserved for Zulus and Swazis and in Transvaal, the University of the North at Turfloop was reserved for Sotho, Venda, Tsonga and Tswana students.¹⁰⁴ The University College of the Western Cape (currently the University of the Western Cape) at Bellville, was established in the same year and was designated for Coloured students.¹⁰⁵ The establishment of this particular institution was an area of debate among the Coloured elite across political organisations and this unfolded in the press.

As the mouthpiece of the NEUM as well as having an affiliation to the TLSA, the *Torch*, vehemently opposed the legislation and establishment of these educational institutions from 1958. They referred to them as “tribal bush colleges”.¹⁰⁶ The first article titled, “New Bush Colleges”, criticized the commission involved in the conception of these institutions. The commission alarmingly justified their decision by stating, ““mixed” universities do not help the student to develop his “good manners, language, art, music customs and traditions which can be influenced and formed far better where Non-European students are accommodated in their own institutions””.¹⁰⁷ The sister journal of *The Torch* was quick to follow suit. On the front page of the first issue of 1959 a warning of the imminent implementation of the legislation was levied: “[...]the haste to push on with the university *apartheid* even to the extent of acquiring sites for, or actually establishing the nucleus of the tribal “universities” before the formal passing of the enabling legislation”.¹⁰⁸ Similarly, the *Torch* expressed their concern for the establishment of what they termed “indoctrination clinics”.

¹⁰³ *Extension of University Education Act*, Act 45 of 1959.

¹⁰⁴ L. E. Meyer, “A Report on South Africa’s Black Universities,” *A Journal of Opinion*, (4), (3), 1974, p. 12.

¹⁰⁵ S. P. Cilliers, *The Coloureds of South Africa: A Factual Survey*, (Cape Town, Banier Publishers, 1963), p. 52.

¹⁰⁶ Author unknown, “The Struggle Against Tribal Col.: T.L.S.A. Executive Statement Warns Potential Staff Members,” *Torch*, 24 November 1959, p. 1.

¹⁰⁷ Author unknown, “New Bush College,” *Torch*, 26 August 1958, p. 6.

¹⁰⁸ Author unknown, W. P. van Schoor, “The ‘New Epoch’ and Education,” *Educational Journal*, January 1959, p. 1.

The apartheid era can be defined as a period which not only imposed discriminatory segregation policies but was an era in which Afrikaans and Afrikaner identity of “ethnic purity” was endorsed. This was to justify the viewpoint that distance should be maintained between different population groups.¹⁰⁹ Afrikaans was the medium of instruction at the “Bellville Bush College” during its infancy. This was no doubt partly informed by the close linguistic and cultural links between white Afrikaans-speakers and Coloured Afrikaans-speakers which served as an ideological framework when politicians attempted to draw the Coloured vote by highlighting the similarities between the two linguistically similar groups in contrast to black and English-speaking populations.¹¹⁰ This is articulated by Hendrik Verwoerd and published by the *Torch* in 1959: “[...]it is my standpoint that the Coloureds cannot be treated like the Bantu [...]The Coloureds are a community within the same territorial boundaries as the whites”.¹¹¹ The *Torch* suggested that this was another attempt by the *Herrenvolk* to spread Afrikaner culture and by extension foster assimilation. The use of the term would also illicit fascist connections between Afrikaners and Nazis. It also condemned the then National Party mouthpiece, *Die Burger*, for devoting some of its pages to inform readers “how the Government is being terribly nice to Coloured students”, in order to win their support and encourage their compliance with the policy of apartheid particularly in terms of the new founded designated colleges.¹¹²

“Tribal bush colleges” continued to be a topic of conversation into 1961.¹¹³ It was even argued that the “tribalized syllabi” was controlled by the NAD and CAD. The result would be “Colouredised teachers” who would transfer their indoctrinated values of assimilation and collaboration to Coloured students in schools.¹¹⁴ Thus it condemned the CAD as well TEPA who supported the CADs separatist approach. TEPA members were labelled “sell-outs” and it was claimed that “Coloured teachers” approved the transfer of Coloured education to the CAD.¹¹⁵ The ever mounting tension amongst the Coloured elite continued to be projected throughout the newspaper.

¹⁰⁹ S. Terreblanche, *History of Inequality in South Africa*, (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2002), pp. 298-299.

¹¹⁰ Refer to Chapter 1.

¹¹¹ Author unknown, “Verwoerd’s Invitation to Quislings: Herrenvolk Policy for Coloured People,” *Torch*, 12 May 1959, p. 1.

¹¹² Author unknown, “Bush Colleges Begin their Jobs,” *Torch*, 8 March 1960, pp. 1, 8.

¹¹³ Author unknown, “Education for Tribalism, Cheap Labour,” *Torch*, 31 May 1961, p. 3.

¹¹⁴ Author unknown, “No Opposition to Colouredisation,” *Torch*, 21 June 1961, p. 6.

¹¹⁵ Author unknown, “Crippling the “Coloured” Oppressed: Detailed Plan is “Coloured Education Bill,” *Torch*, 27 February 1963, p. 1.

2.2.2 “Quislings”, Traitors and Collaborators

The divide-and-rule manoeuvres of segregation instituted by British colonial rule and adapted under the apartheid system had a severe impact on the Coloured population and is most apparent in the divisions created amongst the elite, as explicated in Chapter 1. The *Torch* as a periodical which served the Anti-CAD, TLSA and NEUM, were quick to brand “sell-outs”, “traitors” and “quislings”.

In a 1959 article, “C.A.D. Forms Quisling Committee”, the details of a CAD meeting are outlined. This included the transferring of Coloured children to designated schools, the salaries of teachers and the syllabi to be implemented. The committee were named and the chief mastermind, brandished: “Sarleh Dollie (once vice-chairman of the Coloured Advisory Council), E. H. Raubenheimer, CH. Golding, Matthews, Schrieff, Wilton and Nicky Parker. The senior quisling at the meeting was George Golding”.¹¹⁶ By doing so, the aim was to place pressure on readers to shun these individuals. A word of caution is necessitated. In this context, these individuals attempted to achieve some privilege for Coloureds in a growingly bleak climate of racial segregation but their opponents believed that an alternative was indeed conceivable.

In the same year the article, “12 Quislings- Boycott Them: Full List of Collaborators”, named 12 individuals who were elected to the CAD in what was referred to as “mock elections”.¹¹⁷ These individuals were portrayed as defectors of the political struggle who “sold-out” the non-white population for a measly salary. The tone of the article was strategically designed to pit these “ogres” against the “innocent” bystanders also pointing to a hierarchy of quislings: “They are tasked to carry out apartheid against rightless, voiceless, poor and oppressed men, women and children, a fee of £10 per month for ordinary quislings, £22 10c, per month for executive quislings and £25 per month for the Quisling in chief”.¹¹⁸

In addition, the publication went even further, arguably a little too far, by publishing the names, addresses and occupations of the “collaborators”. John Kemm was one such target in 1959:

¹¹⁶ Author unknown, “C.A.D. Forms Quisling Committee,” *Torch*, 20 January 1959, p. 1.

¹¹⁷ Author unknown, “12 Quislings- Boycott Them: Full List of Collaborators,” *Torch*, 10 November 1959, p. 1.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

He is John Kemm.
 He lives in Selby St., Kimberley.
 He is a quisling and a collaborator.
 He supports dummy representation and the Nazi Coloured Affairs Department.
 He sponsored Graham Eden, a dummy rep.
 He is a Klaasjagersbergie.
 He attended the camp for quislings and collaborators at Klaasjagersberg.
 You know him and the story of the Malay Group.¹¹⁹

Kemm is not only branded a collaborator but his educational and religious background is tarnished by association. Klaasjagersberg, a Coloured school for boys, was a contentious initiative between the CAD and the state to train Coloured youths. Reference here is made to the perceived indoctrinating policies of the institution which given the calls to boycott segregated schools, is understandable. However, a detrimental reference is also made to the ideological differences which emanated by members of the Coloured elite who were charged with negotiating the tricky positioning of the Malay (Muslim) population during Coloured identity formation at the Cape.¹²⁰ This worrisome generalisation stands in stark contrast to the ideological call for equality and egalitarianism which is littered throughout the publication. It also contradicts the tenets of NEUM. Indeed, some members of the Malay communities found themselves in various ideological camps of the fractured Coloured elite but this blanket assessment of the Cape Muslim communities (Malays) suggests that so-called nonracialism and nonsectarianism may not necessarily have excluded Islamophobia at this moment in time. As Mohammad Adhikari points out, NEUM was an organisation in a state of flux, even lapsing into moments of racial thinking and only fully self-conscious of its racial ideals by the 1960s.¹²¹ One also remains mindful of the specific individuals responsible for this snippet.

Criticism, in the true spirit of the NEUM, was also directed towards black people labelled as collaborators. The Natives Representative Council (NRC) was tasked to represent black South Africans in parliament with the enactment of the *Native Representation Act* in 1936, which excluded black people from the voters roll in the Cape.¹²² This council consisted of six white and two elected black officials.¹²³ This council would continue to function until 1994 with the

¹¹⁹ Author unknown, "12 Quislings- Boycott Them: Full List of Collaborators," *Torch*, 10 November 1959, p. 1.

¹²⁰ See for example: C. Fransch, "Stellenbosch and the Muslim Communities, 1896-1966", unpublished MA, Stellenbosch University, 2009.

¹²¹ M. Adhikari, "Fiercely Non-Racial? Discourse and Politics of Race in the Non-European Unity Movement, 1943-70," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, (31), (2), June 2005, pp. 403-418.

¹²² *Native Representation Act*, Act 12 of 1936.

¹²³ H. J. Simons and R. E. Simons, *Class and Colour in South Africa 1850-1950*, (London: Penguin Books, 1969), p. 495.

first free elections in South Africa.¹²⁴ In the *Torch*, black members of the NRC were rather harshly referred to as “dummies” and propagators of policies which would continue to keep the black population, “without political rights, permanently oppressed and exploited”.¹²⁵ These figures were decreed “careerists” and “opportunists” with a greater focus on their own progression than the alleviation of oppression of the masses. Much of these objections emanated from the consequences of partial collaboration which was essentially detrimental to the broader cause of equality for all.

As a pillar of the NEUM, the Anti-CAD too voiced their opinions in the *Torch*. Similar to the NEUM, they rejected all forms of “dummy representation” and demanded the full franchise for all. They disapproved of bodies in parliament representing racial groups and advocated for direct representation in Parliament, Provincial and Municipal Councils as well as all other statutory bodies on the basis of a common citizenship.¹²⁶ The Anti-CAD campaign endorsed boycotts in the periodical.¹²⁷ They also continued to campaign against the societal domination of the *Herrenvolk* but also *Herrenvolkism*, defining this as the struggle against not only Afrikaner Nationalism but also white nationalism.¹²⁸ The core ideologies of the movement, conceptualised in 1943, were reiterated in a 1960 article:

(i) that it stands for full and equal citizenship rights for all in this country, members of a single nation, without any regard to “race” colour, creed or sex; (ii) that there cannot and will not be any short and easy path to full democratic rights for the oppressed non-whites; (iii) that there cannot and will not be any short cut, separate or private route to equal citizenship for ANY section of the Non-White oppressed and exploited, whether it be on the basis of property, cash, education, culture, blood, tribe, language, religion or alleged ‘loyalty’ to palsied *Herrenvolkism*.¹²⁹

This reiteration of their core values reaffirms their longstanding commitment to the cause but also exemplifies the essential goals of the Anti-CAD and NEUM as espoused by *The Torch*. It also reveals how the expressions of nonracialism and nonsectarianism were also in a state of flux and not fully conceptualised during this period.

¹²⁴ M. Roth, *The Rhetorical Origins of Apartheid: How the Debates of the Natives Representative Council, 1937-1950, Shaped South Africa*, (North Carolina: McFarland & Company Inc., 2016), p. 5.

¹²⁵ Author unknown, “Switching Dummies,” *Torch*, 20 January 1959, p. 4.

¹²⁶ Author unknown, “Dummy Representation Swindle: Anti-C.A.D. calls for ceaseless opposition,” *Torch*, 16 June 1959, p. 1.

¹²⁷ Author unknown, “Mass Anti-CAD Rally Campaign,” *Torch*, 8 December 1959, p. 1.

¹²⁸ Author unknown, “The Emergency and After: National Anti-C.A.D. on Five Months’ Rule,” *Torch*, 7 September 1960, pp. 3, 8.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

The newspaper also placed a greater focus on collaborators, individuals, than the white government officials they colluded with. Fleeting mention of white individuals was probably necessitated by the hardening censorship and political instability which would lead to arrest or banning. It also reflects the government's hands-off policy on non-white partners who found themselves ostracised in the newspapers. The publication, however, came under greater scrutiny when it actively deliberated on protest, censorship and suppression in its news reports.

2.2.3 Protest, Censorship and Suppression

The events of 21 March 1960 in the Sharpeville Massacre and the declaration of the State of Emergency, fundamentally shifted national focus and attention. While the *Torch* continued its criticism of discriminatory legislation and condemnation of collaborators, reporting on political events such as this was a bold move on the part of the editorial team considering the flurry of legislation which could lead to prosecution and/or incarceration, as outlined in the "Censorship" section of Chapter 1.

2.2.3.1 Protest in Context, c. 1960

On the 16th of December 1959 at the annual conference of the ANC, Albert Luthuli announced that 1960 would be the "year of the pass". An anti-pass¹³⁰ campaign was proposed by the ANC through a series of mass actions.¹³¹ A week later, the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) held its first conference at which it decided to launch its own anti-pass campaign guided by the slogan, "No Bail! No Defense! No Fine!".¹³²

President of the PAC, Robert Sobukwe,¹³³ who was a lecturer at the University of Fort Hare and a former member of the ANC Youth League, announced that the PAC would embark on

¹³⁰ The *Natives (Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents) Act* of 1952, most commonly known as the *Pass Laws*, required black South Africans above the age of 16 to carry a pass book (known colloquially as a *dompas*). This pass would include a photograph of the person, their address, employment record, tax payments and police record; M. Dingake, *My Fight Against Apartheid*, (London: Kliptown Books, 1987), p. 47.

¹³¹ A. Cook, *South Africa: The Imprisoned Society*, (South Africa: International Defence and Aid Fund, 1974), p. 17.

¹³² M. B. G. Motlhabi, *Challenge to Apartheid: Towards a Morally Defensible Strategy*, (Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1988), p. 64.

¹³³ For further reading on Robert Sobukwe see B. Pogrund, *How Can Man Die Better: The Life of Robert Sobukwe* (Cape Town: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 2006).

their anti-pass campaign on the 21st of March 1960.¹³⁴ On the morning of what was intended to be a non-violent protest, local leaders gathered on a field close to the Sharpeville police station with many people joining and forming a large crowd which proceeded to the local police station. A large assembly of policemen were lined up, with some of them stationed on top of armoured vehicles. Local PAC leaders such as Nyakane Tsolo and others, continued to advance towards the police station, consistent with the motto of the PAC “Leaders in front”. They intended to surrender themselves for failure to carry the compulsory pass.¹³⁵ Initially blocked by policemen, by 11 o’ clock they were allowed through. Singing freedom songs and chanting slogans, tension between the crowd and the policemen began to increase. By midday, the crowd of 5000 people faced an armed police force of 300. A scuffle broke out later in the day, close to the entrance of the police station when a policeman was allegedly pushed over. One of the policeman stationed on top of the armoured car, opened fire without warning.¹³⁶ His colleagues followed suit. During the 20-minute shooting spree, 69 people were killed with more than 180 people injured, including women and children. Mayhem ensued, a State of Emergency was declared and both the PAC and ANC were banned.¹³⁷ This event would come to be known as the Sharpeville massacre.

Not all newspapers reported on this event. The *Torch* reported on this tragedy in an article titled, “Festival of Blood and Terror: Brutal Butchery at Sharpeville”. Carefully chosen words captured the brutality of the event: “men, women and children were butchered to death as police raked crowds with machine-gun fire. This terrible, appalling slaughter took place after orderly demonstrations against passes had been provoked into riots by waves of police terrorism”.¹³⁸ Naturally the police were villainized as a result of their actions and the *Torch* linked this to the oppressive policy of apartheid. The tragedy was also captured in eight succinct but poignant charges against the police:

1. The crowd consisted of men, women and children.
2. The crowd was unarmed.
3. The crowd was never at any stage linked together with the intent of attacking the police.

¹³⁴ D. Everatt, *The Origins of Non-Racialism: White Opposition to Apartheid in the 1950s*, (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2009), p. 208.

¹³⁵ D. M. Sibeko, “The Sharpeville Massacre of 21 March 1960: Its historic significance in the struggle against apartheid,” *Notes and Documents- United Nations Centre Against Apartheid*, (New York: United Nations, 1976), pp. 1-3.

¹³⁶ H. Tyler *et al.*, “Sharpeville and After,” *Africa Today*, (3), (7) May 1960, pp. 5-8.

¹³⁷ T. Lodge, *Sharpeville: An Apartheid Massacre and its Consequences*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 74-75.

¹³⁸ Author unknown, “Festival of Blood and Terror: Brutal Butchery at Sharpeville,” *Torch*, 29 March 1960, p. 1.

4. There was never the intention on the part of any substantial portion of the crowd to attack the police.
5. The immediate cause of the shooting was an “incident” at the double gate of the police station. The facts of the incident (as determined by the judge) are:
 - (i) Two P.A.C. officials were arrested here by Col. Spengler of the Special Branch. This had no discernible effect on the crowd.
 - (ii) During the arrest of a third person scuffle ensued. Some witnesses alleged that Col. Spengler assaulted this person. Col. Spengler denied such assault.
 - (iii) With the scuffle between 50 and 100 members of the crowd entered the gate for at most two paces. They did not advance any further, did not rush or charge at any policeman. Under cross-examination Col. Spengler admitted that these people could have been pushed in at the gate by pressure from behind.
6. There was no command to shoot; the policemen just started shooting.
7. The shooting was not restricted to the area at the gate but was general among the policemen at the police station.
8. The police shot “with intent”¹³⁹

The *Torch* editorial team was livid. Carefully curating the international response to these killings they drew on parallels such as “Sharpeville was like Nazi murder ground”,¹⁴⁰ clearly likening Nazism to apartheid. They also employed the international outcry to bolster their own position.¹⁴¹

Within the media, much attention had focused on Sharpeville. But nine days later on the 30th of March 1960 a total of 30 000 protestors marched from Langa and Nyanga to Parliament in Cape Town in order to stage a peaceful protest. This march was led by a 23-year-old UCT student named Philip Kgosana who was a member of the PAC.¹⁴² This too was part of the PAC anti-pass campaign and was also supposed to take place on the 21st of March 1960 but had been postponed.

Langa was the largest and oldest black township in the Western Cape with 25000 inhabitants. It was established in 1927. Social Anthropologists, Monica Wilson and Archie Mafeje argue that the majority of educated and wealthier black people lived in Langa but it remained a working class area.¹⁴³ Although Langa was considered an area that was stable and secure relative to locations in Johannesburg, conditions began to deteriorate in the 1950s and in 1954, the government refused to approve any building of family units. Families were to be deported to the reserves. During this period Langa had experienced an influx of black migrant workers

¹³⁹ Author unknown, “Mass Shooting at Sharpeville,” *Torch*, 1 February 1961, pp. 6, 8.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁴¹ Author unknown, “Herrenvolk Parliament is Shaken: Two-Pronged Counter-Attack Planned- Banning and Repression; A.N.C. Talks with Verwoerd,” *Torch*, 29 March 1960, p. 3.

¹⁴² B. Wilson, *A Time of Innocence*, (Cape Town: Coombes, 1991), p. 379.

¹⁴³ M. H. Wilson and A. Mafeje, *Langa: A Study of Social Groups in an African Township*, (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1963), p. 6.

who had been housed in “zones” which were similar to hostels/bachelor flats. Aligned with the governmental policy of influx control under the 1957 *Urban Areas Amendment Act*, there were restrictions on the movement and employment opportunities of these migrant workers who were also compelled to carry the infamous *dompas*.¹⁴⁴

Founded in 1956, Nyanga was structured differently to Langa. It was created as an “emergency camp” for those who had been flooded out of their homes and those who inhabited squatter camps.¹⁴⁵ Many families from Langa were forcibly relocated to Nyanga. The social links between these two townships were important during this crisis as it allowed for the mobilization of inhabitants from both locations. By early 1960, the Western Cape was one of the leading support bases for the PAC. Similar in intent to the march in Sharpeville, the Langa march intended for participants to leave their passes at home and to boycott their jobs in the hope of strangling industry. The strikers also demanded higher salaries. In retaliation, the police conducted frequent raids in an attempt to compel the workers to return to their jobs. The persistent demonstrations over a three-week period of the peoples of Cape Town, white liberals, black and Coloured, created the greatest challenge to the authorities since the Defiance Campaign in 1952.

The *Torch* reported on the raids which took place in Langa and the bouts of police brutality which accompanied this.¹⁴⁶ It commented on the abuse of power and police brutality: “white members were flaunting their stun guns, revolvers and pistols...the outbreak of violence by the police took the people completely unaware”.¹⁴⁷ To drive home the point, they termed the phrase a “festival of blood”. Ironically, despite the motto of the publication and the ideals of the NEUM, very little attention was given to the ways in which nonracialism had been, albeit briefly, achieved, and how nonsectarianism had brought different classes and races together against a repressive state. This was in all likelihood in an effort to avoid overshadowing the greater cause by foregrounding the pivotal role played by the white Liberals in these campaigns. In addition, editorial attention swayed towards the incumbent restrictions on the freedom of speech.

¹⁴⁴ T. Lodge, “The Cape Town Troubles, March-April 1960,” *Journal of Southern African Studies*, (4), 1974. pp. 219- 221.

¹⁴⁵ P. Ntantala, *An African Tragedy: The Black Woman Under Apartheid*, (Detroit: Agascha Productions, 1976), p. 61.

¹⁴⁶ Author unknown, “Festival of Blood and Terror: Brutal Butchery at Sharpeville,” *Torch*, 29 March 1960, p. 8.

¹⁴⁷ “The Langa Bloodbath: Police on the Rampage,” *Torch*, 29 March 1960, p. 8.

2.2.3.2 Censorship and Suppression: The Demise of the *Torch*, 1960-1963

A working definition of censorship is provided by renowned author Daniel P. Kunene who defines it as: “any curtailment or total denial of an individual’s freedom to utter his or her ideas either orally or in writing, for any audience, whether actual or potential”.¹⁴⁸ Political scientist, Bruce L. Smith, locates this within the context of apartheid South Africa as “authoritarian control of propaganda” which was the attempt by the apartheid regime to stomp out other forms of what they considered to be propaganda.¹⁴⁹ The *Torch* was clearly anti-establishment and anti-collaborationist. Their freedom was to be challenged in subsequent years. They employed no form of self-censorship but opted for a direct and at times crude approach in their news reports. In less subtle ways, it could be argued that the publication promoted purely rejectionist propaganda. In many ways, Smith’s definition of censorship, the stomping out of other forms of “propaganda”, could be adapted here to reflect the radical ways in which other factional ideologies were severely criticised and condemned within the *Torch*. This approach may well have adapted as the organisation matured, but this mouthpiece was soon to cease to exist.

In the aftermath of the Sharpeville Massacre and the Langa Marches of 1960, a series of legislative changes were implemented which had a direct impact on publications such as the *Torch*.¹⁵⁰ The Publications and Entertainment Bill would eventually lead to the assenting of the *Publications and Entertainment Act* (Act. No. 26 of 1963).¹⁵¹ This Act was not applicable to newspapers. The Newspaper Press Union (NPU) were exempt from this censorship as they were subject to their own Code of Conduct. The *Torch*, as an alternative publication, however, was not a member of the NPU and was thus subject to the Publications Control Board which replaced the former censorship board.¹⁵² The discussions surrounding the Bill were hotly contested in the publication.

Particular sections of the Bill which was to regulate publications were publicised. The criteria of an “undesirable” publication included anything that: “(1) brings any section of the

¹⁴⁸ D. P. Kunene, “Ideas under Arrest: Censorship in South Africa,” *Research in African Literatures*, (12), (4), 1981, p. 421.

¹⁴⁹ B. L. Smith, “Propaganda,” *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica*, (15), 1978, p. 44.

¹⁵⁰ These changes are discussed in Chapter 1.

¹⁵¹ *Publications and Entertainment Act*, Act 26 of 1962.

¹⁵² The Publications Control Board was also known as the South African Press Council. For further information see: A. Hepple. *Press Under Apartheid*, (London: International Defence and Aid Fund, 1974). p. 19.

inhabitants of the republic into ridicule or contempt, (2) is harmful to the relations between any section, (3) is prejudicial to the safety of the state, the general welfare or the peace and good order".¹⁵³ The editors and staff of the *Torch* were fully aware that they would be on the list of the "undesirables". They were also cognisant that there would be no appeals board or right to recourse from 1961. This failed to detract them from their mission.

The *Torch* continued to report on challenges facing the non-white population in the same manner by offering criticism of the policies and legislation implemented by the state. They continued to target collaborationists and used the impending censorship Act to highlight how yet another freedom was in jeopardy. They also blamed those factions who continued to work with the state. They continued to call for action against the system in 1962.¹⁵⁴

On the 9th of May 1962 the readers were also warned of the broader censorship policies which would impact their civil liberties beyond print media.¹⁵⁵ By the 5th of December 1962, the *Torch* started reporting on the banning of the *New Age*, which had ties with the ANC.¹⁵⁶ It was first published in October 1954 and its last issue was published in April 1962.¹⁵⁷ It was the predecessor of a publication named the *Guardian* which was banned in 1952. Within the two years between the banning of the *Guardian* and the inception of the paper, it was published under the names the *Clarion* (May-August 1952), *People's World* (August-October 1952) and *Advance* (November 1952-October 1954).¹⁵⁸ In 1962 Minister of Justice, B. J. Vorster voiced his intention of banning this newspaper, claiming that it was furthering the aims of communism.¹⁵⁹ This was implemented under the concessions of the *Suppression of Communism Act* and not the *Publications and Entertainment Act*. This set a precedent.

¹⁵³ Author unknown, "Censorship Bill Now Ready," *Torch*, 14 June 1961, p. 8. The complete criteria which declared a publication undesirable: "if it, or any part of it, prejudicially affects the safety of the State; can have the effect of disturbing the peace or good order; prejudicing the general welfare; being offense to decency; giving offence to the religious convictions of any section of the inhabitants; bringing any section of the inhabitants into ridicule or contempt; harming relations between sections of the inhabitants; promoting crime; discloses details of evidence given in legal proceedings regarding indecent acts, adultery or impotence; or is otherwise on any ground objectionable", A. Hepple, *Press Under Apartheid*, (London: International Defence and Aid Fund, 1974), p. 18.

¹⁵⁴ Author unknown, "State Control of Press News vs Press Barons: Press Commission Reports," *Torch*, 28 February 1962, p. 1.

¹⁵⁵ Author unknown, "Censorship for Total Darkness: Provisions of Publications and Entertainment Bill," *Torch*, 9 May 1963, p. 3.

¹⁵⁶ P. Naidoo, *156 Hands that Built South Africa*, (Durban: Stephan Phillips (pty) Ltd. 2006), p. 197.

¹⁵⁷ L. Switzer and M. Adhikari, *South Africa's Resistance Press: Alternative Voices in the Last Generation Under Apartheid*, (Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2000), p. 41.

¹⁵⁸ L. Switzer, *South Africa's Alternative Press: Voices of Protest and Resistance, 1880s-1960s*, p. 85.

¹⁵⁹ A. Hepple, *Press Under Apartheid*, (London: International Defence and Aid Fund, 1974), p. 26.

Sources close to the government disclosed that along with the *Contact*,¹⁶⁰ the *Torch* was included on the list of publications under surveillance.¹⁶¹ It was branded communist in leaning. By 1963 the *Torch* could be banned under the *Suppression of Communism Act* and the *Publications and Entertainment Act* would ban those who published the newspaper from the media world. The *Torch* conceded defeat in January of 1963.¹⁶² The 4th of December 1963 issue of the *Torch* was its last. In one last act of defiance, it refused to admit to its readers that it had been banned by the apartheid state. For one last time it reiterated that it was “a non-profit making weekly, independent but based on the 10-point programme of the Non-European Unity Movement”.¹⁶³ Its affiliation was made clear.¹⁶⁴

2.3 Chapter Conclusions

The discussion reflected in this chapter is located between the *Torch* branding itself as “The Only Independent Non-European Newspaper and the claim by Les and Donna Switzer that the *Torch* served as the official mouthpiece of the NEUM. Discerning between this is complex, but necessary in order to re-evaluate Coloured politics and its relationship with print media in order to understand the complexity encompassed by the different approaches utilised by the Coloured elite in reaction to apartheid legislation and implications thereof. Therefore, from the discussion presented in this chapter one can deduce that both are true: it was an Independent Non-European newspaper that also served as the mouthpiece for individuals who were affiliated with the NEUM but not only with them but the TLSA and Anti-CAD as well. This this chapter argued that the *Torch* was a newspaper that indeed served as “a mouthpiece for Non-European unity”. Similarly, it is argued that central figures begin to emerge which become significant as this dissertation unfolds.

Certain years during the lifespan of the *Torch* are of greater significance due to varying reasons. The year of 1952 saw the decline of reporting on community news which was eclipsed by greater politically leaning content. This coincided with the implementation of the pass laws

¹⁶⁰ The *Contact* was a monthly newspaper and the official organ of the Liberal Party. It was published from January 1954 to December 1967. It featured articles in both English and Zulu; L. Switzer, *South Africa's Alternative Press: Voices of Protest and Resistance, 1880s-1960s*, p. 86.

¹⁶¹ Author unknown, “Direct Attack on Non-Conforming Press Begins: “New Age” Ban: First of Series of Attacks,” *Torch*, 5 December 1962, p. 1.

¹⁶² Author unknown, “Securing Thought Control: Provisions of Censorship Bill,” *Torch*, 30 January 1963, p. 1.

¹⁶³ Author unknown, “The “Torch”: An Announcement,” *Torch*, 4 December 1963, p. 1.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

and thus a greater emphasis of non-racialism was introduced in the content of the newspaper. The year of 1959 was one of great significance in the *Torch* as it not only published its first article in IsiXhosa but also included egalitarian education as a focal point of discussion. This was sparked by the implementation of “University Apartheid” under the Extension of University Education Act of 1959 which excluded non-white students from “white universities”. This act also ushered in university colleges for the non-white population groups. This was an area in the which the fracture within the Coloured elite was completely evident as individuals such as Adam Small and John Kemm were harshly brandished in the *Torch*. Both Small and Kemm were in favour of educational institutions allocated for Coloured people. Kemm supported the initiative by the CAD to establish Klaasjagersberg, a boys school which was regarded in the *Torch* as one which promoted indoctrination policies. He thus was condemned in the newspaper to the extent that his address was disclosed and religious background was tarnished due to his association with Klaasjagersberg. Small on the other hand was condemned for his promotion of the University College of the Western Cape and the perception that he endorsed the transfer of Coloured education to the CAD due to his optimistic statements pertaining to University College of the Western Cape.

The following year too was of great significance in the newspaper as the atrocity of the Sharpeville Massacre took place, along with the Langa march. These two events were not only reported on in the newspaper but were communicated in a manner which bolstered the justification for black unity as pertinent to the resistance and defiance of white supremacy in the pursuit of egalitarianism.

Individuals of the Coloured elite branded as collaborators continued to be criticised such as Richard van der Ross and George Golding who would come to play a significant role in *Die Banier* newspaper which shall be discussed in the next chapter. These two were referred to as the “collaborator teaching group” and were singled out in order to discourage readers from supporting them and the organisations they were affiliated to, TEPA and the CAC. Though in 1961 prominent figures in the editorship of the *Torch*, Joyce Meissenheimer and Richard Dudley, were banned due to an increase in censorship policy and repression, in true non-collaborative fashion the newspaper did not waver in its criticism of the apartheid state and its institutions. Though, this eventually lead to its demise in 1963.

Communication theorist, Denis McQuail theorised five fundamentals which pertain to the purpose of that media (discussed in Chapter 1): Information, Correlation, Continuity Entertainment and Mobilization. The *Torch* fulfilled these purposes in terms of *Information* by especially during its infancy, reporting on community news and from 1952 onwards unpacking rhetoric regarding South African history as well as providing commentary on implemented apartheid legislation. In terms of *Correlation* it fulfilled this purpose by presenting discussions on challenges it viewed the non-European community were facing and promoting support of the Anti-CAD, TLSA and NEUM towards the pursuit of egalitarianism. *Continuity* was embodied by its consistent advocacy of non-collaboration and black unity. *Entertainment* was provided through puzzles and reports on sport which fostered amusement and the easing of social tension. Lastly, *Mobilization* was fulfilled by it encouraging readers to boycott “collaborator” organisations - UCCA, CAD, CAC and CPNU.

As the official organ of the NEUM, the *Torch* did not only reflect its values but its policies as well. Such policies were firstly black unity as a cornerstone, which the NEUM believed was its most powerful weapon which would lead to the demise of the apartheid government. The newspaper further preached non-collaboration with ruling authorities and government institutions. Non-collaboration was also embodied by the Anti-CAD and echoed by the TLSA in its mouthpiece the *Educational Journal*. This was done by encouraging boycotts, and discouraging readers from all institutions regarded as racist or assimilationist such as the CAD, the CAC, the UCCA and the CPNU by these affiliated periodicals. At the heart of the discussions presented in the newspaper was the ideology of non-racialism and non-white unity. These were seen as the means to attain the objective of an egalitarian South Africa.

The *Educational Journal* and the *Torch* were complimentary. The sentiments regarding a challenge facing the non-white population are discussed in both periodicals with little to no dissimilarity. This was to infer a united front to readers especially towards the opposition. The same terminology was used in both, with the term quisling and *herrenvolk* frequently deployed. The stark difference between these two periodicals was the radical nature of the *Torch* which expressed viewpoints in a direct manner than that of the *Educational Journal*. The scrutiny of collaborators was also more explicit in the *Torch* – publishing addresses of these individuals subtly encouraging readers to use whatever means to boycott and ostracise these individuals.

Although there were fleeting mentions of white figures, they were not the focal point of debate. This was a little too risky. The focus was rather placed on those whom collaborated and colluded with them as this was viewed as an even greater betrayal of the non-white population. The *Torch* also rejected the term Coloured preferring the term non-European in support of a united non-white front.

Individuals who further sought justification of their beliefs of Coloured as a separate population group and representative of a separate identity from the black population group, were attracted to *Die Banier* newspaper which branded itself as “The Only Voice of 1.5 Million Coloureds in South Africa”

Chapter 3

Die Banier, 1959-1966

3.1 Introduction

The monthly newspaper known as *Die Banier*¹ was first published in December 1959 after it was registered as a newspaper at the Head Post Office. It was printed by Pro Ecclesia in Stellenbosch and published by Banier Publishers located in Maitland, Cape Town. Originally a monthly newspaper, in January 1962 it began to be published twice a month, publishing a first edition and second edition each month. This speaks to a growing popularity amongst its readers.² In 1963 it made the attempt to reach the entire household with the introduction of a women's section in the newspaper which was titled "*Vir Vrouwe*"³ as well a children's section called "*Die Klein Banier*"⁴.

From its inception it was a bilingual newspaper, featuring articles predominantly in English but also Afrikaans, in attempt to appeal to a wider Coloured readership of varied linguistic abilities.⁵ It ceased publication in February 1966. *Die Banier* contentiously branded itself as "The Only Voice of 1.5 Million Coloureds in South Africa" and this was indicated in the top right corner of the front page of each issue.⁶ Located in the top left corner of the issues published between 1959 and 1960 was a slogan which read, "Na n' beter toekoms".⁷ This encouraged readers to remain optimistic despite the political climate. As pressure mounted by the state and further restrictions on Coloured people were being implemented, by the end of 1960, this slogan was replaced by an advertisement which read, "Is Beter, Sterker en Betroubaar", in an attempt to reaffirm the dwindling credibility of the publication during a period of fierce resistance by other Coloured movements and their mouthpieces.⁸ This

¹ English translation: The Banner

² Author unknown, "Twee Keer per Maand. Die Banier brei uit", *Die Banier*, January 1962 (first edition), p. 1.

³ English Translation: For Women

⁴ English Translation: The Small Banner

⁵ NLSA, *A List of South African Newspapers, 1800- 1982: with Library Holdings*, (Pretoria: State Library, 1983), p. 7.

⁶ Author unknown, "The Only voice of 1½ Million Coloureds in South Africa," *Die Banier*, January 1960, p. 1.

⁷ English Translation: To a better future; *Die Banier*, December 1959, p. 1.

⁸ English translation: Is better, stronger and reliable; *Die Banier*, January 1961, p.1.

rollercoaster of branding sits in contrast to the principle of non-racialism consistently emphasized in the previous chapter on the *Torch*. This also reflects the divergence in ideological approach by the Coloured rejectionist and assimilationist factions who used the *Torch* and *Die Banier* as political mouthpieces.

Initially this newspaper was established as a platform to foster social cohesion and racial harmony between the white and Coloured South African population groups. This is articulated on the front page of its first issue:

Die Banier is in die lewe geroep om ‘ spreekbuis te wees vir Kleurlinge en Blankes en met die besliste doel om die aanknoping en versterking van soveel moontlik nuttige kontakte tussen die twee bevolkingsgroepe te bevorder in die belang van ons gesamelike toekoms.⁹

The consequence of this was the exclusion of the black and Indian population groups, in contrast to the broader non-white focus of the *Torch*. *Die Banier* also identified itself as apolitical, an unfounded claim which will be challenged in this chapter. It also claimed to safeguard the interests of all Coloured people across the country. By 1960, 88.29% of Coloureds resided in the Western Cape region. The newspaper content reflects this geographic imbalance as most of the concerns raised within the publication were clearly regional in focus.¹⁰

The newspaper contained different sections of news and discussion. It included many advertisements ranging from alcohol, groceries and cigarettes to shoe makers and suit tailors, and this provided a good source of income which would, in principle, ensure longevity. Many would include white people promoting “Vaseline Honey Gold”¹¹ or Ponds face powder which “gives *extra* lightness, *extra* loveliness that win the admiring glances!”¹² These examples promoted lightness of complexion but also speaks to the assimilationist agenda of the publication by foregrounding white heritage at the expense of black, likening Coloured heritage to white. The particularity of the Coloured races as products of miscegenation and the call for recognition of this racial group was also a central tenet of the publication. An example of this double-edged rhetoric can be seen in an article in the May 1960 issue where a reader responded

⁹ English translation: *Die Banier* was called into life to be a mouthpiece for Coloureds and whites, and with the explicit goal to promote the connection and strengthening of as many useful connections as possible between the two population groups in the interest of our collective future; “Ons Doel,” *Die Banier*, December 1959, p. 1.

¹⁰ S.P. Cilliers, *The Coloureds of South Africa: A Factual Survey*, (Cape Town: Banier Publishers, 1963), p. 16.

¹¹ Author unknown, *Die Banier*, September 1960, p. 7.

¹² Author unknown, *Die Banier*, January 1961, p. 9.

to an article titled, “Coloured Patriotism” which featured in the March 1960 issue. Herein the reader argued that both black and white South African population groups originated elsewhere with the black group coming from the north and the white group coming from Europe. However, the letter to the editor goes further to acknowledge the white heritage, thus promoting collaboration: “Die Kleurling het in Suid-Afrika ontstaan as die enigste ware ras wat aan hierdie grond verbind is met bande van bloed. Ons het minstens soveel regte hier as die blanke en die African... Maar laat ons nie vergeet nie dat ons wesenlik by die Blankes behoort. Hulle grootvaders was ook ons s’n”.¹³ There was a careful curation of advertisements with news reports and opinion pieces which were aligned to promote the objectives of the publication.

The “recipe section” focused primarily on desserts which were popular amongst Cape Coloureds and white Afrikaners, and the “Short stories” section promoted the theme of friendship.¹⁴ The newspaper also contained an “opinion section” in which readers would write to the editor and express their views or challenge statements made by a particular author in a previous issue. This section in particular, unlike the previous publication investigated in Chapter 2, provides insight into the Coloured and white views of *Die Banier*’s readership. In large part, this was conciliatory in tone, and best summarized by the case of a white woman from Parow who wrote:

Graag wil ek as blanke leser van u pragtige blad u van harte gelukwens daarmee. U is besig om brûe van welwillendheid te skep tussen die Kleurlinge en die Blanke. Ons as Blankes sê ook dankie aan die Kleurlinge en hul leiers vir die mooi houding wat hulle ingeneem het gedurende die krisis om hulle aan die kant van wet en orde te skaar. Ek is bly dat die Regering en die pers notisie van hierdie houding geneem het want ek is seker dit sal baie bydra tot ‘n nuwe gees van goedgesindheid.¹⁵

This open public platform would thus gave credence to the political escapades of the Coloured elite. The public in these instances would include literate and interested members of society,

¹³ English translation: The Coloured existed in South Africa as the only true race connected to the soil and bonds of blood. We have at least as much rights here as the African...But let us not forget that we actually belong with the whites. Their grandfathers were also ours, “Ander Koers?,” Author unknown, *Die Banier*, May 1960, p. 2.

¹⁴ English translation: How Dassie lost his tail, Author unknown, “Hoe Dassie Sy Stert Verloor Het,” *Die Banier*, May 1960, p. 8.

¹⁵ Author’s translation: As a white reader of your beautiful newspaper, I would dearly like to congratulate you on this. You are creating bridges of benevolence between the Coloureds and the whites. We, as whites, also say thank you to the Coloured people and their leaders for the good attitude they took during the crisis to move them to the side of law and order. I am glad that the government and the press have taken note of this attitude because I am sure it will greatly contribute to a new spirit of goodwill, E. Smith, “Dankie,” *Die Banier*, May 1960, p. 4.

thus class divides remained intact. Other sporadic inserts included a poetry and cartoon section, as well as a section which published educational and training opportunities for Coloured people. The former two were largely included for entertainment purposes yet they attracted submissions from contentious figures. A poem by Adam Small, “There is Something”, for example, reflected on political and economic restrictions experienced by Coloured people but served to inspire readers to not lose hope.¹⁶ Clearly, assimilation and united Coloured patriotism were the cornerstone of this publication during its infancy.

The layout of *Die Banier* closely resembled the NP mouthpiece, *Die Burger*. Both used a similar font on the front page, while similarly containing advertisements on either side of the name. The initial editor of *Die Banier* was a former employee of *Die Burger* and this raises questions on the extent of the influence between these two publications. There is no evidence to suggest that *Die Banier* was subject to direct censorship by the government because it echoed many of the strategic ideals of the state, in stark contrast to the *Torch*. Up until 1960, there is evidence to suggest an alignment of political stance between the two publications.

Journalist and writer Elaine Potter argues that in 1960, “*Die Burger* carried out article after article presentencing the case for a reappraisal of Coloured policy. Readers were invited to express their views and a great deal of space was given to letters sympathetic to a new deal for Coloureds”.¹⁷ This was heavily criticized by Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd in another northern publication, *Die Transvaler*, where he pointed out that such appeals went against apartheid policy. *Die Burger* was quick to report on this in the 25th of November issue making the argument that continued segregation would be detrimental to the white race.¹⁸ As *Die Burger* became more conservative, *Die Banier* strengthened its policy of promoting a united white and Coloured future. In many ways, they took up the challenge of fighting for a collective, albeit separate, future.

As with its contemporary, the *Torch*, the publication represented the ideals of a different ideological group of Coloured elites, TEPA and the CPNU. It was also perceived by opponents to be a platform which supported and promoted the organisations dubbed as collaborators and

¹⁶ A. Small, “There is Something”, *Die Banier*, July 1961, p. 8.

¹⁷ E. Potter, *The Press as Opposition: The Political Role of South African Newspapers*, (London: Chatto & Windus, 1975), p. 184.

¹⁸ Author unknown, “Die Kleurlinge se Toekoms”, *Die Burger*, 25 November 1960, p. 16.

quislings such as the CAD and UCCA. As such, the establishment of *Die Banier* was heavily criticized by the anti-CADs. Prominent figures of these organisations regularly contributed articles. In contrast to the *Torch*, intellectual space in the newspaper allowed readers to witness some of the debates among members of the Coloured elite on the challenges facing the Coloured population. The *Torch* was quick to condemn the paper:

Despite a few thin claims to providing a “forum” and a means of making “useful contacts” for “our” (i.e. “Blanke-Kleurling”¹⁹) future, every one of the 12 pages of “Die Banier” betrays its origin and purpose: to popularize the Coloured Affairs Department: to win support and respectability for the Union Council of Coloured Affairs and its Quislings and collaborators (who are well represented in the issue); to foster “Colouredism” (Called “Coloured Nationalism” by one of the contributors, U.C.C.A. Fortein of Kokstad); to sow anti-African feeling; to fight the Anti-C.A.D. and T.L.S.A.; and to break Non-European unity.²⁰

Coloured Nationalism refers to the identification of a Coloured nation and support of its separate interests, albeit exclusionary or to the detriment of another group or nation. It also refers to the advocacy or support of political independence of Coloured people within South Africa. This article goes further to discredit certain individuals associated with the publication, such as Richard van der Ross and Christopher. I. R. Fortein, who are referred to as “Coloured servants (i.e. slaves)” and reduces their loyalty to what they regard as their “white blood”.²¹ Quislings were referred to as the Coloured wing of the NP.²² There is a vibrant literature on Coloured people who sought to improve their situation by either reclassifying themselves as white if they were fair-skinned or “playing-white” in social spaces by foregrounding western behaviours.²³ The latter was very much determined by class. This term white-Coloured is employed to categorise and castigate these individuals.

Die Banier was condemned because of its organizational ties but specific individuals were the target of this fury. Speculation was also circulated about the NP financial backing of the

¹⁹ English translation: white-Coloured.

²⁰ Author unknown, “Paper Front for Step-Children-Collabr.: C.A.D.-D.R.C-U.C.C.A-T.E.P.A-C.P.N.U- Given Paper Banner by Nats.,” *Torch*, 15 December 1959, p. 3.

²¹ NLSA, Author unknown, “Paper Front for Step-Children-Collabr.: C.A.D.-D.R.C-U.C.C.A-T.E.P.A-C.P.N.U- Given Paper Banner by Nats.,” *Torch*, 15 December 1959, p. 8.

²² NLSA, Author unknown, “Coloured Nat. Party Wing: Request for Quisling Boards,” *Torch*, 25 January 1960, p. 2.

²³ See: G. Breakwell, *Coping With Threatened Identities*, (London: Methuen & Co., 1986); F. J. Davis, *Who is Black?: One Nation’s Definition*, (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania University Press, 1991); K. Brown, “Coloured and Black Relations in South Africa: The Burden of Racialized Hierarchy,” *Macalester International*, (9), (13), 2000; G. C. Bowker and S. L. Star. *Sorting Things Out: Classification and Its Consequences*, (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999).

publication.²⁴ Founding fathers such as the Dutchman, Aat Kaptein, and contributors to *Die Banier* found themselves under heavy criticism by members of the anti-CAD, TLISA and NEUM.

3.2 The Editorial Board and Prominent Contributors

In contrast to the *Torch*, which consisted of non-white contributors, *Die Banier*, in accordance with its inclusionary stance, had both white and Coloured contributors, connected by the common belief in a separate Coloured collective living in harmony alongside the white collective. *Die Banier* was also headed by a white editor. The contributors and authors ranged from members of the Coloured elite, parliamentary members as well as academics. These prominent figures included, Aat Kaptein, George Golding, Christopher Fortein, Adam Small and Richard van der Ross. Each made contributions in their own particular way.

3.2.1. Aat Kaptein

The editor and founder of *Die Banier* was a white Dutchman by the name of Aat Kaptein.²⁵ Employed as a journalist at *Die Burger*, his tenure ended in 1961.²⁶ Kaptein was also as a former radio presenter for SAUK (Suid-Afrikaanse Uitsaaikorporasie).²⁷ He was critically acclaimed in the publishing world for engaging with a plethora of challenges facing South Africa in an “ironic and mocking tone”.²⁸ This he used as a gimmick to entice and entertain his audience.

His biographer, John. C. Kannemeyer, suggests that Kaptein initially received financial support from the *Nasionale Pers (Naspers)* to establish “a weekly newspaper targeting

²⁴ NLSA, Author unknown, “Coloured Nat. Party Wing: Request for Quisling Boards,” *Torch*, 25 January 1960, p. 2.

²⁵ L. Switzer & D. Switzer, *The Black Press in South Africa and Lesotho: A descriptive bibliographic guide to African, Coloured and Indian newspapers, newsletters and magazines, 1836 - 1979*, (Boston: G. K. Hall & Co., 1979), pp. 30-31.

²⁶ I. Goldin, *Making Race: The Politics and Economics of Coloured Identity in South Africa*, (Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman, 1987), p. 90.

²⁷ English Translation: SABC (South African Broadcasting Corporation), South African Broadcasting Corporation, *Ons Land* (Johannesburg, SAUK, 1967), p. i.

²⁸ J. C. Kannemeyer, *Lerou, 'n Lewe*, (Pretoria: Protea Boekhuis, 2008), p. 219.

the Coloured population”.²⁹ This would suggest that the initial funding proposal was aligned to national directives. However, funding was summarily suspended due to Kaptein’s “alternative” views expressed in *Die Banier*. Kannemeyer describes Kaptein as a hardworking, knowledgeable person, fluent in French, German, English, Afrikaans and Dutch.³⁰ A fellow contributor, Richard van der Ross, recalls that he “disapproved of Nationalist policies, and embraced the cause of the Coloured people”.³¹ He was therefore, anti-establishment and much more complex as a figure.

Further insight into his career were published in an obituary in *Die Burger* on 14 July 1989.³² He is described as a disciplined individual with an entrepreneurial spirit.³³ The editor at *Die Burger* at the time, Piet Cillié, described his impact as one of significance and as a journalist at *Die Burger*, his work was more widely read.³⁴ His popularity within *Die Banier* was also described by Percy Hoff, member of the UCCA Coloured elite, in an article titled, “Make Certain Our Allies Will Not Fell Us”.³⁵ Kaptein is congratulated for promoting debate within the publication.³⁶ This was echoed by fellow contributor, Van der Ross, who praised Kaptein for furthering the “Coloured cause” of progression within South African society.³⁷ There was a heartfelt appreciation for his efforts.

He also had a strong courage of conviction. His career at *Die Burger* ended in 1961 because he refused to omit discussions which promoted the idea of aligning the white and Coloured population. Kaptein’s views on race and the position of people of mixed origin is articulated in his publication, *De Unie van Zuid Afrika* (the Union of South Africa), published in 1952, under the heading “Het Probleem Der Rassen” (the Race Problem). He goes to extensive lengths to show how the Coloured population were the products of miscegenation foregrounding the similarities of the cultures of white and Coloured South Africans. He rather alarmingly believed that Coloureds were not as civilised as whites but he was a strong advocate for assimilating

²⁹ Here Kannemeyer is referring to *Die Banier*. He erroneously refers to a weekly publication when it was in fact monthly.

³⁰ J. C Kannemeyer, *Leroux: ‘n Lewe*, p. 219.

³¹ R. E. van der Ross, *In Our Own Skins. A Political History of the Coloured People*, (Cape Town: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 2015), p. 112.

³² There is a level of caution in accepting these observations due to the purpose of an obituary, which celebrates the contributions of a person’s life.

³³ Author unknown, “Gewilde Aat Kaptein is oorlede”, *Die Burger*, 14 July 1989, p. 5.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ P. Hoff, “Make Certain Our Allies Will not Fell Us”, *Die Banier*, June 1961, p. 2.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ R. E. van der Ross, *In Our Own Skins: A Political History of the Coloured People*, p. 112.

Coloureds into white society.³⁸ Despite his racist outlook on the intellectual capacity of Coloureds, a vast number of contributors were Coloured.

3.2.2 George Golding

In 1906 George John Golding was born in Ladysmith. He trained as a teacher at Zonnebloem College.³⁹ He was the first chairperson of the CAC, established in 1943, and was regarded as a conservative.⁴⁰ He was labelled a collaborationist by his opponents. In 1959 he became the headmaster of Ashley Street School in Cape Town.⁴¹ He was a founding member of the splintered faction of the TLSA, TEPA.⁴² He was also one of the founders of the CPNU in 1944. He served as editor of the political mouthpiece of the CPNU, the *Sun*,⁴³ and in 1960 he served as the secretary of the CPNU and was later promoted to president.⁴⁴ This organisation attempted to supersede both the APO and SACPO.⁴⁵

He was disillusioned with the Coloured political leadership but remained optimistic about the future of the Coloured population. This, he would argue, could only be achieved through a collective Coloured drive. An article found in *Die Banier* on September 1960 articulates his vision: “The time is opportune now for the Coloured people to show better responsibility and to act in a manner befitting their status. We should not delay any longer. A move towards unity will be a most heartening development”.⁴⁶

His pessimism towards the Coloured leadership stemmed from the years of internal factionalism. In September 1960 he wrote:

³⁸ A. Kaptein, *De Unie van Zuid Afrika*, (Amsterdam: De Boer, 1952), pp. 232-233.

³⁹ For furthering reading regarding Zonnebloem College see: J. Hodgson and T. Edlmann, *Zonnebloem College and the genesis of an African intelligentsia, 1857-1933*, (Cape town: African Lives, 2018).

⁴⁰ A. Wieder, *Teacher and Comrade: Richard Dudley and the Fight for Democracy in South Africa*, p. 32.

⁴¹ Author unknown, “Pragtige Aladdin in Kaapse Stadsaal: Skool van George Golding voer uitsekende pantomime op”, *Die Banier*, December 1959, p. 1.

⁴² T. Couzens, “History of the Black Press in South Africa 1836-1960.” *Unpublished Seminar Paper*, (Johannesburg: The University of the Witwatersrand Institute for Advanced Social Research, 1987), pp. 189-190.

⁴³ H. W. van der Merwe and C. J. Groenewald (eds.), *Occupational and Social Change Among Coloured People in South Africa*, (Cape Town: Juta, 1976), p. 224.

⁴⁴ Author unknown, “C. P. N. U. Cape Eastern: The Annual Report”, *Die Banier*, August 1960, p. 6.

⁴⁵ *George John Golding*. <https://www.sahistory.org.za/people/george-john-golding> (14 June 2020).

⁴⁶ G. Golding, “We Need Closer Understanding and Inspiring Leadership: Constructive Planning and United Representation of our Will”, *Die Banier*, September 1960, p. 1.

Let me select a point at which I could trace the decline in responsible actions against the Coloured leaders which is within the memory of the present generation. In doing so I will be personal, mainly because I have lived through the years when harmony and constructive planning witnessed progress. I have also witnessed the painful experience of seeing the fruit of hatred and division enter our ranks.⁴⁷

There is an underlying tone of nostalgia, pessimism but also anger towards his compatriots. He goes on in his article to ask, “Are they prepared after years of disunion to face the fact that it is expected of them to show signs of constructive planning; effective and inspiring leadership?”⁴⁸

In sound journalistic practice, the newspaper published an angry letter to the editor which berated Golding: “Men like Mr. Golding should please shut up and please don’t talk any more rubbish”.⁴⁹ What this indicates is that the newspaper did not engage in censorship – they welcomed criticism, but it also indicates that Golding and similar figures made several such declarations over a yearlong period. One is reminded of how the *Torch* ascribed the title of “senior quisling” to Golding,⁵⁰ summarising his efforts as a mere propaganda campaign for the CAD and NP.⁵¹

Of great significance for Golding was the implementation of the Group Areas Act passed in 1950. He makes this point in January 1961 arguing that Coloured people had historical links to the soil of South Africa:

The Coloured people have their roots firmly planted all over South Africa. They have developed areas where they have settled for generations, and to move them to a couple of million morgen of barren waste land, is such a wild-cat scheme as to call an immediate halt for the prosecuting of this idea. Economically it is unsound, culturally it is bad, and if any brotherhood is to be shown to one another in whatever future lies ahead in South Africa, then surely it will not be forthcoming from a segregated, dispirited people who are placed in the barren wastes of the Union of South Africa.⁵²

He ties his rejection of this Act to the prospective collective future of the race. This he firmly believed could be achieved through an alliance with the white population. He would make a concerted effort to congratulate those who embraced this vision.⁵³ He also rejected job

⁴⁷ G. Golding, “We Need Closer Understanding and Inspiring Leadership: Constructive Planning and United Representation of our Will”, *Die Banier*, September 1960, p. 1.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ Author unknown, “Mnr. Golding”, *Die Banier*, August 1961, p. 6.

⁵⁰ Author unknown, “C.A.D. Forms Quisling Committee,” *Torch*, 20 January 1959, p. 1.

⁵¹ Author unknown, “Golding Welcomes Transfer,” *Torch*, 23 May 1962, p. 3.

⁵² G. Golding, “Colouredstan Inacceptable says George Golding”, *Die Banier*, January 1961, p. 6.

⁵³ G. Golding, “Too Early for Direct Representation in Parliament”, *Die Banier*, January 1961, p. 1

reservation for white people as an unfair practice and a hindrance to the socio-economic progression of Coloured people. It would also demoralize young children.

His tenure as a contributor at *Die Banier* can be defined as one which sought to attain recognition of Coloured people as equal to whites despite being labelled a collaborator and quisling from within his own racial ranks. Another figure who found themselves in a similar position was C. Fortuin.

3.2.3 Christopher Isaac Fortein

Christopher Isaac Ronald Fortein or C.I.R. Fortein as he was referred to in *Die Banier* and the *Torch*, was a member of the UCCA. Fortein was an avid contributor to the *Sun* newspaper and was a proponent of “Coloured Nationalism”.⁵⁴ In his first contribution to *Die Banier* in December 1959, he did not mix his words:

It must be remembered that through no fault of our people, they invariably find themselves unwanted by their white forebearers, whose habits manners and way of life they have inherited and by the Bantu who still despise them as “bastards”, with no tribal history and tradition. In such circumstances the Coloured people have come to occupy an uneasy social and economic position for they are truly sandwiched between the upper and nether stones of European prejudice and Bantu cheap labour.⁵⁵

Here he promotes the particularity of the Coloured races who, in his terms, have been rejected by both black and white forefathers. Yet he does go on to strengthen cognitive ties pointing to Coloureds as being “European minded and orientated” with no tribal background.⁵⁶ The ambiguity of both western science and culture, both significant ideological tools which informed scientific racism during the apartheid era, are ignited through his statement. Above this, the particularity and the sense of not belonging to either white or black, is employed to incite Coloured nationalism.

The “Coloured question” was heavily scrutinized by opposing members of the Coloured elite. In an issue of the *Torch*, Fortein’s appeals were vehemently attacked. His references for land and belonging, the establishment of a “happy, contented and progressive Coloured Nation”,

⁵⁴ Author unknown, “More Scrappings of Quisling Barrel: 15 Nominated U.C.C.A. Yes-Boys announced: Government very thankful,” *Torch*, 1 December 1959, p. 1.

⁵⁵ C. I. R Fortein: “We Want a Coloured Nationalism, *Die Banier*, December 1959, p. 5.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

ordained by God, (“it is the will of God almighty that there should be a central Coloured Nation in South Africa”), were conflated with Nazi terms such “land and *Lebenraum*”⁵⁷ and Afrikaner nationalist preaching which also promoted a similar celestial blessing during territorial conquest in South Africa.⁵⁸ Fortuin was dismissed as having a “slave’s dream” and was severely criticised for entertaining the idea of separate development.

Criticism failed to deter. In August 1961 Fortuin claimed that, “The Coloured group will and must remain in the European State. The Coloureds have the same Western background, the same religion, language, traditions and sentiments as their forbearers”.⁵⁹ Fortuin and Kaptein therefore shared a similar vision of co-habitation despite fundamental differences on how they perceived the intellectual capacity of the Coloured population.

Fortuin insisted that Coloureds should receive the same type of education as their white counterparts and pressed for compulsory education for Coloured children. While this would be separate development in apartheid terms, he envisaged a parallel-development. However, he supported the transfer of Coloured education to the CAD, going as far as to describe this as a “social revolution”. He erroneously believed that Coloured children would receive a better education, at least in relation to the black population, and by extension, raise the intellectual ability and “moral fibre” of the entire Coloured population.⁶⁰

Fortuin found himself in an ambiguous position. He promoted Coloured unity but also had the unenviable task not to alienate his white readership in the process. He shied away from reporting on “contentious” events such as the Sharpeville massacre, and spent his time covertly dissociating Coloured people from “undesirable” behaviour. In a rather revealing report in 1960:

In the midst of this political vortex and whirlpool we find the upwards trend of more than a million Coloured people of South Africa as steady, loyal and constant, by and large, as the rising and the setting of the sun. The recent misguided and foreign inspired senseless riots have once again proved beyond any shadow of doubt, both in South Africa and to the world at large, which section of the South African population are patriots and first class South Africans to the very bone and marrow. The Coloureds have emerged the most reasonable and responsible group, because they will not see

⁵⁷ Loosely translated: A space to live.

⁵⁸ Author unknown, “Paper Front for Step-Children-Collabr. C.A.D.-D.R.C-U.C.C.A-T.E.P.A-C.P.N.U- Given Paper Banner by Nats.,” *Torch*, 15 December 1959, p. 8.

⁵⁹ C. I. R Fortuin, “Hatred Will Doom Us”, *Die Banier*, August 1961, p. 6.

⁶⁰ C. I. R. Fortuin, “New Education System Will Produce Enlightened Group,” *Torch*, February 1964, p. 2.

their country wilfully destroyed by mob-rule and communist apostles of hatred, disruptions, violence and bloodshed.⁶¹

Fortuin reveals himself as rabidly patriotic, eagerly nationalistic and arguably, racist. He denigrates the Sharpeville massacre and dismisses the Langa demonstrations as a weaselled attempt by outside forces, communists in particular, to destabilise the country. This narrative would appease white politicians. But his counterparts in the anti-CAD and NEUM movements were quick to chastise. Nevertheless, Fortein, within this historical context, believed in cooperation, assimilation and the notion of a collective future. He saw Coloured patriotism as a mechanism of mobilization for the fractured Coloured population.

3.2.4 Adam Small

Adam Small was born in Wellington on the 21st of December 1936. Small was an activist, poet, translator, playwright and educator.⁶² He started his academic career as a medical student at UCT in 1954. He changed his course of study to Philosophy and Language in his first year. He received his Bachelor of Arts (BA) degree with distinction in Ethics, Logic and Metaphysics in 1956. The following year he completed his BA Honours degree in Philosophy and received his Master's degree with distinction in 1962. He was appointed as a lecturer at the University of Fort Hare in 1959.⁶³ In 1960, he was one of the thirteen staff members of the University College of the Western Cape (currently the University of the Western Cape) where he was the head of the Philosophy Department.⁶⁴ In Small's biography Jacques Van der Elst describes him as an: "intellektueel en kunstenaar, beskou as spreekbuis vir dié groep".⁶⁵ He believed that the newspaper was a medium with the potential to change the conditions experienced by Coloured people. He also believed that the readership, white and Coloured, had to contribute to the vision. He therefore promoted intellectual debate.

⁶¹ C. I. R. Fortein, "Coloureds belong to the White Group: Western Civilisation cannot be saved without our co-operation", *Die Banier*, June 1960, p.1.

⁶² V. A. February, *Mind Your Colour: The 'Coloured' Stereotype in South African Literature*, (London: Kegan Paul International Ltd., 1981), p. 89.

⁶³ *Adam Small*, <https://www.sahistory.org.za/people/adam-small> (Accessed on 13 May 2021).

⁶⁴ J. van der Elst, *Huldiging Adam Small: Denker Digter Dramaturg*, (Pretoria: Protea Boekhuis, 2017), pp. 15-16.

⁶⁵ English Translation: Intellectual and artist, regarded as a mouthpiece for this group, J. van der Elst, *Huldiging Adam Small: Denker Digter Dramaturg*, p. 91.

His contributions to *Die Banier* came in the form of poetry, short stories and articles. His first contribution was a short story titled “Soos ‘n Doodgewone Mens”.⁶⁶ This echoed his philosophy of creating a democratic platform of engagement which transcended both racial and class divides:

Hierdie gedagte, die aanvoeling van hierdie behoefte, moet so gou as moontlik in die werklikheid geplaas word. Ons lesers almal (aan watter aparte beweging hulle ook al mag behoort) kan hulp om hierdie aanvoeling van ‘n algemene en absolute noodsaaklikheid tot werklikheid te dwing. Sê dit, skryf dit, laat “Die Banier” daarvan weergalm. Weergalm met die uitdrukking van hierdie een groot, algemene behoefte wat ons het, liewers as met die onverbiddelike, onversoenlike stelling van ons aparte gelowe.⁶⁷

From this open appeal, he also pleads with other opposing groups to work in unity, in stark contrast to the *Torch* which passed down directives which castigated opposing viewpoints. Honesty and integrity became the hallmark of his work.⁶⁸

Small was deeply criticized by the *Torch* who called him a collaborator, quisling, “Coloured Nationalist” and an “ardent admirer of apartheid”.⁶⁹ This criticism came as a response to his support of Coloured nationalism and what they termed University apartheid as well as the transfer of Coloured education to the CAD. They deemed these colleges as “kitchen colleges only for purposes of tribalizing and indoctrination and training to spread Coloured Nationalism under a system of ‘Herrenvolk’ despotism”.⁷⁰

3.2.5. Richard van der Ross

Richard van der Ross, “Dickie”, was one of the most prominent contributors in *Die Banier* and had close ties with Aat Kaptein.⁷¹ He was born in Plumstead on the 17th of November 1921 to

⁶⁶ English translation: Like an ordinary person, A. Small, “Soos ‘n Doodgewone Mens,” *Die Banier*, December 1959, p. 5.

⁶⁷ Author’s translation: This thought, the feeling of this need must be put into reality as soon as possible. All our readers (whatever separate movement they may belong to) can help to force this sense of a general and absolute necessity into reality. Say it, write it, let, “*Die Banier*” echo it. Echo with the expression of one great general need we have, rather than with the relentless, irreconcilable statement of our separate faiths, A. Small, “Oproep tot Eenheid: Ope Brief aan die Ganse Kleurlinggemeenskap van Suid-Afrika”, *Die Banier*, September 1960, p. 3.

⁶⁸ A. Small, “Oproep tot Eenheid: Ope Brief aan die Ganse Kleurlinggemeenskap van Suid-Afrika”, *Die Banier*, September 1960, p. 3.

⁶⁹ Author unknown, ““Coloured Nationalist” Adam Small: Aparte Colleges to be indoctrination centres,” *Torch*, 21 April 1959, p. 8.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ For further insight into his life see documentary, *Prof. R. E. van der Ross*, <https://vimeo.com/41442217> (5 June 2020).

parents who were teachers, a profession he would later follow. In 1942, he was awarded a BA degree by the University of South Africa (UNISA). He completed a Master's in Philosophy in 1944 and a Bachelor of Education degree in 1946 from UCT. In 1973, he received an honorary doctorate from UNISA which was followed by the awarding of honorary doctorates from UWC and UCT.⁷² On the 5th of September 1988 he was conferred the highest civic honour award known as the "Freedom of the City".⁷³ This award recognises extraordinary contributions or acts of service to the city of Cape Town and its residents.⁷⁴

Van der Ross was a well renowned Coloured intellectual and member of the Coloured elite who not only contributed to *Die Banier* but to 32 other publications⁷⁵ in over more than 1200 articles.⁷⁶ During the period under examination, 1959 to 1966, he authored articles in the *Argus*, the *Coloured Viewpoint* which was a Coloured column in the *Cape Times*,⁷⁷ the *Cape Herald* and 58 articles in *Die Banier*. At this time, he also served as the principal at the Battswood Training College for Teachers.⁷⁸ He was highly influential but also heavily criticised in publications such as the *Torch* as being a collaborationist, an apologist for the apartheid government and an agent for state propaganda.

What is of particular notoriety, much like Small, was his quest to overcome racial barriers in support of class allegiances. His unpublished manuscript reads:

The upper-classes of Coloured people share their cultural standards with Whites, yet are not socially accepted by Whites. They do not share their cultural patterns with the lower social groups of

⁷² T. Pretorius, *Prof. Richard van der Ross passes away. Reflections on an extraordinary life*, <https://www.uwc.ac.za/Announcements/Pages/Prof-Richard-van-der-Ross-passes-away-Reflections-on-an-extraordinary-life.aspx> (13 June 2020).

⁷³ *Richard van der Ross dies, aged 96*. <https://www.sahistory.org.za/people/richard-ernest-van-der-ross> (12 June 2020).

⁷⁴ *Civic Honours*, <https://www.capetown.gov.za/Family%20and%20home/Meet-the-City/Our-mayor/civic-honours> (20 July 2021).

⁷⁵ These publications include *Die Transvaler*, *Weekend Post*, *The Argus*, *Weekend Argus*, *Die Burger*, *Cape Times*, *Rand Daily Mail*, *Hoofstad*, *The Sunday Times*, *The Citizen*, *Rapport*, *Oggendblad*, *the Post*, *The Friend*, *Zuid-Afrika Die Afrikaner*, *Business Day*, *Sowetan*, *Die Oosterlig*, *Die Beeld*, *The Star*, *Evening Post*, *Sunday Express*, *Volkstem*, *The Natal Witness*, *Financial Mail*, *Pretoria News*, *The Natal Mercury*, *Eastern Province Herald*, *Die Vaderland*, *Woord en Daad*, *Sunday Tribune*, *Die Banier* and *The Cape Herald*, M. M. P. Hames, *Richard Ernest van der Ross: A Select Bibliography*, (Bellville: University of the Western Cape, 1986), pp. 1-117.

⁷⁶ R. E. van der Ross, *A Blow to the Hoop: The Story of my life and times*, (Cape Town, Ampersand Press, 2010), p. 233.

⁷⁷ For all the articles written by Richard van der Ross in the *Coloured Viewpoint* see: J. L. Hattingh and H. C. Bredekamp, *Coloured Viewpoint: A Series of Articles in the Cape Times, 1958 – 1965 by R E van der Ross*. (Bellville: The Western Cape Institute for Historical Research (IHR), University of the Western Cape, 1984).

⁷⁸ R. E. van der Ross, *A Blow to the Hoop: The Story of my life and times*, (Cape Town, Ampersand Press, 2010), p. 231.

Coloured people. This brings about a cleavage between the upper and lower groups of Coloured people and, because the upper group cannot move into White society also forces the upper Coloured group into a closed, isolated and increasingly more frustrated group.⁷⁹

There is a veiled criticism of a system which has isolated the “upper classes”, in particular the Coloured elite. They are rejected by other elites and also find themselves under scrutiny by their own people because they are disconnected from what they themselves termed the “sunken class of bestial degenerates”, a term employed by the TLSA and captured by Adhikari.⁸⁰ The perceived and somewhat paternalistic role of the elite as cultural agents was published in *Die Banier* in June 1960:

The Government accepts that the Coloured should live together with the White man like good neighbours with proper boundaries. It is a question of human relations, which relations can only be built up beneficially if we regard the Coloureds, not in the light that they should be used as a political football between the political parties but as a valuable element which can serve to maintain civilisation and Christianity in South Africa. But then we must teach the Coloured leaders, the intellectuals amongst the Coloureds, that their primary duty is not to try to join the ranks of the White people, but in the first place to help to elevate the backward section of their people, because the problem of the Coloured is in the first place a socio-economic problem, and it is those people who have to be assisted by their cultural leaders and their church leaders.⁸¹

The coloured elite were connected by a common cause to liberate the under-classes but at the same time they remained fractured on how this should be achieved.

The claims of the anti-CAD factions were not entirely unfounded. Van der Ross was severely admonished for his conciliatory efforts towards the apartheid state. His article in December 1959, “Chance to get to know the other man: Break together what should be broken – build together what can be built”,⁸² showed his genuine belief that some form of alliance could be secured with the white elite to secure a safe future for the Coloured population. The *Torch* went so far as to declare that van der Ross saw Botha as his spiritual mentor and manager.⁸³

Pieter Willem Botha was the deputy minister of Home Affairs in 1958 and became the minister of Coloured Affairs in 1961. His mandate was to secure “good neighbours with good

⁷⁹ SU – van der Ross Collection, Unpublished Manuscript of Richard van der Ross, *A Political and Social History of the Cape Coloured People in 1880-1970*, p. 651.

⁸⁰ M. Adhikari, “A Drink-Sodden Race of Bestial Degenerates: Perceptions of Race and Class in the *Educational Journal, 1915-1940*,” *Studies in the History of Cape Town*, (7), 1994, pp. 109-129.

⁸¹ Author unknown, “The New Spirit of Goodwill”, *Die Banier*, June 1960, p. 8.

⁸² R. E. van der Ross, “Kans om die ander man te leer ken: Saam breek waar gebreek moet word – saam bou waar gebou kan word,” *Die Banier*, December 1959, p. 1.

⁸³ Author unknown, “Paper Front for Step-Children-Collabr. C.A.D.-D.R.C-U.C.C.A-T.E.P.A-C.P.N.U- Given Paper Banner by Nats.,” *Torch*, 15 December 1959, p. 8.

boundaries". The various articles which appeared in *Die Banier* consistently declared Botha as the right person to achieve this goal,⁸⁴ even suggesting that he was one person who understood the plight of Coloured people.⁸⁵ The publication would further go on to say that despite his good intentions, state policies made it difficult for him to safeguard Coloured interests.⁸⁶ There is an attempt to distance Botha from the apartheid state. It is little surprise that the amount of attention given to Botha in *Die Banier* led its opponents to believe that it was a mouthpiece of the political establishment and van der Ross was considered one of the primary agents of this propaganda. He thus remained a contentious figure at the time, but his efforts to the greater cause were eventually recognised in 1988, a period, one should acknowledge, of instability as efforts were made to end apartheid.

One significant contribution of van der Ross to this dissertation is his observation that the proliferation of periodicals such as newspapers which targeted Coloured readership, resulted from three factors. An increase in literacy within Coloured communities, the need for daily and weekly publications which were of relevance to Coloured communities and lastly, a viable publication for advertisers in search of cornering the Coloured market. The latter thus suggests increasing buying power.⁸⁷ These reflections pose questions as to the positioning of such publications in the existing categorisations proposed by Tomaselli, Louw and Switzer, as discussed in Chapter 1. While the majority of contributors were Coloured, one particular white figure deserves mention.

3.2.6 Stephanus P. Cilliers

Stephanus Petrus Cilliers was born on the 2nd of October 1925 and died in 2002. A professor of Sociology at Stellenbosch University, he had a long list of academic qualifications. He was

⁸⁴ Author's translation: Minister P.W. Botha right man in the right place. Author unknown, "Minister P.W. Botha *Regte Man op die Regte Plek*", *Die Banier*, January 1961, p. 3.

⁸⁵ Author's translation: The new Minister grew up in the Cape and he knows our people from up close. He knows our needs, he understands our worries, he has an understanding heart for the distress under which great parts of our community have always suffered. And what means more, as deputy minister of Home Affairs, time after time he was sympathetic to issues in the interest of Coloured people of South Africa. We may expect good things from this Minister, Author unknown, "Minister P.W. Botha *Regte Man op die Regte Plek*", *Die Banier*, January 1961, p. 3.

⁸⁶ Author unknown, "The New Spirit of Goodwill", *Die Banier*, June 1960, p. 8.

⁸⁷ SU – van der Ross Collection, Unpublished Manuscript of Richard van der Ross, *A Political and Social History of the Cape Coloured People in 1880-1970*, p. 652.

also the director of the Coloured Development Corporation (CDC).⁸⁸ He too would publish articles in *Die Banier*.

The article titled: “Kleurlinge behoort by Blanke”⁸⁹ appeared in 1960 as a summary of proposals made at a recent conference at Stellenbosch University on race in which separate development, increased rights for all “non-Bantu” people and the alignment of Coloured with white was made clear.⁹⁰ Cilliers’ political utterings clearly fit within the ideological framework of this publication. Much to the chagrin of the NEUM, further articles continued to distance Coloureds from the “bantus”:

Being western in orientation, they are probably more able to meet the demands of contemporary western industrial society than most so-called underdeveloped peoples of Africa and the East. In fact, it seems as if the most important and most valuable natural resources of the cape area – traditionally regarded as poor in comparison with the other areas of the Republic as far as natural resources are concerned – is its people, and more specifically its vast number of Coloureds. We have in the Western Cape – a Coloured population of 673 203 (45% of all the Coloureds in South Africa). These people, with their western background must have a vast potential of especially industrial productivity. I have the feeling that we have neglected this vast potential.⁹¹

In addition to the racist narrative towards blacks, Cilliers here relegates Coloureds to the role of labourers and industrial potential. Cilliers’ approach can be defined as liberal essentialist. Liberal essentialists believe that “progress and economic modernization were predicated upon the integration, cooperation and interdependence of its people... Though sympathetic to the assimilationist aspirations of coloured people, the liberal essentialist approach is nevertheless racialized in that it conceptualizes colouredness in terms of race and defines it as a product of miscegenation”.⁹²

A 1960 article goes on to describe the responsibility of Coloured and white people in the pursuit of a collective future. He wrote:

⁸⁸ For further reading on the CDC see: *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Matters Relating to the Coloured Population Group*, p. v. 1976, pp. 69-75. ; South African Institute of Race Relations, *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa*, (Braamfontein: South Africa Institute of Race Relations, 1969), pp. 213-214.

⁸⁹ Author’s translation: Coloureds belong with whites.

⁹⁰ Author’s translation: The future of the Coloureds lie where they already are; by the white Western household. They must develop into an integral and worthy element of it. In the political sphere, the first step may be the association of direct representation – on the existing group basis – in Parliament. This may be followed by a common qualified voters’ roll, which eventually may be followed by an unqualified common voters’ roll for all residents of the non-Bantu areas. S.P. Cilliers, “Kleurling behoort by Blanke”, *Die Banier*, September 1960, p. 5.

⁹¹ S.P. Cilliers, “Coloureds in Regional Development Plan for Western Cape: Collaboration of People Needed”, *Die Banier*, August 1961, p. 7.

⁹² M. Adhikari, *Burdened By Race: Coloured Identities in Southern Africa*, pp. 8-9.

Die ontwikkeling op politieke gebied moet voorafgegaan word deur die ekonomiese, maatskaplike en kulturele opheffing van die Kleurlingbevolking tot volle menswaardigheid. In hierdie verband rus natuurlik in die eerste instansie 'n baie groot verantwoordelikheid op die Kleurlinge self, en veral op hul leiers op veral opvoedkundige en kulturele gebied. Terselfdertyd rus ook 'n groot verantwoordelikheid op ons as blankes om die Kleurling te hulp om maatskaplik, ekonomies, kultureel en uiteindelik ook polities tot menswaardige mens te ontwikkel.⁹³

Cilliers was therefore considered a valuable ally for the editor of *Die Banier*. His stance echoed those of the other Coloured elites attached to the publication. However, the presence of his contributions coupled with a number of articles which praised the efforts of Botha, placed the publication in its early stages, under scrutiny, not of the apartheid state but by the fierce and relentless opposing Coloured elite. As the newspaper grew, it came under greater scrutiny from the apartheid state.

While the editor and contributors of this publication had a shared vision, there were certain individual proclivities which surfaced in the articles which not only foreground the internal divisions but also point to the importance of individuals in these supposedly organisational mouthpieces.

3.3 From Education to Relocation: The Internal Factions at *Die Banier*, 1959-1966

An array of themes were featured in *Die Banier* during its lifespan. Themed discussions included: Coloured Sporting events and results, the religions of Christianity and Islam, politics such as the implications of the *Groups areas Act* of 1950 as well the viewpoints of Coloured political organisations on the challenges facing Coloured communities in the country. It also reflected discussions themed by Coloured and Higher Education.

The dominant themes of general and higher education and relocation under the *Group Areas Act* of 1950 were two causes championed by the contributors of *Die Banier*. These were of

⁹³ Author's translation: The political development must be preceded by the economic, social and cultural upliftment of the Coloured population to full human dignity. In this regard, a great responsibility, in the first instance, naturally rests with the Coloured people themselves, and especially with their leaders in the educational and cultural fields in particular. At the same time, a great responsibility also rests on us as whites, to help the Coloured to develop socially, economically and ultimately politically to human dignity. S.P. Cilliers, "Kleurling behoort by Blanke", *Die Banier*, September 1960, p. 5.

primary concern for the *Torch* and as such, there is some overlap. The solutions, however, differed remarkably. They used this platform to challenge restrictions facing the Coloured population while simultaneously inferring ways in which a collective future should be built. The role of Coloured people within this process was central but so too was their ideological approach.

3.3.1. Education

As discussed in the preceding chapters, legislation regulating Coloured education in 1963 resulted in various divergent groups who would challenge these national directives, namely the TLSA and TEPA. The enactment of the *Extension of University Education Act* in 1959 also proved to be a source of conflict.

3.3.1.1. Coloured Education

Since 1953 the *Bantu Education Act* had been in effect. It restricted the control of education for black South Africans to the NAD and subsequently in 1958, this became a separate department of the state. It imposed a uniform curriculum to separate “Bantu culture” from the other population groups as well as to prepare black students for the roles of manual labour. Both funding and the quality of education for this population group was inadequate.⁹⁴ In 1963 similar legislation affecting the Coloured population would be enacted in the form of the *Coloured Persons Education Act* (Act 47 of 1963). *Die Banier* published a blow-by-blow account of the unfolding discussions and implementation of legislation.

For the protagonists in this publication, the role of schooling was imperative for “the building up of a nation” and “service of the fatherland and Nation as a whole”.⁹⁵ The ravages of inadequate education from an early age, they argued, leads to anti-social behaviour such as crime, one of the most compelling narratives in circulation at the time around gangsterism and crime in the Cape Peninsula which was directly linked to Coloured youths. It was their firm contention that the only solution was better and compulsory education for Coloured children.

⁹⁴ N. Worden, *The Making of Modern South Africa: Conquest, Apartheid, Democracy*, (New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons Inc., 2012), pp. 108-109.

⁹⁵ C.I. R. Fortein, “Sixty Percent of Coloureds in Kokstad live below the Bread line,” *Die Banier*, May 1960, p. 1.

The implementation of compulsory Coloured education was fragmented in the provinces. In Kimberley, Cradock, King Williams Town and Natal, for example, certain clauses had already been implemented. In Natal, Coloured children up to the age of 15 or standard eight were obliged to attend school from the age of six years old.⁹⁶ Statistics also showed that less Coloured children were attending high school.⁹⁷ Calls were made to implement similar measures in the Cape. This inconsistency in part, convinced proponents of the CAD to nationalise Coloured education. This, it would transpire, had unintended consequences.

From January 1961, the transfer of education to the CAD became a central focus in *Die Banier*. Prominent member of the CPNU, George Golding, announced the imminent transfer, claiming that it would prove beneficial to the Coloured population.⁹⁸ The benefits were also outlined under the banner of educational opportunities.⁹⁹ By January 1962, the Permanent Education Committee would be established to collate and study the implications of the proposed transfer of Coloured education. They would present these findings to the UCCA of which this committee was a division. They insisted that Coloured and white education should be aligned, “parallel and equal in all aspects with that applicable to European Education”.¹⁰⁰ A notable figure in this committee was Fortein. In the second edition of the February 1962 issue, he reflected on this transfer:

The transfer of Coloured Education from the Provinces to the Central Government, under the aegis of the Department of Coloured Affairs is of vital importance in the real development of the Coloured people of South Africa. An enlightened, progressive national group will be produced with broadened visions, as new vistas open for us in life, with a widening of horizons hitherto unknown and unattainable to a people who have faithfully, under difficult circumstances staked the future of their children on education.¹⁰¹

He believed that Coloured people were to construct their own future and labelled this transfer as an event which would lead to a “social revolution”. He concluded that with the world being geared around national systems of education, the new system of Coloured education would

⁹⁶ Author unknown, “All Children to School,” *Die Banier*, November 1960, p. 3.

⁹⁷ English translation: More students in Cape Town. Author unknown, “Meer Leerlinge in kaapstad”, *Die Banier*, May 1960, p. 1.

⁹⁸ Author unknown, “Expected Soon: Education under Control of C.A. Department,” *Die Banier*, January 1961, p. 1.

⁹⁹ Author unknown, “Surprising Suggestion for M.A Thesis”, *Die Banier*, May 1962, p. 4.

¹⁰⁰ Author unknown, “Permanent Council-Committee on Coloured Education: To Study Implications of Proposed Transfer”, *Die Banier*, January 1962 (first edition), p. 2.

¹⁰¹ C. I. R. Fortein, “New Education System Will Produce Enlightened Group: “Grasp the Future,” *Die Banier*, February 1962 (Second edition), p. 2.

prove that administrating their own schools would lead to educational progress and in turn lead to a better future which they reared and constructed.

On the front page of the second edition of the June 1962 issue, when P.W. Botha was the Minister of Coloured Affairs, he announced that all education for the Coloured population would gradually be transferred to the CAD. He attempted to subdue possible reservations of the Coloured population that were sceptical about this transfer leading to Coloured education being inferior. He was quoted saying:

The Coloured population is assured that the closest co-operation will exist between the Central Government and the provincial administrations to ensure that there will be no diminution of services in the Interim. Negotiations between the Department of Coloured Affairs and provincial departments of education will also be conducted to ensure that the transfer would take place without any disadvantageous results.... It is in the interest of their group, and to reach full growth by responsible conduct and self-help.¹⁰²

This lukewarm announcement focussing on the transfer rather than the quality of education, was followed by the submission of a draft Bill on the transfer of Coloured education to the CAD at a parliamentary session in 1963 followed by the assent of the Act in 1964. It would only be applicable in January 1964 in the Cape and April 1964 in the Orange Free State. The Act stipulated that the CAD was responsible for all institutions of Coloured education from primary and secondary, vocational, agricultural and technical schools, vocational, to schools designed for children with a handicap. Under the Government Notice R 1898 of December 1963, provisions were made for compulsory school attendance.¹⁰³

The 1964 Act also listed future employment opportunities for Coloureds, such as posts of inspectors and medical inspectors in Coloured schools, Chief Inspector, Medical Chief Inspector, Inspector (psychologist) and Senior Inspector of Special Subjects. These piecemeal

¹⁰² Author unknown, "All Education under Department of Coloured Affairs", *Die Banier*, June 1962 (second edition), p. 1.

¹⁰³ Provisions related to compulsory education:

(a) The grounds on which a regional board may exempt a child from the provisions of compulsory school attendance;

(b) powers and duties of the regional board with regard to children of school age; and

(c) provisions regarding the liability of penalties of employers who employ children for whom school attendance is compulsory, thereby preventing such children from attending school

Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Matters Relating to the Coloured Population Group, p. v. 1976, p. 178.

positions were expected to entice large-scale commitment to education.¹⁰⁴ It also stated that the minimum qualifications for applicants of both population groups were the same, in a veiled attempt to feign equality. Pay scales, unsurprisingly, remained disparate in terms of race and gender: “European Male Inspector of Special Subjects (Various) R4, 080 – 4200 –4, 350; Coloured male R2, 760 – 3, 120 – 3, 240 (subject to revision), European Female Inspectors of Special Subjects (various) R3, 840 (fixed) and Coloured (Female) R2, 230 – 2,550”.¹⁰⁵ Nonetheless, the author of this article celebrated the small victories with no attention given to the glaring discrimination at play.

By 1964, the CAD was to take responsibility of Coloured education in the Cape. During that year, they introduced a separate curricula in Coloured schools which had initially mirrored the curricula in schools designated for white children. This was adapted to focus on the limited jobs to which Coloured children would be eligible.¹⁰⁶ The transfer of Coloured education in the Cape was followed by division into ten school regions,¹⁰⁷ each district with its own regional board. This was an attempt to allow Coloured people to partake in the management of all schools under government control or government funded. The article also suggested that parents would have a greater say in the education of their children.

Fortein was an avid supporter of the new policy. Despite mounting criticism, he believed that “an enlightened, progressive national group” with broader visions would be produced through

¹⁰⁴ Prescribed Special subjects: Domestic Science, Art, Kindergarten Methods, Physical Education, Music and Handwork, Author unknown, “First Vacancies for Coloured School Inspectors,” *Die Banier*, August 1963 (Second Issue), p. 2.

¹⁰⁵ Author unknown, “First Vacancies for Coloured School Inspectors,” *Die Banier*, August 1963 (Second Edition), p. 2.

¹⁰⁶ M. Horrell, *Education of the Coloured Community in South Africa, 1652-1970*, (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1970), p. 171.

¹⁰⁷ The ten regional districts were: Cape Town (Cape Town, Simonstown, Wynberg); Bellville (Bellville, Hopefield, Malmesbury, Paarl, Piquetberg, Somerset West, Stellenbosch, Tulbach, Vredenburg, Wellington); Worcester (Bredasdorp, Caledon, Ceres, Heidelberg, Lingsburg, Montagu, Robertson, Sutherland, Swellendam, Worcester); Springbok (Calvinia, Clanwilliam, Namaqualand, Vanrhynsdorp, Vredendal); George (Calitzdorp, George, Knysna, Ladismith, Mossel Bay, Oudtshoorn, Riversdal, Uniondale, Willowmore); Beaufort West (Aberdeen, Beaufort West, Britstown, Carnarvon, De Aar, Fraserburg, Graaf-Reinet, Hanover, Murraysburg, Prince Albert, Richmond, Victoria West, Williston); Upington (Gordonia, Kenhardt, Prieska); Port Elizabeth (Adelaide, Albany, Alexandra, Bathurst, Bedford, Humansdorp, Jansenville, Kirkwood, Pearston, Port Elizabeth, Somerset East, Steytlerville, Uitenhage); Queenstown (Albert – Burgersdorp – Aliwal North, and all the districts of the North and all the districts of the North Eastern Part of the Cape Province including Transkei); Kimberley (Barkley West, Hay, Herbert, Hopetown, Kimberley, Kurman, Mafeking, Philipstown, Postmasburg, Taungs, Vryburg, Warrenton); Author unknown, “Cape Province to Have Ten School Regions: More Say for Parents,” *Die Banier*, January 1964 (First Edition), p. 6.

Coloured education being transferred to the administration of the CAD.¹⁰⁸ This belief stemmed from the idea that the central and fundamental principle in the education of Coloured children should be the provision of an educational system that ensures their physical, mental and moral development. He believed that this could be achieved through the planning and organising of an education system that was designed particularly for Coloured children and included compulsory education. Fortein believed that this would translate into a better Coloured society that would be on par with whites.¹⁰⁹ These sentiments were shared by George Golding who complimented the CAD for their “successful” transfer and encouraged Coloured readers to appreciate these “valiant” efforts.¹¹⁰ Attention was also paid to tertiary education.

3.3.1.2 Higher Education

The *Extension of University Education Act* of 1959 saw the establishment of the University College of the Western Cape designated for Coloured students.¹¹¹ The establishment of this institution had a polarizing effect amongst the Coloured elite. Proponents included Richard van der Ross and Adam Small who both contributed to the newspaper, who both shared similar views on the role of education but differed on the purpose behind establishing the separate institution of the University College of the Western Cape. This debate was unravelled within the pages of *Die Banier*.

A pedagogical and political debate unfolded between van der Ross and Small after an article was published on 10 March 1960 in the *Cape Times* by van der Ross. In response, Small lashed out in the May 1960 issue of *Die Banier*. Essentially, van der Ross argued that the establishment of a separate institution catering solely for Coloured students would eventually lead to a loss of full citizenship rights for Coloureds. Small on the other hand made the argument that segregation was already instituted in teacher training institutions. He pointed out, prophetically, that this would not detract state officials from continuing on their path rather arguing that the establishment of a tertiary institution for Coloured people would at the very least, train an “enlightened” group of students whose full citizenship was already on the brink

¹⁰⁸ C. I. R. Fortein, “New Education System Will Produce Enlightened Group,” *Torch*, February 1964 (Second Edition), p. 2.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁰ Author unknown, “Thorough and Exact Administration in Education Under C.A.D.: Mr. Golding Congratulates New Authorities,” *Die Banier*, July 1964 (first edition), p. 7.

¹¹¹ S. P Cilliers, *The Coloureds of South Africa: A Factual Survey*, p. 52.

of extinction.¹¹² What one is confronted with are the nuanced ways in which these two authors differ on policy despite being affiliated with similar organisations and despite both being labelled as collaborators by their opponents. Here is also an example of the pragmatic ways in which they debate real situations and offer intellectual ways to capitalise on a lost cause of equal rights for all. In addition, by publishing this type of debate, Coloured and white readers are encouraged to engage with their own moral stance on the issue.

One response received makes this point:

The Coloured University College is now an act of law. Since there is nothing we can do about it, we are confronted with the task of ensuring that the University College is guaranteed the facility of developing into an all-embracing educational institution in which the courses offered are identical with those at the so-called open universities.¹¹³

This idealistic observation further applauds the state's attempts at adequately developing Coloureds intellectually, physically, morally and religiously. There is a clear indication as to this reader's political affliction. Nevertheless, what this shows is how the newspaper attracted response and was collaborative in how it fused intellectual thoughts from across the proverbial Rubicon of class and race. Internal factionalism was also apparent in discussions around the Group Areas Act.

3.3.2 Implications of the Group Areas Act of 1950

The socio-political plight of the Coloured population were interpreted predominantly by members of the CPNU, UCCA and the Coloured Legion of the British Ex-Servicemen League (BCESL).¹¹⁴ Lynn Bloom defined the position of the Coloured population during the mid-1960s as ambiguous, defined by law with inequality being built into the legal system.¹¹⁵ This position translated into disparity of living conditions, rights and privileges which were

¹¹² A. Small, "Stigma of the New College", *Die Banier*, May 1960, p. 4.

¹¹³ Author unknown, "Coloured Univ. College," *Die Banier*, September 1960, p. 2.

¹¹⁴ BCESL was a separate organisation for Coloured war veterans as they were denied membership from the British Ex-servicemen League (BESL) which was only for white war veterans. It was also known as the South African Coloured Ex-servicemen's League. This organisation aspired towards equal benefits for Coloured veterans as their white counterparts. D. Killingray and M. Plaut, *Fighting for Britain: African Soldiers in the Second World War*, (Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer Ltd., 2010), pp. 226-227.

¹¹⁵ L. Bloom, "The Coloured People of South Africa," *Phylon*, (28), (2), 1967, p. 142.

determined by the implementation of different legislation. Of significance for *Die Banier* was the implementation of the *Group Areas Act* (Act 41) of 1950.¹¹⁶

This legislation racially segregated space. It came into formal operation on the 30th of March 1951 in all provinces except the Orange Free State and the Cape, and regularly updated in Consolidation Acts in 1957 and 1966.¹¹⁷ Its proclamation resulted in the removal of about 80 000 Coloured families from areas proclaimed whites only.¹¹⁸ It should be noted that greater restrictions were imposed on the black population, in order to curry more favour amongst the latter two buffer groups.¹¹⁹

Die Banier while publishing articles which praised state efforts, as mentioned above, did not shy away from reporting on the consequences of the forced relocations. In particular, it presented campaigns which opposed the implementation of this act it by members of the Coloured elite such as C. I. R. Fortein:

[...] the now officially accepted criterion under the Group Areas Act, that because of the low income of the Coloureds they are not entitled to the best part of any town and must be satisfied with the periphery, in keeping with the low rates which they can afford. This no doubt tends to relegate them to inferior positions socially and economically and is at bottom the root cause of much of the present feeling of frustration and despair which is much in evidence on our street corners.¹²⁰

Fortein's view alludes to the disparity in terms of remuneration between Coloured and white people during 1961 and goes on to call for equal remuneration as the only viable solution. Comments such as this led to feeble responses from politicians such the Deputy Minister of the Interior in an attempt to alleviate concerns. He promised alternative housing in designated areas, "adequate" compensation determined by "independent" valuers that were not in service of the State. He also suggested that Coloured leaders would ensure that an adequate deal would be made on behalf of the masses.¹²¹ These empty promises were made public when

¹¹⁶ *Group Areas Act, Act 41 of 1950.*

¹¹⁷ M. Horrell, *Laws Affecting Race Relations in South Africa (to the end of 1976)*, (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1978), pp. 71-72.

¹¹⁸ H. W. van der Merwe and C. J. Groenewald (eds.), *Occupational and Social Change Among Coloured People in South Africa*, (Cape Town: Juta, 1976), p. 66.

¹¹⁹ L. Marquard, *The People's and Policies of South Africa*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 163.

¹²⁰ C. I. R. Fortein, "Sixty Percent of Coloureds in Kokstad live below the Bread line", *Die Banier*, May 1960, p. 1.

¹²¹ Author unknown, "Government Policy and the Coloured People: Statement by Deputy Minister P. W. Botha," *Die Banier*, June 1961, p. 6.

the *Commission of Inquiry into Matters Relating to the Coloured Population Group* of 1976 established to evaluate the position of Coloureds in South Africa, claimed:

The majority of Coloureds believe that in their case the Group Areas Act is applied with unfair consequences as regards the demarcation and siting of Coloured group areas, as well as the expropriation and removals of Coloureds from established residential areas. A further complaint is that not only are Coloureds compelled to live within certain residential areas, but also that opportunities for entertainment and recreation are restricted in controlled and specified areas in cases where it is laid down by proclamation that attendance at places of entertainment or places where refreshments are served is also deemed to be “occupation” and permissible only under permit.¹²²

In 1962, attempts were made to again reiterate that the Coloured population could not be aligned with the “bantus” nor could they be neglected because of their unfailing support of the white dispensation. The case of Coloureds in the Transkei was published to make this point:

The problem of the Coloured people in the Transkei is a very real one. These people have no association as far as the future form of government is concerned with the Bantu people. They have traditionally the same religion as the White people. They are living there in fear and uncertainty which has become quite acute over the last few years. These people live in settlements scattered over the Transkei, such as Rietvlei, Enzikeneni, Upper Roza, Lusikisisiki and other places, or in the larger towns. Many of them are traders. They are descendants, to a large extent, of the soldiers who fought with the White man to civilize that country... The Coloured people refused to take part in the unrest and the demonstrations and rioting against the White authority. Already the more primitive type of Bantu in the Transkei is threatening those people.”¹²³

The cultural connections between white and Coloured are foreground as well as the longstanding allegiance to white authority over time.

In certain instances the newspaper attempted to promote optimism towards the Group Areas Act. Coloured people could finally own their own land. The prospect of living in a new Coloured *laager* (camp) was also expected to garner support amongst the sceptics. Author D. F. Lubbe even contended that this could lead to prosperity of the Coloured population. Speaking about Durban, he absurdly comments that the Coloureds would not be dependent on “the Indian to house him, at disgraceful rentals”.¹²⁴ He goes on to advocate for the independence of Coloured people, wholeheartedly accepting the apartheid policy of separate development. In and amongst his continued rants about Indian landlords, it becomes

¹²² *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Matters Relating to the Coloured Population Group*, p. v., 1976, p. 213.

¹²³ Author unknown, “Bill Holland on Problems of Coloured in Transkei”, *Die Banier*, April 1962 (Second edition), p. 3.

¹²⁴ D. F. Lubbe, “Unity Growing in Natal: Development Under Policy of Separate Development,” *Die Banier*, March 1964 (Second edition), p. 1.

increasingly apparent that he promotes Coloured independence, in itself a desirable trait which reduces self-loathing, but he fails to realize the long-term effects of establishing a separate Coloured state.¹²⁵

There is a clear ambivalence in the opposing articles published by the newspaper. After the March 1964 submission discussed above, in April, the ravages of being relocated to the Cape Flats is published.¹²⁶ Here the shortcomings are damning including poor infrastructure, but importantly poor transportation networks. In true *Die Banier* style, the article concludes by reassuring readers that transport developments are underway with the establishment of a network of railways throughout the Cape Flats.¹²⁷

The ambivalent way in which articles appeared in this newspaper not only reflects the divergence of its contributors but in a way subtly provides the reader with compelling evidence on the state and increasing racial discrimination but packages this in a pro-state manner to evade unnecessary state censorship. Its ambivalence also raises question on whose organisational interests were purported to being aired on this platform.

3.4 The “Mouthpiece of TEPA?”

Teaching was considered a prestigious profession amongst the Coloured elite. Richard van der Ross, being a founding member, represented the interests of TEPA. The role of a teachers’ body was to advocate for the advancement of education while factoring in the requirements of the children, school as well as teachers. The challenges facing these organisations were frequently featured in the newspaper, usually followed by the response from TEPA along with their proposed plan of action. TEPA, the splintered group from the TLSA, believed that economic factors should be considered when discussing education. They used the newspaper platform to relay events such as annual conferences, or provide commentaries on the

¹²⁵ D. F. Lubbe, “Unity Growing in Natal: Development Under Policy of Separate Development,” *Die Banier*, March 1964 (Second edition), p. 1.

¹²⁶ These are barren areas on the outskirts of Cape Town where non-whites were displaced. It is comprised of both black and Coloured townships. It is also regarded as the “dumping ground of apartheid”. These townships include: Guglethu, Langa, Mitchells Plain, Manenberg, Bonteheuwel, Khayelitsha, Bishop Lavis, Lavender Hill, Hanover Park, Nyanga, Steenberg, Heideveld, Grassy Park, Strandfontein, Delft, Elsies River, Athlone, Belhar etc.; *Cape Flats*, *Cape Town*, <https://www.sahistory.org.za/place/cape-flats-cape-town> (Accessed 4 April 2021); *Cape Flats*, <https://www.capetown.travel/cape-flats/> (Accessed 4 April 2021).

¹²⁷ Author unknown, “Coloured People on Cape Flats: Master Plan Taking Shape,” *Die Banier*, April 1964 (Second edition), p. 5.

comparatives between Coloured and white teachers but made it explicit that it was apolitical, despite acknowledging that education and politics could not be divorced.¹²⁸

Immediately after TEPA was established, it applied for the official recognition of the Cape Education Department and the Cape Provincial Administration. This allowed them to communicate the grievances of teachers to educational authorities and to register their concerns to these authorities. Their central mandate was to secure compulsory education for Coloured children, which it claimed to have embarked upon in 1955, to ensure adequate development of educational facilities and to secure equal remuneration with white teachers.¹²⁹ At that time, Coloured teachers earned 80% less compared to their white counterparts.

TEPA blamed much of the inactivity on the divisions amongst the two interest groups: “the effectiveness of the teachers’ has been marred by the fact that much ill-feeling has unfortunately been created and sustained between members of the two organisations”.¹³⁰ They go on to argue that the energy used should have been utilised constructively for the good of the people, instead of being wasted on the tension between the TLSA and TEPA. They reiterated that they were focused on educational matters in order to assure readers that their focus was not deterred. They also castigated the APO, the CPNU, the SACPO as well as other lesser, but unnamed, organisations that failed to make education a cornerstone of their mandate.

By August 1960, TEPA reported that the TLSA was no longer officially recognized by the Cape Provincial Administration which meant that they would no longer be consulted to provide advice on educational matters, nor could it lobby the interest of its members. TEPA they suggested was “left the responsibility of the education of the Coloured child and the demand for the improvement of service conditions for the Coloured teacher entirely”.¹³¹ They failed to expand on the ideological differences, as discussed in Chapter 1, which led to this state of affairs. George Golding endorsed these claims and also condemned the internal friction adding that it further tainted the image of Coloured people: “the division in our ranks is the greatest weakness in our armour”.¹³² This was in fact a general disapproval of all divisions amongst the

¹²⁸ A. I. Jacobs, “Record of Service of the T.E.P.A.: Satisfied with nothing less than equality in education”, *Die Banier*, May 1960, p. 6.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*

¹³¹ A. I. Jacobs, “5,000 Teachers are Fence-sitters: Much ill-feeling between members of organisations,” *Die Banier*, August 1960, p. 6.

¹³² G. J. Golding, “Strong Appeal for Move towards Unity,” *Die Banier*, September 1960, p. 4.

Coloured elite.¹³³ But not all was lost. He concluded his article by stating, “the time is opportune now for the Coloured people to show better responsibility and to act in a manner befitting their status. We should not delay any longer. A move towards a unity will be a most heartening development”.¹³⁴

From 1961, TEPA related articles focussed on the South African Coloured National Convention or The Coloured People’s Convention (CPC). Differences of opinion arose yet again. Van der Ross argued that the organisation should attend and indeed seek affiliation with the CPC while Fortein believed that TEPA presence at the CPC would be detrimental to securing a collective Coloured and white future. He described the CPC as “a dangerous and explosive situation” which will have far-reaching implications and labelled it as “The Coloured people’s national Frankenstein”.¹³⁵ He disapproved of any association which had alliances with the PAC, ANC and AAC, which he regarded as communist. His argument was that white domination would be replaced by black oppression under the Pan-Africanist banner of “Africa for the Africans”.¹³⁶ Moreover, the CPC hoped to create a closer relationship with all “true South African patriots” irrespective of creed, colour or race, on the basis of a common humanity for the creation of a non-racial democratic South Africa.¹³⁷ Coloured patriotism would be lost.

This convention was criticized in *Die Banier* as well as in the *Torch*. Van der Ross was also criticized for his attempt in the March 1961 issue to unify diverse groups on the two points, “The complete abolition of the Colour Bar in South Africa and the attainment of full citizenship for all South Africans”.¹³⁸ Fortein considered this a “Communist cause” and urged readers to resist and maintain diplomatic non-partisan and patriotic stance that he mistakenly thought was “bound to win sympathy, support and co-operation of all political parties in South Africa which stand for Right, Justice and the Constitutional sharing of political power in South Africa”.¹³⁹ George Golding also opposed the CPC for what he described as its role in using the Coloured

¹³³ G. J. Golding, “Strong Appeal for Move towards Unity,” *Die Banier*, September 1960, p. 4.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*

¹³⁵ C. I. R. Fortein, “Convention: Our Frankenstein,” *Die Banier*, May 1961, p. 1.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*

¹³⁷ SU – van der Ross Collection. Document 76. *Findings of the S.A. Coloured National Convention*. 1961. p. 1.

¹³⁸ R. E. van der Ross, “Forum,” *Die Banier*, March 1961, p. 2.

¹³⁹ C. I. R. Fortein, “Convention: Our Frankenstein,” *Die Banier*, May 1961, p. 1.

people and reminded readers of why TEPA broke away in the first instant.¹⁴⁰ By 1962, the CAD was formed and this debate was summarily ended.

What is apparent is that a central member of TEPA played a significant role at *Die Banier* but he was surrounded by sceptics. While education was indeed a central concern of the publication, the ideals of TEPA were in no way presented without contestation. In fact, as much of this chapter has shown, there was no one voice which echoed above another. This publication housed many strong Coloured leaders of the time, irrespective of which side of the political spectrum they found themselves. As intellectuals, more than elites, they presented opinions, encouraged debate and requested public engagement in their quest for an enlightened populace which transcended race and class divisions. Unlike the *Torch*, the same argument cannot be made about the gender divide. Nevertheless, *Die Banier* did not serve as a mouthpiece for TEPA.

3.5. A Collective Future?

A collective future for Coloured and white people was the ideal to which *Die Banier* aspired. The notion of collectivity and collaboration of Coloured people was not a new phenomenon introduced by *Die Banier*, nor was this the only newspaper to have communicated this. *Die Burger* contained a column up until 1960 titled *Die Burger's Political Views* which featured viewpoints related to collectivity of Coloured and white people in South Africa. This can be seen in an article titled "Co-operation with Coloureds". It reported on twelve out of fifteen nominated candidates that formed the UCCA who were tasked with serving as intermediaries between Coloured people and the South African government. The rhetoric was framed around a rather misguided notion that there existed "a great deal of goodwill among the whites towards the Coloureds- not merely in the Department and the Government, but also and particularly among the general public".¹⁴¹ The UCCA was to nurture this supposed rapport. Soon after, *Die Burger* no longer projected such ideology in its publication, but one of its journalists had already established a publication which could.

¹⁴⁰ G. Golding, "No Future For the Coloured Convention," *Die Banier*, July 1961, p. 1; Author unknown, "TEPA-Conference and the Convention: Motion-Van der Ross was Carried (87-42)," *Die Banier*, July 1961, p. 3; Author unknown, "Worried about TEPA's Decision to Join the Convention," *Die Banier*, December 1961, p. 6.

¹⁴¹ Author unknown, "Co-operation With Coloureds", *Die Burger*, 5 December 1959, p. 6.

From the onset the editor, Aat Kaptein, displayed the objective of the newspaper with his first article promoting cooperation and collaboration through an article titled, “Geen Verwydering! Samewerking!”.¹⁴² Complimentary to this was an article by van der Ross, “Kans om die Ander Man te Leer Ken: Saam Breek waar Gebreek moet word - Saam Bou Waar Gebou Kan Word”:¹⁴³

As ons eenmaal leer dat ons saam kan skryf en saam kan lees, saam kan redeneer en saam kan glo, saam kan breek waar gebreek moet word, maar ook saam kan bou waar gebou kan word in hierdie blad, dan sal ons weer die Suid-Afrikaner ‘n kans gegee het om sy hoof omhoog te hou, hier in ons eie land en daarbuite.¹⁴⁴

By utilizing both a Coloured and white authors from first page of the newspaper it was clear that the message of collaboration and cooperation were facets he saw imperative to constructing a collective future. This was also a method of fostering a message of social cohesion and racial harmony between the two population groups. This method was utilized throughout the lifecycle of the newspaper.

Another article aimed at setting the precedent of promoting the notion of a collective future was written by D. P. Botha, the secretary of the moderator of the Dutch Reformed Church. He considered Coloured leadership to be aligned to the white group and drew similarities between Coloured and white people: “Wat hulle lewensaard en kultuur aanbetref, is hulle eerder ‘n aanhangsel van die blankes, terwyl hulle baie ver van die Bantoes verwydered staan”.¹⁴⁵ He endorses a collective future with the Coloured population while simultaneously distancing them from the black population. The religion practiced by Coloured people, predominantly Christianity and Islam, as well as languages used, English and Afrikaans, are elements of the group identity he focuses on in order to argue that they slanted towards whites as these traits are derived from their influence. He argues that these similarities are the elements, with an emphasis on language and Christianity in particular, which align the interests of the two

¹⁴² English translation: No Removal! Cooperation!, A. Kaptein, “Geen Verwydering! Samewerking!”, *Die Banier*, December 1959, p. 1.

¹⁴³ English translation: Chance to get to know the other person: Break together what should be broken – build together where can be built, R. E. van der Ross, “Kans om die Ander Man te Leer Ken,” *Die Banier*, December 1959, p. 1.

¹⁴⁴ English translation: Once we learn that we can write and read together, reason together and believe together, break together where we need to break, but also build together where we can build in this newspaper, then we will once again give the South African a chance to keep his head up, here in our country and beyond. R. E. van der Ross, “Kans om die Ander Man te Leer Ken,” *Die Banier*, December 1959, p. 1.

¹⁴⁵ English translation: As far as their nature and culture are concerned, they are rather an attachment of the whites, while being far removed from the Bantu. D. P. Botha, “Leierskap Onder Kleurlingbevolking,” *Die Banier*, December 1959, p. 1.

population groups. Botha also attempts to draw similarities between these groups on class lines by reiterating van der Ross' viewpoint which discourages the opinion of Coloured people to be based on what he regarded as the "weakest and most backward" of the population.¹⁴⁶ Here he refers to criminals in the Coloured population termed as "skollies"¹⁴⁷ and equates them on a social class level to "poor whites".¹⁴⁸ He thus equates these two groups in order to display that both population groups possessed undesirable individuals and thus neither should judge each other on this basis.¹⁴⁹ Through bringing similarities to the fore, Botha sought to set the backdrop for a collective future.

A strong proponent of the notion of a collective future was C. I. R. Fortein. He sought to assure *Die Banier's* white readership that Coloured people were loyal and ought to be absorbed into their societal structure. In the same breath he sought to mobilise the Coloured population as a separate group, with an emphasis that they do not belong to the black population group, while encouraging the Coloured population to align themselves to the white group in order to progress as a population group. In an article in the June 1960 issue titled: "Coloureds belong to the White Group: Western Civilisation cannot be saved without our co-operation", Fortein defined Coloured people as "steady, loyal and constant" as well "the most reasonable and responsible group".¹⁵⁰ He reasons this through distancing them from demonstrations and violence and which he terms as communist acts while arguing that this is not an innate trait of Coloured people. This argument is accompanied by claims that organisations of opposition merely offer distraction.¹⁵¹ He describes this as a tactic to derail them from their cooperation with the authorities. In concluding this argument he highlights the importance of the CPNU conference that was held in Woodstock on the 8th of January 1958 where the policy of "good neighbours with proper fences" between Coloured and whites was adopted.¹⁵² From this point, he claimed that tensions between these two population groups were subdued in the interest of

¹⁴⁶ D. P. Botha, "Leierskap Onder Kleurlingbevolking," *Die Banier*, December 1959, p. 1.

¹⁴⁷ *Skollies*: The colloquial term used to refer to delinquents or gangsters, E. R. Salo, *Respectable Mothers, Tough Men and Good Daughters: Producing Persons in Manenberg Township South Africa*, (Bamenda: Langaa Research & Publishing CIG., 2018), p. 183.

¹⁴⁸ *Poor whites*: The impoverished portion of the white population who were associated with behaviour regarded as uncivilized, T. Willoughby-Herard, *Waste of a White Skin: The Carnegie Corporation and the Racial Logic of White Vulnerability*, (California: University of California Press, 2015), pp. 33-34.

¹⁴⁹ D. P. Botha, "Leierskap Onder Kleurlingbevolking," *Die Banier*, December 1959, p. 1.

¹⁵⁰ C. I. R Fortein, "Coloureds belong to the White Group: Western Civilisation cannot be saved without our co-operation", *Die Banier*, June 1960, p. 1.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵² *Ibid.*

pursuing mechanisms which would serve as bridges of consultation and cooperation such as the CAD, in order to construct a future beneficial for both groups.

In 1960, the relationship between the two population groups was a notable topic of discussion. The different interpretations and observations of this were reflected each building on the other. Adam Small encouraged that relations should be that of benevolence and rapprochement.¹⁵³ Another author encourages that it should be based on goodwill and imprudence.¹⁵⁴ Booker Lakey, a teacher and member of the TEPA, claimed that friendship and loyalty towards whites was a characteristic of the Coloured population which had developed since the Great Trek in 1835 when allyship of the Coloured population was sparked by the resistance of Afrikaners against the British.¹⁵⁵ These sentiments reflect that the discourse regarding Coloured and white relations in 1960 was that of social harmony and allyship.

The newspaper also sought to promote unity among the strata of Coloured leadership at this time. Unity was promoted as the medium which would foster greater opportunities of progression for the Coloured population as well as for the leaders themselves. This can be seen through the pleas made to readers by George Golding.¹⁵⁶ This promotion of unity following the sentiments of other authors who promoted good relations between Coloured and whites displays that during 1960 a collective future was actively pursued by some members of the Coloured elite through the newspaper.

A greater demand for equality was made in 1961. Loyalty and cooperation by Coloured people, it was argued, should be rewarded through equality. Golding advocated for this by maintaining that Coloured people made considerable contributions in the building of the South African nation and should be treated accordingly.¹⁵⁷ Fortein shared this sentiment proclaiming that the time has arrived for the recognition of Coloured people through direct representation in parliament instead of being represented by four white men on their behalf as legislated under the *Separate Representation of Voters Act* of 1951.¹⁵⁸ This legislation removed Coloured people from the common voters roll in the Cape.¹⁵⁹ The ambitions of equality with whites was

¹⁵³ A. Small, "Ons Moet Eers tot Mekaar se Harte Deurdring," *Die Banier*, June 1960, p. 4.

¹⁵⁴ P. M. Bartlett, "Equal Opportunities for Everybody," *Die Banier*, June 1960, p. 4.

¹⁵⁵ B. Lakey, "Co-operation and Unity," *Die Banier*, August 1960, p. 9.

¹⁵⁶ G. Golding, "We Need Closer Understanding and Inspiring Leadership," *Die Banier*, September 1960, p. 1.

¹⁵⁷ G. Golding, "Reconsider Position of Coloureds: It is still not too late," *Die Banier*, January 1961, p. 1.

¹⁵⁸ C. I. R. Fortein, "History of Broken Promises; Our Political Representation," *Die Banier*, January 1961, p. 1.

¹⁵⁹ *Separate Representation of Voters Act*, Act 46 of 1951.

advocated by the CPNU after its conference in Port Elizabeth (current Gqeberha) in January 1961. Here, the necessity of Coloured people being included on the Common Voters Roll was an essential step towards equality with white people and this equality was deemed a precondition for a collective future.¹⁶⁰

Though the level of optimism regarding a collective future was experiencing some turbulence in 1961 with the growing pressure towards equality, the newspaper continued with attempts to discourage non-white alliance which they associated with communism. These attempts were reflective of the ideological fractures of the Coloured elite which have compounded and continued to influence politics years after. Lakey makes reference to some of these fractures to warn against non-white unity. He refers to the failure of Dr. Abdurahman who headed a non-white deputation to England to advocate for non-white rights as an example. Another example he provides is the NEUF conference in 1925 where Abdurahman and Tengo Jabavu attempted to mobilise the non-white population which too failed. He cautioned that rallies and boycotts against the CAD and UCCA would occur in order to bewilder the political thinking of Coloured people towards non-white unity through communist tactics. He goes on to acknowledge the challenges facing Coloured communities such as implications of the Group Areas Act, and contends that was only a phase of their social development. Lakey concludes this view by stating, “the avenues for mutual understanding, goodwill and racial understanding between white and Coloured are not closed. I cannot blindly accept policies of separate development without enjoying the positive side”.¹⁶¹ This expression of ambivalence displays that the ideological difference within the Coloured elite in terms of Coloured and white unity versus non-white unity was ever present and although the optimism of a collective future had been dented, it was not necessary neglected by those authors whose writings were reflected in the newspaper.

By August 1961, Fortein’s view of a collective future had shifted towards an independent future for Coloured people through self-determination. He claimed that white Afrikaners required the support of Coloured people as never before due to the defiance by non-white leaders. This claim was followed by the criticism of the CPC, describing the Coloured leaders

¹⁶⁰ Author unknown, “Resolutions of the C.P.N.U.- Conference at Port Elizabeth,” *Die Banier*, February 1961, p. 10.

¹⁶¹ B. Lakey, “Non-white United Front and Dangerous Actions,” *Die Banier*, May 1961, p. 6.

that attended as “misguided and self-righteous”.¹⁶² He goes on to argue that hatred and non-collaboration towards whites would be economically detrimental and thus promoted parallel development through the pursuit of political independence. He predicts that a system based on white supremacy is unsustainable and proposes that partition be the solution with the Coloured group remaining with the white group within the “Parent state”. This is based on his perception that they have the same Western background, languages, religion, traditions and sentiments.¹⁶³

Similar sentiments continued until 1965, which saw a significant shift to one of a future focused on Coloured people. This occurred as a backlash to growing frustrations regarding the position of Coloured people within South African society and their stagnation within the realm of politics. This feeling of frustration was evident in the article, “Verwoerd Outlines Policy: Coloured People to Remain Minority Group in Politics” in the 24th of April 1965 issue of the newspaper. Herein the policy of the NP regarding the Coloured population was reflected through a discussion of the announcement made by the incumbent Prime Minister, Hendrik Verwoerd in parliament on the 14th of April 1965. He announced that white representation of Coloured people in parliament would remain and justified this by means of a comparison of other minority groups in the world such as the Chinese and Indians in Malaysia as well as the Jamaicans in Britain. He linked their minority status in terms of population size, relative to their reduced role in politics.¹⁶⁴ This argument based on the principle of a minority demographic was flawed and contradictory as the white population too was a minority demographic within the broader population of South Africa. This led to much criticism within the newspaper.

Van der Ross wrote, “I have consistently held that the position of the Coloured people is of the utmost importance in South African affairs. It is nonsense to talk, as some have done in the past of removing the “Coloured Question” from the political arena.”¹⁶⁵ The shift was distinctively marked by the introduction of a designated section of the newspaper titled *Coloured Politics* on the 8th of May 1965. This section represented discussion points related to political action followed by Coloured organisations as well as their opinions regarding

¹⁶² C. I. R. Fortein, “Hatred Will Doom Us: Coloured Group Must Remain in European Parent State,” *Die Banier*, August 1961, p. 1.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁴ Author unknown, “Verwoerd Outlines Policy: Coloured People to Remain Minority Group in Politics,” *Die Banier*, 24 April 1965, p. 6.

¹⁶⁵ R. E. van der Ross, “Coloured Politics: Current Dialogue Interesting And Important.” *Die Banier*, 22 May 1965, p. 1.

Coloured affairs. This section also displayed support for the United Party which was the opposition of the incumbent NP. This section would juxtapose the two parties particularly concerning their approach to the Coloured population. This juxtaposition was based on the belief that Verwoerd and the NP halted the democratic process for the creating of new ideas in the party, whereas the UP engaged in dialogue along with the questioning of its policy.¹⁶⁶

This endorsement of the UP was contradictory to the initial statement of being an apolitical newspaper. It was necessary under such circumstances. Van der Ross also displayed his support of the UP via the newspaper while comparing them to the NP. This comparison was similar to that made on the 8th of May, concerning direct representation of Coloured people by Coloured members in parliament and his support stemmed from them promising that they would include Coloured people on the common voters roll and eventually offer direct representation.¹⁶⁷

During the latter part of the lifecycle of the newspaper, criticism of the government and its institutions continued to increase and the content reflected during this period was contrastingly different to that of the preceding years. Criticism of the CAD was also reflected during this period. Greater demands for houses in Transvaal were demanded and accompanied criticism of Coloured education under the control of the CAD. So too was the disparity between schools in the Transvaal and Cape which had technical high schools and training centres, while the Transvaal did not. By 1965, one article suggested that “There is complete chaos and confusion in our education since it came under the control of the Coloured Affairs, pupils have to attend overcrowded, double session classes”.¹⁶⁸ These criticisms along with the increasing support of the UP presented by the newspaper, manifested into reporting on the viewpoints by members of the UP:

What the Government was doing meant the cultural and sociological death of the Coloured people. Nothing had done more to engender feelings against the Whites than the recent actions of the Government. The recent proclamations and their application were a blot on the national character of the people. The Coloured people were being prevented from taking part in South Africa’s cultural life, which was a gross injustice, as participation in this sphere by the Coloured had always been regarded as traditional.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁶ Author unknown, “Coloured People are Part of Western Civilization,” *Die Banier*, 8 May 1965, p. 7.

¹⁶⁷ R. E. van der Ross, “Coloured Politics: Current Dialogue Interesting And Important.” *Die Banier*, 22 May 1965, p. 1.

¹⁶⁸ Author unknown, “Transvaal C.P.P.A. Attacks Joh’burg City Council, *Die Banier*, 8 May 1965, p. 7.

¹⁶⁹ Author unknown, “Basson on Coloured Policy,” *Die Banier*, June 1965, p. 1.

This was intended to rally support by the Coloured population for the UP and defiance against the NP. With this it can be seen that there were attempts to mobilise the readership of the newspaper towards the interests of Coloured people and not the interests which were mutually beneficial as communicated through the content of preceding years written with an undertone of alignment to a collective future for both white and Coloured South Africans.

The shift in focus towards interests of the Coloured population was also communicated through attempts to debunk racial myths spewed by apartheid propaganda. Edgar Deane, who was the first president of SACPO and a trade unionist aired his views in the newspaper.¹⁷⁰ He believed that there would never be racial peace in South Africa as long as people were compelled to base their interactions with other human beings and fellow South Africans, on the colour of their skin. He goes on to admit that there are differences in terms of skin colour between the average white person and the average Coloured person but argues that skin-colour differences are fundamentally unimportant as all people are inseparably linked by their common humanity. He thus was against the idea of direct representation of Coloured people by Coloured representatives in parliament as he saw this as the perpetuation of the racial myth. He concluded by affirming that he did not want to be identified as a Coloured man who votes for a Coloured politician. He sought to vote as a South African for a candidate who represented his interests and that of all South Africans.¹⁷¹ The viewpoints expressed by Deane is representative of members within the Coloured elite who rejected their identification and the mobilization of people on racial lines as they viewed this a perpetuation of a racial system. This rejectionist view of racial classification was dissimilar to the majority of members who featured in *Die Banier* and was reflective of the various schools of thought within the broader Coloured elite.

Hence, the notion of a collective future had dwindled towards the latter part of the lifecycle of *Die Banier*. This was not only due to the shift in discourse featuring more politically weighted content but also due to the divergent views of different members of the Coloured elite culminating towards the interests of the Coloured population instead of the mutually beneficial interests of the Coloured and white population groups.

¹⁷⁰ R. Field, *Alex la Guma: A Literary & Political Biography*, (Johannesburg: Jacana, 2010). p. 72.

¹⁷¹ E. Deane, "No Vital Difference Between Whites and Coloureds," *Die Banier*, 26 June 1965, p. 1.

3.6 Chapter Conclusions

Die Banier reflected a divergence of viewpoints represented by different members of the Coloured elite as well as white officials. It served as a multi-mouthpiece for the UCCA, CPNU and TEPA, as it would represent their standpoints and sought to mobilise the readership in alignment with the ideologies of these organisations. The mobilization attempted by this newspaper was on racial lines with the distinctive identification of Coloured as a separate racial group. Along with this distinction being made was the emphasis of disparity between the Coloured and white populations, while the perpetuation of distancing Coloured people from black in aim of being further included into the echelons of the white group within South African society. This distancing was accentuated by the highlighting of similarities between white and Coloured people within the context of South Africa. Thus assimilation to white and rejection of black were methods occupied by the editorial board and contributors to the newspaper in order to elevate the status of the Coloured population. However, its demise was imminent after the shift from a collective future to a more politically heavy conversation which was critical of the government and its institutions. This shift was influenced by the shift in focus and approach by prominent contributors such as C. I. R. Fortein and Richard van der Ross.

Though *Die Banier* could be regarded serving a multi-mouthpiece for the UCCA, CPNU and TEPA, it was more reflective to have served as a mouthpiece for a select number of individuals such as Fortein and van der Ross. The three main approaches which can be deduced from the prominent contributors to this newspaper are: assimilationist, collaborationist and rejectionist.

Assimilation and Coloured patriotism were the cornerstones during the infancy of the newspaper. Assimilation was promoted through advertisements which promoted lightness of complexion as well as by foregrounding white heritage in order to liken Coloured heritage to the white group. Tied to this was the notion of the Coloured races being products of miscegenation which sought to achieve recognition and alignment to the white group. The promotion of Coloured Patriotism too was reflected in the newspaper as a form of arguing for the empowerment of Coloured people based on the sentiment that both the black and white population groups originated elsewhere. The aim of this was to emphasise ties with the white group while simultaneously rejecting ties with the black group. Assimilationist undertones were present in the promotion of Coloured patriotism as it was one of the methods utilized by

the editorial board and contributors as an attempt to elevate the status of the Coloured population. A proponent of assimilation and Coloured patriotism was C. I. R. Fortein who in the early years of the newspaper sought to strengthen ties with the white group by emphasising similarities between the two groups such as religion, language and traditions. Simultaneously he promoted black rejectionism through distancing Coloured people from what he regarded as “undesirable” behaviour in the form of riots and promoting Communism. Assimilation and Coloured Patriotism were motives for Collaboration by members of the Coloured elite who conceded this as a means of progression for the Coloured population opposed to offering resistance. Initially this was promoted by both Kaptein and van der Ross who sought to foster social cohesion and racial harmony between the two population groups in alignment with the objective of *Die Banier* to construct a collective future for Coloured and white people in South Africa.

This chapter challenged the claim that the newspaper was apolitical by displaying that it served as a mouthpiece for different political organisations conveying their politically skewed standpoints. This chapter contested the claim that the newspaper safeguarded the interests of the entire Coloured population in South Africa. This was disproved by indicating the predominance of discourse focused on Coloured people in the Western Cape. This is similar to the *Torch* which also claimed to have been apolitical but as discussed in Chapter 2 was not the case as it promoted the ideologies and motives of political organisations such as the TLSA, NEUM and Anti-CAD.

The theme of higher education was sparked by the *Extension of University Education Act* of 1959 which saw the establishment of the University College of the Western Cape for Coloured students. This was an area of dispute amongst the Coloured elite. Two prominent figures, Richard van der Ross and Adam Small, had different viewpoints on the establishment of this institution and this was documented in *Die Banier*. Small was optimistic about this establishment and van der Ross less so as he believed that it would further isolate Coloured people by having institutions designated for them. This debate was reflective of the divergence within the Coloured elite as well as the nature of the publication as a platform for debate airing alternative views.

Coloured Education was one of the major themes in the discourse of *Die Banier*. This was due to the protagonists of the publication placing a great emphasis on the importance of education

as a means of progression. They advocated for compulsory education for Coloured children. This was motivated by their belief that inadequate education from an early age translates to anti-social behaviour such as crime and thus compulsory education would offer a way of alleviating this societal ill. From 1961 the discussion centered around the transfer of Coloured education to the CAD with George Golding being one of the supporters thereof as he viewed it to be beneficial for the Coloured population based on his belief that Coloured people were to construct their own future. This continued to be a prominent theme in the newspaper into 1964.

The ambivalent way in which articles appeared in this newspaper not only reflects the divergence of its contributors but in a way subtly provides the reader with compelling evidence on the state and increasing racial discrimination but disguises this in an attempt to evade unnecessary state censorship particularly within the early phase of its existence. This was evident in the prominent themes which highlighted the divergence of standpoints that coexisted in the publication. The collapse of *Die Banier* can in part be attributed to the much stronger stance against the establishment towards the mid-1960s. Thus, *Die Banier* could be regarded as a mouthpiece of a fractured Coloured elite with varying outlooks on the challenges facing the Coloured population within apartheid South Africa during 1959 to 1966. Sadly, its significance and existence was somewhat overshadowed by the *Cape Herald*, spearheaded by one of *Die Banier's* most prolific journalists, Richard van der Ross.

Chapter 4

The Cape Herald, 1965-1966

4.1 Introduction

The *Cape Herald* was a weekly newspaper that was first published on the 26th of February 1965, as a “community newspaper for Coloureds¹ It was founded by Aat Kaptein, editor at time of *Die Banier*.² It was also published by Banier Publishers and cost the same as *Die Banier*, three cents per issue.³ This was increased on the 5th of June 1965 to five cents per issue.⁴ The *Cape Herald* would eventually succeed *Die Banier* as a “Coloured newspaper”, after its demise in 1966. It was commercially successful, which Mohammed Adhikari credits to its sensationalist style of writing.⁵ According to William A. Hachten, it was all about “sex, crime and popular culture”, a far cry from some of the more subversive themes discussed in the preceding chapter.⁶ This chapter will focus on the establishment of the newspaper during the period of overlap with *Die Banier* in order to assess this transition and the role of one individual in particular, Richard van der Ross, who gained prominence as its first editor.

In February 1965, 43 000 copies of the *Cape Herald* were to be printed each week in order to keep up with the demand. By June of the same year, it would include a family supplement to become “even more popular than it is. CAPE HERALD, everybody’s friend!”⁷ It was quick to boast success. By the 17th of July 1965 it claimed, “NEVER before in the history of this country, South Africa, has there been a newspaper which the Coloured people have accepted as spontaneously as the Cape Herald”.⁸ It targeted a similar audience to those of the defunct

¹ NLSA, *A List of South African Newspapers, 1800-1982: With Library Holdings*, p. 20.

² L. Switzer, *South Africa’s Alternative Press: Voices of Protest and Resistance, 1880s-1960s*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 100.

³ Author unknown, *Cape Herald*, 26 February 1965, p. 1.

⁴ Author unknown, *Cape Herald*, 5 June 1965, p. 1.

⁵ M. Adhikari, *Not White Enough, Not Black Enough: Racial Identity in the South African Coloured Community*, (Cape Town: Double Storey Books, 2005), p. 224.

⁶ W. A. Hachten, *Muffled Drums: The News Media in Africa*, (Ames: Iowa University Press, 1971), p. 253.

⁷ Author unknown, “HERALD REPORTS: Record Sales and Supplement”, *Cape Herald*, 29 May 1965, p. 1.

⁸ Author unknown, “Cape Herald: Unique Service”, *Cape Herald*, 17 July 1965, p. 6.

The Sun and the *Cape Standard*, which it criticised for having too narrower focus and not having a wider news coverage. It claimed to express the interests of Coloured communities, and provide a wider coverage of sport, entertainment, education, religion, social news as well as other aspects of community activities. It was also going to provide critical reflections on the state of the Coloured population in South Africa. As with *Die Banier*, it encouraged readers to engage with the editorial team by writing letters to the editor.⁹

The newspaper rejected the separation of racial groups and racialized nationalism. It was critical of advocates who considered South Africa a multi-nation state consisting of a “White South African Nation, a Coloured South African Nation, and African (or Bantu) South African Nation, an Indian South African Nation. We would probably have to add a Chinese South African nation and – yes – an Honorary White (Japanese) South African nation”.¹⁰ This was simply not tenable nor desirable. It defined a nation as one in which its members are subject to one government. It essentially rejected the *Coloured Persons Representative Council Act* (Act 49 of 1964), which led to indirect representation by a body who would determine the needs of Coloured people in the spheres of education, welfare and local government.¹¹ It discouraged the separation of South Africa into separate nations but acknowledged the existence of diverse groups.¹²

The influence of *Die Burger*, is once again articulated in an article, “Die Burger and its Task”, which congratulates *Die Burger* on its fiftieth anniversary but also foregrounds the attributes the *Cape Herald* would maintain: “As the youngest newspaper in the Cape, indeed in the country, the *Cape Herald*, considers it a privilege to be able to say that it admires much which *Die Burger* could achieve, and much for which it stood”.¹³ This was in reference to the way in which the newspaper promoted Afrikaner nationalism and racial pride. *Die Burger* was acknowledged as the Afrikaans medium forerunner to the *Cape Herald* which would, in a similar vein, promote Coloured existence¹⁴ but not Coloured independence.

⁹ T. Heuwel, “Praise and Criticism”, *Cape Herald*, 11 September 1965, p. 5.

¹⁰ Author unknown, “Cape Herald: One Nation”, *Cape Herald*, 24 July 1965, p. 6.

¹¹ *The Coloured Persons Representative Council Act*, Act 49 of 1964.

¹² Author unknown, “Cape Herald: One Nation”, *Cape Herald*, 24 July 1965, p. 6.

¹³ Author unknown, “Die Burger and its Task”, *Cape Herald*, 31 July 1965, p. 6.

¹⁴ *Coloured existence* in this context is the acknowledgement of this population group having its own group identity (informed by the constraints of racial classification and self-identification). It also speaks to elements of this group identity promoted and framed within the the *Cape Herald* aimed at being relatable for its Coloured readership.

Parallels between the Afrikaner cause and the challenges faced by Coloureds was articulated, albeit in reductionist terms. Similarities included the fact that both groups were demographically in the minority but economically active, both fought for the formal acknowledgment of Afrikaans as a language, both fought for Afrikaans-medium educational institutions and both racial groups had a low level of literacy.¹⁵ In 1968, *Die Burger* also acknowledged this similarity of cause when it started publishing *Die Burger Ekstra*, which was an edition of the newspaper designated for the Coloured readership in Cape Town.¹⁶ This consisted of two pages reporting on sport and local news.

Ironically, the *Cape Herald* was an English-medium newspaper for reasons outlined in Chapter 1 on English as the intellectual language of preference and the use of English as a class indicator. However, readers were quick to request material in their mother-tongue, Afrikaans.¹⁷ However, it continued to be published solely in English although it employed “Gamat language”¹⁸, a local twist originating from Malay dialects which was no doubt a way to make the publication humorous and have a mass appeal amongst the working-classes of the Cape Coloured population. “Gamat Language” is more commonly known as “Kaaps” (i.e. language of the Cape). One of the first black South African Afrikaans literary scholars, Vernon February, who also wrote on Afrikaans and Creole literatures stated that Kaaps, Kleurling-Afrikaans (Coloured Afrikaans), was “looked upon as a mark of low social status and cultural inferiority. It is said to degrade instead of uplift, thereby only confirming the Afrikaner in his prejudiced belief that the ‘coloured’ is culturally and linguistically a buffoon.”¹⁹ Adam Small places cultural value on Kaaps in his anthology *Kitaar my kruis* (Guitar My Cross) where he writes:

Kaaps [the term he himself prefers], is not what some Englishman in South Africa refers to as ‘Capey’ ... also not what some Afrikaans-speaking persons refer to as *Gamaat-taal*. *Kaaps* is a language in the sense that it carries the full fate and destiny of the people who speak it: their entire life, ‘with everything contained in it’; a language in the sense that the people who speak

¹⁵ Author unknown, “Die Burger and its Task”, *Cape Herald*, 31 July 1965, p. 6.

¹⁶ L. Switzer and D. Switzer, *The Black Press in South Africa and Lesotho: A Descriptive Bibliographic Guide to African, Coloured and Indian Newspapers, newsletters and Magazines. 1836-1976*, (Boston: G. K. Hall & Co., 1979), p. 125.

¹⁷ Author unknown, “Gamat Language”, *Cape Herald*, 11 September 1965, p. 5.

¹⁸ “Gamat” is the adaption of ‘Mohamed’ which was used as a derogatory term to refer to a Coloured man of Malay descent. By extension the informal language spoken in Coloured communities in the Cape was referred to as “Gamat Taal”. It features English and Afrikaans words along with some Javanese and Malay as well. *Gamaat, gamat*, <https://dsae.co.za/entry/gammat/e02547> (Accessed 24 October 2021); H. C. Bosman, *Willemsdorp*, (Johannesburg: Human & Rousseau, 1977), p. 58; A. Delius, *The Young Traveller in South Africa*, (London: Phoenix, 1959), p. 99; G. Jenkins, *A Bridge of Magpies*, (London: Fontana Books, 1977), p. 40.

¹⁹ V. February, *Mind Your Colour: The ‘Coloured’ Stereotype in South African Literature*, (London: Kegan Paul International Ltd., 1981), p. 95.

it, give their first cry in life in this language, conduct all their business in their life in this language, expectorate in the throes of death in this language. Kaaps is not funny or comical but a language.²⁰

The use of informal language and terms which would become known as “kombuistaal”,²¹ was to resonate with the everyday language used in Coloured communities and thus evoking a sense of community.

By the end of 1965, the readership had increased to almost 200 000 people each week and was rapidly increasing. This enhanced the notion that it was a publication with mass appeal amongst the Coloured population because it dealt with real issues. It sought to promote itself as a feasible platform for advertisements which it relied on as a source of income. This feasibility was promoted by highlighting the buying power of more than 1½ million South Africans. It was argued that similar “Non-European” publications were too volatile thus making them less feasible.²²

In this politically unstable period, as discussed in previous chapters, the *Torch* and *Die Banier* both broached the plight of Coloureds in adversarial ways. They focussed on either national directives which were detrimental to the Coloured population or aired internal factionalism through its articles. Here was a publication which conceived of a broader focus and mass appeal. One individual in particular, the enigmatic figure of Richard van der Ross who featured prominently in the *Torch* and *Die Banier*, was to position himself within this rather successful publication.

4.2 Richard van der Ross: Editor and Prominent Contributor

The first editor of the *Cape Herald* was Richard van der Ross. Between 1965-1966, he was both editor and contributor of the *Cape Herald* while continuing to write for *Die Banier* as well as the *Cape Times* newspaper in its “Coloured column” titled, “Coloured Viewpoint”, where

²⁰ A. Small, *Kitaar my kruis*, (Pretoria: Protea Boekhuis, 2018), p. 12.

²¹ English translation: Kitchen language. Refers to the informality of the dialect of fused English and Afrikaans which is pejoratively referred to as “broken Afrikaans” A. Yudkoff, *Activism through Music during the Apartheid Era and Beyond: When Voices Meet*, (Minneapolis: Lexington Books, 2021), p. 35; K. McCormick in S. Burman, *Growing up in a divided society: The contexts of childhood*, (Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1990), p. 293; *Kombuis/kombuistaal* <https://dsae.co.za/entry/kombuis/e04001> (Accessed 24 October 2021).

²² Author unknown, “Business Leaders of Yesterday: They say No to the Non-European Press”, *Cape Herald*, 18 December 1965, p. 5. Newspaper?

he published 134 articles between 1958 and 1965.²³ On his appointment as editor, he resigned from his position as principal at the Battswood Training College for Teachers which he held since 1954.²⁴ His resignation was announced in the newspaper on the 31st of July 1965, but this also meant that he would formally sever ties with the CAD from the 31st of September 1965.²⁵ He served as editor of the *Cape Herald* until 1969.

He was also the most prominent contributor to the newspaper sharing his viewpoints and providing political commentary. Fleeting features appeared from other contributors during the period of 1965 to 1966, such as Tom Swartz (Thomas Robert Swartz),²⁶ who was the leader of the Federal Coloured People's Party and chairperson of the UCCA.²⁷ It was almost a one-man show.

Van der Ross argued that the *Cape Herald* eclipsed *Die Banier* for three reasons. Firstly, because it was an English-medium newspaper and according to him, "English had a higher prestige value for urban Coloured readers than Afrikaans". Secondly, it reported on "township news" in relatable terms. Thirdly, *Die Banier*, in his words was "apologist for government policies".²⁸ He fails to mention why he continued to be associated with the publication. Nevertheless, the *Cape Herald* was indeed popular and by 1969, this was endorsed when it was bought over by the Argus Company.²⁹ On reflection, van der Ross believed that the *Cape Herald* took an anti-apartheid stance under his tenure and appealed to the dwindling numbers of *Die Banier* readers no longer willing to entertain assimilationist rhetoric.³⁰ He attempted to critique state policy and instil racial pride.³¹ He was critical of racial prejudices based on unsound scientific theory such as intelligence tests.³² He was also critical of the inferiority

²³ For all the articles of the *Coloured Viewpoint* see: J. L. Hattingh & H. C. Bredekamp, *Coloured Viewpoint: A Series of Articles in the Cape Times, 1958 – 1965* by R E van der Ross, (The Western Cape Institute for Historical Research (IHR), University of the Western Cape, Bellville, 1984).

²⁴ R. E. van der Ross, *In Our Own Skins: A Political History of the Coloured*, (Cape Town: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 2015), p. 112.

²⁵ Author unknown, "Dr. R. E. van der Ross Resigns", *Cape Herald*, 31 July 1965, p. 1.

²⁶ For further reading about Tom Swartz see: Unisa Documentation Centre for African Studies- The Tom Swartz Collection, *Tom Swartz (1904- 1975)*, pp. 1-5.

²⁷ P. Randal, *South Africa's Minorities*, (Johannesburg: Study Project on Christianity in Apartheid Society, 1971), p. 48.

²⁸ SU – van der Ross Collection, Unpublished Manuscript of Richard van der Ross, *A Political and Social History of the Cape Coloured People in 1880-1970*, pp. 651-652.

²⁹ L. Switzer, *South Africa's Alternative Press: Voices of Protest and Resistance, 1880s-1960s*, p. 100.

³⁰ SU – van der Ross Collection, Unpublished Manuscript of Richard van der Ross, *A Political and Social History of the Cape Coloured People in 1880-1970*, pp. 651-652.

³¹ R. E. van der Ross, "Our Communication in Groups", *Cape Herald*, 11 September 1965, p. 5.

³² R. E. van der Ross, "Prejudice in our Human Relations", *Cape Herald*, 24 July 1965, p. 6.

complex which circulated amongst Coloured people born out of the working relationships with white people in what he deemed was an unhealthy “master-servant relationship”, a mind-set fostered by racial conditioning. He called for the reconditioning of the mind through mediums such as the *Cape Herald*.³³

Van der Ross also drew parallels between internalized racial prejudice and inferiority based on class. He argued that class prejudice is influenced by racial differentiation in which the “elevated class” claim to have more in common with the white group - more privileges, lighter skin which affords for greater opportunity, which translates to greater economic wealth. These assimilationist ideals lead to expressions of one’s worth in proximity to whiteness.³⁴

Equality and independence were ideas frequently conveyed by van der Ross. He explained that Coloured people had to overcome the historically entrenched paternalist connections in which white men were accustomed to an unfounded practice of trusteeship over people of colour.³⁵ This mind shift is also apparent in the ways in which van der Ross interacted within *Die Banier* and the *Cape Herald*. In the former, he accommodated the idea of a collective future and closer ties between the white and Coloured groups. While in the letter, he promoted an independent Coloured group, responsible for its own affairs. He justifies this call for independence based on the economic and educational development which took place among Coloured communities over time. These shifts are articulated in articles which appeared in the publication over a two-year period.

4.3 Coloureds, Their Homes and Their Challenges: Prominent Political Themes in the *Cape Herald*, 1965-1966.

Van der Ross challenged the status quo in four particular domains. The *Group Areas Act*, crime, racial image and racial politics which analysed the implications of legislation such as the Group Areas Act particularly in District Six. This theme also encompassed discussions of the different political parties, movements and the parliamentary systems in South Africa.

³³ R. E. van der Ross, “Master Servant Relationship”, *Cape Herald*, 26 June 1965, p. 3.

³⁴ R. E. van der Ross, “Prejudice among Coloured people”, *Cape Herald*, 31 July 1965, p. 5.

³⁵ R. E. van der Ross, “The Time Has Come to Get Together”, *Cape Herald*, 16 October 1965, p. 6.

4.3.1. The Group Areas Act

Prior to the implementation of the Group Areas Act in the Cape from 1961, Coloured people were widely dispersed throughout the Republic.³⁶ The objective of this legislation was to separate residential areas in the quest for separate development. During the period of 1966 to April 1975, there were 455 designated areas for Coloureds across South Africa.³⁷

Surprisingly, only fleeting mentions of the *Group Areas Act* were featured in the newspaper during 1965. Those which did, appeared in the form of reports of certain areas being declared as a white or black area, such as Protea in Johannesburg.³⁸ The forced removals in District Six from 1966, however, led to a barrage of reports condemning the practice.

District Six has a long history steeped in its slave origins.³⁹ A predominantly Coloured working-class community, it was eclectic due to the myriad of influences, cultures and ideologies which coexisted in this area.⁴⁰ It also had a long history of forced relocation, the first of which occurred in 1901 when black residents were moved to the area *Uitvlugt* (currently known as N'dabeni). Guised as a sanitary problem, in what is commonly referred to as the sanitation syndrome, removals were “justified” during the outbreak of the Bubonic plague. The authorities argued that they needed to reduce overpopulation.⁴¹

Duane Jethro claims that District Six was a classic example of Victorian urban planning where the working-class demographic overwhelmingly populated the city centre which with the passing of time would result in its “squalor, decay and overpopulation”.⁴² Neither the municipality nor landlords attempted to improve the squalid living conditions and thus it deteriorated over time. It was under the guise of “slum clearance”, that the urban renewal

³⁶ M. Horrell, *Laws Affecting Race Relations in South Africa (to the end of 1976)*, (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1978), p. 72.

³⁷ U.G. 38 1976 *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Matters Relating to the Coloured Population Group*, p. v., 1976, pp. 212-213.

³⁸ Author unknown, “Township Goes to Africans”, *Cape Herald*, 6 March 1965, p. 1.

³⁹ C. Schoeman, *The Spirit of Kanala*, (Johannesburg: Human and Rousseau, 1994), p. 73.

⁴⁰ D. Jethro, “‘Waar Val jy Uit?’: District Six, Sacred Space, and Identity in Cape Town”, *Journal for the Study of Religion*, (22), (1), 2009, p. 23.

⁴¹ C. Rassool, *District Six Revisited*, (Bellville: Department of History, University of the Western Cape, 2013), p. 1.

⁴² D. Jethro, “‘Waar Val jy Uit?’: District Six, Sacred Space, and Identity in Cape Town”, *Journal for the Study of Religion*, (22), (1), 2009, p. 23.

process declared the area a white area.⁴³ On the 11th of February 1966 District Six was formally declared a “whites-only” area under the *Group Areas Act* of 1950,⁴⁴ with over 60 000 residents being displaced between 1966 and 1982.⁴⁵ They were dumped in various racially designated areas throughout the peninsula.⁴⁶ Subsequently this area was demolished and renamed Zonnebloem in 1978, but the majority of the land remained vacant due to fierce opposition during apartheid.⁴⁷ The area was completely flattened by 1982 except for a few religious buildings such as the Al Azhar mosque,⁴⁸ St. Marks church,⁴⁹ and the Moravian church, still in existence to date. The entire “renewal project” was a disaster and heavily criticised by opponents in the *Commission of Inquiry into Matters Relating to the Coloured Population Group* of 1976. Six points in particular point to the ravages of the forced removals and the need to rethink the removals project:

- (i) There was an error of judgement on the part of the planners. Ten years ago it was not foreseen that the Coloureds would make such rapid economic progress that District Six as it is being replanned today could to great advantage be proclaimed a residential area for the more well-to-do Coloureds.
- (ii) On purely economic grounds a very strong case can be made out for the creation of a model Coloured residential area close to the centre of Cape Town. Opinion polls have shown that this idea enjoys wide support.
- (iii) Cape Town is becoming increasingly dependent on Coloured labour over a wide spectrum of fields of employment above the level of unskilled labour.
- (iv) Cape Town has a limited but sure development potential. There is a very real fear that the city is going to be increasingly deprived of workers in the categories where whites are being replaced by Coloureds.
- (v) Considering the burden that is going to be placed on transport and communications in the Peninsula if jobs have to be created for some two million Coloureds up to the end of the century, it seems logical that at least the above-mentioned top stratum of Coloureds should be settled as close to the centre of the city as possible.
- (vi) There is no danger of the whites housing needs not being met as a result of the settlement of Coloureds in District Six.⁵⁰

⁴³ D. M. Hart, “Political Manipulation of Urban Space: The Razing of District Six, Cape Town”, *Urban Geography*, (9), pp. 603-604.

⁴⁴ S. Field, *Lost Communities, Living Memories: Remembering Forced Removals in Cape Town*, (Cape Town: New Africa Books, 2001).

⁴⁵ C. Beyers, “Land Restitution’s ‘Rights Communities’: The District Six Case”, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, (33), (2), June 2007, p. 267.

⁴⁶ C. McEachern, “Working with Memory: The District Six Museum in the New South Africa”, *The International Journal of Anthropology*, (42), (2), July 1998, pp. 50-51.

⁴⁷ S. Jeppie and C. Soudien (eds.), *The Struggle for District Six: Past and Present*, (Cape Town: Buchu Books, 1990), p. 78.

⁴⁸ For further reading regarding the Al Azhar museum see: *Al-Azhar mosque, Cape Town*, <https://www.sahistory.org.za/place/al-azhar-mosque-cape-town> (Accessed 1 June 2021).

⁴⁹ For further reading regarding the St. Mark’s Church see: District Six Museum, <https://www.atlasobscura.com/places/district-six-museum> (Accessed 1 June 2021).

⁵⁰ U.G. 38 1976 *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Matters Relating to the Coloured Population Group*, p. v., 1976, pp. 218-219.

These pleas were ignored by the state.⁵¹ What is significant, is the prophetic way in which the *Cape Herald* reported on the negative effects of the forced removals in District Six, ten years earlier. It predicted that 50 000 Coloured people, 13 schools and approximately 7000 schoolchildren would be affected. It also warned non-white shop owners that they too would be relocated along with churches, cinemas, cafes and places of entertainment.⁵²

Much like the *Torch*, the *Cape Herald* also named, and shamed, political activists who supported the urban renewal proposal. The incumbent chairman of the UCCA, Tom Swartz, believed that “in time the Coloured people will realise that this removal has done them the world of good”.⁵³ The *Cape Herald* demanded that Swartz and the UCCA address residents of District Six to explain their reasoning.

Additionally, the *Cape Herald* rejected the argument that forced removals was primarily instigated by the need for a “slum clearance” and condemned the rezoning of the area to “whites only”. Quite rightly, arguments were made that the complete proposed urban renewal was not financially viable and it further pointed out that the social repercussions of forced relocations would be insurmountable. The renewal plans were never completed and the social ills which proliferated at the Cape following the forced removals led to the infamous 1976 commission of enquiry which attributed a large portion of blame to this ill-conceived state intervention. Through the newspaper, a plea was made to rather improve the existing infrastructure of District Six. This included widening streets, establishing modern shops, the construction of new houses and blocks of flats as well cracking down on crime.⁵⁴ Criminal activity in Cape Town was severely tarnishing the national reputation of Coloured people but also posed a direct threat to the security of its residents. It is little wonder that this was rigorously discussed in the *Cape Herald*.

4.3.2 Crime in Cape Town, 1965-66

The *Cape Herald* wanted to report on real issues of relevance to its readership. The headline on the frontpage of the publication usually related to crime, for example, “Wave of Robberies

⁵¹ U.G. 38 1976 *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Matters Relating to the Coloured Population Group*, p. v., 1976, p. 218.

⁵² Author unknown, “District Six”, *Cape Herald*, 19 February 1966, pp. 1, 6.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 1, 6.

in Cape Town, several arrests”.⁵⁵ This was intended to catch the attention of a reader. Furthermore, crime, in subtle ways, was blamed on the lack of state intervention. During the forced removals, this could be directly linked to the forced relocation of people to inhospitable environments, seen for example in the article titled, “Violence and Terror Reigns in New Townships”. It argued that “rougher elements” were present in the areas of Bishop Lavis, Florida and Bonteheuwel, some of the more notorious gang areas in the Cape peninsula. It further argued that criminal activity stemmed from impoverishment.⁵⁶ Through a process of subtle association, the publication would criticise state policy carefully avoiding narratives which would lead to it being accused of inciting insurrection.

In addition, the criminal reputation of Coloureds was challenged through careful juxtaposition of articles which pointed out that other racial groups committed heinous violent acts. An example of this was an article that reported on a white man found guilty of killing one of his labourers.⁵⁷ Another example was the reporting of a black man accused of raping a four year old girl in Cape Town.⁵⁸ But the publication also wanted readers to use the platform to draw attention to social ills in their environs. Again, it promoted debate by publishing a letter calling for the legalisation of marijuana. A graduate student, for example, wrote a rather misguided letter to the editor in response to an article published in the 5 March 1966 issue, about the illegal selling and consumption of marijuana in Coloured areas in the Cape.⁵⁹ The reader argued that it is not addictive like opium or liquor but can become a bad habit in the same way as smoking cigarettes. The reader also argued that smoking *dagga*⁶⁰ over a long period of time does not lead to mental disorders but rather argues that that mental disorder arises from enduring “a lifetime of frustration, fear and loneliness”, to which they attribute blame to the forced removals.⁶¹

Therefore, reports on crime were not of the ordinary kind. Much emphasis was placed on crime as a product of the forced removals but an equal amount of attention was given to “whitening”

⁵⁵ Author unknown, “Wave of Robberies in Cape Town, Several Arrests”, *Cape Herald*, 3 April 1965, p. 1.

⁵⁶ W. P. Steenkamp and C. I. Fredericks, “Violence and Terror Reigns in New Townships”, *Cape Herald*, 26 February 1965, p. 1.

⁵⁷ Author unknown, “White, to Hang for Murder of Labourer”, *Cape Herald*, 20 March 1965, p. 7.

⁵⁸ Author unknown, “African Alleged to Have Raped Girl”, *Cape Herald*, 3 April 1965, p. 9.

⁵⁹ Author unknown, “Cape Dagga Trade”, *Cape Herald*, 5 March 1966, p. 2.

⁶⁰ A slang term referring to marijuana.

⁶¹ Author unknown, “Make Dagga-Smoking Legal”, *Cape Herald*, 12 March 1966, p. 6.

the reputation of Coloureds as violent beings. This was in keeping with the need to rebuild Coloured pride.

4.3.3 Coloured-centeredness

A concerted effort was made by the editor to ideologically frame Coloureds as a separate racial group with its own interests, affairs and challenges. As a result, much of the content reflected in the newspaper contributed to the discussion of Coloureds as an independent and distinctive population group, recentering them into the racial discourse.

The contentious figure, Abdullah Abdurahman, as alluded to in Chapter 1, was regarded as one of the greatest Coloured leaders in the pages of the *Cape Herald* when they commemorated his 25th anniversary in 1965. It boasted many of his accolades. More than 30 000 people attended his funeral in 1940. He served as the first non-white member of the Cape Town City Council for 35 years, and was the first Coloured person to be elected as a member of the Cape Provincial Council to which he served for 27 years. Generals Smuts and Hertzog regarded him an important figure in Coloured leadership.⁶² The *Cape Herald* not only commemorated the service of Dr. Abdurahman but also highlighted his role within the political arena in the Cape. As a pioneer figure, the newspaper revered him as one who served the Coloured community and was devoted to their cause for equality.

In “Coloureds’ Unity No. 1. Priority- Swartz”, the newspaper acknowledged that the Coloured population was “the most divided in the country”.⁶³ Despite the shadow cast over the ambitions of Tom Swartz in the *Cape Herald*, his speech at the inaugural congress of the Federal Coloured People’s Party was employed to explain these fractures. The Federal Coloured People’s Party was the first Coloured political party established in July 1964. It followed a policy of acceptance of separate development and a willingness to function within the framework of government policy.⁶⁴ He claimed that the division proliferated because of the personal ambitions of Coloured leaders as well as the distrust they had in each other. The problem extended to the masses. He goes on to state, “our people do not want to accept each other: our

⁶² Author unknown, “Dr. Abdurahman Dead 25 Years: Still No Fitting Memorial”, *Cape Herald*, 13 March 1965, p. 6.

⁶³ Author unknown, “Coloureds’ Unity No. 1. Priority- Swartz,” *Cape Herald*, 20 March 1965, p. 3.

⁶⁴ U.G. 38 1976 *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Matters Relating to the Coloured Population Group*, p. v., 1976, p. 442.

people do not want to accept each other as people of the same identity”.⁶⁵ This, he explained, could be traced back to a defect inherited from centuries of slavery and enslaved thinking. Ironically in 1966, Swartz’s views were heavily criticized by the *Cape Herald*.⁶⁶

Announcements made by the incumbent Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd in parliament on the plight of Coloureds spurred the publication of the 10th of April 1965 issue of the *Cape Herald* on the Coloured population’s role within South African politics. Verwoerd was adamant that Coloured people would remain a political minority group and white representation would continue within the House of Assembly, as was the case in other political states.⁶⁷ This was vehemently contested by the *Cape Herald* which rearticulated the indigenous origins of the Coloured population. This was bolstered with the perspectives from the UP opposition. Japie Basson, a member of the UP, who supported direct parliamentary representation for Coloured people, pointed out, “the Coloureds are after all, our people – they are brown, Afrikaners”.⁶⁸ He further justified his stance by referring to the Dutch Reformed Church where Coloured people held significant positions within the religious structure.

While this approach may have alienated readers who rejected separatism, the aim was to promote racial pride: “it is our aim to build the Coloured people into such a group that the term will be respected by all, but we must begin with ourselves”.⁶⁹ It drew on similar strategies amongst the black population group who increasingly embraced the term African. It called for a reappraisal of the term Coloured: “Coloured, because of the colour of our skin. Colour is exciting, positive, definite. All our lives we seek colour”.⁷⁰ Coloured was a term to be associated with respectability, human dignity and respect.

Having pride in the term was also expected to thwart ambitions to assimilate to whiteness. In particular, it was an attempt to dissuade people from “trying for white”. This refers to the application for reclassification as white by some members of the Coloured population.⁷¹ This was an understandable attempt, in context, by some members of Coloured communities to

⁶⁵ Author unknown, “Coloureds’ Unity No. 1. Priority- Swartz”, *Cape Herald*, 20 March 1965, p. 3.

⁶⁶ Author unknown, “District Six”, *Cape Herald*, 19 February 1966, pp. 1, 6.

⁶⁷ Author unknown, “VERWOERD OUTLINES POLICY: Coloured People to Remain Minority Group in Politics”, *Cape Herald*, 10 April 1965, p. 1.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ Author unknown, “Proud of being Coloured”, *Cape Herald*, 31 July 1965, p. 6.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ D. Posel, “Race as Common Sense: Racial Classification in Twentieth-Century South Africa”, *African Studies Review*, (44), (2), September 2001, pp. 107-108.

attain more privileges. This included higher salaries, better jobs and access to more services. The newspaper was quick to deem this “anti-Coloured”, a deceitful act and a betrayal. It also alluded to a lifetime of uncertainty and unhappiness for those who successfully reclassified themselves. They would suffer an identity crisis and would be isolated from friends and family.⁷²

The fickle nature of the reclassification system itself was demonstrated in an article written about a couple who managed to be reclassified as white because their birth certificates read, “mixed”.⁷³ The *Population Registration Act* of 1950 declared, “a person shall not be classified as a White person if one of his natural parents has been classified as a Coloured person or Bantu”.⁷⁴ The obscure term “mixed” thus provided a legislative loophole. This case study served to show just how arbitrary and absurd the system could be. The term mixed also suggested some form of miscegenation which was under the *Sexual Offences Act* of 1957.⁷⁵ This Act made it a criminal offence for a white person to engage in sexual relations with anyone from another racial group.⁷⁶

Van der Ross played an imperative role in the framing of Coloured as a distinctive group within a broader cohort of oppressed people. In the initial two years of the newspaper, he made numerous attempts to dismantle the stigma associated with being labelled a Coloured person. He was also inspired by the broader definition as espoused by the Coloured Convention Movement of 1961: “the Coloured people are South Africans who are discriminated against in law in a particular way”.⁷⁷ In this way, he transformed the term from one of inferiority to one which connected people who suffered similar forms of oppression and discrimination. In so doing, he guided readers towards reappraising the political climate with a new lens.

4.3.4 A Return to State Politics

The enactment of the *Coloured Person’s Representative Council Act* in 1964, saw the Coloured Persons’ Representative Council (CPRC) replacing the UCCA in 1969.⁷⁸ Between 1964 and

⁷² Author unknown, “New “Race” in the Republic”, *Cape Herald*, 7 May 1966, p. 4.

⁷³ Author unknown, “Of “Mixed” Descent”, *Cape Herald*, 14 May 1966, p. 4.

⁷⁴ *The Population Registration Act*, Act 30 of 1950.

⁷⁵ The *Sexual Offences Act* of 1957 replaced the *Immorality Amendment Act* of 1950 which prohibited: “illicit carnal intercourse” between Europeans and non-Europeans”, *The Immorality Amendment Act*, Act 21 of 1950.

⁷⁶ *The Sexual Offences Act*, Act 23 of 1957.

⁷⁷ R. E. van der Ross, “Coloured People defined by Dr. R. E. van der Ross”, *Cape Herald*, 14 May 1966, p. 4.

⁷⁸ *Coloured Persons’ Representative Council Act*, Act 49 of 1964.

1969, there were six Coloured political parties which were established to contest the first election of the CPRC. These parties included the Federal Coloured People's party (FP), the Labour Party of South Africa (LP), the National Coloured People's Party (NCP), the Conservative Party, the Republican Coloured Party (RCP) and the Coloured People's Political Party (CPPP). In 1969 the Independent Federal Party (IFP) emerged in the Transvaal as a breakaway party of the FP. However, it did not enjoy any success at the 1969 elections.⁷⁹ Each of the six abovementioned parties, reflected the different schools of thought of the Coloured elite. All advocated for the progression of Coloured people but all differed on what this would entail.

In July 1964, the Federal Coloured People's Party was established under the leadership of Tom R. Swartz.⁸⁰ It was renamed the Freedom Party at the National Congress on the 6th of January 1978. Their motto was, "For the Coloured People, From the Coloured People".⁸¹ It amenable supported the apartheid policy of separate development while pursuing cooperation with government authorities.⁸² The constitution of the FP indicated that it was founded on three main principles of Christianity, equal development and Coloured representation.⁸³

A splinter group of the FP in Transvaal founded the National Coloured People's Party in 1966 after clashes of personality with the more senior members. They were based in Johannesburg and viewed the Coloured population as a separate race with a separate identity. Radical in approach, they went on witch-hunts to identify and report to the authorities non-Coloured people living in Coloured residential and business areas in Johannesburg.⁸⁴ They were anti-

⁷⁹ U.G. 38 1976 *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Matters Relating to the Coloured Population Group*, p. 442.

⁸⁰ M. Simons, "Organised Coloured Political Movements" in *Occupational and Social Change among Coloured People in South Africa*, (London: Penguin Books, 1969), p. 228.

⁸¹ P. Hugo, *Quislings or Realists?: A Documentary Study of 'Coloured' Politics in South Africa*, (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 2001), p. 279.

⁸² U.G. 38 1976 *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Matters Relating to the Coloured Population Group*, p. 442.

⁸³ The principles on which the Federal Coloured People's Party was founded included:

(a) On Divine Principles- The Coloured People as a God fearing people accept the Almighty God as the supreme authority in all their activities.

(b) On the principles of positive equal development.

(c) It undertakes to promote the welfare of the Coloured People of South Africa and to improve and protect their political rights. For this reason it wishes to promote pride of identity and independence amongst the Coloured people, with due regard to the loyalty and devotion they owe to South Africa and its interests, P. Hugo, *Quislings or Realists?: A Documentary Study of 'Coloured' Politics in South Africa*, p. 279.

⁸⁴ South African Institute of Race Relations, *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa*, (Braamfontein: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1969), p. 6.

black, anti-Muslim and anti-Indian.⁸⁵ Like the FP, they too believed in pursuing collaboration with the government and promoted separate development. In 1973, they rejoined the FP.⁸⁶

The Conservative Party was another Coloured political party which was formed in 1966 and like the CPNU and NCPP, believed in the unifying of the Coloured population as a solitary nation with equal economic and social opportunities to that of whites.⁸⁷ It supported the apartheid policy of separate development, however they sought a more favourable application of the *Group Areas Act* and endorsed Coloured representatives in Parliament. The inconsistency of their policy resulted in their failure to find support amongst Coloured voters during the 1969 CPRC elections.⁸⁸

The Republican Coloured Party was the third Coloured political party to be founded in 1966 under the leadership of Tom Le Fleur.⁸⁹ He was a Griqua businessman who made the claim that the CRC was a stepping stone to the attainment of full citizenship rights for the Coloured population group.⁹⁰ Just like the other two parties founded in 1966, the NCPP and Conservative Party, they too accepted separate development and endorsed the establishment of a Coloured Parliament.⁹¹ The RCP following was predominantly Griqua.⁹²

In stark contrast to these Coloured-centred parties, on the 9th of October 1965 a meeting was held in Lansdowne, Cape Town, at which the Labour Party of South Africa (LP) was formed in opposition to the separate development mandate of the FP. Members from SACPO, NEUM,

⁸⁵ A. J. Venter, *Coloured: A Profile of Two Million South Africans*, (Cape Town: Human Rousseau, 1974), p. 498.

⁸⁶ U.G. 38 1976 *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Matters Relating to the Coloured Population Group*, p. 442.

⁸⁷ A. J. Venter, *Coloured: A Profile of Two Million South Africans*, (Cape Town: Human Rousseau, 1974), p. 498.

⁸⁷ U.G. 38 1976 *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Matters Relating to the Coloured Population Group*, p. 442.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ R. E. van der Ross, *The Rise and Decline of Apartheid: A Study of Political Movements Among the Coloured People of South Africa, 1880-1985*, (Cape Town: Tafelberg, 1986), p. 306.

⁹⁰ M. J. Murray, *South African Capitalism and Black Political Opposition*, (Rochester: Schenkman Publishing Company, 1982), p. 639.

⁹¹ N. J. Rhoadie, *South African Dialogue: Contrasts in South African Thinking*, (Johannesburg: McGraw-Hill, 1972), p. 376.

⁹² Griquas referred to an aboriginal group of people originating from Griqualand in the Northern Cape of South Africa and were regarded as a sub-group of the Coloured population legislated by the *Population Registration Act of 1950*. For further reading see: A. G. Morris, "The Griqua and the Khoikhoi: Biology, Ethnicity and the Construction of Identity", *Kronos*, (24), November 1997, pp. 106-118.

the Anti-CAD and the Coloured Ex-Servicemen's League were in attendance.⁹³ The LP, established by Richard van der Ross in 1965, was to rival the CPRC which would operate from 1969. 40 members would be elected by registered Coloured voters and a further 20 would be appointed by the president. As the only anti-apartheid party to have secured 26 of the 40 elected seats in 1969, they expected to govern the CPRC. However, the Federal Party was appointed because it had the backing of the 20 non-elected members. Initially, the LP promoted the participation of all citizens in political affairs and attempted to consolidate all oppressed South Africans because political affiliates considered themselves black not Coloured but they also promoted Coloured resistance to apartheid policies.⁹⁴

The *Cape Herald* overtly served as a mouthpiece of the Labour Party of South Africa for obvious reasons.⁹⁵ The purported objective of this party was “the removal of every form of social, economic, political and racial discrimination in South Africa. In the political sphere this means that Coloureds should be represented on a common voters’ roll with other voters in the same political institutions”.⁹⁶ The LP promoted an anti-separate and anti-apartheid stance and for next first five years, it attempted to garner Coloured support.⁹⁷ Central to their policies was also improved systems of education.

The role of teachers in politics remained a central tenet for the *Cape Herald*. In “Teachers in Politics”, readers are reminded of the ways in which Coloured teachers with varying ideological stances were drawn into the political arena.⁹⁸ The article begins by reporting on the 1965 declaration by the then Minister of Coloured Affairs, P. W. Botha, that teachers were to participate in “white politics”, implying that they were not supposed to align themselves with opposition groups. They were however allowed to become members of parties which were led by Coloured people such as The Federal Coloured People's Party and the Labour Party. Overt

⁹³ R. du Pré, “Confrontation, Co-optation and Collaboration: The Response and Reaction of the Labour to Government Policy”, *PHD thesis*, Rhodes University, 1994, pp. 25-26.

⁹⁴ *Labour Party*, <https://omalley.nelsonmandela.org/omalley/index.php/site/q/03lv02424/04lv02730/05lv03188/06lv03204.htm> (accessed 29 October 2021).

⁹⁵ Author unknown, “New Political Party”, *Cape Herald*, 16 October 1965, p. 6.

⁹⁶ U.G. 38 1976 *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Matters Relating to the Coloured Population Group*, p. 442.

⁹⁷ See: Constitution of the Labour Party of South Africa, P. Hugo, *Quislings or Realists?: A Documentary Study of 'Coloured' Politics in South Africa*, pp. 111-118.

⁹⁸ Author unknown, “Teachers in Politics”, *Cape Herald*, 11 September 1965, p. 5.

political opposition would however result in dismissal, as was the case with Ben Kies, as discussed in chapter two. The newspaper foregrounds this announcement because it essentially read this as the minister “giving permission” for teachers to become more actively engaged in politics. However, this participation had already proven divisive in the past, leading to a number of factional groups. The point made here is that a political party was soon to be established which would cater for the divergent viewpoints of Coloured teachers.

In October 1965, reports appeared on the establishment of the Labour Party of South Africa. The *Cape Herald*, under the editorship of the LP leader van der Ross, would advocate for this party which promised to appeal to the working class and to “raise the status and the dignity of the working man”.⁹⁹ And so began more concerted efforts to depict the FP and UCCA as detrimental to the cause.¹⁰⁰ In the 15th of January 1966 edition, the *Cape Herald* introduced a fifteen part series on politics and political parties, titled, *Politics for Everybody*, which ran until May 1966.

The focus of the series was the South African political system, the various political parties operating within this system as well as different political movements. Ideologies such as Communism, Socialism and Pan-Africanism were also discussed. The sole intention was to politically inform the readership in the hope that they would eventually become politically active citizens.¹⁰¹ In reality, this served as an effective election campaign by the Labour Party. Nonetheless, by 1976, the impact of such campaigns on Coloured political consciousness were listed in *The Commission of Inquiry into Matters Relating to the Coloured Population Group*:

- (a) Active participation in political activities shows an upward trend as the Coloureds’ levels of income and education rise, up to the middle and higher levels, but shows a downward trend at the top levels.
- (b) A much greater percentage of women than men take no part at all in politics.
- (c) Coloureds in the other provinces and in the Cape rural areas are much more active in politics than in the Cape urban areas.
- (d) Comparatively speaking, Coloureds in the Cape Town area take part on a very limited scale in organized political activities.
- (e) Of all the occupational categories, teachers are most active in politics.
- (f) Proportionally Afrikaans-speaking Coloureds take a more active part in politics than English-speaking Coloureds.¹⁰²

⁹⁹ Author unknown, “New Political Party”, *Cape Herald*, 16 October 1965, p. 6.

¹⁰⁰ R. E. van der Ross, “The Time has Come to get Together”, *Cape Herald*, 16 October 1965, p. 6.

¹⁰¹ S. J. Morse and S. Peele, “‘Coloured Power’ or ‘Coloured Bourgeoisie’? Political Attitudes Among South African Coloureds”, *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, (38), 1974, p. 331.

¹⁰² U.G. 38 1976 *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Matters Relating to the Coloured Population Group*, p. 459.

Political consciousness had increased across the country, gender parities continued to exist, political activism was more prevalent outside of the intellectual hub of the Cape and teachers were at the forefront of these endeavours. The *Cape Herald*, as the political mouthpiece of the LP and of van der Ross himself, contributed towards this newfound political consciousness.

The first article of said series discussed the rudimentary party system and what constitutes a political system. It acknowledged the existence of divergent points of view which were supported by the various political groups. It referred to these groups as parties, represented by a leader who acted as the general spokesperson of that group, and whose responsibility it was to monitor the formation of the party. It further explained the basic principles of the ruling party, the NP and how the Head of State went about naming his cabinet.¹⁰³ A crash course on the establishment of the Republic of South Africa on 31 May 1961, and the implications thereof, was also included.¹⁰⁴ Additionally, the article also provided readers with insight into the roles within parliament such as the Chief Whip, who ensures that party discipline is kept, that speakers are ready when needed, that attendance is satisfactory and monitors the order of speakers. Credence was given to these inserts by citing the sources. The functions of the Party System, for example, were extracted from *Die Volksraad*, written by a political philosophy professor from UCT, A. M. Murray.¹⁰⁵

Following the rudimentary components of the political system in the first article, the second dissected the policies of the NP and UP. In 1948, the NP eclipsed the UP which was under the leadership of General Jan Smuts and had been the oppositional party since its formation in 1934.¹⁰⁶ The differences between the NP and the UP were again reduced to key tenets intended to convince the readership of where their political allegiance should lie. The UP, it stated, did not believe in the establishment of Bantustans while the NP considered this the only viable option for the implementation of its policies of separate development. It also noted that the UP pledged to return the Coloured population to the common voters roll. It also made the point that younger members of the UP joined the Progressive Federal Party (PFP)¹⁰⁷, because the UP

¹⁰³ Author unknown, "Politics for Everybody: The Party System", *Cape Herald*, 15 January 1966, p. 6.

¹⁰⁴ *Republic of South Africa Constitution*, Act 32 of 1961.

¹⁰⁵ Author unknown, "Politics for Everybody: The Party System", *Cape Herald*, 15 January 1966, p. 6.

¹⁰⁶ B. Hackland, "The Economic and Political Context of the Growth of the Progressive Federal Party in South Africa, 1959-1978", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, (7), (1), October 1980, p. 2.

¹⁰⁷ Also known as the Progressive Party

was not rigorously opposing the discriminatory policies of the NP.¹⁰⁸ Rodney Grey claims that the policy of the UP regarding the black and Coloured population groups were “not in favour of a policy of equality or assimilation and stands for the maintenance of a policy of social and residential separation and the avoidance of race intermixture”.¹⁰⁹ The PFP were proponents of liberal ideology who broke away from the UP under the leadership of Jan Steytler due to its inability to offer effective opposition to apartheid.¹¹⁰ PFP leader from 1977-1979 and 1986-1987, Colin Eglin, states that being a progressive “meant embracing a philosophy of non-racialism; of applying that philosophy in their personal relationships; and promoting it within the community and society”.¹¹¹ On the one hand the article was informative but it also showed readers that white politics too was fractured. In line with attempts to reignite racial pride by pointing to negative attributes across the racial divide, this approach encouraged readers to embrace dissenting opinions and newly formed political parties. It also made it clear that the UP was politically inactive against apartheid policies.

The subsequent article focused on the Progressive Party, or “Progs”. The PFP was formed in 1959 by the splintered factions of unhappy UP members.¹¹² Between 1961 and 1974, it had only one member of parliament, Helen Suzman, (née Gavronsky) who vigorously opposed all racially oppressive bills.¹¹³ She was the daughter of Jewish immigrants from Lithuania. During her tenure of eight years at Wits, she joined the Institute of Race Relations. Initially she was elected to Parliament as a member of the UP in 1953 and was one of the ten founder members of the PFP.¹¹⁴ This party was championed in the *Cape Herald* as believing in “equal rights for all *civilized* (emphasis added) men”.¹¹⁵ Justice was to be achieved by establishing a new Common Qualified Voters Roll, having a non-racial Senate and reappraising the Bill of Rights. The Common Qualified Voters Roll would replace the “Ordinary Roll and the Special Roll”.

¹⁰⁸ Author unknown, “Politics for Everybody: Nat. and U.P. Policy”, *Cape Herald*, 22 January 1966, p. 6.

¹⁰⁹ R. Grey, “South Africa under the Nationalist Party,” *International Party*, (4), (1), 1949, p. 53.

¹¹⁰ B. Hackland, “The Economic and Political Context of the Growth of the Progressive Federal Party in South Africa, 1959-1978,” *Journal of Southern African Studies*, (7), (1), 1980, pp. 4-5; F. A. Mouton, “One of the Architects of Our Democracy”: Colin Eglin, the Progressive Federal Party and the Leadership of the Official Parliamentary Opposition, 1977-1979 and 1986-1987,” *Journal of Contemporary History*, (40), (1), 2015, p. 4.

¹¹¹ C. Eglin, *Crossing the Borders of Power: The Memoirs of Colin Eglin*, (Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 2007), p. 97.

¹¹² B. Hackland, “The Economic and Political Context of the Growth of the Progressive Federal Party in South Africa, 1959-1978”, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, (7), (1), October 1980, p. 4.

¹¹³ J. Strangways-Booth, *A Cricket in the Thorn Tree: Helen Suzman and the Progressive Party in South Africa*, (Johannesburg: Hutchinson of South Africa, 1976), p. 12.

¹¹⁴ J. Nieuwenhuysen, “Helen Suzman: The Hour Brings Forth the Woman,” *Agenda: A Journal of Policy Analysis and Reform*, (16), (1), 2009, pp. 67-68.

¹¹⁵ Author unknown, “Politics for Everybody (3): The Progressive and Liberal Parties”, *Cape Herald*, 29 January 1966, p. 6.

To qualify for the ordinary roll, one had to be a South African citizen, over the age of 21 and, either have passed Standard Eight (current Grade 10), or, have passed Standard Six and have an income of R6000 a year or occupy property worth R1000; or own property, freed of bond, worth at least R1000 and be literate.¹¹⁶ To qualify for the special roll one had to be a South African citizen above the age of 21 years old and be literate. The Progressive Party intended to implement one voter's roll but increase the literacy requirements to vote. While this would at the very least be non-racial, it would exclude many citizens who had not attained adequate literacy skills due to poor infrastructure and uneven educational curricula, one of the many impacts of segregating education. It would also exclude economically vulnerable communities. The proposed changes would also allow for the direct voting for Senators rather than through members of parliament.¹¹⁷ The newspaper acknowledged the efforts of the "Progs" to eradicating racial discrimination but used the opportunity to showcase the more inclusive proposed policy of the budding Liberal Party - "one man, one vote".¹¹⁸

The next two articles of this series assessed the two Coloured political parties, the FP and the LP, who would be contenders as governing parties in the 1969 CPRC election. In the first article, it was made clear that the FP supported the apartheid policy of separate development. The leader of the FP, Tom Swartz, was placed under the spotlight after his comments that forced removals would prove beneficial for Coloureds. The FP also did not challenge apartheid policies. The RCP was similarly criticised for their banner of separate Coloured development.¹¹⁹

The following week van der Ross wrote about his party, the LP. He pointed out that the party was needed to combat the discriminatory policies of the state.¹²⁰ Rather than focusing on the fracturing of Coloured leadership, van der Ross points to the lack of political participation by Coloured people within their own affairs which he attributes to the absence of adequate forums

¹¹⁶ Author unknown, "Politics for Everybody (3): The Progressive and Liberal Parties", *Cape Herald*, 29 January 1966, p. 6.

¹¹⁷ The rights listed in the *Cape Herald* were: Freedom of Speech and Expression; The right to acquire, own, occupy and dispose of property, the right to privacy of home and inviolability of personal communications, correspondence, papers and effects; The right to hold public office or enter public employment on the basis of merit; Full academic freedom for universities, Author unknown, "Politics for Everybody (3): The Progressive and Liberal Parties", *Cape Herald*, 29 January 1966, p. 6.

¹¹⁸ Author unknown, "Politics for Everybody (3): The Progressive and Liberal Parties", *Cape Herald*, 29 January 1966, p. 6.

¹¹⁹ Author unknown, "Politics For Everybody (4): Federal Party Policy", *Cape Herald*, 12 February 1966, p. 6.

¹²⁰ R. E. van der Ross, "Politics For Everybody (5): The Labour Party of South Africa", *Cape Herald*, 19 February 1966, p. 6.

which nurture political debate. He goes on to articulate the mandate of the LP and motivates the readership by stating that they should all be eligible to become members of parliament, provincial councils, municipal councils and all other instruments of local and central government structures.¹²¹ He also distinguishes between the South African Labour Party (SALP), a centre-left party established in 1910, and his Labour Party of South Africa (LP). He foregrounds that the LP will look after the Coloured population.¹²² While emphasis in the party was placed on labour, he points out that Coloured people are hard workers who need to be appropriately recognised. He quotes a portion of the LP constitution: “generally to promote the Political, Social and Economic emancipation of the People and more particularly of those who depend directly upon their own exertions by hand or by brain for their means of life”.¹²³ Coloured people from all walks of life over the age of 18 were encouraged to subscribe to the Party.¹²⁴

At its inception, the Party was established for Coloured people. This was in an attempt to secure adequate recognition for this racial group but also as a way of keeping the focus on Coloured affairs. It was not affiliated to any other parties and strongly denied any communist leanings, labelling communism as “foreign” and “unwanted” in South Africa.¹²⁵ One is reminded of the various censorship laws instituted to regulate all forms of communism. It is of little surprise that van der Ross would want to distance both his Party and the newspaper from any communist rhetoric. More so given the name of the Party. Any mention of “Labour” would incite state surveillance.¹²⁶ This opposition to communism was once again reiterated in the 11th of June 1966 issue.¹²⁷

¹²¹ R. E. van der Ross, “Politics For Everybody (5): The Labour Party of South Africa”, *Cape Herald*, 19 February 1966, p. 6..

¹²² The South African Labour Party was founded in Johannesburg in 1909 and was a party of white English-speaking workers, with a few businessmen and professional that enjoyed support in the Witwatersrand, Natal and Cape Town, W. Visser, “‘Guard Your Interests and Read *The Worker*’: The Rise and Demise of the Worker, Mouthpiece of the South African Labour Party”, *South African Historical Journal*, (63), (3), August 2011, p. 370.

¹²³ P. Hugo, *Quislings or Realists?: A Documentary Study of ‘Coloured’ Politics in South Africa*, p. 111.

¹²⁴ R. E. van der Ross, “Politics For Everybody (5): The Labour Party of South Africa”, *Cape Herald*, 19 February 1966, p. 6.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

¹²⁶ *Suppression of Communism Act*, Act 44 of 1950.

¹²⁷ Author unknown, “What is Going On?”, *Cape Herald*, 11 June 1966, p. 4.

The subsequent articles of the series covered topics ranging from democracy and the role of cabinet in repressing unity movements and different political movements.¹²⁸ Other articles continued to speak of the fractured Coloured elite, the establishment of ineffective Coloured organisations which did little to change conditions for Coloured people.¹²⁹

The 1965-66 was a period in which the new political aspirations of Richard van der Ross are clearly articulated in the *Cape Herald*. While the LP and broader Coloured political consciousness were central elements in the publication during this period, it served as a pivotal mouthpiece to attract Coloured voters to the LP.

4.4 Chapter Conclusions

The *Cape Herald* can be regarded as the most well supported newspaper that was intended for Coloured readership enjoying more commercial success than *Die Banier* and the *Torch*. It was taken over by the Argus Company in 1969 which saw the economic opportunity pertaining to its readership. It should be considered that Aat Kaptein not only learned from his career at *Die Burger* to which he applied this experience in the founding and operating of *Die Banier*, but also learned from his experience as founder and editor of *Die Banier*. Hence the lessons derived from these experiences were applied to the establishment of the *Cape Herald* which saw him take a step back and have the newspaper be under the editorship of a Coloured figure in Dr. Richard E. van der Ross. Another lesson Kaptein may have learned and applied was regarding the political content of the newspaper. This saw the *Cape Herald* not being as direct in its political commentary but rather providing a platform for politically educating its readership.

By paying homage to *Die Burger* for its purpose of representation of white Afrikaners, the *Cape Herald* sought to equate itself as the representative of the Coloured population group in a similar fashion. This was done by drawing similarities between the white Afrikaans groups whom under the control of the British and leading to the era known as the apartheid era (1948-1994) were not only a minority group relative to the broader South African population but were a minority within economic participation along with “their language” not being recognised. The Coloured group were equated to this as a minority population group in South Africa, with

¹²⁸ Author unknown, “Politics for Everybody (6): The Cabinet”, *Cape Herald*, 26 February 1966, p. 6; R. E. van der Ross, “Politics for Everybody (7): Democracy and Africa”, *Cape Herald*, 8 March 1966, p. 6.

¹²⁹ Author unknown, “Politics for Everybody (14): What’s in a Word?”, *Cape Herald*, 30 April 1966, p. 6;

the language synonymous with them (informal Afrikaans known as Afrikaaps) not being recognised, along with their lack of participation in the politics of the country. Hence, the newspaper branded itself as the platform of representation of the Coloured population and that which was reflective of their interests and had a vested interest with the challenges they engaged with within their communities. This was equated to *Die Burger* as an attempt to establish its credibility while communicating its objective.

Undoubtedly during the first two years of the lifecycle of this publication, Dr. Richard van der Ross was the most prominent figure and voice represented and thus could be regarded as the “van der Ross mouthpiece” during this period. As one of the founders and leader of the Labour Party of South Africa the *Cape Herald* by extension would come to overtly serve as the political mouthpiece of the LP. It promoted political consciousness while serving as a political campaign for the LP. Reflections on other political parties were presented for the juxtaposition of the LP in a manner which framed this party as the more favourable option with greater resonance with Coloured communities and their experiences. van der Ross placed emphasis that the LP was for Coloured people in order to secure recognition of this population group and sustain focus on Coloured affairs.

Tracing the evolution of van der Ross across the publications in the preceding chapters, it was evident that during the earlier part of the period investigated he promoted collaboration as a means to advance the “Coloured cause”. From the inception of the *Cape Herald* it can be deduced that this approach had dwindled and shifted towards one based on Coloured centredness and the promotion of racial pride amongst the Coloured population. This can be seen by the discourse of the publication promoting Coloured existence but not Coloured independence. This shift in approach was also embodied by his attempt to improve the imagery and reputation of Coloured people through fostering racial pride and associating the term “Coloured” with respectability, human dignity and respect.

The prominent themes identified, the Group Areas Act, a Coloured-centeredness and Politics, embodied the plight of the Coloured population to which the newspaper sought to attract readers through their relatability with the circumstances discussed. The discussions encapsulated by the theme the Group Areas Act were written from a stance of rejection and was an area in which members of the Coloured elite who viewed this legislation as positive for the Coloured population, were criticised. Figures of the Coloured elite such as Tom Swartz of

the UCCA, were condemned for condoning this policy as it was perpetuated inequality and inferiority and superiority dynamics between not only the white and Coloured populations groups but among the Coloured and white groups. Thus through this criticism and presenting arguments of financial feasibility of this act, the newspaper advocated against this legislation and accompanied this criticism with proposals of improvement and upgrading of these areas as an alternative to forced removals. From this the observation can be made that the newspaper was an advocate for the progression of the Coloured population and was critical of those that had opposing views pertaining to this legislation.

Crime was an identified prominent sub-theme which entailed the reporting of local news in order to make the content of the newspaper relatable to its readership to make it an attractive periodical which was a fruitful action as it contributed to the newspaper being better supported than that of *Die Banier* which did not have this as a prominent theme of its discourse. This sub-theme also displayed that the focus of the newspaper were the affairs of the Coloured population. It also served as an area of justification for the rejectionist stance of the newspaper towards the Group Areas Act. The strategy which can be observed from the use of this sub-theme was the promotion of a view of equality as it utilised crime to display that it occurred in all racial groups and thus was not innate to specific races but rather manifested by the circumstances they experienced which are determined by legislations of the apartheid policy.

From the onset, the *Cape Herald* framed the Coloured population as a separate racial group and sought to mobilise its readership on this basis. This was aligned with the policy of the Labour Party who initially attracted Coloured membership as it viewed this as the most practical way to conduct itself and advocate for egalitarianism. The theme of *Coloured Focus* was done by presenting a discussion regarding an occurrence or situation in order to provide insight to the reader. This would then be followed by the relaying of the interpretation of how this event/ situation would affect the Coloured population. Hence, this lead to discussion of different content being concluded in a manner which displays how it would affect this population group. The newspaper was aware that by its content being focused on the Coloured population, it ran the risk of not appealing to those who rejected Coloured as a separate population group such as that of the NEUM. In this regard it attempted to promote racial pride under the guise of this theme. This was done by unpacking terminology and skewing its discussion in the direction of positive association of this terminology. Through this it sought to promote agency among Coloured people whereby they provided definition to the term

“Coloured person” as those who embody what it means opposed to the imposed terminology as outlined in the Population Registration Act of 1950.

The *Cape Herald* was tactical in its approach of criticising the government. This was done in a covert manner of criticism whereby it did not explicitly state that it opposed policies of the government and the system of apartheid. It rather offered criticism through a greater tone of disappointment i.e. instead of stating, we oppose legislation x, it would state, it is unfortunate that policy x exists as it has these implications on Coloured communities.

Politics was the theme which provided the greatest insight into how the fractured Coloured elite coexisted. Though the newspaper sought to educate its readership about South African politics, it also displayed the bias of this newspaper towards the LP. This is the result of van der Ross being its editor and his association with the LP as a founder member. By extension the newspaper served as a mouthpiece of the LP as it took to emphasising that which the LP stood for and what its objectives were and on the other hand it was critical of its opposition of the FP. Van der Ross juxtaposed the outlooks of these two parties by stating that the FP accepted separate development and was a backward political party for this belief, whereas the LP believed that Coloured people were ready to control their own affairs as well as that of the country. This newspaper served as a mouthpiece for the LP but the LP was in effect, van der Ross.

Conclusion

This investigation on three Coloured political mouthpieces, the *Torch*, *Die Banier* and the *Cape Herald*, in this dissertation has addressed a number of central questions: How were the various newspapers established? What was their objective? Who are the most significant contributors to these publications? Which movements did they represent? What themes were discussed? How did this change over time? What is the significance of these changes? Did these alternative press publications reflect the Coloured population between the 1940s and 1960s? Does the content reflect a shift in discourse from protest against the government to a national politics of resistance? Are there any similarities across the three publications? Do these localised publications concern themselves with local and/or national issues? These questions were addressed through a qualitative analysis on the issues of the three newspapers during the period of 1959 – 1966.

The existing literature on Coloured identity formation during apartheid is one which is complex and fractured, and its adherents have largely been categorised as assimilationist, collaborationist or rejectionist, to depict the way in which one assumed, negotiated or rejected essentialist state discourse on Coloured identity formation. A Coloured elite, in this dissertation a group of Coloured intellectuals embedded in educational structures catering for the Coloured population, spearheaded the macro-level negotiations on behalf of the populace, to ensure some form of recognition within the apartheid structure. Contemporary analysts reject such negotiation, but at the time, these protagonists had to work within an increasingly racist context. They took to public platforms, such as newspapers, to convince readers to back their strategies. Macro negotiations, unfortunately, had to conform to the context in which diverse and divergent racial groups, with different histories and living in different geo-political spaces, were at the mercy of reductionist state policy. There was, however a level of flexibility in which one could secure group belonging, albeit on state terms.

Mohammad Adhikari has categorised these ideological approaches as the Essentialist school, the Instrumentalist approach, the Social Constructionist approach and conceptualising Coloured identity as a product of creolisation. In the early phases of this study, there was a strong tendency to draw in the readers on “Essentialist” principles. It supposed that Coloured people were the products of miscegenation. Their forefathers were white, there was a rejection

of black heritage, which distinguished the group from blacks but also forged greater allegiance to whiteness. They could be assimilated. At the same time, there existed a growing tendency to gravitate towards a social-constructionist approach in which readers were requested to consider both the imposition of a racial identity but also to take some agency in the construction of their own identity. Calls were made to take pride in being Coloured but to also realise that Colouredness should rather be positioned within a growing movement of shared non-white oppression. The overlapping movements within this transitional period, as foreground in the newspaper narratives, could be termed Essentialist-Constructionist because despite promoting agency, the importance of being a recognisable Coloured, was still heavily promoted. Those who spearheaded this shift found themselves grappling with broader Coloured identity politics but also state pressure to conform. During this period of “ambiguity” as espoused by Andrew Tucker, their ideologies changed over time as the prospects of inclusion became more bleak and as the broader non-white anti-apartheid movement gained traction. This was reflected in their platforms of articulation, the newspapers. It is for this reason that the transitional period of 1959-1966 is the focus of this study.

The initial collaborationist publication, *Die Banier* (1959-1966), has attracted very little academic attention yet it serves as an important anchor from which to investigate the nuances of the rejectionist movement. This is of particular significance due to it representing a clear collaborationist stance during the infancy of its lifespan which shifted towards the latter part of its existence to a greater focus being placed on an ideal of Coloured liberation by Coloured people. This contrasting shift from its infancy to latter years displays that its collaborationist approach waned towards 1964 when it had been eclipsed by an approach emphasizing Coloured people partaking in their own liberation opposed to the ambition of being accepted and assimilated towards the status of whites. The *Torch* rejected collaboration with the apartheid state. It rejected any organisation or individual involved in this movement. *Die Banier* preached both Coloured particularity but also assimilation into white society. There were more commonalities, so they argued, between whites and Coloureds. The *Cape Herald* promoted Coloured pride but also rejected assimilation. What is significant is not simply the broad macro narratives associated with organisations but also the individuals who spoke on behalf of organisation who became symbols in their own right. This dissertation attempted to draw on their personal contributions as a way of reflecting on both macro and micro Coloured *organisational* mobilisation during this transitional period of Essentialist-Constructionist Coloured identity formation. As they gravitated towards a complete rejection of apartheid

parallel development, and as these views became increasingly overt within the newspapers, the watchful gaze of the apartheid censors soon led to the demise of two of these publications.

Chapter One located the study in historical context with a literature review on Coloured identities and fractured Coloured political organisations serving as both an ideological framework but also providing historical context for the period under investigation. These discussions evolve around the notion of Coloured people as a racially classified population group which could be located in-between the black and white population groups within the South African racial hierarchy during the apartheid era. The importance of locating this study within media studies was necessitated by growing state censorship and the subsequent categorisation of alternative publications, which, it is argued, does not adequately depict publications which exhibited Coloured “ambiguity”.

In Chapter Two, the *Torch* (1946-1963) both served as an independent non-white newspaper as well as a mouthpiece for individuals associated with the NEUM, the TLSA and the Anti-CAD. This was in alignment with the approach of non-collaboration and non-racialism. Of the three publications discussed in this dissertation, the *Torch* categorically rejected the separation of the Coloured population and condemned those who regarded it as such, labelling them as “quislings” and “traitors”. Readers were discouraged from supporting these figures and the organizations they were affiliated with in their name and shame campaign. This included organisations such as the CAD, UCCA AND CPNU.

By 1952, content shifted from reporting on community news to content of greater political significance. It moved from regional to national concerns, from protest to resistance. This coincided with the pass laws which instigated a greater non-collaborationist stance. By 1959, the first article in *IsiXhosa* was published, strengthening ties with the black oppressed population. This was ignited by the Extension of University Education Act of 1959 which legislated the exclusion of non-whites from “white universities”. This was heavily criticized in the *Torch* along with the establishment of “Bush Colleges” for the non-white population. Figures in favour of this legislation and the establishment of the University College of the Western Cape for Coloured students included John Kemm and Adam Small who were harshly criticized. Names which became synonymous with the various factions of the Coloured elite who themselves served as contributors or even editors of these publications proliferated in the

newspaper. So too were their opponents, Small, Golding and van der Ross, to mention a few, who gained prominence in rival publications in circulation at the time.

The *Torch* too was the only publication which critically discussed the atrocity of the Sharpeville Massacre and the Langa March in 1960, in a bid to show non-white solidarity against the apartheid system. The *Torch* was also the only publication of the three to have women as editors during the period investigated. One of these being Joyce Meissenheimer who along with Richard Dudley were subsequently banned for publishing “subversive” (read socialist) material. The *Torch* also worked in collaboration with its sister publication. The mouthpiece of the TLSA, the *Educational Journal* was an important complimentary publication to the *Torch*. These two publications shared contributors and simultaneously preached non-collaboration, especially when it came to education. Readers were referred to each other’s publications in order to display a united front across publications and the organisations, NEUM, Anti-CAD and the TLSA. Periodicals deemed as mouthpieces of collaboration such as *Die Banier*, were specifically targeted by the publication.

Chapter Three traces the lifespan of the bilingual newspaper *Die Banier* which branded itself as “The Only Voice of 1.5 Million Coloured people in South Africa”. From the outset it was clear that it viewed the Coloured population as a separate definable population group with its own identity which stood in stark contrast to the view of the *Torch* and *Educational Journal*. Its assimilationist approach attracted enormous criticism from within the fractured Coloured elite. The utopian dream of a “collective future” was further promoted by it initially being established as a platform which fostered social cohesion and racial harmony between Coloured and white groups. Coloured heritage was aligned to whiteness.

Though discourses promoting social harmony between Coloured and white people was promoted in *Die Banier*, it was not blind to the disparity of privileges between white and Coloured people. These discussions of relativity of Coloured to white were based on the essentialist approach of S. P. Cilliers who maintained that the Coloured population were indeed subordinate to the white group but enjoyed an elevated status above the black population.

Die Banier, unlike the *Torch*, had white contributors, and also a white readership. It was also the only newspaper of the three to have a white editor, Aat Kaptein. The notion of a “collective Coloured and white future” was entrenched through a complete silence on issues of national

importance such as the Sharpeville Massacre of 21 March 1960 and the Langa Marches. Excluded was any discussion on legislation affecting the black population. However, there was some mention of the fractured Coloured elite when it published competing articles on the implications of the Group Areas Act. It is here that *Die Banier* no longer remains a political mouthpiece but embarks on introducing political debate within the pages of the publication. It shifts from what Mikail Bakhtin terms “monologic” or the hierarchical authoritarian voice to the “dialogic” in which various viewpoints are presented. This stands in contrast to authoritarian voice of the *Torch*.

Die Banier may have initially served as a “mouthpiece for 1.5 million Coloured people in South Africa” but it focused on issues at the Cape and only fleetingly discussed national issues. Towards the latter part of its existence, however, Richard van der Ross began to publish political discussions which promoted the notion of a collective future but shifted attention to Coloured politics and the role of Coloured people in their own emancipation. This shift would be better articulated in his position as the first editor of the *Cape Herald*.

Chapter Four engages with the relatively more successful *Cape Herald* newspaper. It enjoyed commercial success and was consequently taken over by the Argus Company in 1969. The *Cape Herald* was critical of the government. Though the newspaper sought to educate its readership about South African politics and racial pride, it became the political mouthpiece of the Labour Party of South Africa. Van der Ross had the dual role as editor of the *Cape Herald* and founder of the Labour Party of South Africa.

Quite unintentionally, van der Ross seems to be the elusive figure in all three newspapers. His changing ideological stance is somewhat reflected in the evolution of the three publications. In the *Torch* he was criticized and regarded as a “quisling” and collaborator. In *Die Banier* he was a prominent contributor, initially promoting the notion of a collective Coloured and white future and later seeking to promote political consciousness. Finally in the *Cape Herald*, in his capacity as editor and prominent contributor, he used this platform to promote political consciousness while serving as a political campaign for his party, the LP. He also promoted racial pride amongst the Coloured population - Coloured existence but not Coloured independence. It could thus be regarded as the “van der Ross mouthpiece” during the first two years of its lifecycle. It is here that the role of the individual takes precedence over the organisation.

There is a clear sense of “rejection” on a variety of different levels within all three publications. All three publications claimed to be apolitical, however this was not the case. All three also fit snugly into the functions of media in society, as espoused by Denis McQuail. These include information, correlation, continuity, entertainment and mobilization. The *Torch*, *Die Banier* and *Cape Herald* surveyed the environment and reported on what it considered newsworthy. They provided commentary on contemporary issues facing the Coloured population for the latter two publications (at least during the early life of the *Cape Herald*) and the Non-European group for the former publication. These publications also discussed social heritage and education by highlighting that which it deemed acceptable and effective, based on the ideology of the newspaper itself and the agenda of the specific authors of these articles. Finally, entertainment appeared in the form of sports reports, recipes, short stories and poetry, particularly in *Die Banier* but less so in the *Torch*. The *Cape Herald* sought to provide entertainment through the use of “Kaaps” as a language.

It is in locating these three publications within the existing theories on the press in South Africa which necessitates a re-appraisal. Keyan Tomaselli and Eric Louw identify nine definable phases in the history of the press in South Africa. Those during the apartheid era are largely separated into pro- and anti- apartheid. Les Switzer’s, four identifiable phases in the history of the alternative media in South Africa includes the early resistance press, “largely radical left-leaning working and middle class people who promoted nonracialism and nonsectarianism between the 1930s and the 1960s”. Pieter Fourie also asserts that race and language dictated how the history of the press has been categorised in South Africa. Race was a contested construction and more than one language was employed in these publications for ideological reasons which do not conform to these categorisations. Afrikaans was celebrated as a Coloured language and the inclusion of “Gamat” pointed to its particularity amongst Cape Coloureds. Furthermore, these publications underwent significant ideological shifts, and content shifted from protest to resistance, which make them difficult to fit into the categories suggested by Tomaselli, Louw and Switzer. It seems only fitting to suggest that contingency should be made for publications which straddle the ambiguity of content during the Essentialist-Constructionist phase. More so because these catered for a racial group not represented in the black/white separation of South African press but conveniently added as an appendix under alternative press.

It is therefore suggested that this study provides a glimpse into the ways in which Colouredness was debated and constructed amongst an elite who promoted their ideologies and exhibited their own ambiguities in alternative publications which should be classified as a separate type of alternative publication of the apartheid era. In keeping with the spirit of these publications, this will not only reaffirm Coloured participation in complex political debate during the 1960s but will also subtly suggest that the figures involved in this process were complex and in a constant state of flux and so too were the publications to which they were attached.

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