

African reaction to Progressives

THE Whites are afraid of Black dominance, and the Progressives have bent 45 degrees to that view. If the White fear of Black domination is legitimate, so is the African fear that the Progressive franchise scheme might just perpetuate White paramountcy. I accept the sincerity of the Progressives, and their worried attempts to pilot South Africa out of its moral and political morass. But it is not just enough. We cannot support the view that "civilised and educated" Africans or economically qualified Africans should desert their less fortunate brethren and join an exclusive oligarchy.—From a columnist in "Golden City Post," Johannesburg.



WE Africans should recognise the very great service done by the Progressives' Molteno Commission. The commissioners grasped the nettle firmly and braved the fury of racialists with their reasonable franchise proposals. One realises that many Africans want full adult suffrage or nothing, but the commissioners rightly point out that this is impossible in this country. — A letter in "The World," Johannesburg.



THERE are many parents who cheerfully make sacrifices in order that their children should

get the schooling which they themselves were unable to obtain. But there are too many, among our own people, who fail to give their children this chance. They do not realise that every child kept out of school is a loss to our people.—From a leading article in "Golden City Post," Johannesburg.



I APPEAL to all African states who are members of the U.N. to ignore it and send their troops to the Congo to help Lumumba take over the reins.—A letter in "New Age," Cape Town.



THE multi-racial vote plan of the Progressive Party is a big advance on the race policies of the National and United Parties. It still does not go far enough for many Africans, but at least it offers people on both sides of the colour line hope of a peaceful solution to the great problem that faces South Africa.—From a leading article in "The World," Johannesburg.

Letters to the Editor

THE POLITICAL FUTURE ORIENTATIONS

From J. B. Wright:

Many of your readers will agree with the forecast expressed in your "leader" of Saturday last, that our present Government, unless something of a cataclysmic nature arises, may remain in office for the next ten or fifteen years. This conclusion is doubtless on the assumption that the United Party is no longer a united party and that changing conditions involve a new orientation of policy.

The frequently declared ambition of the revered leader of the United Party was to eradicate the antagonism which existed between large sections of the European race constituting the inhabitants of South Africa. In this he succeeded to a remarkable degree; but his liberal policy was disrupted by the racial appeal of "apartheid" which brought the present Government into office.

The policy of "apartheid" will help to keep the Government in office owing to the irresistible

appeal it will have for a solid section of the united party, which, in loyalty and admiration of General Smuts, in the past overcame their prejudices and gave him their support. Unquestionably a large section of the British rank and file of the United Party will fail to take the long view and will support "apartheid" and the restricted legislation that will ensue.

Eventually the diminished united party will have to declare its specific policy for the admission of the Africans by degrees, say, over a period not exceeding 50 years to legislative and administrative equality with the European race. If the United Party fails to move actively on these lines the natural sequence will be that its younger and more liberal-minded members will break away and form a National Liberal Party, with the support of the developing intelligentsia of the rising generation.

The world is at the parting of the ways. Viewed from the lowest standpoint, if U.N.O. survives, and our existing Government pursues its "megalomaniac" course, South Africa will suffer. If Communism defeats U.N.O. where will our present-day leaders and their followers be in a Communist world? The "Book of Books" tells us "agree with thine adversary quickly whiles thou art in the way with him." Fifty years will bring the world to its second millenium; and the present changing mentality will have entered an era of greater stability, and freedom from the prejudices of ignorance born largely of illiteracy.

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THE WRITER DISCUSSES

The non-European policy of the Labour Party

BASICALLY the aim and policy of the South African Labour Party is intended to improve the conditions of life and work of all South Africans, White no less than Black, and to promote their well-being and co-operation.

There may not, therefore, appear to be a need to formulate a special policy for the African people, because what is termed the "Native Problem" is in essence but the same economic problem that faces humanity as a whole.

In so far, however, as there exists in South Africa legal and, still more, traditional discrimination against the non-Europeans, the Labour Party has at different conferences formulated its non-European policy on transitional issues, and here an attempt will be made to explain the underlying aim and motive of this policy.

This explanation, which does not claim official acceptance, may not please or satisfy those who are mostly concerned with the mere affirmation of the principle of complete equality without any regard for the hard facts of the situation.

Let it be admitted at the outset that we are a party of the franchised European population, aiming to represent and serve those Europeans who work by hand or brain. We are no traders in idealistic phrases and noble platitudes.

We hold that the Labour Party can be in advance of public opinion, but not far removed from those in whose name it speaks. The party cannot, therefore, disregard the White man's fears for his economic security and his desire for residential and social separation.

Differs

WHERE the Labour Party differs fundamentally from the other two parties is that it is opposed to the futile effort to keep the Native in subjection, without rights and opportunities, for all time, or maintain the status quo of May, 1948.

The Labour Party, while it does not consider itself called upon to plan for the distant future, and does not advocate the granting of direct political representation, has nevertheless come out openly against those oppressive laws which have caused, and are causing, so much antagonism and friction between the races, and which moreover retard much of South Africa's progress, and do not permit of the full use of available African manpower.

Ten years ago, at its Conference in December 1941, the Labour Party came out openly for the abolition of the Land Act, and oppressive legislation such as the Pass Laws and the Master and Servant Act, and for the official recognition and encouragement of strong Native trade unions and the inclusion of Natives as employees under the Industrial Conciliation Act.

It will thus be seen that the Labour Party has not only to fight against the new oppressive laws which have been and are being introduced by the present Govern-

by
Richard Feldman
M.P.C.

ment, but is pledged to abolish oppressive laws which form the basis of the country's Native legislation.

Opposed

THE Labour Party has all along opposed a policy which seeks to use the African as a mere labour force to be exploited without giving him the opportunity to gradually rise in every sphere.

As Social Democrats we believe in the evolution in human society and oppose equally the tendency to ignore the law of development stage by stage, as we oppose the efforts to block the road for any individual, group, or race, towards progress, a higher civilization and the better life.

The African is equal heir to our European civilization, which has taken many centuries to evolve and which claimed much blood and toil of untold millions. He has to pay in years of suffering for this heritage and is in a better position in the Union than elsewhere in Africa, where he may obtain only the empty shell, the mere formalism of European civilization.

Here in South Africa he has the opportunity to become industrialized, without which a higher stage in the development of human society must be for long delayed.

While we reject the irresponsible call for "Equality — now," we equally reject the efforts to freeze the present position and to deprive the African of the opportunity to emerge from his present state of backwardness.

But are we not in favour of the colour bar and does not this mean depriving the African worker of the opportunity to rise in his sphere of labour?

Because of the many issues involved it is not possible to answer this question with a simple "Yes" or "No." The colour bar is essentially a "cheap labour" bar; and we are against cheap labour, which constitutes the most serious threat to the higher living standard which the White worker enjoys and to which the Black worker strives.

But there is no reason why the colour bar should not gradually disappear, once the European worker is given adequate protection in regard to earnings and employment. This was clearly visualized by the Labour Party when in 1946 it stated in its non-European policy the following:

"When any economic service, of equal merit, is provided in terms of equal skill, is provided by any worker and irrespective of race, there shall be no discriminatory payment offered or demanded and every opportunity be provided to develop and exercise the varied skills and talents of non-Europeans and offer them specially to their own community and generally to the whole community."

It is not generally known that the Labour Party's principle of "Equal Pay for Equal Work" is in force in certain semi-skilled trades, and that had the Labour Party continued to exercise the influence it did during World War II, the number of non-European workers receiving equal pay for certain classes of work would have been much greater.

There are, however, forces stronger than political influence and discriminating laws, and these are working towards the reduction of the industrial colour bar.

Industries

THE growth of industries and the inability of the European population, without a large immigration, to provide the tradesmen and operatives required for a development that cannot be halted, pushes the African forward from unskilled to semi-skilled worker. It is the particular function of the Labour movement to see to it that the non-European takes over the job at the rate of pay which the European received for the same work.

We follow the principle of "first things first." The foundations have to be properly laid and all else will come in accordance with the laws governing the development of human society, and eventually it will serve the cause of the African much better if the higher wage structure, and with it the higher living standard, is protected, even if at present it constitutes a hardship and handicap.

This does not, however, absolve the European from obligations and responsibilities, and the Labour Party 1941 conference instructed all its public representatives to press for immediate realization a programme having as its aim the raising of the economic standards of the Africans and the amelioration of the suffering and the economic improvement of the African people.

The programme pledged the party's assistance to secure for the Native higher wages and state-aided living accommodation. It asked for the African equity and justice, free and compulsory primary education and medical services.

Dealing with Native farm labour, the Labour Party's non-European policy, as adopted in 1946, urged the proper training of Native agricultural workers, and that the principle of free labour at a minimum wage to be fixed by the wage board be made applicable to the farming industry.

There is no future for the White man, or indeed for the Black man in this country, without each other's help and co-operation. The Labour Party's policy is a guide and contribution towards this goal.

THE LABOUR VIEW

Racial Co-Operation And Economic Wellbeing The Objective

To give the Labour Party an opportunity of putting its views before the public "The Natal Mercury" places this space at its disposal once a month. "The Natal Mercury" does not necessarily associate itself with the views expressed. This is the 24th article.

By R. FELDMAN, M.P.C. for Johannesburg City

THERE is need for a revision in our political thinking. There is need to rid ourselves of obsolete ideas which have turned our minds lazy. The situation is so extremely grave that to continue to trade in platitudes and vague generalities may well prove catastrophic. False loyalties, no less than false prejudices, keep us smug and content.

We have to bring a fresh, candid and fearless attitude to the problems that face us. The philosophy of "More is ook 'n dag"—Tomorrow is also a day—may well lose us our tomorrow.

The Nationalists, totally blinded by a fear for the future of the White man in South Africa, are unremittently working hard and effectively to turn the great fear into a reality. It may indeed be a trick of cruel destiny that all the measures to entrench the absolute rule of the White man for all time will prove the most effective instrument to have hastened the destruction of the dominating position of the European.

Futile Order

MOST of us Europeans fail to realise that nothing in nature goes backwards during the process of development, and that it is futile to attempt to halt the growth and the development of the African people.

To tell them, as do the Nationalists, that they will be given an opportunity to develop along their own lines, in their own areas, in accordance with their own cultural heritage, means nothing else but an attempt to eradicate 300 years of contact with, and influence of, European civilisation. It means ordering the African to stop growing. The Nationalists may as well order the sun not to rise.

Instead of recognising the laws of nature, and working in harmony with the process of gradual development, White South Africa, led by the blind and the afraid, are prematurely forcing a revolutionary position to arise with the threat of a continuous state of civil war.

The additional oppressive laws introduced by the Nationalist Government seem to perform an historical function in that they have put forward the cause of the African by many years.

The Awakening

IF the basis of working together, of, let me put it bluntly, mutual exploitation of each other, is destroyed, the African, no less than the European, will be the sufferer. The African is now awakening to modern ways of life and its ruthless demands. He is learning, painfully, the institution of regular work, and has only just apprenticed himself to learn the art of living in an industrial world.

Though driven by persecution and oppression, the African must avoid breaking up the workshop and the machinery which alone can lead him to enlightenment and the better life. Unlike Samson, the future lies before him, and there is no sense in destroying the structure together with himself.

The European has no need to fear the superior numbers of the Native, or the danger of being replaced by him. He could always and in all circumstances hold his own. A hundred years ago the workers of Britain were breaking up the machines, fearing that their labour would become redundant. Today, after a century of the most fantastic development in labour-saving machinery, the Britain that has increased its population many fold during the past 100 years suffers from a shortage of labour.

Policy Proved Wrong

THE policy of ensuring security for the ruling classes by keeping the oppressed more oppressed has proved wrong everywhere throughout recorded history, but it is still the dominating doctrine in South Africa, and there is no one to sound the alarm before the catastrophe overtakes the Union.

The United Party cannot give the lead because it is, at its best, opportunist, avoids committing itself to a policy, opposes new oppressive laws and regulations, but rests content with the status quo of May, 1948. It will not face the urgent need to give the Native more and not less rights, more and not less opportunities, more and not less freedom, if the hitherto tolerable relationship is to continue. For fear of losing what support it has in the rural areas, it prays for a status quo that just cannot continue.

Particularly does the United Party wish to avoid raising the so-called "Native question" before the General Elections, yet it is imperative for them to realise that it is only on a merciless exposure of the dangers to the European population of the Government's Apartheid policy that the Nasionale Party can be defeated.

Courage Wanted

THIS same Apartheid that won the election for the Nationalists can put them out, if a courageous policy towards the non-European is adopted and widely made known. It would be a policy ensuring the security of the White man in South Africa as opposed to racial strife and civil war if the Nationalists are to continue to govern. Up to now there was the pathetic effort on the part of the United Party to prove how little its

Native policy differs from that of the Nasionale Party.

The one political Party which could give a lead to the country is the South African Labour Party, which has no dual loyalties towards Town and Country, and has moreover the courage to state its non-European policy, imperfect though it be. But this Party has, in the course of the fight between the two major Parties, been so weakened that it cannot exercise what should have been its political mission—to lead South Africa on the road of racial co-operation and economic well-being to the advantage and advancement of every section of the wider community.

The efforts to eliminate the Labour Party from the South African political scene have done the country grievous harm, because no other body could perform the function of adjusting the conflicting sectional interests and replacing destructive emotionalism with constructive rationalism.

Basically all racial antagonism stems from economic causes, and it is the rational solutions to the economic problems which are paramount in the development of society.

The Tragedy

IT is the Labour Party's economic policy which would place it in the advantageous position, and it is the tragedy of the present-day South Africa that the one Party which could reconcile rival camps and clear the way for the different races to work and live in harmony has been so reduced in influence because many of its followers and supporters have been frightened away under the slogan of "Don't split the anti-Nationalist vote."

With the exception of the few selfish little men in the United Party who want the few public positions held by the Labour Party, it is now generally conceded that the Labour Party has an important function to perform.

Who will restore the Labour Party to the strength it commanded at different periods during the past 40 years? Let us be candid and say that it needs outside assistance, and as conditions are today the only body that can give that assistance is the Torch Commando, who must face up to their great responsibility.

Important Role

IT is not enough for the Torch Commando to declare its objective in bringing about an election agreement between the two Opposition Parties. It has a much more important role to perform than merely to influence an election agreement.

It has to strengthen the democratic front at its weakest points, and concentrate all its resources to make the entire front impregnable.

Let it be said again: The part occupied by the Labour Party on this front, and it is not an insignificant part, is today much exposed and needs to be built up. It cannot do this itself because so many of its followers have fallen victims to the propaganda that it was against the public interest to support the Labour Party.

Here then is the biggest job before the Torch Commando. Will it rise to the occasion?

In the declaration of its election policy, the Torch Commando states that "it will co-operate with the Opposition Parties to the fullest extent in order to win the next election." It is a prerequisite of co-operation to strengthen the bodies with which the Torch Commando is to co-operate.

The Torch Commando has done, and is doing, a good job of work for the United Party, but the Labour Party has hitherto been ignored. So much so that to the rank and file of the Commando, and indeed to the public generally, the Torch Commando is synonymous with the United Party.

Now it is not suggested here that the Torch Commando should do more for the Labour Party than it has done for the United Party—but it should do no less.

Harmful Propaganda

IT should, first of all, help to undo the harm of years of propaganda that the existence of the Labour Party was in the way of defeating the Nasionale Party, and it should lend its influence to the argument that to defeat the Nationalists a strong Labour Party is necessary, and it should advise those of its members who are not in sympathy with the economic programme of the United Party to join the Labour Party.

This is a job of work which the Torch Commando has to undertake because its function is to give strength to the Opposition Parties, and the Labour Party needs this support before it can assume the important role it has to play in the politics of the country.

Even at its weakest, even were the Labour Party organisationally non-existent, it will always occupy a part on the country's political front. The defences the United Party may build up by itself will be but a spectacular Maginot Line, with the rest of the front exposed and undefended. The most vulnerable part needs to be made strong, and nothing could substitute for the Labour Party collaborating with the United Party during elections, but being completely free and independent to direct South Africa to racial co-operation and economic well-being.

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Translation

FIRST LEADER.

Die Transvaler, 13.3.1961.

DANGEROUS INTENTIONS.

Within a day or so the question of the Republic of South Africa's membership of the Commonwealth will come up for discussion at the Prime Ministers' Conference in London. As can probably be expected Dr. Verwoerd's announcement that the Republic intends to remain a member of the Commonwealth will lead to a debate on two matters which have absolutely nothing to do with one another.

The first is the constitutional aspect. There is apparently a great deal of confusion and misunderstanding about this. It began during the political struggle which preceded the referendum. It was announced in certain quarters that the Republic would have to apply to remain a member of the Commonwealth. Today everyone ought to know that this is a completely incorrect statement. There is not the slightest question of having to apply. One also hears these days that the other members of the Commonwealth will have to give their agreement to the Republic remaining a member.

There is also some misapprehension about this. Does any of the other members have the right to refuse the Republic membership? If this is the case, it can give rise to a situation whose consequences are unforeseeable. It could, for example, lead to the complete break-up of the Commonwealth. If some members were to have the right to refuse the Republic membership, it could lead to other members also being kicked out. Only last year India made a biting attack on Australia because it would not admit non-White immigrants. Refusal of membership to the Republic, will really mean nothing more than disaster for the Commonwealth as a whole.

The second matter is the racial policy of the Republic. According to certain news reports there are some Prime Ministers who are preparing, after Dr. Verwoerd's announcement on the membership of the Republic, to bring up the question of the racial policy which is pursued here. It goes without saying that Dr. Verwoerd will object. It was not without reason that he pointed out on his arrival in Britain that it was one of the principles on which the Commonwealth was based that there should be no interference in each other's domestic affairs.

A discussion of the Republic's racial policy at the conference will therefore be a flagrant violation of one of the foremost principles of the Commonwealth. Once this principle is allowed to be encroached upon, the results will be hard to foresee because, for example, the caste system in India and Ghana's suppression of freedom will also come up for discussion.

The Prime Ministers of the various states will therefore do wisely if they, just as was at one time the case with India, Pakistan and others, simply take note of Dr. Verwoerd's announcement and leave the matter there.

WATCHDOG AGAINST BUREAUCRATIC INJUSTICE PLEA FOR AN OMBUDSMAN IN S. AFRICA

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CAPE TOWN.—A plea for the introduction of the ombudsman system in South Africa to protect the ordinary citizen against "red tape" and official injustice was made by Mr J. Hamilton Russell at the Progressive Party lunch-hour Forum in Cape Town today.

Mr Russell said that an ombudsman was an independent agent or delegate of the people chosen by the representatives of the people in Parliament because his qualifications and training fitted him to protect the rights and liberties of the ordinary citizen against autocratic officialdom.

An ombudsman was invested with full powers and small though adequate staff to carry out his duties.

Sweden was the first country to appoint an ombudsman, over a century ago. Today there were three—among the highest ranking state officials in the state. They were a Chancellor of Justice, a Civil Ombudsman and the Military ombudsman.

Now other Scandinavian countries had followed suit. West Germany had a Military Ombudsman. New Zealand has had a general ombudsman since 1961 and Britain had just appointed a modification of the office called "Parliamentary Commissioner" with limited powers.

No representation

"South Africa needs the ombudsman system more than most countries which claim to follow Western standards of justice," said Mr Russell.

"We have millions of citizens in our Republic who have no meaningful form of direct representation and therefore no political influence whatsoever.

"There are no representatives in Parliament with any distinct responsibility to voice their particular grievances—so the British Parliamentary Commissioner would be inadequate.

"We need an ombudsman in the true Scandinavian tradition. In fact, two. For there is need for a second, and special ombudsman to devote all his time to safeguard the interests of the voteless, voiceless, non-White majority—to protect them from possible victimisation by the vast army of officials empowered by complicated laws to control every aspect of their lives from the cradle to the grave.

"We should remember, too, that in South Africa the State official when making a decision which may vitally affect the rights, welfare or even the liberty of an individual invariably does so in terms of power which excludes any appeal to an unbiased judicial officer or Court.

Secret hearings

"This bureaucrat is a judge in his own cause. He not only hears evidence of his own choosing—he need not hear any evidence at all. He holds his hearing in secret, often alone. He need not be governed by rules of precedent.

"He is not bound to act in conformity with previous decisions made by him, even on the same set of similar facts.



Mr HAMILTON RUSSELL

His judgment is in essence arbitrary. No reasons need be given either verbally or in writing to justify his decision. Indeed, he is not even obliged to be fair or just or reasonable.

"There is no appeal from his judgment unless the impossible can be proved—that he has acted *male fide* or did not bring his mind to bear on the case.

"I do not suggest that the average official does not always try, to the best of his ability, to be just and fair in his dealings with the public. The important fact is that he need not be. I also do suggest that he is not infallible.

Unfair

"It is indeed unfair to a public servant or a State official to invest him with judicial powers greater than those of a judge, exercised in secret, and with no appeal against his decision. If justice is done, it must be known to be done; seen to be done.

"In our country, more than most, I believe we need a sound and adequate system of protection for the individual against arbitrary bureaucratic injustice. We need an ombudsman.

"The extra burden to the State of higher administrative costs is an argument invariably used by politicians to reject reforms. Therefore it must be pointed out that in practice the creation of the office of ombudsmen has not proved a costly process.

The cost

"At first there are, inevitably, many complaints. But practice shows that these gradually become less because the foreknowledge of possible stern correction and disciplinary action by an ombudsman against erring or harsh officials, causes them to take great care to be fair in all their decisions involving John Citizen. The citizen soon learns that unwarranted or unsubstantiated cases are quickly rejected and sternly discouraged.

"In Scandinavia, although the ombudsman is one of the highest paid dignitaries of the nation, the total cost of his establishment is a very minor item in the budget, something

between R70,000 to R80,000 a year on an average.

"Reports from every country where ombudsmen operate indicate that the cost has been a very small price to pay for the public confidence the system engenders in the nation and the care it inculcates in departmental officials. And as Lord Sumner said: "In any case time and money spent in removing a grievance or avoiding a sense of it, is well spent".

"The ombudsman, being a parliamentary official, presents an annual report to Parliament, the range of which is wide and often includes suggestions for changes in old laws to eliminate causes of complaint and even recommendations for new legislation to cure situations that have come to the knowledge of the ombudsman."

Full publicity

Unlike in the United Kingdom the ombudsman in Scandinavian countries is invariably invested with enormous powers. He can insist on examining—even has the right to seize—any Government file. He can call to account anyone in the country—in Denmark and Sweden even the Prime Minister."

Mr Russell said all the work of the ombudsman was done in the light of publicity, his actions and decisions being open to the Press. A post office clerk might be reprimanded for being rude or a policeman for being rough or a Minister for unjust official action.

Denmark's Ombudsman, Dr Steven Herwitz, a former professor of criminology, had said it was his duty to interview, personally, anyone who can establish a *prima facie* case of official injustice. He said: "People must feel free to come to me at any time."

Mr Russell said he had himself been in touch with the Ombudsman of New Zealand, Sir Guy Powles. He had indicated that much good has been achieved by the work done by his small department.

Mr Vorster

"It might be interesting to know how the New Zealand appointment came about. It so happened that their Minister of Justice, Mr J. Hannan, attended a United Nations Seminar in Ceylon in 1960 and heard a paper read by Danish Ombudsman Herwitz.

"On his return home Mr Hannan persuaded his Cabinet colleagues to appoint an ombudsman to assist New Zealand's Parliament to ensure administrative justice.

"Would that our former Minister of Justice cherished the same Western democratic ideals as Mr Hannan and had attended, with an open mind, the same United Nations seminar.

"For he (Mr Vorster) is now in an ideal position to 'persuade' his Cabinet colleagues to follow New Zealand's excellent example and appoint a Parliamentary ombudsman, trained in the tradition and immersed in the spirit of Roman Dutch Law, to act as the citizens' watchdog against official injustice."

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Evening Post
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Progressive Party

Dagbreek en Sondagmus

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LIBERALISME! Wanneer
in Gevaar, Wanneer
misbruik?

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Liberalism

The Institute, therefore, appeals once more to the Government to meet with the leaders of the Non-European people to discuss measures which the situation demands. Should the Government fail to do so and should it adopt the severer method of punishment suggested, such as whipping, then the Institute considers that greater bitterness will be engendered, martyres created, and the country hurried towards a position in which honourable compromise will no longer be possible.

Liberalisme

Daagboek
(Vervolg van bladsy 2) 2/4/67

politieke beweging het in 1924 in Engeland gesterf. As 'n ekonomiese leerstelsel het hy te-same met sy tweeling, laissez-faire, verdwyn voor die aanstormende rekenoutomate van die beplande staat.

En vandag vra ons leiers wat die teenaanval beplan: „Wat is die neo-liberalisme se gevaarlikste geheime wapen?” Gewis nie die vernuftige taktiek van insypeling by ander bewegings nie.

George Bernard Shaw, goed bekend met die hele opset, het die gifgaskanon in 1928 soos volg beskryf: „The liberal impulse is almost always to give a dog a bad name and hang him — to denounce opponents as enemies of mankind and ruin them in a transport of virtuous indignation.”

Dit is die grootste onmiddellike gevaar vir Suid-Afrika. Slaag die taktiek, dan verloor ons die propagandastryd in Afrika.

Dagbreek **PANEEL**

WANNEER is die liberalisme 'n werklike gevaar vir ons maar wanneer word dit negatief en as 'n skeldwoord misbruik? Ons vier paneelskrywers — regter J. F. Marais, dr. P. Koornhof, L.V., mev. Louise Behrens (skryfster) en mnr. T. C. Robertson (veteraan-joernalis) behandel op hierdie bladsy die vraag.

LIBERALISME:

Wanneer 'n Gevaar, Wanneer Misbruik?

Gevaar Van Liberalisme Verby



REGTER MARAIS

psigies onmoontlik om naaste-liefde suiver te beoefen; net die handjevol ootmoediges in Christus kan dit doen — en hulle is te nederig om andere te wil regskreeu (of regskiet).

Gevaarlik?

Nooit is ons gewone sterweling gevaarliker, vir onself en vir almal om ons, as wanneer ons die alleenbesitters van die deug meen te wees nie. Dan is ons nie die „gewete van die mensheid“ nie, maar besig met „freedom that doesn't have any content — a howling emptiness“.

Is die liberalisme gevaarlik? Hy was, 'n Mens word nou nog koud as jy dink aan wat kon, en amper gebeur het. Die magtelose bitterheid desdae in daardie kamp by elke oorwinning wat ons Eerste Minister en by elke self-oorwinning wat die Afrikaner aanteken, bewys vir my die gevaar is verby. ★



DR. KOORNHOF

BAIE Afrikaners besef vandag glad nie hoe groot die bedreiging is wat die liberalisme vir hul volk en land inhou nie.

Prof. James Burnham skryf onder meer „die liberalisme is die ideologie van die Westerse selfmoord“. Dr. H. F. Verwoerd het in 1965 die liberalisme raak beskryf as die „moordenaar van nasies“.

Definisies van die liberalisme stem ooreen dat die liberalisme, naas die strewe na vryheid, vir die individu geen ander beginsels het nie en daarom meer 'n geesteshouding is as 'n openbaring van 'n bepaalde lewensbe-

Waak Teen Negatiwisme In Stryd Daarteen

skouing wat op besondere beginsels gegrunder is.

Die afwesigheid van beginsels by die liberalisme is 'n uiters belangrike saak waarop geleë moet word. Neo- of moderne liberalisme het in die laaste jare geleidelik steeds verder in 'n radikale rigting ook in Suid-Afrika beweeg.

Polities het die Nasionale Party nog altyd die liberalisme heftig beveg en sal dit ongetwyfeld in die toekoms bly doen. Ons verset daarteen is 'n natuurlike en dringende noodsaaklike verset. Geleë op die gevare daarvan moet een ding duidelik wees: geen liberalis sal ooit 'n tulste binne die N.P. kan vind of hê nie.

Om dus binne die gelede van die N.P.-mense, wat die Party se beginsels onderskryf en uitlê, te wil klassifiseer as liberal, lyk vir my geheel ondenkbaar verkeerd. As dit sou gebeur, sou dit die liberalisme wat 'n wesenlike gevaar is, verhef tot 'n skeldwoord wat ondiskriminerend rondgegooi word. Dit sal sekerlik nie die behoudende saak van die N.P. van die handhawing van die blankedom en van die Afrikaanse volk bevorder nie, maar pertinent kan benadeel, selfs ernstig kan benadeel.

In ons stryd teen die liberalisme, wat 'n baie reële stryd is, moet ons nie toelaat dat ons verval in 'n toestand van negatiwisme nie. Dit kan die stryd nie bevorder nie. Intendeel, dit kan dit juis benadeel. As 'n volk veg, moet hy positief veg om te wen. Om na die ander uiterste te gaan en in alles 'n gevaar te sien, is blyklike van 'n negatiewe houding wat nie by die Afrikanervolk pas nie.

Verandering en vernuwing is twee begrippe wat die liberalistiese baie lief is om te gebruik. Die liberalistiese vryheidsidee is ook die gedagte van verandering en vernuwing. Die liberalistiese verabsoloute verandering en vernuwing, ook van waardes, beginsels en gedragspatrone. So word blywende waardes uitgelewer aan die gier van vernuwing en verandering.

Miskiening

Om egter nou iemand wat ter goedertrou verandering of vernuwing ten opsigte van werklik uitgediende waardes bepleit, as liberal te kategoriseer, is 'n miskiening van die feit dat die N.P. juis by uitstek die Party was wat beide verandering en vernuwing ten opsigte van ons grootste sake gebring het. Die verandering en begeerte vernuwing is nie gebring as absolute waardes nie maar as neweprodukte van vaste volkebeginsels.

Ek besef baie goed dat ons in Suid-Afrika maar net die ideoorlog teen die liberalis moet verloor om langs die weg van vreedsame selfvernietiging alles te verloor. Daarom moet ons mekaar goed verstaan wanneer tipies liberale begrippe en woorde gebring word. Ons moet die betekenis daarvan so goed ken dat ons mekaar daardeur nie verwar en seermaak wanneer dit geheel onnodig is nie. Ons waaksamheid in die idee-stryd, die liberalis se sterkste wapen, noop ons om die waarde en begrippe steeds beter te ken en fynier te onderskei. ★

Afrika

Afrika sit die gedagte voort. Maar die man wat op die kantlyn staan en raas en dreig („julle is deugloos“, „Die Swart Opatand sal julle gewis wegveeg“, „julle verloor Christus“, „Die wêreld verloor en verwerp julle“) het klaarblyklik ewe min historiese insig as verdraagsaamheid teenoor die menslike onvermoë om plotseling van hart te verander. Die swartman nie minder as die witman nie moes dit ontgeld; ek sou se veral ergenoemde. Die feit dat die ommekeer en die aanhoudende leedvermaak aangetig is deur Sowjet-Rusland se bondgenootskap in die Tweede Wêreldoorlog en dat onder die voorste beterseters altyd 'n kommunis of 'n agterwyer van die Kommuniste op te merk is, maak die aanpassing ook nie juis makliker nie, alans nie vir die Afrikaner nie.)

Christelikeheid? Liefde? Dit moet genade van Bo wees wat ons daarvan weerhou om te vloek en te vervloek. Dit is



MEV. BEHRENS

DIE mens is geneig om woorde wat iets moois beteken, gaandeweg te verneder deur hulle 'n gemeener betekenis te gee.

So ook het die woord liberalisme in Suid-Afrika van betekenis verander. Dit beteken nie

Gebruik Vryheid Om Aan Te Pas

meer vryheid van danke nie, maar is vir die massa-Afrika-nerdom iets uit die bese wat die ondergang van sy kultuur en tradisies beoog.

Een groot drang het nog altyd ons volk gekenmerk en dit was die begeerte om vry te wees, vry ook om 'n nie mening te huldig. Een van ons skrywers (ek verwys sy naam; hy is al te dikwels as liberalis uitgekryt) het in 'n referaat gesê: „Die mens, nie net die skrywer nie, is gestraf tot ewige vernuwing. Dit is die prys van sy vryheid. Dit is sy glorie maar ook sy vrees“.

Vergeet ons nie vandag die glorie van die vryheid om ons deur die vrees te laat oormoed nie? Ons leef in 'n tyd nie net van verworping nie maar ook van nuwe wording. As ons dan so onseker van ons vryheid voel dat ons bang is om na kanse te gryp wat nuwe verwikkelinge ons aanbied, dan is ons mos nog nie waarlik vry nie.

Skrywers

Ons het as volk altyd andersdenkendes, individualiste, opgeweer en onder ons jong geslag verskyn al hoe meer mense wat nie soos hul ouers dink nie — jong mense wat in staat is om nuwe vergesigte te sien en nuwe geleenthede aan te gryp. Maar, hulle is liberaliste.

Ons skrywers nie die wat met fotoverhale die leswaas van ons volk doodmaak nie) het vir die eerste keer romans van wêreldformaat gelewer. Maar



MNR. ROBERTSON

(Vervolg op bladsy 11)

Hierin Lê Liberalisme Se Gevaar — Vir Ons

DIE strategie en die doelwit van die stryd is so duidelik soos 'n ligdruk op die tekenbord.

Nie alleen moet nasionalisme sy aartsvand, die neo-liberalisme, verpletter nie; hy moet die wêreld oortuig dat sy wese en strewe beter daartoe in staat is om die swetterjoel Afrika-probleme op te los.

En dit is die eerste gevaar die onmoontlikheid van 'n neerlaag in die propagandastryd waar die teenstander alweer die Maxim teen die Martini-Henry van oorreding kan gebruik.

Die taktiek van die kryg is egter moeiliker om te beplan. In die ideologiese oerwoud waar die skermutseling nou plaasvind, is die vyand goed gekamouflêer en wanneer die terroriste infiltrêr, is hulle in ontelbare gedaantes vermoed. Vir my persoonlik was die gevaarlikste van al nog steeds die „ou-vriend-van-die-Afrika-nervolk“-mombakkies.

Van 'n konsentrasiekamp-moeder het ek ontvang Williamson se „Gladstone: Statesman and Scholar“. En daarin lees ek van die kabel wat president Kruger in 1898 aan die sterwende leier van die Liberale Party gestuur het. In die Doornfontein-studeerkamer van my held het 'n foto van Campbell-Bannerman op die muur agter genl. Smuts se rug dikwels my aandag gevestig op „die man wat die vryheid aan ons teruggegee het“.

Maar liberalisme as 'n party. (Vervolg op bladsy 11)

B.H. file

B/1/3

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RAND DAILY MAIL, Friday, March 29, 1968.

NCH

Mother of two gets 18-month sentence

Staff Reporter

A 43-YEAR-OLD mother of two, who defaced the walls of "The Star" building, the Johannesburg City Hall, and the Johannesburg Station with slogans in red paint, was given an 18 months' jail sentence by a Johannesburg magistrate yesterday.

Apolloneia Brusse, 43, pleaded guilty to writing or placing signs on the wall of the Johannesburg City Hall on December 15, last year.

She pleaded guilty to writing or placing signs on the wall of the Johannesburg Railway Station on January 29 and guilty to malicious injury to property for defacing the wall of "The Star" in Sauer Street with slogans on January 22.

She pleaded not guilty to writing or placing signs on the wall of the Johannesburg City Hall on December 11.

SLOGAN

Brusse wrote on the walls of "The Star": "Whereas the Word of God proclaims all men to be equal and whereas the Churches of South Africa neither preach nor practise it, and whereas they are the pillars of a society of serfs and masters, and whereas change can no longer be achieved within the law, now therefore, in the name of God, I call on you to lay aside sin, to practise equality, and challenge inequality in every way."

The magistrate, Mr. W. R. Jooste found Brusse guilty on all four counts.

Passing sentence, the magistrate said that it must have taken her considerable time to paint the slogans on "The Star" building. He said she did not show remorse by her actions or her address. He sentenced Brusse to 18 months' imprisonment, of which 12 months were suspended.

FINED

Mr. Jooste said the court had a further duty to impose a fine, and for pasting posters on the wall of the City Hall Brusse was fined R15 (or 5 days) and R10 (or 5 days). For writing on the wall of the station she was fined R34 (or 12 days) and for painting slogans on the wall of "The Star" she was fined R83.50 (or 21 days).

Woman on *Star* defacing *28/3/68* accusations

Sand blasters were used to obliterate a message written in red paint on the front of The Star building in Sauer Street, Johannesburg, a Johannesburg magistrate was told today.

A 43-year-old woman, Apoloneia Brusse, pleaded guilty to three charges of malicious damage to property. She pleaded not guilty to a fourth charge.

It is alleged that Brusse defaced the Johannesburg Railway Station, The Star offices and the City Hall on two occasions. Estimated cost of repairing the damage is R140.

An African constable of the South African Railway Police, Mr. Frank Maglape, told the court that at 2.50 a.m. on January 29 he came upon Brusse using a tin of red spray paint on the wall of the non-European ticket office at the railway station. He asked her if she had permission to write on the walls. She replied that she had not but this was a way to contact the Africans.

He asked her to accompany him but she took no notice. He then asked two passing men to call a European constable. When the constable arrived Brusse was still painting. She was taken to the charge office.

The magistrate, Mr. W. R. Jooste, said a plea of guilty was usually held as a mitigating factor when the accused showed signs of remorse. However, Brusse gave no indication of regretting her action.

Brusse was sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment (12 months suspended for three years) and a further fine of R142 (or 43 days). She had no previous convictions.

B.H. file under B.

phoned

business
834/8571

Appoloneia Brusse.

(Husband Daniel Brusse)

BRUSSE

Vita Joam

43/9352 ?

(home)



1. She was arrested in last week of Jan. 1968
2. apparently for painting slogans on walls at the station
3. Her case has been repeatedly remanded
4. She has not asked for bail
5. She has not asked for lawyer; well defend herself
6. She refused from Liberal Party is not connected with any organization of protest
7. She protests by herself. cf. in P'ta
8. She has a son(17) at Watford & a daughter⁽¹⁴⁾ at Observatory S.S.
9. Son has a scholarship & has been promised another on England after matric.
10. She appears happy & wants "martyrdom"
11. He is worried about his children if deported.
12. She comes up for trial on March 28th.
13. Rev - Peck is their minister, of Boreo Methodist Church
14. A R - Webb of Orange Grove. visited her lately on a holiday (C.T.)
15. A Miss Oliver has seen her
16. A Mr - Book, Central Methodist Church, assistant to Stanley Pitts has visited her. He is probably from eloplain or visitor
17. She is in the "Fort."

- [
- ① Special provision deportation: Minister: S of C Act
 - ② Distinction have been made for family not involved
 - ③ Can ask for extension of time.
 - ④ If nec; get Netherlands Embassy to do this
 - ⑤
-]

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