

FRIDAY, MARCH 9, 1962.

# MORE TO THE RIGHT

AS with last month's provincial by-elections, so with Wednesday's municipal elections in the Transvaal — the Nationalists have gained at the expense of the United Party and the United Party has gained at the expense of the Progressives. And so the swing to the Right in South Africa continues. It is a process that has been under way for a long time now and evidently it is not finished. For although these were municipal elections they were fought — certainly in Johannesburg — along stock party lines with only a minimum of attention being directed to local issues.

Once again, no doubt, there will be much self-congratulation by the National Party and by the United Party, in the latter case because it is considered more important at this stage to beat Progressives than to lose to Nationalists. This is quite logical because the two big parties are both conservative and dedicated first and foremost to the special interests of the White section. Indeed, now that the United Party has reason to feel more secure on its Left flank it can confidently be expected to display its innate conservatism with fewer inhibitions than has been the case lately.

The Progressives, no doubt, will engage in a further round of self-questioning and this they need to do because there were aspects of their campaign that were curiously ill-judged. They failed to capitalise on the exceptional quality of the candidates they fielded in Johannesburg or to concentrate on a few well-chosen local issues, but continued to fight on largely the same ground that had proved unrewarding only a few weeks ago.

Nevertheless, they should not despair unduly. We in this country are still remarkably insulated against the consequences of our policies and the politically insensitive mass of the electorate still perceives no need for change except in trifling and irrelevant ways. But it is hard to believe, on any knowledgeable view, that sterner compulsions to adjust our thinking will not be felt by each and every one of us before we are much older.

# Struggle for deputy-mayor post expected

RDM - 9/3/62

MUNICIPAL REPORTER

A STRUGGLE is expected for the position of Deputy Mayor of Johannesburg when the newly-elected United Party caucus that will control the City Council meets this morning. The balance of power lies in the hands of the nine new members.

The two men favoured are Mr. J. F. Oberholzer and Mr. P. M. Roos.

Mr. Oberholzer confirmed last night that he would be standing for Deputy-Mayor. He is the senior councillor of the two, with 11 years' service and is the leader of the United Party in the Provincial Council.

Mr. Roos said that he would stand, "if nominated." He is past chairman of the Works and Traffic Committee and thus a member of the Management Committee. He has had eight years of Council service.

### A SCRAMBLE

Until last year it was traditional to elect the senior party councillor as Mayor so that all councillors could have a chance. Last year Mr. Keith Fleming superseded Mr. Oberholzer as Deputy-Mayor and will be Mayor this year. It is feared by some councillors that if tradition is broken again, an unseemly scramble for the honour will develop every year.

The caucus will also elect the five members of the Management Committee.

Mr. Patrick Lewis is favoured to retain the "portfolio" of Non-European Affairs because of his long experience in this difficult capacity.

### THREE VACANCIES

Mr. Roos is expected to remain as chairman of the Works and Traffic Committee.

This leaves three vacancies, including the chairman, who handles finance and establishment.

These three positions are expected to be filled from about six councillors, among them Mr. T. Glyn Morris, a former Mayor, Mr. A. Jaffe, the Party whip who has eight years' service as a councillor, Mr. B. D. Eagar, chairman of the Licensing Committee, Mr. J. F. Oberholzer, and Mr. A. Widman, who has had a rapid rise in the Council.

# Firm action by U.P.

RDM 9/3/62

HOW far do you have to go to impress a Progressive?

Many Progressives have repeatedly charged the United Party with failing to oppose the Government on matters of principle, in spite of the fact that the United Party strongly opposed Government plans to remove Africans from Sophiatown. It refused to have anything to do with the removal scheme.

The Government was forced to create a special body for the purpose and to carry out the removal off its own bat.

Present indecision about housing schemes and recreation facilities for Indians and Coloureds — where it exists — is based very largely on City Council opposition to Government decisions under the Group Areas Act.

Would it have pleased the Progressives better if the Council had not opposed the Government on this issue? — P. J. HANLEY.



Mr. Keith Fleming and his wife—they will be Mayor and Mayoress of Johannesburg next week. The picture was taken after Mr. Fleming, who is Deputy-Mayor, heard yesterday he had been re-elected to the council.

# ALL OVER TRANSVAAL

RDM 9/3/62

## Voters took a swing to the Right

The U.P.  
sums up

### 'Delimiting favoured the Nats'

Political Reporter

THE result of the Johannesburg City Council election indicates a swing away from the Progressive Party, Major J. D. Opperman, secretary of the United Party's division of organisation, said last night.

Major Opperman said: "We are all very pleased with the result."

He added that the delimitation upon which the election was based in Johannesburg, Springs and other Reef towns had "very definitely" been of great advantage to Nationalist candidates and groups which supported the Government.

"There was clearly no community of interests in several of the wards which fell to pro-Government groups," he said.

Major Opperman said that the National Party's net gain from the United Party in Johannesburg had been two seats. The United Party retained a seat held by Mr. R. G. Thomas, who was elected as a United Party candidate but deflected to the National Party.

News by R. E. Heard, 174 Main Street, Johannesburg

POLITICAL REPORTER

THE results of the Transvaal municipal elections show a swing to the Right.

In JOHANNESBURG, all 15 Progressives were defeated by the United Party. But the United Party lost three seats to the Nationalists, retaining one where a United Party councillor defected to the National Party shortly after the last election.

In POTCHEFSTROOM an anti-Indian action committee, headed by university professors, won control of the council.

A pro-Nationalist group in SPRINGS gained control for the first time in the town's history.

#### REDUCED

In PRETORIA the anti-Nationalist minority was reduced in the —outwardly — non-political council from seven to four.

And in several Reef towns—ROODEPOORT and KRUGERSDORP among them—pro-Nationalist groups strengthened their position.

Among the Progressive candidates who were defeated in Johannesburg were two city councillors—Mrs. Kathleen Mitchell and Mr. Harold MacCarthy. They were originally elected as United Party candidates.

The Nationalists won three wards from the United Party—those previously held by Mr. Arthur Herold, Mr. Ben Burgers and Mr. Reg Main. Mr. Main and Mr. Burgers resigned from the United Party shortly before the election.

#### DEFEATED

However, the United Party retained Ward 21. Here the Nationalist candidate was Mr. R. G. Thomas. He defected to the Nationalists shortly after winning the ward as a United Party candidate in 1957.

This means that there will be 10 Nationalists in the new council. There were eight on the eve of the election, and seven after the 1957 election.

The United Party now has 32 seats—it had 35 after the 1957 election. Seven councillors left United Party during 1957-62. One became a Nationalist and the others, independents and Progressives.

#### JUST LOST

The best Progressive showing yesterday was in Ward 5 (Houghton), where Dr. George Cohen lost by 59 votes to Mr. Bill Fidler. Dr. Ellen Hellman lost Ward 19 (part of Houghton and part of Yeoville) by 143 to Mr. Oscar Caplan.

The Progressives ascribe their defeat to a swing to the right among the floating voters who supported them in the October general election.

#### FROM PROGS

The loss of Mrs. Mitchell and Mr. MacCarthy will be keenly felt by the Progressives. Both were hard working and capable. They acted as "watchdogs" for the city's non-White community.

The council is now trying to find a more humane system of getting rents from its African tenants.

This results from Progressive protests against the policy of sending Africans to jail for arrears.

The Council has also decided to increase the wages of African workers—largely as a result of Progressive pressure.

News by R. E. Heard, 174 Main Street, Johannesburg.

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News by R. E. Heard, 174 Main Street, Johannesburg.

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team

## Results—Three candidates lost their deposits

Municipal Reporter

JOHANNESBURG now has a two-party City Council. The United Party retains its control with 32 councillors returned at the municipal election. The National Party has increased its representation to 10. The Progressive Party failed to return a candidate.

A total of 54,667 voters went to the polls out of a possible 125,959—a poll of 43.3 per cent. There were 144 spoiled papers.

Thirteen new councillors were elected.

The National Party gained three seats from the United Party.

Three candidates lost their R50 deposits.

Two were Nationalist inclined—Mr. D. S. Prince (Independent) in Ward 19 (Doornfontein and Judiths Paarl) and Mr. J. G. O.

Moore (Independent) in Ward 35 (Malvern). In Ward 3 (Blairgowrie, Pine Park and Parkhurst) the Progressive Party candidate, Mr. Hans Strydom, lost his deposit in a three-cornered contest won by Mr. Dave Marais, the Mayor of Johannesburg.

The smallest majority was obtained by Mr. F. W. Fidler (U.P.) in Ward 5. He polled 60 votes more than Dr. G. Cohen, the Progressive Party candidate.

In Ward 42 (Booysens and Robertsham) Mr. S. P. Barnard (N.P.) defeated Mr. C. A. Long (U.P.) by 116 votes. This was a U.P. seat.

The biggest majority was obtained by Mr. J. J. O'Connor (U.P.) in Ward 35 (Malvern). He won by 1,472 votes.

Two members of Johannesburg's Management Committee were defeated—Mr. Arthur Herold

(Ward 37—South Hills) and Mr. Reg Main, the deputy chairman (Ward 3—Linden and Parkhurst), who recently resigned from the United Party to stand as an Independent.

Here are the full results:

- Ward 1: Mr. J. A. Powell (N.P.), unopposed.
- Ward 2: Mr. C. P. Venter (N.P.), unopposed.
- Ward 3: Mr. Dave Marais (U.P.), 1,409; Mr. Reg Main (Independent), 502; Mr. Hans Strydom (P.P.), 257.
- Ward 4: Mr. A. Morris (U.P.), 1,630; Mrs. K. Mitchell (P.P.), 1,320.
- Ward 5: Mr. F. W. Fidler (U.P.), 1,263; Dr. G. Cohen (P.P.), 1,203.
- Ward 6: Mr. W. C. Caldwell (U.P.), 1,968; Mrs. Jean Sinclair (P.P.), 1,179.
- Ward 7: Mr. H. F. Dennis (U.P.), 1,666; Mr. Harold MacCarthy (P.P.), 1,177.
- Ward 8: Mr. I. Myers (U.P.), 1,502; Mr. Alf Einstein (P.P.), 1,209.
- Ward 9: Mr. T. Glyn Morris (U.P.), 1,695; Mr. M. Meyers (P.P.), 1,013.
- Ward 10: Mr. J. J. O'Connor (U.P.), unopposed.
- Ward 11: Mr. H. M. van Rensburg (N.P.), unopposed.
- Ward 12: Mr. Eben Cuyler (N.P.), unopposed.
- Ward 13: Mr. P. M. Roos (U.P.), 1,594; Mrs. P. Loppert (P.P.), 1,226.
- Ward 14: Mr. M. Goodman (U.P.), unopposed.
- Ward 15: Mr. I. Schlapobersky (U.P.), 1,763; Mrs. R. Foley (P.P.), 627.
- Ward 16: Mr. I. E. B. Attwell (U.P.), 1,657; Mr. J. F. Curtis (P.P.), 498.
- Ward 17: Mr. L. V. Hurd (U.P.), unopposed.
- Ward 18: Mr. O. Caplan (U.P.), 1,319; Dr. Ellen Koch (Hellman) (P.P.), 1,177.
- Ward 19: Mr. A. Rosen (U.P.), 1,076; Mr. D. S. Prince (Ind.), 40.
- Ward 20: Mr. A. Jaffe (U.P.), unopposed.
- Ward 21: Mr. M. L. Neppe (U.P.), 1,212; Mr. R. G. Thomas (N.P.), 682.
- Ward 22: Mr. K. G. Fleming (U.P.), 1,721; Mrs. J. Barrow (P.P.), 953.
- Ward 23: Mr. A. B. Wildman (U.P.), 1,290; Mr. L. Apfel (P.P.), 618.
- Ward 24: Mr. S. Moss (U.P.), unopposed.
- Ward 25: Mr. C. J. Ross-Spencer (U.P.), unopposed.
- Ward 26: Mr. J. C. Lemmer (U.P.), unopposed.
- Ward 27: Mr. P. R. E. Lewis (U.P.), 900; Mr. R. D. Messer (P.P.), 648.
- Ward 28: Dr. A. D. Bensussan (U.P.), unopposed.
- Ward 29: Mr. P. R. de Jager (N.P.), 1,121; Mr. M. P. V. Lambrecht (U.P.), 470.
- Ward 30: Mr. M. Sklaar (U.P.), 1,322; Mr. W. S. Hope (N.P.), 755.
- Ward 31: Mr. C. F. de Wet (N.P.), 1,063; Mr. J. E. Kantor (U.P.), 538.
- Ward 32: Mr. A. P. J. de Klerk (N.P.), unopposed.
- Ward 33: Mr. A. D. Zakar (U.P.), 955; Mr. G. P. F. Heymans (N.P.), 648.
- Ward 34: Mr. H. B. Ismay (U.P.), unopposed.
- Ward 35: Mr. J. J. O'Connor (U.P.), 1,582; Mr. J. G. C. Moore (Ind.), 110.
- Ward 36: Mr. M. J. Powell (U.P.), 1,161; Mr. M. W. Botha (N.P.), 930.
- Ward 37: Dr. J. S. Otto (N.P.), 1,142; Mr. A. J. Herold (U.P.), 832.
- Ward 38: Mr. B. D. Eagar (U.P.), 1,077; Mr. A. L. Stoyles (P.P.), 403.
- Ward 39: Mr. J. F. Oberholzer (U.P.), unopposed.
- Ward 40: Dr. V. V. Boy (U.P.), unopposed.
- Ward 41: Mr. W. A. J. Sammons (U.P.), unopposed.
- Ward 42: Mr. S. P. Barnard (N.P.), 1,269; Mr. C. A. Long (U.P.), 1,153.

News by S. Jasven, 174 Main Street, Johannesburg

## Right wheel

THE Transvaal municipal elections this week indicate that the right-wheel movement which began in South Africa after the War is continuing. The United Party eliminated all the Progressives. The Nationalists made advances against the United Party in Johannesburg and Springs and against non-Nationalists in Pretoria. Extreme Nationalists gained upon less extreme Nationalists in Potchefstroom.

If one reviews the electoral history of South Africa since 1948 one sees that the only constituencies in which this trend has not occurred have been the non-White ones—the old Native constituencies in the Cape where Nationalist candidates, when they stood at all, lost their deposits, and the present Coloured constituencies of the Cape Province where Afrikaner Nationalism seems to make no headway either.

It seems certain that the reason for the trend is that the ordinarily selfish White voters have had no cause to change their direction. Nothing has happened to shake their complacency.

Most events elsewhere in Africa tend to harden their belief that multi-racialism, though it may be right, does not work at all easily or earn the world's approbation. The appeal of the White laager becomes, if anything, stronger, and it is possible that the proposals for self-rule for Bantustans, though they touch only the fringe of the problem, have seemed to give Nationalist policy a defensible facet.

### The wrong target

The Progressive Party's appeal to conscience and sanity may have been too general for purposes of local authority elections and was in any case dissipated by the fact that the Progressives were fighting not their real antithesis, the Nationalists, but their recent colleagues, the United Party, with a fury that would have been better spent on a more deserving target.

But it has been the experience of history, and not merely of the parade ground, that if you turn right for long enough you eventually find yourself facing Left—and heading for Communism.

If South Africa is not to find itself in this predicament it ought to be careful about abandoning all compensating movements.

For the present, the Progressive Party's race policy is quite obviously not a match-winning factor, and it never is easy to keep a political party alive on a diet of electoral failures. But it is not entirely impossible, as the Liberal Party has proved.

It is when the eventual disillusionment with the White laager sets in that the Progressives' chance will come, and it is to be hoped they will be there to seize it. In the meantime they are an important corrective to the right wheel in which the White electorate's thoughts are obviously moving.

# PROGRESSIVES TO CARRY ON RAND FIGHT

## By-elections to be contested

MR. LEO KOWARSKY, Witwatersrand chairman of the Progressive Party, said today the party would continue to nominate candidates in Rand by-elections, in addition to its campaign of "educating" the electorate.

"The party would be realistic in its nominations and would choose contests in which it had a reasonable chance."

The party would not nominate in contests against the Nationalist Party solely as part of its "education" campaign.

"Our financial support depends mainly on the contributions of our membership and we intend to increase our financial resources on the Rand by at least 50 per cent."

"Apathy and fear played a big part in the recent elections, but they were counterbalanced by the votes of thousands of our supporters who had the courage and foresight to look into the future."

### DURBAN MEETING

The Progressive Party leaders' committee meets in Durban tomorrow—and one of the things Dr. Jan Steytler and other leaders will discuss is the failure of the party's candidates in the Johannesburg City Council elections.

Officially, the Progressive Party ascribes its lack of success in Johannesburg to the United Party's "swart gevaar" propaganda.

The figures show the Progressives have lost ground in the only area in which they could have hoped for appreciable success.

The party was at its zenith in the northern areas of Johannesburg in the general election last year when it won Houghton by 564 votes and lost Parktown by only 85.

### DECLINE

In the Provincial Council by-election on February 14 it lost by 465 votes in Parktown. In the municipal election on Wednesday it lost Ward 9 and Ward 13—both in Parktown—by a combined total of 1,050 votes.

In Houghton the decline of Progressive strength is just as noticeable. Compared with the majority of 564 which Mrs. Helen Suzman obtained in the general election, the Progressive candidates in Ward 5 and Ward 18—both in the Houghton constituency—lost by a combined total of 212.

### ONLY A PART

In Johannesburg North the United Party majority three weeks ago was 757. In Ward 3 and Ward 22 on Wednesday the two United Party candidates scored a total majority of 1,675 over their Progressive candidates. The two wards form only part of Johannesburg North.

## FLEMING TO BE NEXT MAYOR

By a Staff Reporter

MR. KEITH FLEMING, the Deputy-Mayor, is to be Johannesburg's next Mayor. He was nominated by the caucus of the United Party, the majority party, this morning and the official election and induction will take place on Tuesday.

They new deputy-mayor will be Mr. J. F. Oberholzer, M.P.C. and leader of the United Party in the Provincial Council.

Mr. Fleming said: "My wife and I are greatly honoured. We shall do our best to serve the interests of the city."

"During my term as deputy-mayor we have always had the utmost co-operation from the Mayor, Mr. Dave Marais, and the mayoress, and it gave us great pleasure to work with them. We are looking forward to serving the city for another year."

Mr. Oberholzer said: "I was born in Johannesburg and have

lived here all my life. I know and understand the city and am proud to serve it in this new capacity.

"I am the first person from the Southern Suburbs to hold a mayoral office since 1945-46 when Mrs. Jessie McPherson was mayor, and I regard my nomination as an honour to the South rather than to me personally."

### BOXING MEDAL

Mr. Fleming was born in Johannesburg in 1903 and is a chartered secretary. He was educated at the Yeoville government school and King Edward School. He was elected to the council in 1954.

His wife, Kathleen, was born in Northern Ireland. They have two married daughters.

Mr. Oberholzer was born in 1917 and was educated at the Rosettenville central school and the Sir John Adamson school. He holds a Lonsdale medal for boxing.

He was elected to the city council in 1951 and for seven years was chairman of the General Purposes Committee. Mrs. Oberholzer was once a ballet teacher. They have four children.

## New management committee

By a Staff Reporter

THE UNITED PARTY CAUCUS in the Johannesburg City Council today elected the new Management Committee which will hold office for five years. Only two of the former members of the five-man committee were re-elected.

The committee will consist of Mr. Pieter Roos, Mr. Patrick Lewis, Mr. Dave Marais, the retiring Mayor, Mr. J. F. Oberholzer, Deputy Mayor-elect, and Mr. Alf Widman. Mr. Roos and Mr. Lewis were re-elected and the others are new members.

Mr. Keith Fleming, the former chairman of the Management Committee and the Mayor-elect, was not re-elected because many councillors felt that the two jobs would be too onerous for one man.

### NEXT YEAR

The indication is that when Mr. Oberholzer becomes Mayor next year, as is likely, he will resign from the Management Committee, and Mr. Fleming may be re-elected in his place.

The caucus meeting started this morning and the election of Mayor and Deputy Mayor took only about 30 minutes.

About 22 councillors out of the United Party's 32 members were nominated for the Management Committee and a series of elimination votings followed.

The surprise election was that of Mr. Widman who joined the council only last year after a by-election.

The caucus still has to elect today the standing committees as well as the leader of the party in the council.

The new chairman of the Management Committee will be Mr. Roos.



The members of Johannesburg's new management committee photographed at City Hall yesterday. From left: Mr. J. F. Oberholzer, Mr. Patrick Lewis (vice-chairman), Mr. Pieter Roos (chairman), Mr. Alf Widman and Mr. Dave Marais. Mr. Oberholzer was also elected deputy-mayor.

# 10-HOUR ELECTION OF CIVIC BOSSES

MUNICIPAL REPORTER RDM 10/3/62.

IN a 10-hour meeting at the Johannesburg City Hall yesterday the United Party caucus of the City Council elected the Mayor, Deputy-Mayor, and the five-man Management Committee to run the city.

Mr. Keith Fleming was confirmed as Mayor for the year. In a three-cornered fight Mr. J. F. Oberholzer was elected Deputy-Mayor. He was opposed by Mr. Pieter Roos and Mr. Dave Zakar. The longest session of the day was the election of the Management Committee. After about four hours of voting by secret ballot Mr. Roos was elected chairman, Mr. Patrick Lewis was elected vice-chairman and chairman of the Non-European Affairs Committee; Mr. Alf Widman became chairman of the Health Amenities Committee; Mr. Oberholzer, chairman of Works and Traffic Committee; and Mr. Dave Marais, the past Mayor, chairman of the Utilities Committee.

O'Connor—who has 27 years' service as a councillor—chairman of the Special Licensing Committee. Mr. Alf Widman was elected leader of the United Party in the Council. He has had a rapid rise to Council prominence.

### THE CHAIRMAN

Mr. Max Goodman is the chairman of the Council. As the Deputy-Mayor is a member of the Management Committee, Mr. Goodman will take the chair at Council meetings when the Mayor is not available.

Mr. I. Schlapobersky remains chairman of the caucus, and Mr. Jaffe remains the United Party whip.

The caucus also elected members to the four standing committees and as representatives to outside bodies.

The official inauguration of these positions will take place in the Council Chamber on Tuesday. News by B. Poornand, 174 Main Street, Johannesburg.

### DEFEATED

Mr. Fleming stood for election to the Management Committee but was defeated. Another unsuccessful candidate—who went close—was Mr. Alec Jaffe. The caucus elected Mr. J. J. J.

# Council will cut medical staff in townships

RDM - 10/3/62.

AFRICAN AFFAIRS REPORTER

MEDICAL staff in Johannesburg's African townships will be reduced this year, according to a report by the city's Medical Officer of Health. About R57,000 a year will be saved.

A senior official of the Health Department said last night: "There will be no decrease in the services provided to township residents.

"This is merely an administrative adjustment of the township medical establishment to provincial standards. The provincial authorities carry the financial responsibility for curative and midwifery services."

### WILL MEET

But African nurses, alarmed by the report, will meet next week to discuss the implications.

The report recommends that 80 medical, nursing and clerical posts in the City Council's clinics be abolished and that 61 new posts be created — most of them requiring lower qualifications and offering less pay than the existing positions.

It says that the number of full and part-time doctors should be reduced from 41 to 24.

### NO SACKINGS

The 233 general and midwifery nurses must be cut by 22. In their place 31 "clinical assistants," who do not have nursing qualifications, will be appointed.

Where possible persons in abolished posts will be transferred to others offering equal pay. But it may be necessary either to place

them in less well-paying jobs or to discharge them.

Staff members were worried about this, the official told me. "Nobody will lose their jobs. They will be kept on until vacancies occur, which happens all the time."

# Municipal poll results shock Africans

RDM 10/3/62

AFRICAN AFFAIRS REPORTER

AFRICANS are "disappointed" and "shocked" at the results of this week's municipal elections, in which the Progressives in Johannesburg were defeated and there was a swing to the Right.

Mr. G. M. Pitje, a professional, said: "I am disappointed that the Progressives did so badly. I had felt that their advent, and particularly their Houghton Parliamentary victory, was a sign that the country was waking to the realities of our situation.

"This week's results will cause a hardening of opinion among Africans, who will feel that they must intensify their own efforts if they are to get anywhere."

Mr. L. Mathe, a clerical worker: "It is shocking that the Progressives did not get a single seat. It seems that the fashion of voting Progressive has waned."

Mr. L. Mayekis, a journalist: "There is general sadness among Africans about the results. We have no link now with the White community, especially in civic matters, because the Whites have rejected the Progressives.

"In national matters we still

have Mrs. Helen Suzman. She is putting our case in Parliament.

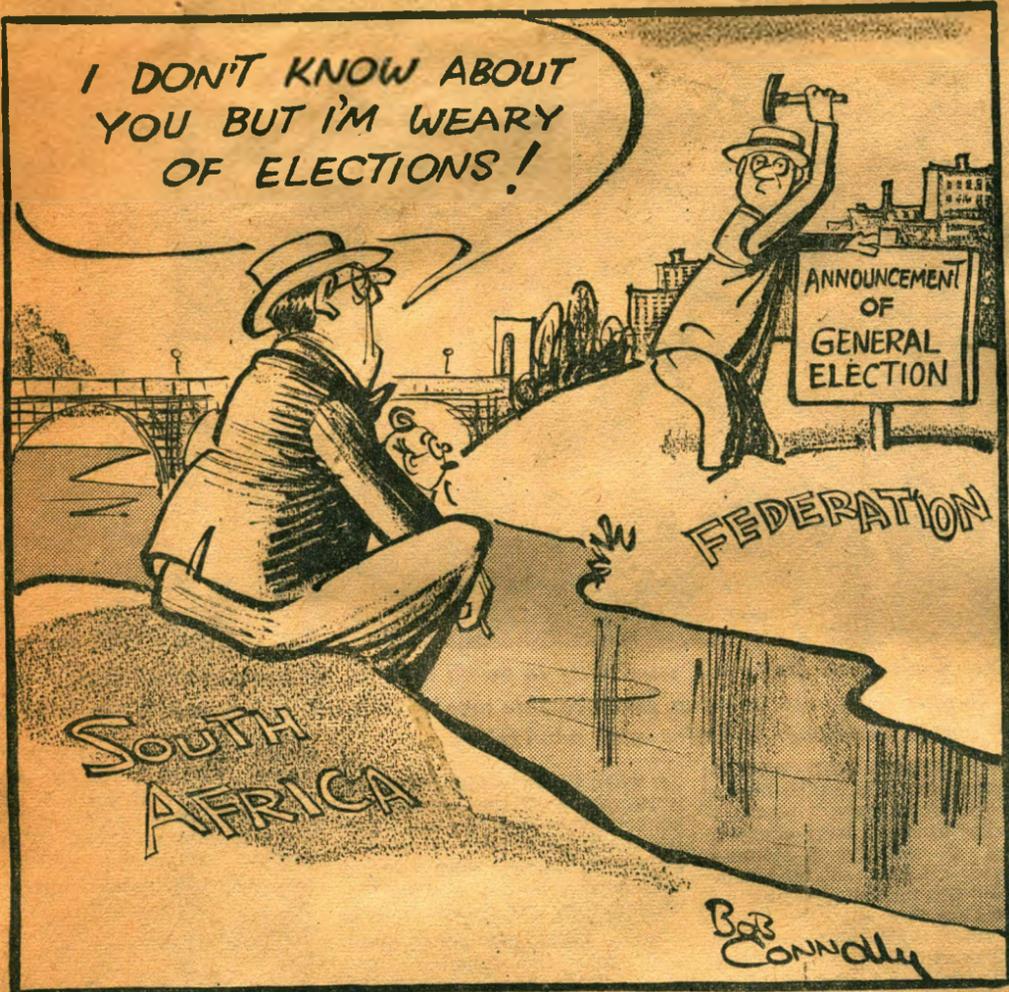
"The loss of Mrs. K. Mitchell in the Johannesburg City Council is a terrible blow to us because she was a champion of the Africans in the townships."

### 'LOSE CONFIDENCE'

Mr. S. Sikakane: "We had been hoping that, as a result of the establishment of the Progressive Party, there was a change of heart by Whites. Now Africans will lose still more confidence in the Whites."

The Rev. B. S. Rajulli, a member of the Transvaal executive of the Progressives: "These results, as well as those of the Parliamentary and provincial elections, show that the White electorate on the whole is supporting the Nationalist and United Party policy of White domination."

News by B. Poornand, 174 Main Street, Johannesburg.



LETTERS to the EDITOR

There are differences  
R.D.M 10/3/62  
between U.P.  
and Nat

MR. J. C. JOSLIN in his letter, "Swart Gevaar Tactics" ("Rand Daily Mail" March 6), is full of righteous indignation. He alleges that he is "misunderstood." Is this not exactly what impractical dreamers have been saying for the last few thousand years?

In his efforts to defend the Progressive Party's election defeats at national and provincial levels, he becomes positively hysterical in his criticism of the United Party. "Swart gevaar" tactics, "unjust," "racial fear" and "reactionary" are a few of the unjust epithets he hurls. In addition, he attempts to use the now slightly snopsoiled Progressive tactics of comparing the United Party with the Nationalist evil.

MISGUIDED

For the benefit of Mr. Joslin and his similarly misguided friends, I wish to enumerate a few of the points of difference between the two main parties:

- The United Party stands for an ordered advance to a race federation. The Nats. give us Bantustans.
- The United Party believes that all races should be represented in a central Parliament. The Nationalists do not.
- We believe in inter-racial consultation at all levels.
- We recognise the urban Native as an integral part of the country's economy. The Nationalists swoon at the thought of consulting with a Black man and they regard him as a permanent foreigner.
- The United Party will relax and amend the pass laws as recommended in the Fagan Report. The Nationalists want stricter control.
- We will apply the rate for

the job" in industry and abolish the wicked Nationalist job reservation.

● We believe that the universities have the right to admit whom they wish. The Nationalists fear "intellectual contamination."

● The United Party will foster a responsible African middleclass and guarantee controlled freehold title and secure family life. The Nationalists deny them these fundamental human rights.

Need I continue?  
I would like to hear from Mr. Joslin how it feels to be unwanted and unloved. No wonder the Progressives claim to be "misunderstood!"  
DOUGLAS GIBSON

IS THIS A  
SUNDAY TIMES 11/3/62  
CHANGE IN  
DIRECTION?

MR. G. FLETCHER, of 819 Essenwood Road, Durban:

IN a New Year message Sir De Villiers Graaff said that "a fundamental change in direction in South African race policies is needed in 1962," and that it must accordingly "move in an ordered advance towards a constitutional pattern of Race Federation."

I wonder if some United Party supporter would explain through the medium of your forum two things to me:

● In what respect does "race federation" constitute a fundamental change in direction — i.e., how does it differ fundamentally from the United Party's previous policy?

● What is the precise difference between the policy of race federation and a policy of giving political representation to each race group on separate voters' rolls — i.e., the system commonly known as "separate representation?"

PEOPLE SAY... SUNDAY TIMES 11/3/62

THAT it is pretty certain South Africa will refuse to allow the United Nations Commission into South-West Africa.

THAT as the United Nations Commission is scheduled to arrive before the beginning of May, we will not have long to wait before South-West Africa becomes a major international incident.

THAT the re-classified Chinese businessman, from Durban, Mr. David Song, appears to have reached the conclusion that it is better to be White than Wong.

THAT the people of Johannesburg have made it abundantly clear that they want their civic affairs to be controlled by the United Party.

THAT the United Party's admirable team of City Councillors will provide an example to the country of what an enlightened and tolerant administration can achieve.

THAT they are glad the Transvaal Rugby Union has agreed to allow Mr. Francois Roux to return to Rugby Union. THAT they hope they won't see any more election posters on the boles of trees in Johannesburg for a long, long time.

THAT they congratulate Johannesburg's Mayor, Mr. Dave Marais, on completing a most successful term of office, and extend their good wishes to the incoming Mayor, Mr. Keith Fleming.

EXPRESS 11/3/62  
POLLY

WHAT, NO MORE VOTING NEXT WEEK?



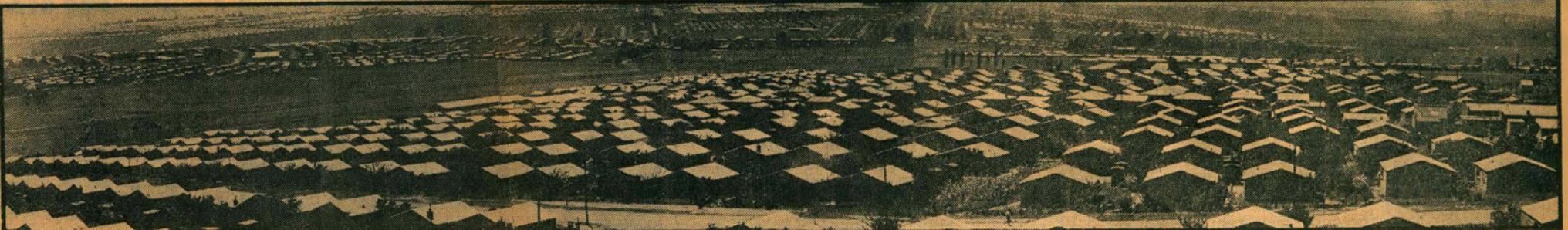
SUNDAY TIMES 11/3/62  
U.P. win means  
"go-ahead" on  
road plans

SUNDAY TIMES Reporter

A SPOKESMAN of the United Party which won 32 of the 42 seats in the Johannesburg City Council this week (the other ten are held by Nationalists), said the Council would concentrate on these projects this year:

- The major roads and expressways programme;
- Increases in Native wages;
- Re-siting the market, which is the biggest in the country. He said the civic theatre would be completed this year. So would the rose-garden in Emmarentia. Decisions for the new civic centre on Bramfontein Hill will be made by mid-year.

# HOW OTHER HALF LIVE ON RAND



Thousands of small homes (above) lie sprawled over the veld in every direction, the rooftops winking in the metallic heat . . .

## Superintendents always there to advise

Staff Reporter  
**Russell Palmer**  
looks at life in the townships

PEOPLE WHO ARE TAKEN on a tour of Johannesburg's locations inevitably finish their journey at the Oppenheimer Tower—the monument to the late Sir Ernest Oppenheimer's generosity in providing housing—and climb the steps to look down on the townships. Thousands of small homes lie sprawled over the veld in every direction, their rooftops winking in the metallic heat.

For 15 miles the houses stretch unbrokenly, a self-contained world of Black people cut off from the rest of the city by the White man's traditional consciousness of the colour line.

The townships are undistinguished except by their fascinating names—Phiri, Tladi, Moletsane, Mofolo, Zola.

Here and there are the neat brick-built buildings of the township offices, and in each office a White location superintendent sits at his desk from 8.30 a.m. to 5 p.m. every weekday.

Apart from a handful of White liberals, some doctors and nurses and White ministers of religion, the superintendents are the only Whites who have any real connection with this world of 250,000 Natives — Johannesburg's "other half."

### Thousands

There are thousands of old and middle-aged women in the townships. They do not go out to work. Their only connection with Whites is through the superintendents.

And there are many thousands of other people who know of Whites only in a master-servant or employer-employee relationship.

The superintendent is for these people the White man's representative.

He wields considerable power over their lives and everything he does is watched and endlessly discussed.

### Deeply aware

Most superintendents I have met have been deeply aware of their responsibility and realize that they occupy a post which demands outstanding qualities of tact and diplomacy.

There are people who are not ever grubbing about the officials,



Rosy, one of the oldest residents in the Eastern Native Township, has a problem. So she takes it to the superintendent to solve.

but I have met many who are unstinted in their praise of someone whom they regard as a "good" superintendent—firm and just and humane.

### One truth

And the superintendents I have known have all repeated with emphasis one truth which most Whites learn painfully and slowly, or not at all—that when you mix freely with people, talk to them and learn to know them as individuals, you not only stop being so acutely colour-conscious but also cease to regard them as an amorphous mass of "Blacks"—unknown, feared, and therefore often hated.

Instead you begin to think of Jim, who is a bore and a stupid one at that, or John, the warm-hearted extrovert with the ready smile, Jack who is unhappy and troublesome or big Regina, over-

flowing with generosity and good spirits.

In earlier and more leisurely days the vast townships of today were small "locations" and a good superintendent knew every old inhabitant in his area by name.

He would take a walk around the area every week, chatting about Mrs. Shabalala's new baby or Dora's forthcoming wedding.

Such a man was Mr. Tom Nicholls (now retired), after whom inhabitants of Orlando West named their magnificent new hall—"Uncle Tom's Hall."

### Their friend

Officials of today decry the fact that because of greatly increased populations and the consequent pressure of administrative work,

they are rarely able to do this sort of thing.

In the old days the good superintendent was known to all and was everybody's friend, but today he is regarded by many people as a jack-in-office who can at the stroke of a pen refuse a family a house, evict somebody who has not paid rent, or order a chicken coop to be torn down.

### Unpleasant

Superintendents regard the collection of rent and making arrests for non-payment of rent as highly unpleasant duties which they would dearly like to see handed over to some other official.

It is the most potent cause of dissatisfaction and unrest in the townships, and inevitably the resentment and frustration is directed at the superintendent in the absence of any other visible target.

An experienced official told me: "Too many people regard the superintendent as a distant, unapproachable and possibly unfriendly official, but we want to be thought of as friends to whom people can come for advice in any kind of affair from a husband-and-wife row, settlement of a dispute between neighbours, or inability to pay rent through unemployment or sickness."

### Always open

"True, we do have much bigger populations to deal with now, but our office doors are always open and I wish all location residents would realize this.

"We are always ready to listen to a story of trouble and if necessary can refer people to our full-time Native social workers for investigation and assistance or refer them to Bantu Commissioners."

This superintendent and many other older officials lived for many years in houses in their locations, but this is now against Government policy.

"In all my years in the location with my family I was never in fear and I never locked my house," he said. "In times of strikes and other troubles we all stayed on. We knew the people."

# Johannesburg's new mayor to cut down on cocktail parties

SUNDAY TIMES 11/3/62

SUNDAY TIMES REPORTER

**MR. KEITH FLEMING, who will become Mayor of Johannesburg on Tuesday, will cut down on mayoral cocktail parties during his term. He is a teetotaler and does not smoke.**

But 1962 will not be a "dry" mayoral year, he told me yesterday.

The city's last "dry" civic year was 1952 when Mr. Ivanhoe Attwell was Mayor.

The first sign of a change in attitude towards mayoral entertainment will come after Mr. Fleming and other dignitaries are inducted on Tuesday.

There will be a tea party after the special council meeting. In the past there has usually been a cocktail party.

On Friday night there will be a mayoral dinner in the City Hall. Dinner will be served.

## Finance "wizard"

There has been criticism in the past of the number of civic cocktail parties at which councillors and others have imbibed at the ratepayer's expense.

Shy, bespectacled Mr. Fleming,

Deputy-Mayor and chairman of the Management Committee, has been the financial "wizard" of the Council for the last seven years.

He has been able to report at every Budget meeting that the financial position of the city is sound.

Keith Granger Fleming is a frugal and conservative man, a staunch churchgoer and a tireless worker for charity.

He is a director of companies, having worked his way up in the business world from being secretary of a company.

Mrs. Fleming, a former teacher, met her husband in the youth movement at St. Mark's Presbyterian Church. She is a member of committees which run charities for the aged and the young.

The Flemings live in a solid-type house on Houghton Ridge.

Mr. Johannes Francois Oberholzer, a mine rigger and leader of the United Party in the Provincial Council, will be the deputy-mayor. He will also sit on the Management Committee.

His attractive wife is a former ballet teacher. They have four children.

"Obie" is one of the most promising younger members in the United Party. He has campaigned for a State lottery which would finance services for the aged.

## "Prime Minister"

Strong man in the new Council is suave, pipe-smoking Mr. Pieter Roos who replaces Mr. Fleming as chairman of the Management Committee.

Mr. Roos will be "Prime

Minister" of the city's five-man "Cabinet."

For several years Mr. Roos, a quantity surveyor, has been the expert in the Council on road and traffic matters.

Mr. Patrick Lewis, M.P.C., has been chosen as vice-chairman of the Management Committee by the United Party caucus. He retains his job as leading man in the important sphere of non-European affairs.

Other councillors who will take leading roles in the city's administration this year are:

**MR. DAVE MARAIS**, retiring mayor, who will be on the Management Committee and will return to the chairmanship of the Utilities Committee.

**MR. ALF WIDMAN**, who becomes leader of the United Party and a member of the Management Committee.

Ex-mayor **MR. MAX GOODMAN** who will be chairman of the Council **MR. ISRAEL SCHLAPOBERSKY**, who remains chairman of the United Party caucus, and **MR. ALECK JAFFE**, United Party chief whip.

## Lost elections

Several prominent councillors will not return to the Council on Tuesday. They include Mr. Arthur Herold, who lost a seat to a Nationalist, Mr. Reg. Main, who came second to Mr. Marais in a three-cornered contest in Parkhurst, Mr. Harold MacCarthy and Mrs. Kathleen Mitchell, Progressives who lost to the United Party.

Mr. Ian Maltz, a former mayor and United Party councillor, did not seek re-election.

STAR 12/31/57  
**Friendly and sincere is what people think of them**

By a Staff Reporter

**MEET JOHANNESBURG'S NEW MAYOR AND DEPUTY-MAYOR** and their families. "Unostentatious, friendly, sincere" — that is how their friends describe them. The Mayor and Deputy-Mayor will be inducted tomorrow.

Mr Keith Fleming will be the city's 56th mayor. Short, slightly built and with a brisk walk, he always appears in a hurry, but is a man who always has time for a chat and who smiles easily. He is no stranger to the city

as he took part actively in public life as a deputy-mayor and as chairman of the City Council's management committee.

Mr. Fleming and his wife, Kathleen, are just ordinary, home-loving folk who enjoy the company of guests and dote on their grandchildren.

They have two daughters—Mrs. Arthur Hill, of Cape Town, and Mrs. Eric Atkinson, of Johannesburg. Mr. and Mrs. Atkinson have three children.

Always fond of children, Mr. Fleming has been superintendent of the Sunday School at St. Mark's Presbyterian Church for about 30 years.

**RELIGION**

Religion takes an important place in the Fleming household. They are both regular church-goers and the Mayor-elect is an elder of his church. The Mayoress-elect is a former teacher and met her husband in the youth movement of St. Mark's Church many years ago.

Mr. Fleming is a chartered secretary.

For relaxation the couple play tennis and Mrs Fleming's other main interest is welfare work among children and the aged.

The Deputy-Mayor elect, Mr. J. F. Oberholzer, can perhaps best be described by the word "uncomplicated." He is a hard political fighter, but, as a family friend said: "He is a humble man and very genuine."

Whatever he undertakes to do, he does well.

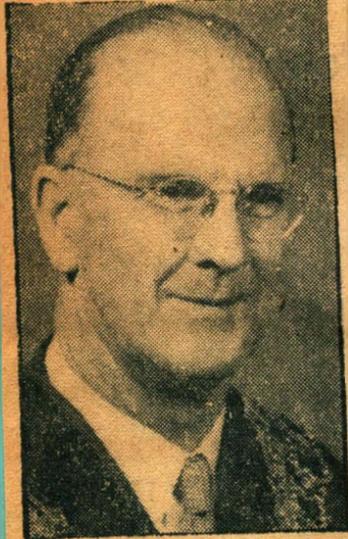
The most unusual thing about the Oberholzer household is that the three daughters all have their mother's name, Gloria, Odette is married, Goya (17) is a nurse in the General Hospital, and Ingrid (18) works in the housing division of the city's Non-European Affairs Department. Anton (15), the only son, is at Jeppe High School.

Mrs. Oberholzer is a former ballet teacher, but these days her family keeps her fully occupied.

A council colleague said today: "Obie's home is truly bilingual and in conversation the family are always switching from one language to the other."

"Apart from politics, Obie likes the odd game of golf and is deeply interested in South African history."

Mr. Oberholzer is a rigger on the mines



MR. KEITH FLEMING



MR. J. F. OBERHOLZER



MRS. FLEMING



MRS. J. F. OBERHOLZER

STAR 12/31/57  
**Progs. stand on party politics in civic affairs**

Sir.—Early in 1957 Mrs. Jean Sinclair resigned from the Johannesburg City Council and thereafter stood as an independent candidate. The catch phrase at that time was "Ban party politics from the City Council" and according to a report in The Star on May 10, 1957, Mrs. Sinclair used these words as a public meeting:

"I feel that local government everywhere, but especially in South Africa, should be entirely divorced from national politics. I am convinced that it is the duty of a city councillor to put the interests of the city first, no matter the problem involved."

"For obvious reasons this is sometimes difficult when a city council is politically controlled, no matter by which party, and when the councillor with political affiliations is therefore bound by the caucus decisions of the party to which he or she belongs."

What has happened to change Mrs. Sinclair's opinion, for now she is not opposing party politics in the City Council but advocating more party politics in civic affairs? It appears to me that the Progressives—having failed to get support for representation in Parliament and the Provincial Council—are now desperately trying to find some forum in which to propound their theories instead of putting the city's interests first.

**WARD 6 RESIDENT.**

★Mrs. Sinclair replies: "I confirm all the statements I made in 1957. I make no apologies for them. I am still of the same opinion; party politics in local government is most undesirable."

The policy of the Progressive Party is not to contest any municipal seats in towns where party politics do not exist. In Johannesburg, however, party politics in the City Council are a fact. Firstly, the Progressive Party fights for its principles at whatever level of government and, secondly, as far as parochial matters are concerned, we shall work in the best interests of the citizens of Johannesburg and make every effort to keep the ratepayers fully informed of all the decisions taken in their name."

**No reason why Progs. should not oppose U.P.**

Sir.—The question, heard so frequently lately: "Why do the Progressives fight the United Party?" is unrealistic.

A group of registered voters find the doctrine of discrimination on the grounds of colour, anathema. They decide, therefore, to put up a candidate who will advance their viewpoint in the City Council. The fact that the majority of these voters live in predominantly English-speaking areas and therefore oppose United Party candidates is irrelevant.

The important point is that any voter is entitled to nominate and support the candidate who most nearly interprets his views, regardless of who his opponent is.

We have suffered too long under the tyranny of "Don't rock the boat," or "We must stick together to get the Nationalists out" and violated our own standards in the process.

(Mrs.) RUTH HALL.

ROM 12/31/57  
**Breakfast quip**



"All the cheques have come back. You've signed them all with an 'X' which shows what happens when we constantly have elections!"

# His last job as Mayor



RDM 13/3/62

## FLEMING IN OFFICE TODAY

Municipal Reporter  
**JOHANNESBURG'S** new Mayor, Mr. Keith Fleming, will be elected officially at a special meeting of the City Council today. The Deputy Mayor, Mr. J. F. Oberholzer, and the five members of the Management Committee also will be inducted.



MR. KEITH FLEMING

Mr. Oberholzer is a member of the Management Committee, with Mr. Pieter Roos (chairman), Mr. Patrick Lewis (vice-chairman), Mr. Dave Marais, and Mr. A. Widman.

This is one of the few occasions on which councillors' wives and friends may be present in the Council chamber while a meeting is in progress.

MR. DAVE MARAIS performed his last official function as Mayor of Johannesburg yesterday when he opened the new R140,000 bridge linking Klein and King George Streets. He also unveiled a commemorative plaque.

The bridge will give direct access to a parking garage being built under the Union Grounds and enable King George Street, between Bree and Noord Streets, to be made one-way to the north. It will serve as a new link to the south by way of Von Wieligh Street and Rosettenville Road.

It is the latest of seven bridges built since the war to carry road traffic across the railway line. Another is being constructed in Market Street. Two more, in Queen's Road and Yale Road, are due to be started soon. The Johannesburg traffic plan, of which the new bridge forms part, is well ahead of schedule, according to Mr. Marais. He appealed to the public always to behave in such a way that the new roads would contribute to greater safety and a freer flow of traffic.

STAR 13/3/62  
 Installed



Mr. Keith Fleming (left) and Mr. J. F. Oberholzer were installed today as Johannesburg's Mayor and Deputy Mayor. Here the new Mayor is seen helping Mr. Oberholzer adjust his chain of office. Mr. H. Jowett, the Mayor's commissioner, is in the background.

STAR 13/3/62

## Native breadwinners jailed for not paying their rent

Sir,—The Johannesburg Municipal non-Europeans Affairs Department sends Native breadwinners to jail for failure to pay rents which the department well knows are too high.

The Johannesburg City Council must scrap all discriminatory legislation regarding the treatment of the African. The Council seems to excel in the implementation of these harsh laws.

The Department should pay its non-White employees a civilized wage so that they be able to pay rent and at least to obtain a square meal a day for the family.

What is wrong with framing the same laws for all members of the community?

P. MATHOLE.

Moroka.

★ Mr. P. R. B. Lewis, M.P.C. Chairman of the Johannesburg Municipal non-European Affairs Committee replies:

STAR 13/3/62

## Matter is under investigation

Sir,—I do not agree that the rents are too high in relation to the value given.

The cost of building houses in Johannesburg is as low as anywhere in the world and in calculating the rent no provision is made for a number of the services provided in view of the fact that these are financed from the Native Services Levy Fund. The City Council subsidises the Native Revenue Account. In 1961 this amounted to nearly R1,000,000.

Mr. Mathole should be aware that the council recently increased the wages of all its Native employees.

The matter of rent collection is under investigation in the hope that it will be possible to find some alternative to imprisonment, other than ejection. There must be some sanction for the person who will not pay his rent and, while nobody is happy with the present system, no alternative has been suggested except ejection, a method to which the council does not wish to resort.

P. R. B. LEWIS, M.P.C.

★ This letter has been shortened.

STAR 13/3/62

## COUNCIL PLAN FOR LIQUOR STALLED

THE JOHANNESBURG CITY COUNCIL has abandoned hopes of adhering to May 1 as the date for selling liquor to Natives in the townships.

Although the council applied to the National Liquor Board for authority to supply liquor last December, no reply has been received from the Minister of Justice, Mr. Vorster, to whom the board makes recommendations.

The board considered the local applications in Pretoria in January.

The council is continuing its planning on the assumption that authority will be granted. Until authority has been obtained, however, it cannot build new premises or alter existing premises.

### APPLICATIONS

These buildings will include the four de luxe bar lounges for Dube, Orlando East, Moroka and Mofolo.

Mr. Vorster said in the Senate last month it was not yet possible to set a date on which

Natives could buy liquor freely. The Liquor Board was considering about 2,000 applications for licences.

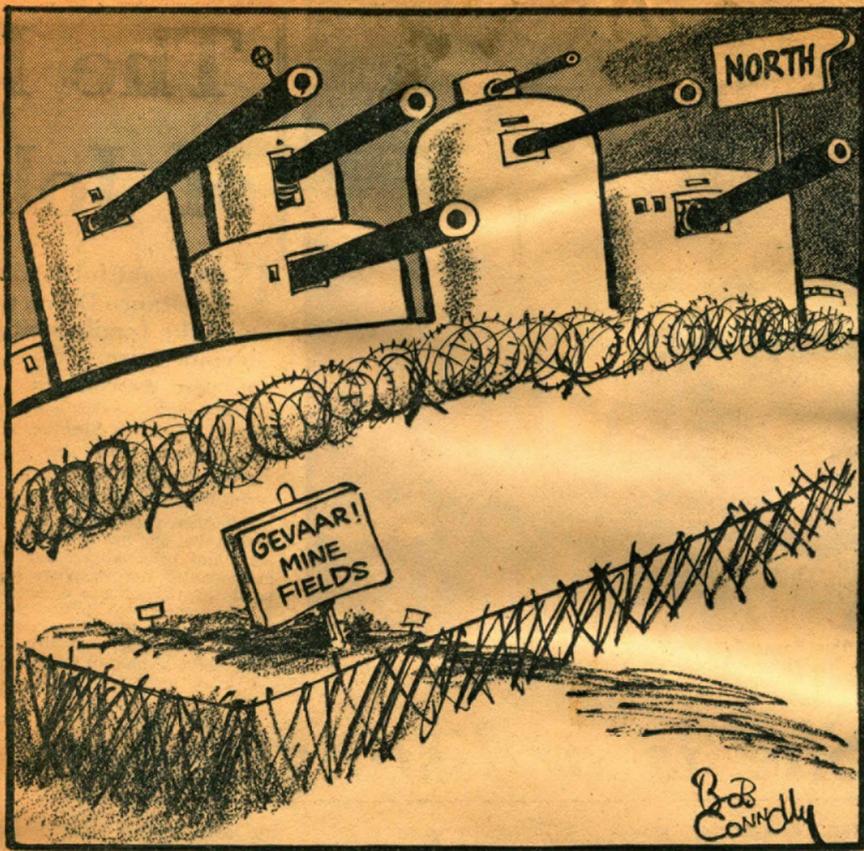
He said the date would not be before April.

### BUILDING PLANS

An official of the council's Non-European Affairs Department said today: "We estimate we will not be able to supply liquor under two to three months from the date of receiving authority."

"If we get the green light within the next few days we shall do our best to get some of the 63 supply points going by May 1, but I do not think we will be able to do much before June."

"Our building plans have to be approved by the Department of Bantu Administration and Development. We are not keen to put up temporary buildings."



RDM - 14/3/67  
POLITICAL VIEWPOINT

## Towards White unity — on a war footing

THOSE who have tears for South Africa, prepare to shed them soon. For inexorably we are moving into that twilight that precedes the night.

In these early months of 1962 we are nearing the culmination of a long process, a fateful concatenation of events and forces that seem from the start to have conspired against a peaceful solution to our unique and forbidding problems.

If I were asked to state at what point I believed the forward approaches of disaster came into view, I would say it was the Government's announcement of its Transkei independence plan. All the indications are that this was to be the great symbolic act of sacrifice designed to justify in the eyes of the world and the hearts of South Africans the policy of separate development of White and Black. This was to be proof positive. And all the considerable apparatus of State publicity was employed to show to the world this wondrous thing demonstrating beyond further doubt or argument the moral basis of apartheid.

### LAST CARD

But the world was not impressed, and the increasingly militant power of its opinion continues to bear upon us. Yet this was the last card, the very last, that the Government had to play. The Transkei was the biggest and best African homeland, the only one that formed a coherent geographic entity. If the Transkei has failed to convince the world about apartheid, then the Government has nothing left with which to turn the flanks of humanity's wrath. There is no further demonstration of its faith that it can make; there is also no further concession it is prepared to offer.

Today its attitude to the world is this: "We have made our gesture and it has not persuaded you. You wish to compel us to change our policy? All right, now we stand and fight." This

in a nutshell, is the South African situation today — an overwhelming force bearing down on an unyielding object. The only questions to be resolved are how irresistible is the force and how immovable is the object.

Within the setting of this impending clash, in South Africa

By  
Laurence  
Gandar

itself, there is a curious and growing lightheadedness, the kind of morbid elation that soldiers experience immediately before encounters of immense scale. The anxieties of planning, the anguish of decision-taking are over — the ground is chosen, the die is cast and the men are irrevocably set upon whatever lies ahead.

And so Afrikaner Nationalism, impelled by the death wish of its own race mythology, leads the country into a thundering re-enactment of its own history — the struggle of a tiny, White, self-righteous people against the evil of Black barbarism — first the Bantu impis, now the Afro-Asian hordes. Surely, the Nationalists believe, there can be no more glorious fight, no more heroic downfall if downfall there must be.

And so, by committing the nation to battle as it were, they have made, in the holy name of patriotism, comrades in arms of every White who lives here, like it or not. It is all for one and one for all.

In this they have, ironically enough, been greatly aided by those who are their traditional political enemies at home.

The reasons for this are worth examining because they are at the root of the South African tragedy. It is a story of human failure on a grand scale, of mass

surrender by stealth. Here it is.

Down the years the main political opposition to Afrikaner Nationalism, the United Party, has been saying to the people of South Africa: Be anti-Nationalist and you can consider your political duty well done. Just be against the Nationalists, it matters not greatly what you are for. You do not require to have a definable political philosophy based on recognised moral principles; any policy, be it vague or fatuous, will do just so long as it is anti-Nationalist.

### CRUMBLING

While there were still historical causes in this country for anti-Nationalism as an emotional force, this policy worked well enough, but with the growing estrangement of South Africa from the rest of the world, and especially the coming of the Republic and the break with the Commonwealth last year, these grounds have been crumbling away. Anti-Nationalism, it is almost a spent force today and the United Party finds itself with too narrow an area of disagreement with the National Party on the fundamental race question to sustain itself.

Worse still it has helped to destroy its own future by making conservatism in race matters respectable among anti-Nationalists. ("White leadership with justice," "White leadership for the foreseeable future" and so on.) It has not merely failed to educate its own followers to the acceptance of some substantially different and higher set of values in race matters; it has actually helped to condition them to a concept of White domination close enough to that of *wit baasskap* to make the transition from one to the other relatively easy.

### VULNERABLE

Thus the anti-Nationalist following of the United Party stands dressed and ready for complete capture, at some suitable psychological moment, by the Nationalists. This the Government perceives well enough and it is now busy manoeuvring into position for the great take-over.

The next state of emergency will be the time, and there will surely be another state of emergency, perhaps even this year. When it comes and assuming that the stress is considerable, the White population of South Africa will go streaming into the Nationalist laager, stripped of the power of resistance which some genuine moral principles might have given them.

And when that happens, standing at the entrance to the laager and waving the people in, will be the United Party — playing out its role as a "responsible Opposition." It happened during the last state of emergency and it will happen again.

### REHEARSING

During the past 48 hours United Party Senators have been rehearsing this very role.

After the Minister of Defence, Mr. Fouché, had told the Senate that some Afro-Asian countries had secret plans for an invasion of South Africa, Senator Sutter pledged the United Party's full support to the Government in its plans to build up South Africa's military power.

And so the tragic story unfolds. South Africa, abandoning hope of persuading the world that apartheid is just and workable, moves steadily on to a war footing — call-ups, rearming, munitions making, research and, of course, including pistol clubs. The conditions are created for a new kind of White unity — backs to the wall, our country right or wrong, patriots all.

The process is far advanced, the stage is set. We may act out our differences for another year or so, but there is no mistaking where all the signs are pointing. Do you see this too? Or is there something that I have not understood? If so, tell me now, for my heart is breaking.

## THE PRESS COUNCIL

NOTHING we have read or heard in the six weeks since we last commented on the subject of a Press Council and Press Code has diminished the concern we feel about the decision now taken by the Newspaper Press Union to proceed with these matters.

Our misgivings stem from these facts: There has been no pressure from the general newspaper-reading public for a Press Council and no representations have, to the best of our knowledge, been made to the Newspaper Press Union by individuals or organised bodies. Nor has the initiative come from the profession itself. Indeed, the anomalous position arises in which there is to be a professional code of conduct which was not drawn up by members of the profession and which is bitterly opposed by the only recognised body representing journalists.

What, then, is the motivation behind the new scheme? Let us not beat about the bush — it is political pressure. One has only to recall the statement made in Parliament by the Prime Minister last April to understand the nature and extent of this pressure from the highest quarters. He complained specifically about political comment ("I am not sure that we have been wise in allowing such malignant comment all these years") and he expressed the hope that the Press would apply some form of self-discipline, saying the Government might "be forced to take steps if South Africa is harmed by what goes beyond the exercise of freedom."

Accordingly, what might otherwise have been an innocuous code (generally speaking, the clauses add up to an elaborate exercise in the obvious) contains a sting in the tail — the so-called "political clause" which reads "While the Press retains its traditional right of criticism, comment should take cognisance of the complex racial problems of South Africa, the general good and the safety of the country and its peoples." Such as when some Afro-Asian states are (says Mr. Fouché) planning an invasion of South Africa, no doubt?

Some of our colleagues have managed to rationalise acceptance of this code by considering its merits unrelated to its background of political pressure. We find ourselves unable to divorce the two in our mind so easily. Others are franker and say it is preferable to statutory Press control. But we have come to regard the "lesser of two evils" approach as surrender by instalment.

Because it depends so heavily upon interpretation and outlook, a code of this kind is very difficult to administer. It may prove ineffectual on that account. We shall then see, for sure, what has lain behind it.

# Liberals' part in rent campaign

RDM 14/3/62

**I**N your election analysis ("Rand Daily Mail," March 9) you wrote "The Council is now trying to find a more humane system of getting rents from its African tenants. This results from Progressive protests against the policy of sending Africans to jail for arrears."

The "Rand Daily Mail" itself played a major role in arousing public opinion against the jailings for rent arrears in the townships. You are therefore in full possession of the facts regarding rents. One can accordingly not understand how it is that you should give credit solely to the Progressive Party for the Council's search for a new policy.

Admittedly the Progressives played their part. The Liberal Party, however, was not only first in this field but carried on a consistent campaign in which its efforts were rivalled by no other organisation. It was the Liberals who organised a questionnaire to get at the real facts, who helped hundreds of Africans who had rents problems and who presented the facts to the City Council in a memorandum which was quite irresistible.

All credit to the Progressives for their role. But to be fair they played second fiddle to the Liberals in this campaign. — JOHN HARRIS.

**FOOTNOTE:** Our apologies to the Liberal Party. It has certainly been doing fine work in this field.—Editor.

# How U.P. has lost ground

Star 14/3/62

Sir,—Miss Kelsay Sole wrote in The Star on March 5 that she failed to see how the United Party was losing ground. Now that the results of the municipal elections are known I would like to assist Miss Sole in her difficulty.

Before the elections Springs was controlled by the United Party who held seven of the 12 seats. They now hold four and the Nationalists have control of the council—a loss of three seats.

In Johannesburg 35 United Party and seven Nationalist candidates were returned to the council in 1957. The position now is that there are 32 United Party councillors and 10 Nationalists—a loss for the United Party of three seats.

Moreover, 13,506 people in 15 of the Johannesburg wards voted for the Progressive Party. This represents a little less than 40 per cent. of the votes polled in those wards.

I am unable to give details of any United Party gains in this recent election as in not one ward did they gain anything—neither seats nor votes.

PETER SOAL.

Benoni.

★ This letter has been shortened.

# Progs. ran when learning to walk

Sir, — It is difficult to follow Miss Kelsay Sole (The Star, March 5) when she charges the Progressives with suffering from an inferiority complex.

My criticism, on the contrary, has rather been that they started to run when they were learning to walk. For a new party to start contesting seats so soon after its formation was taking a risk which was certainly not a sign of lack of confidence.

The more than substantial number of votes secured is a tribute to the dynamic force of their appeal, a justification of the risk and an encouragement for the future.

PRO-PROG.

# U.P. is forging steadily ahead

RDM

14/3/62

**P**ETER SOAL ("Rand Daily Mail," March 7), says that "whereas the Progressive Party is fighting for racial harmony, the United Party is fighting for its life."

How can the Progressives be fighting for inter-racial harmony when they intend handing over the country to a largely undeveloped proletariat? How can racial strife be averted under such a system?

Your correspondent admits that he has studied the results of the past three elections, so I am sure he would be the first to admit that the Progressive Party reached its pinnacle in 1961. It is clear that the Progressive Party has fought its last major battle with any real hope of success.

The United Party, on the other hand, has consolidated its position and is forging steadily ahead with its plans for a peaceful and progressive solution to the country's problems.—N. F. ALBERTS.

# ROM LEFTISH

14/3/62

**H**AS the time not come for you to leave the political sleepwalkers (Progressives) to their own devices? They have tried to found a party on the popularity of one person—Mrs. Helen Suzman.

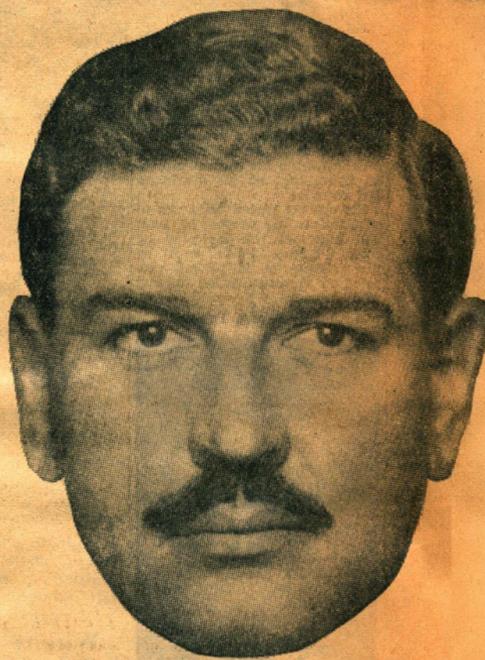
The United Party is as Leftish a party as South Africa will tolerate. It caters for the trade union idea, for partial colour-bar removal, etc.

Let us get back to sanity and have a moderate political set up, with the National Party as the middle of the road element, and the United Party veering to the Left, but only somewhat.

FRANK VAN RIJN.

 WARD 3: D. J. MARAIS	 WARD 41: W. A. J. SAMMONS
 WARD 5: F. W. FIDLER	 WARD 38: B. D. EAGAR
 WARD 6: W. C. CALDWELL	 WARD 37: A. J. HEROLD
 WARD 7: H. F. DENNIS	 WARD 36: M. J. POWELL
 WARD 8: I. MYERS	 WARD 35: J. J. O'CONNOR
 WARD 9: T. GLYN MORRIS	 WARD 33: A. D. ZAKAR
 WARD 15: I. SCHLAOBERSKY	 WARD 31: J. I. KANTOR
 WARD 19: A. ROSEN	 WARD 23: A. B. WIDMAN
 WARD 20: A. JAFFE	 WARD 21: M. L. NEPPE

**THE MAN IN YOUR FUTURE**



**THANK YOU FOR SUPPORTING THE MEN WHO SUPPORT HIM!**

THE UNITED PARTY TEAM IN THE JOHANNESBURG CITY COUNCIL THANKS THE VOTERS FOR THEIR LOYAL SUPPORT, AND PLEDGES ITSELF TO SERVE THE BEST INTERESTS OF ALL THE CITIZENS OF THIS GREAT CITY.

DIE VERENIGDE PARTY-SPAN IN DIE JOHANNESBURGE STADS-RAAD BEDANK DIE KIESERS VIR HUL LOJALE STEUN, EN BELOOF OM DIE BELANGE VAN AL DIE IN-WONERS VAN HIERDIE GROOT STAD TE BEHARTIG.

 WARD 4: A. MORRIS	 WARD 26: J. C. LEMMER	 WARD 27: P. R. B. LEWIS	 WARD 28: DR. A. D. BENSUSAN
 WARD 13: P. M. ROOS	 WARD 14: M. GOODMAN	 WARD 16: I. E. B. ATTWELL	 WARD 29: M. LAMBRECHT
 WARD 17: L. V. HURD	 WARD 18: O. CAPLAN	 WARD 22: K. G. FLEMING	 WARD 30: M. SKLAAR
 WARD 42: C. A. LONG	 WARD 24: S. MOSS	 WARD 25: C. J. ROSS-SPENCER	 WARD 34: H. B. ISMAY
			 WARD 39: J. F. OBERHOLZER
			 WARD 40: DR. V. V. BOY

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