

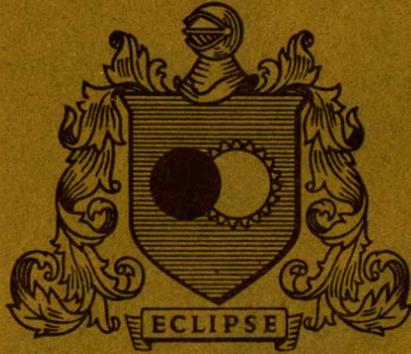
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POLITICAL

LEWIS

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SCRAP BOOK



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Slow-motion apartheid is proving nothing

PARLIAMENT reassembles on Friday in a political atmosphere that continues to change, albeit slowly, for the better.

The new, eager and articulate Progressive Party will be making its debut, and a resurgent Hertzog movement which has been quietly gathering adherents these past 12 months or so will be represented by the forthright Mr. Basson and perhaps also by Professor Fourie, the other Independent in the House of Assembly.

The intrinsic promise of this situation may, however, be stultified for the time being by a variety of factors. In the first place, it will be an abbreviated session, confined to a large extent to routine business and with less in the way of contentious legislation than we have had for some time. Secondly, we seem to be entering a period of resumed economic buoyancy and reduced economic stresses. Thirdly, the Union's jubilee celebrations will increasingly attract public attention and form a political diversion.

Never, never

As for the Government, it returns to its legislative duties refreshed by yet another, though qualified, success in the October provincial elections. It faces a divided but not necessarily weakened Opposition. Most of the legislation for its apartheid policy has been enacted and the pleasant glow of self-righteousness occasioned by its Bantustan programme is undimmed either

By
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by any foreseeable prospect of the Bantu national homes acquiring self-government or by any apparent need for sacrifices at this stage in developing them.

For the time being the Nationalists are reclining in that region of ease that lies between promise and performance. The revolutionary programme of partition, announced by the Prime Minister this time last year, is still mainly a blueprint used to quieten Afrikaner intellectuals and impress visiting field-m Marshals. A colossal commitment has been undertaken on the smallest of down payments and the instalments appear to be spread out interminably. This is separate development on the never, never.

Slow-motion

The Prime Minister, it is reliably reported, simply exudes confidence, and is said to have a ready answer to every point that crops up about his programme. No doubt this savoir faire will be reflected in the proceedings of the new session which will probably dissolve in an aura of bonhomie for the

climax of the celebrations in May.

All this is satisfactory enough for the Government but it is disastrous for the country. Slow-motion apartheid is proving absolutely nothing. It is not establishing whether apartheid can work or not because there is no thorough-going attempt to make it work. It is not showing whether the country can afford apartheid or not because no effort is being made to pay for it. It is not demonstrating whether there is a genuine moral basis for apartheid because pettifogging applications of it are still bringing upon us the ridicule and contumely of the world. All that is happening is that precious time is being wasted.

Not enough

The fact of the matter is that in spite of spreading hostility abroad towards this country, in spite of Africa's clamorous awakening, and in spite of increasing concern here at the seriousness of our position, the pressures that influence situations like ours are still not strong enough and not urgent enough to bring about radical change. The boycotts being organised against us are not effective as yet; Africa is still too preoccupied with its own emergence to concern itself with us; at home the African National Congress is far from active and in any case can be quickly dealt with if it proves troublesome; and as for the White electorate the liberalisation of thought that has been proceeding for the past year has still not gone far enough or fast enough to pose a threat to the position of the Government.

Tinkering

And so the solemn masquerade continues. Bantu authorities continue to be set up in the Reserves, shoring up tribal systems that were already in an advanced stage of decay. Inadequate numbers of field officers struggle with insufficient funds to carry out minor betterment works of purely local value. A handful of cottage industries have been set up and help is being given to a score or two of African traders to start business in a small way. At no point is any significant impact being made on the basic racial situation. The Government is still, after nearly twelve years, merely tinkering at the fringes of the problem.

Nevertheless, the longer-term outlook is far from discouraging. The painful process of calcification that has afflicted political thought for so long appears to have come to an end and there is once more some free movement of ideas. When the festival is out of the way and with pressures, both external and internal, likely to continue building up, mobility will improve and the conditions for change will become more propitious.

Doubts

It is hard to see what further gains can conceivably be made in the name of apartheid. The rationale of separate development has been carried to a point just short of complete territorial separation — its only logical conclusion. For purposes of popular appeal, the argument has gone as far as it can. The phase of airy undertakings is over — that of practical fulfilment is at hand and it will be a vastly different matter. Already doubts are accumulating just below the surface of Nationalism's brassy exterior. Self-analysis and self-criticism are breaking through here and there. There is a new and heartening readiness to come to grips with reality.

The next few months may be a little disappointing to anxious observers of the South African scene. But the second half of this year may well be more exciting and rewarding.

(To be continued tomorrow)

United Party remains fortress of status quo

FOR the United Party the coming Parliamentary session will be a period of adjustment to its own altered composition; for the country, interest will lie in how it goes about this.

There are those who believe that the advent of the Progressive Party signifies the decline and ultimate demise of the United Party.

In support of this view, it is argued that:

Arguments

(a) The Progressives form the true counter-part of the Nationalists in Parliament and present the only genuine alternative there to the policy of apartheid;

(b) To an increasing extent the choice confronting South Africa is one between separate development and integration — with all the implications of each;

(c) There can be no "middle of the road" between alternatives that move in opposite directions;

(d) White leadership, with or without justice, is not only out of tune with the march of events in Africa but is unacceptable by modern standards of political thought everywhere;

(e) The inconsistencies of United Party policy have now become grotesque, especially the proposal to extend Parliamentary representation for Africans but not for Coloureds to the northern provinces; the arbitrary fixing of such African representation at eight for the whole Union when the Cape alone has always had three representatives; the closing of the door to a common roll policy after so many years of opposition to the principle of separate rolls; the party's refusal to support further land purchases for the African Reserves after the pledges given under the Native Settlement of 1936.

There is much logic in this

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view that United Party policy provides no satisfactory answer to the country's racial problem. But, remarkably enough, this does not mean that the United Party is out of the race. Logic is not a decisive influence in politics and the United Party may well derive some benefit, albeit temporarily, in the growing pressure on people to make a clear choice between apartheid and integration.

Reluctant

The fact is that they do not wish to make this choice and they will delay it as long as possible. They dislike and fear the idea of encirclement by Bantustans that may one day become independent, and they will dislike it even more if and when they are called upon to pay heavily for it. They also dislike and fear the idea of integration and its corollary of an African political majority in Parliament. They will dislike it even more when it begins to involve the breaking down of economic and social barriers between the races. What they want is for the present situation to continue for as long as possible even though they are ready to admit it is illogical and cannot last indefinitely.

Containment

It is this mass longing for the maintenance of the status quo that is expressed in the United Party's political approach. This amounts to a holding operation with *ad hoc* adjustments to current conditions. At worst,

the United Party's policy can be said to provide no leadership to the electorate in that it submits to the prevailing state of public opinion. At best, it can be said to involve a recognition that economic integration will dictate its own political solution and that the United Party's role is to conform gradually to inevitable change.

Reliable

What we are dealing with here is a party which, for all the woolliness and vacillations of its policy, still presents to the public mind the image of a strong, broad-based, trustworthy, traditional South African political party, one that can be relied upon not to embrace rash, unpopular or radical policies, one which, while having the interests of the European population predominantly at heart, is anxious to secure decent treatment of the non-European population.

This may be intellectually unsatisfying to thoughtful people but there is little doubt that it faithfully reflects the outlook of a substantial body of the electorate.

Paternal

It is important to note, too, that the party leader, Sir De Villiers Graaff, personifies much of this outlook. He is a strong, cheerful, courteous, friendly man, refreshingly free of those familiar triple sins of bitterness, fear and hatred, a man who conveys the impression of formerly common-sense and self-reliance. His own racial attitude appears to be one of benevolent paternalism but he is by no means disconcerted by more enlightened views. He appears to believe, however, that public opinion will be moved only very slowly towards more liberal ideas and that it is politically unrealistic to attempt to move faster than public opinion is prepared to follow. All of which adds up to an approach that a great many people still regard as thoroughly sensible.

Dangers

With the loss of the liberal wing of his party, Sir De Villiers faces two considerable dangers. The first is that the Right-wingers will unduly influence policy and tactics, that the party will become even more conservative at a time when such movement as there is in public thinking is the other way. The attacks that will inevitably come from the Progressive Party will have the same effect, and Sir De Villiers will need to exercise very firm control to prevent the party from veering off course.

Depletion

The second is a long-term danger of even greater magnitude. The loss of the liberal wing has meant the loss to the United Party of some of its best brains and debating talents. There is not a comfortable amount of either left. Furthermore it will mean the loss of some support, intellectual and financial, outside Parliament. Whether this can be offset by gains in the shape of dissatisfied Nationalists who could not bring themselves to join the United Party while its "liberalists" were with it remains to be seen.

Flexibility

Against this, the United Party has an advantage that neither of the other two parties in Parliament possesses. Not having committed itself to a clear-cut political objective, it has greater room for manoeuvre. If it uses this flexibility with imagination and courage, it will live to fight another day. The United Party is by no means a spent force yet.

(To be continued tomorrow.)

The Progressives will stir up Parliament

TODAY is the new Progressive Party's big day — the start of its Parliamentary career. For the first time in our history, a compact, intelligent and persuasive group of M.P.s will enter Parliament to put the case for a fully shared multi-racial society in all its aspects and with all its implications.

This, as Mr. Harry Lawrence has aptly described it, represents the crashing of the sound-barrier of political thinking on South Africa's racial problems. That it should occur in the Union's fiftieth anniversary is especially appropriate.

SETBACK

The circumstances surrounding the breakaway last August of the liberal wing of the United Party and its development into the present Progressive Party are now well known, and the argument as to whether the M.P.s concerned should have resigned their seats has now happily died down, although there is understandable regret that a sound political tradition in this matter should have suffered a further setback.

In the event, these people took the correct, if painful, decision that the national situation required them to continue in existence as a group and present a case that desperately needs to be put before time runs out for us all. They are honest enough to say that it does not matter what happens thereby to their individual political reputations so long as what they stand for is given a chance to survive.

The general outline of Progressive Party policy is also fairly well known now as a result of some very impressive and very

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well attended public meetings they have held. The detail is set out in a mere six pages of their main principles and policies, adopted at the party's inaugural congress in Johannesburg last November. It is one of the most lucid, enlightened and inspiring statements of political aims one could wish to read.

If there is a blemish it is in the party's over-enthusiastic proposal to abolish the pass laws and influx control system. That these both need overhauling and infusing with an entirely new spirit of restraint and tolerance, there can be no doubt. But there is also no doubt that, in the words of the Fagan Report, it is "essential, in the interests of the population as a whole but particularly in the interests of the Natives themselves, that the movement (of Natives into the towns) should be regulated."

There are at present 600,000 Africans living in Johannesburg. According to expert estimates, based on official figures, this total would rise to 750,000 within one year if influx control were removed. And the position with regard to housing, transport, health and other facilities for Africans, already by no means adequate, would become chaotic once more. The Progressives would have done better to recommend the streamlining of present arrangements and the more considerate application of the necessary restrictions —

notably, as the Fagan Report itself urged, that no penalties should be imposed on Africans for the mere non-production of documents they actually possessed.

In all other respects the Progressives have been eminently sensible and extremely courageous. They have not flinched from the implications of their proposals, not even from the fact that a common roll franchise, exercised with the same qualifications for all races, must ultimately lead to an African political majority in the Union Parliament.

SAFEGUARDS

This is the heart, the crux, the very essence, of the South African political dilemma. All other issues — group areas, job reservation, language rights, mixed marriages, immorality laws, industrial colour bars and so on — are of purely secondary interest and indeed stem from this cardinal point, this central, elemental fear of political power passing from Whites to Blacks. The Progressives, rightly discarding separate development as a practical possibility, believe that this prospect of African political dominance must be faced and taken into our reckoning.

They recognise, too, that just as the Europeans have abused their position of dominance, so there is a danger that Africans in due course will use the political power that must come to them to the detriment of the other races. Accordingly they propose a change from our present flexible, centralised constitution to a rigid, decentralised constitutional system into which will be built safeguards guaranteeing individual human rights and providing protection for each racial group against injurious domination by any other. A commission of experts has been appointed by the party to draw up detailed proposals for such a reformed constitution.

For some time now the need for a different kind of constitutional arrangement to suit our plural society better has engaged the attention of political thinkers in this country, including some on the Nationalist side of the fence.

The case for a change is a powerful one, but two reservations need to be made. First, it is important to realise that unless the Africans come to power in an atmosphere of goodwill nothing will safeguard the interests of the other race groups, for there is no constitution that can be devised which is proof against a determined majority. Secondly, the idea of a National Convention to approve proposals for constitutional reform is not enough to ensure respect for them in later years. We have had bitter experience of this all too recently in South Africa. Here again we shall be obliged to put our faith in the goodwill of the African people in the years to come.

QUESTION

How many members of the present White electorate are prepared to do this? We come now to the most practical question of the day: What support can the Progressive Party expect to win for its very advanced views? Initial response has been encouraging and there does seem to be a discernible trend throughout the country towards more enlightened political thinking.

But it would be a mistake to imagine that the Progressives have made any impact upon the great amorphous body of the electorate at large. This is where their difficulty lies. Practical experience in the field of human relations indicates that complex racial situations such as ours do not respond readily to the soft pressures of explanation and exhortation. Where the surrender of political power and economic and social privileges is concerned, much sharper pressures are necessary to bring about change.

Thus while the performance of

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Progressives' debut in Parliament

the Progressive Party in Parliament will be watched with the greatest interest, it will not necessarily be the main influence in determining its future. That will come from another quarter. Their job is to provide political articulation for the conclusions to which the electorate will be driven by the gathering pressures upon it inside and outside South Africa. Without these pressures the articulation itself will have little or no effect.

There is one other observation to be made here about the Progressive Party. It is the first sizeable party which has deliberately turned its back on the traditional Boer-Briton struggle in our political life. In theory this is right, for the issue is irrelevant compared with the much more pressing conflict of interests between White and Black. But in practice it is by no means done with as a factor in politics. Often it still dominates the political scene. The Progressives will thus find themselves either left standing on the sidelines, ignored and unnoticed, or dragged into the melee, unwilling and unprepared.

This is something that they will have to come to grips with sooner or later. Meanwhile the advent in Parliament of this alert, fearless, uninhibited team of debaters represents the best hope we have had so far of breaking down some of the stiff, heraldic postures in which our political thinking has been frozen for so long.

STAR 7/2/60
He must stand or fall on Bantustans

Is Verwoerd a Moses or a charlatan of genius?

WILL DR. VERWOERD GET HIS MAJORITY of one for a republic and will he demand it with indecent haste as soon as the Union's celebrations are over or wait until next year? How will he try to make good his sweeping promises to find room for millions more Africans in the reserves? These are the 64,000-dollar questions that are being asked in the southern midsummer days of this brief parliamentary session, writes a special correspondent of "The Times."

The session brings Cape Town to life again and half restores her once unchallenged ascendancy as South Africa's capital city.

For the rest of the year, she has to be content to dream under the shadow of Table Mountain of the great days when she was more than what she can still claim to be—a Tavern of the Seas. Pretoria, when the House is not sitting, carries off Cabinet Ministers and senior Civil servants.

Age in Assembly

As a social occasion the session is being a success. South Africa is prosperous, although it has not been going ahead economically quite as fast as it was in recent years.

A good time is being had by all Whites in the comfortable ruling class, which is represented only incompletely on the dark green benches of the House of Assembly.

An appearance of age will strike anyone familiar with Westminster and it is confirmed by the vital statistics.

Fourteen members in a House of 163 are in their seventies, more than 30 in their sixties, and some 50 in their fifties.

Youth gets a poor show in contemporary South African politics; rising parliamentary hopes of the 1920s are still to be found languishing, unfulfilled, on the back benches.

No less noticeable than the age grouping is the absence of a true reflection of the White community as a whole.

Its English-speaking section which dominates business life, is

non-existent on the Government side and far from fully reflected in the Opposition.

Nearly half the Nationalist members are farmers and nearly one in 10 is a professional politician.

Business is rather more strongly represented in the United Party, and lawyers, doctors, and teachers make a fairly good showing.

But White labour is scarcely in the picture. The Labour Party sank at the last general election, having foundered on fears of African wage and trade union demands.

Verwoerd's position

The coast has thus been left clear for people of leisure and for those who can get a paid party job.

Over this oligarchic House Dr. Verwoerd rules, secure—so far—behind an ample majority and faced by an opposition divided in itself.

The Nationalists, as is often pointed out, are the beneficiaries of a peculiar electoral system.

They have got far more seats than they deserve in the count of votes.

But this does not alter the facts of political power.

The Government holds 102 of the 163 seats and the United Party 41.

Even if the 11 Progressives, the four Coloured and the three Native Representatives (all seven, of course, White) and the one or two Independents vote with the United Party against him, Dr.

Verwoerd has no need to worry.

Has he any reason to feel uneasy about what is going on behind the scenes in his own party?

Rivals disposed of

There is much speculation on this point among parliamentary old hands. They maintain that the glass is falling for him. Changes come in South African politics, according to this perhaps wishful-thinking view, by shifts in the internal balance of the House, rather than at general elections.

But Dr. Verwoerd seem to have disposed of all rivals. Mr. Swart has been astutely raised to the Governor Generalship.

Dr. Donges, although he has the strength of Afrikaner opinion in the Cape Province behind him, shows no signs of being restless.

No obvious challenger has arisen to the supremacy of Dr. Verwoerd, which now amounts almost to a dictatorship.

If he is disturbed by the suggestions that a coalition may, somehow, be formed to put him out, he shows no signs of it.

Strange position

He sits, a burly, white-headed, relaxed figure, with little, twinkling eyes, and an easy parliamentary manner.

His position is a strange, and indeed, a unique one in South African parliamentary history; for he leads the Nationalist Afrikaners without being one of them by birth.

There is a detachment about him that comes, partly, from his absence of roots in the soil of the Voortrekkers, and, partly, from a congenital inability to share what he is really thinking with other people.

Dominant force

Everyone on all sides of the House admits that he is its dominant force.

Many are frightened of him. Few (outside a handful of sycophants) pretend to like him.

His hold on the Nationalists is to be explained by what may be called the success of a confidence trick he has played on them.

He has persuaded them that he knows the answer to the colour question. He is the wizard who will make a total separation of races work.

So, although he is not one of them, and not held in affection, as were Strydom and Malan, they draw comfort from his serene, self-assurance.

Shrewd tactician

He is, for the Bothas, the Hertzogs, the Cronjes, and the Van der Merwes what, *mutatis mutandis*, Disraeli was for the country gentlemen of England, the broad acre squires, at the time of mid-Victorian Tory tribulation.

Enigmatic Dr. Verwoerd may be to his own Cabinet colleagues, and still more to the backveld voter.

They cannot be quite sure in their own minds whether he is a Moses of a chosen people or merely a charlatan of genius.

But they cling to him because the old certainties about Black and White have in recent months been growing harder and harder even for Nationalists to believe in.

Mr. Macmillan's speech confirmed and inflamed the worst suspicions of the Afrikaner that the tide is flowing against him and that he needs a daring pilot in extremities.

Dr. Verwoerd is certainly daring and he is also a shrewd tactician.

Republican issue

When he found that the fire over Bantustan was getting too hot for him and was likely to get hotter before the session ended, he was glad to raise the republican issue and thus give himself breathing space.

Afrikaners, who are delighted by this turn of events, assure you that once a republic was set up within the Commonwealth the last obstacle to fraternal co-operation with English-speaking South Africans would have been removed.

But this is impossible to believe. There have been too many protestations in the past.

The orange-white-blue tricolour was introduced as an equal partner of the Union Jack and "Die Stem van Suid-Afrika" to share the honours with "God Save the King."

Now there is only one official flag and one national anthem and both are what the Afrikaners had all along meant them to be.

Anyone who accepts that the Nationalists would rest content with less than a republic outside the Commonwealth is a political simpleton.

What is being attempted is a repetition of the familiar softening up process—the two bites at the cherry gambit—which Afrikaner South Africa has applied so often and with happy results for itself.

The dilemma of the Opposition in attacking this seasoned phalanx is that it has nothing as clear cut to offer.

Sir de Villiers Graaff can count on enthusiastic support in his stand for the Crown link. But his colour policy of keeping up White representation for the African and in other ways softening the harshness of apartheid goes too far for the nervous elector and not far enough for the liberal-minded.

Dr. Steytler and his Progressives would give political rights "to those who deserve them on a basis of civilization" regardless of race.

Mr. "Japie" Basson, the independent rebel from the Nationalist camp, who has just launched a new party, also puts forward flexible, left-wing alternatives to apartheid.

Premier's obligation

But none of these Opposition groups, not even the United Party, can hope to convert a majority of the electorate in the foreseeable future.

Serious economic depression or racial trouble on a big scale would, of course, create a new situation.

As matters stand, Dr. Verwoerd seems likely to remain in office to face the consequences of his momentous pledge.

Whichever way the close fight for a republic goes he must stand and fall on Bantustan.

Sooner or later—and time is not on his side—he has to make good an inescapable obligation.

He must turn apartheid from a slogan into a reality.

His Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr. de Wet Nel, always an echo of master's voice, has promised that, in the Native areas, cities as large as Durban will eventually be built.

What so far has happened about them? Has a beginning really been made with Bantustan? The answer to that question lies far away from the parliamentary scene in Cape Town and will be considered in the next article.

To be continued

Transkei is Bantustan's most far advanced experiment

FROM the Eastern Province of the Cape, with its busy factories and crowded beaches washed by the breakers of the Indian Ocean, the road runs northwards into the Transkei. There is no mistaking the Transkei when you get into it, writes a special correspondent of "The Times."

Clusters of thatched huts interspersed with tin-roofed shanties are scattered about the countryside. Women—the younger ones stripped to the waist, the elders draped in voluminous garments—work in the mealie patches. Ploughs and sleds are drawn by oxen.

A man rides slowly by on a bicycle, followed by his wife on foot leading a goat.

Naked little boys herd the poor looking cattle or dance on the roadside inviting you to buy prickly pears. A driver has to watch for lean cows, agile goats, and sheep straying across the highway.

An agriculturist familiar with the African scene in other parts of the continent would note the tell-tale evidence of erosion.

There is a shortage of able-bodied men; so many are away working for White employers. Here a man relaxes with a wife, both of them stretched at ease on the parched earth, contentedly puffing clouds of smoke from their long pipes.

There a solitary wayfarer beguiles his journey by strumming to himself on a banjo as he strolls along.

Colours are gay—bright ochre shirts, vivid turbans, heavy head bundles in rainbow hues. It is a spectacle that might inspire a black Theocritus. But it will depress an economist or a welfare worker.

MOST ADVANCED

Such is the Transkei and it is the most advanced of the eight national units allowed for in the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Bill of 1959.

Here and here alone, has been set up an African Territorial Authority. Innumerable lesser regional, district, and tribal authorities have been set up.

But only in the Transkei has the apex of self-government under the authority of the chiefs so far been reached. How far this has made much difference from the previous system is a matter of dispute among those on the spot.

The weight of White administrative opinion, including that of experienced officials, who speak Xhosa and know the people, is that it marks an improvement.

Against this others say that the scales have been weighted against the more enlightened Natives and in favour of time servers, who will flatter their masters and draw salaries of up to £1,200 a year as a reward.

All, however, are agreed that, for the time being at least, White authority must loom large and that the area of tribal custom and so forth in which the Africans may settle their own affairs cannot be unrestricted.

MAIN NEEDS

All are agreed, too, on the main practical needs of the Transkei.

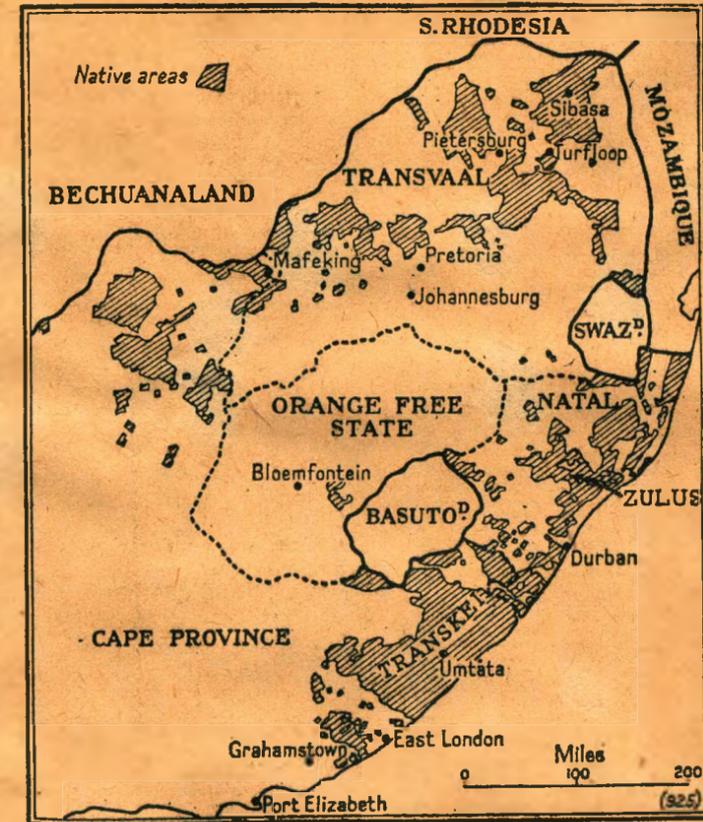
First, if efficient use is to be made of the land, then the present happy-go-lucky ways of farming will have to be reformed.

That, as experience has already shown, arouses opposition, especially from the small men who see their livelihood and their traditional way of life threatened.

Secondly, the dearly prized customs of reckoning cattle by the head for dowry and suchlike family purposes and of not castrating superfluous bulls or otherwise paying attention to stock breeding have to be ended.

Thirdly, if all desirable agricultural progress were achieved, there would be a large surplus population in this densely populated territory which would have to find employment off the land.

That means more concentrated village communities with stores and offices and, above all, it



demands a measure of industrialization. The sponsors of the Promotion Bill have laid the greatest emphasis on this necessity.

WILL BE FACTORIES

There are to be factories, inside the Transkei and wholly in Bantu hands, and others on the perimeter in White hands, but giving employment to labour that has its home inside the reserve. This is in the future.

Today there is only one example of manufacturing industry, the small Vulindlela furniture factory on the outskirts of Umtata, the capital of the Transkei.

Here some 20 or 30 Natives, whose numbers are to be expanded to some 300, work under an enthusiastic Dutchman.

The pride of his production, when he showed me round, was a pile of coffins at two prices, the more expensive of which were selling well.

If Bantustan is to be made to work anywhere, the Transkei has the best chance. The people in it, although they belong to a variety of groups, are all Xhosa speaking.

They are the residue of the great dispersal caused by the aggression of Chaka and his Zulu impis.

A HUMAN SHIELD

It was around the southern frontiers of the Transkei and of its little neighbour the Ciskei that the "human shield" of British settlers and British regular soldiers bore the brunt of bloody Kaffir wars.

The part played by the British men and women of 1820 and later is apt to be forgotten amid all the well-earned tributes to the Boer trekkers.

But before this part of the Union, which is a blueprint for the idealists of apartheid, could be given a really independent life, two things would have to be done.

The White population of Umtata must be evacuated to allow for a Bantu capital in the heart of a Transkei homeland.

Opponents of Bantustan will denounce this as expropriation, but it is morally implicit in the official plans.

Second, a huge bill will have to be footed by the White Government. It is idle to hope, as some Nationalists do, that the Natives will ever be able to pay for their own development. That would be an impossible exercise in raising themselves on their own bootstraps.

From the Transkei the road goes on into Natal, where the European factories and beaches begin again.

Here is the second unit of Bantustan. This is the Zu'u group, second in numbers only to the Xhosas and scattered over central, western, and southern Natal and north-east Zululand.

The Paramount Chief, Cyprian Bhekuzulu, has accepted the new regime with an enthusiasm which is by no means shared by all Zulu tribesmen.

Beyond Zululand, the pattern of Bantustan, as the map shows, becomes highly confused. The units are fragmented like nebulae in a starry constellation.

This is because they are arranged on an ethnic basis, which does not allow—at least, not without the addition of large areas now in White possession—for geographical grouping.

SHARP CONTRAST

Three of the units—the South Sotho, the Swazi, and the Tswana—are alongside and akin to, respectively, the British protected territories of Basutoland, Swaziland and Bechuanaland.

But Basutoland has already embarked on a form of government in sharp contrast to that of Bantustan.

For the other two units Territorial Authorities are, I was told by officials on the spot, to be established before the year is out. These are the Northern Sotho, which has its "heartland" in an irregularly shaped reserve, including one outstandingly recalcitrant tribe, the Bapedi, stretching from the centre to near the eastern side of the Transvaal.

The capital will be at Turfloop, near the Bantu University College visited by Mr. Macmillan.

Here, as in the case of Umtata,

a visitor naturally asks why, if the Government means business, the obvious capital, Pietersburg, is to be left in European possession.

This comment does not apply to the Venda and Tsonga units in the Northern Transvaal, where the capital is to be carved out of open, semi-tropical country at Sibasa.

All these units, though their inhabitants speak different languages, are faced with much the same basic possibilities as is the Transkei; three conclusions stand out after having seen something of them.

First, the White officials at all levels, administrative and specialist, are working with patience and enthusiasm to raise the standard of the Natives who are still so largely under their guidance.

MODEST PROGRESS

Progress is being made in a modest way and is being helped by the chiefs and other representative Natives.

A great deal of what is being done is, nevertheless, simply in continuation of practice established long before apartheid was heard of.

Second, the Government are running away from the inescapable demands of their own declared policy.

They have not yet squarely faced the need to spend vast sums of White taxpayers' money (as the Tomlinson report envisaged) and to take large areas of land from the Europeans. Speechmaking will not clear the rural slums.

The exact extent of the reserves is not known because much of the land has never been properly surveyed—which means, incidentally, that its mineral possibilities have yet to be explored.

But it is rather less than 13 per cent. of the Union's area and, even if all the land provided for under the Native Trust and Land Act were added, it would still be less than 14 per cent.

Nor is the £500,000 initial capital allocated to the Bantu Investment Corporation more than chicken feed.

But it is not being despised: an enterprising Native trader up at Sibasa told me that he had put in for a grant from this fund—to start a coffin factory on the Transkei model.

This leads to the third and most important conclusion. The very real efforts that are being made to develop the reserves have been bedevilled by the rubbish that is talked, sometimes at high ministerial level, about Bantustan.

NOT FAIR DIVISION

It cannot truthfully be called a fair division of the country. It does not justify the Nationalists in treating their lion's share—87 per cent.—as a White racial reserve in which the Native has no permanent rights.

It cannot lead to the creation of a number of independent states.

Dr. Verwoerd was being far-fetched indeed when he said that the future relation of the Bantu National Homes with White South Africa might be compared with that of the constituent members of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

He will have his work cut out even to begin developing the reserves at a tempo which will provide lebensraum for another 10-million Natives, as he has promised, by the turn of the century.

But the case for and against Bantustan cannot be judged in isolation.

It is less than half the whole of the Bantu problem and it is bound up with the fate of the Natives who work in the cities and on the White men's farms.

Those Natives will be the subject of the next article.

(To be continued)

CITY NATIVE IS THERE TO STAY

AS far as the eye can see the little white or red roofed houses cover the rolling hills west of Johannesburg, writes a special correspondent of "The Times."

From seven and on to nineteen miles beyond the City Hall, the Native townships make a community, or rather a miscellany of communities, in themselves. Contrasts are marked. Sophiatown reminds one of a bombed site, with its melancholy, waving weeds, open spaces, ruins and furtive squatters. Remains, and more than remains, of bad shanty conditions stand out like sore thumbs. For the most part, the estates have been decently laid out, with an economy of services in some cases, but representing a really spectacular improvement on the appalling conditions to be met with by a visitor in the recent past.

There are sports grounds (Johannesburg has 600 African football teams), a fine stadium, swimming pool, golf course, and playgrounds for children.

A much-travelled African, naturally forthright in his criticisms of how his people are treated in the Union, made this comment to me on the new Native housing in Johannesburg: "If they had houses like these," he said, "in Calcutta or Tokyo there'd be queues for them."

Gallon pots

Beer halls are well patronized. It would astonish the regulars of an English pub to go into one of these halls, even at a relatively slack hour, say about tea time. The men are being issued with their mild, not unpleasant tasting, liquor in gallon pots. Such lilliputian objects as pint or half-pint measures are uncalled for.

I was told that a recent consumption of five gallons, in 47 minutes, by two drinkers was considered good but not phenomenal going. Such amenities and the more solid boon of a roof over their heads are not yet enjoyed by all Africans.

An acute housing shortage has still to be overcome. There are still bad patches—happy hunting grounds for criminals and hooligans. The most ubiquitous poster in these locations warns the passer by—"Be safe in the streets tonight. Carry a torch."

But what has been achieved is a proof of determination by the municipal authorities, backed by the Government and by private enterprise, to tackle the notorious scandal of the slums.

Influx

It would have been easier to clean up these slums if the inescapable consequences of the African influx into the cities had been realized earlier.

The Johannesburg of 1936 had fewer than 250,000 Africans; by the end of the war there were 400,000; by 1953, the non-European Affairs Department of the city reckoned that the 500,000 mark had been passed and its latest figure is 555,000.

Housing activity has panted in the wake of this growth of citizens—or, rather, of unfranchised immigrants.

By the outbreak of war the council had built some 9,000 houses for the Africans, which worked out, roughly at one house to every 28 persons; by the end of the war—so far had the Bantu outstripped the builder—it was 40 persons to a house.

The tempo of building quickened in the fifties, when, for the first time in South African history, it was made legal for Native labour to be used on skilled operations in the construction of their own houses.

There are, today, 45,000 houses and, when all the schemes now in hand are completed, there will be about 74,000 with, in addition, a clinic, two public halls and 16 lower primary schools.

The rule

This transformation scene being enacted in Johannesburg is not exceptional. On the contrary, it is the rule throughout the Union. Africans have been pouring into the cities in such a torrent that now only Pretoria still keeps its White majority.

Last year the African went, for the first time, numerically, ahead of the European in Port Elizabeth. There Native housing has been handled with great vigour.

In Durban, where the Whites are easily outnumbered, the infamous Cato Manor is at long last beginning to be evacuated. As you approach that dreadful jumble of insanitary hovels, you see welcome proof that some of the mess on the way has been cleared up.

The people of Cato Manor, which still carries the scars of its recent burnings and riotings, are being moved, week by week, as quickly as can be managed to Kwa Mashu. Here, a decent township is being carved out of lush, green sugar lands to the north of the city.

Unfortunately, a promised rail-

way to bring workers from Kwa Mashu to the factories, most of which lie well to the south, has not yet been built.

Such frustrations are not uncommon up and down the Union as central and local government work too often at cross-purposes. Changes of mind and dilatoriness slow up progress and discourage enthusiasts (and there are many of them) who are keen to get on with the job. Poor Durban, grappling with Zulu housing, is also in the throes of trying, so far without much success, to cope with Indian housing.

Black labour

Even Cape Town, which in theory is to be purged of Africans and left to find employment only for Coloureds, has had to recognize that a major African addition has been made in the last few years to her population.

On the windy Cape Flats, where wattles bind the thin soil, housing estates at Langa and Nyanga are doing something, though not enough, to meet the demand. Here, too, on a small scale, bad slum conditions still linger. Windermere survives in part as a reminder of the evils of letting things slide.

Why there has been this African invasion of urban life is a question easily answered. Expanding White industry and commerce and more and more dependent on Black labour.

The figures speak for themselves. Africans make up 90 per cent. of the total labour force in mining, 80 per cent. in construction, more than half in manufacturing industry and 48 per cent. in transport.

Nearly 500,000 Africans are employed by secondary industry. Government and municipal undertakings and the wage bill for Bantu workers in the seven main centres is £126-million a year. How vast this revolution has been in less than two generations can be noted from a comparison with the time of the First World War.

In 1917 the employment figure was 52,000 and the annual wage bill £1,500,000. African women are rapidly entering new fields of employment. In 1952 there were 9,500 employed in industry, earning £1,250,000 a year; now there are 15,000 earning £5-million.

Within reach

One result of this is that Africans are attracting the attention of advertisers more than ever before. A study of the journals written for (and largely by) Africans illustrates the range of articles for the home and for personal use that comes within reach of their pockets.

Wages are often scandalously low with the result that malnutrition exists on a large scale. But, side by side with it, a standard of unheard-of prosperity is being enjoyed by individuals in good employment and by families with several wage earners.

It is not easy to reach exact figures of wage earning by Africans throughout the Union. But Mr. Carr, the manager of the Non-European Affairs Department of the city of Johannesburg, gives the following for the important area which comes within his knowledge.

Wages for unskilled labouring work range, Mr. Carr states, from

an average of about £8 12s. a month for domestic work to £14 in industry and commerce, £15 on the railways, and up to about £16 in some branches of municipal work.

A relatively small number of Natives employed as clerks earn an average of £19 a month in industry and commerce and a few reach £35 a month on the railways and in the municipality. Drivers are paid up to £30 a month and some artisans in municipal work earn about £44. The earnings of a small class of professional and technical men reach £900 a year.

Native women get from about £5-£8 a month in domestic service, and between £13 and £29 a month in industry. In commerce they can earn as much as £11 up to £50 a month, and nurses and welfare officers can reach similar figures.

Native women engaged in entertainment earn between £28 and £108 a month. The big expansion in Native education is giving chances to young teachers with between £12 and £21 a month.

Conclusions

From such a survey as this of urban life in the Union two conclusions may be drawn. The first is that a permanent element of city Africans has come into existence.

Dr. Verwoerd himself told me that, by the turn of the century, there will still be 6,000,000 Africans outside the reserves and alongside the White man in factory or farm.

The most optimistic believer in apartheid has never, so far as I am aware, given a date by which the process of separation will be completed.

The second conclusion is that a Black bourgeoisie and a larger Black working class in regular employment have been evolved in the cities of the Union and are there expanding.

All the steps being taken to make this march of events do an about turn are visibly failing. Influx control and the rest of the cumbersome, onerous and often flagrantly unjust measures have caused and are causing bitterness and resentment in the Blacks and searchings of heart in the Whites. But they cannot achieve the results for which they are designed by the masters of apartheid.

Reasonable measures of control are wanted in the interests of the Africans themselves. But what is being done goes beyond all reason—and flies in the face of facts that are obvious to anyone who has visited a South African city.

(To be continued.)

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STAR 193/60

Coloured—half-brother to the White man

WHEN JAMES SKINNER, who gave his name to one of the crack Indian Cavalry regiments, was on the eve of a decisive battle, he vowed that, if he won it, he would build a Christian church, a mosque and a Hindu temple, writes a special correspondent of "The Times." He won the battle and kept his vow, or so the troops attending St. James's Church in Delhi were always told; certainly this fine soldier and servant of the British Raj in India was what, nowadays, would be called in South Africa a Coloured man. His father was a Scottish officer and his mother a Rajput. An unbigoted view of miscegenation (that ugly word of new-fangled popularity) which thus prevailed in India well into the first half of the last century, was no less fashionable in the best Boer circles of the old Cape.

From the earliest days of the Dutch occupation the intermingling of the races was common form, going on merrily, and, indeed, being encouraged. The late Jan Hofmeyr once reminded his countrymen that the lack of marriageable women among the Europeans led Van Riebeeck to favour mixed marriages so that the servants of the Dutch East India Company duly took Hottentot wives.

Simon van der Stel, one of the founding fathers of South Africa, was a coloured man, his mother, known as Monica of the Coast, being an Indian. As the settlement grew, so did the complications of mixed blood. Slave girls were brought down from Equatorial Africa. Girls from the Dutch possessions in Ceylon, Java, and those parts came to broaden the racial pattern.

Thus, inevitably, there grew up a community of half-castes, individual members of which might join White society or stay on their own side of the casually kept frontier.

IRON CURTAIN

Now, under the impulse of doctrinal apartheid, an iron curtain has been rung down—at least in law—against the Coloureds. Those who defend this action tell you that it was essential in order to preserve the purity of the White race, and they go on to say that the tolerance of the past disappeared long ago in the Union just as it did in Victorian India.

But there is no plank in their platform on which the Nationalists are more sensitive and perplexed than about this uncompromising segregation of the Coloureds.

The Afrikaner has a Teutonic liking for what he regards as logical conclusions and this leads him to defend what is being done to the Bantu by arguing that they are a distinct race who should live apart in their own interest and express themselves in their own lands.

That cannot be claimed for the Coloureds. They are not a distinct race. They have no lands of their own to go to. They are tied by every link, including that of blood, to their White half-brothers.

WHAT DR. VERWOERD SAID

The Afrikaner, being at heart a generous and very much a domestic-minded person, is, in varying degrees, ashamed of himself about his behaviour to the Coloured families.

Dr. Verwoerd himself has approached this aspect of affairs with less than his usual air of certainty. He has told Parliament that, for the Coloureds, "We must apply the principle of apartheid . . . on different lines . . . I was honest enough to say that in regard to the Coloureds we accepted the principle and the ideal of apartheid. But how precisely it would operate was not quite so clear, in view of the fact that there were various possibilities. To some extent we ourselves have to evolve such methods, and for the rest successive generations will have to do so. We definitely do not accept, however, that there will be integration or intermingling of the political structure for the Coloured and the White man. Neither in the municipal sphere nor in any higher sphere."

DOUBTING NATIONALISTS

A prominent and candid Nationalist supporter made the same point to me in less parliamentary language. "We haven't a leg to stand on," he remarked, "over what's being done to the Coloureds. But we simply can't afford to treat them as Whites."

Other Nationalists—very few but it is significant that there are any, there would have been none a year or so ago—told me in conversation that they were in favour of bringing the Coloureds without qualification, over to the White side of the fence.

There is no sign that this privately expressed minority view will affect official policy. A separate "Coloured Affairs Department" has been set up, happily under an official, Mr. du Plessis, who is a poet and a learned and admiring historian of the Coloureds, many of whose leaders hold him in affection. But neither he nor the doubting Nationalists can save the Coloureds from the barbarous humiliations which are, daily, being inflicted on them.

Common sense would show, even if feelings of humanity were stifled, that any attempt to divide so mixed a society into Black and White must be doomed to fail. Alas, neither common sense nor humanity, to say nothing of a sense of humour which in the ordinary way is so strong in the Afrikaner, is being allowed to temper the harsh rigidity of official policy.

The hunt for traces of black blood is being carried on by informers and is dividing families. Here is a case typical of those regularly being reported, but much less shocking than some.

CASE OF MR. X

Mr. X was asked to visit the Population Registration Office. When he arrived there, he was told that evidence had been given that he was of "mixed" ancestry. He insisted that he was a European. His whole family was then summoned to the office and his mother (the father being dead) and four brothers were cross-examined. It was found

Fourth article

THIS is the fourth of a series of seven articles written by a special correspondent of "The Times" on the Union's apartheid policy.

for Mr. X, who was darker in colour than the rest.

All the sons were asked to leave the office and their elderly mother left to face further official questioning. After a time, for the sake of the four other sons, she confessed that Mr. X was born out of wedlock. The strictest champion of marital fidelity would, surely, not defend such monstrous Paul Pryng.

LARGE COMMUNITY

The community which is exposed to these hazards numbers 1,500,000—more than 1,000,000 in

the Cape Province, 80,000 in the Transvaal, 40,000 in Natal, and under 20,000 in the Orange Free State. It includes about 8,000 in the professional classes.

Some of these, Christian or Moslem, are highly civilized men of the world. It gives a visitor a strange feeling to enjoy the hospitality of a host who speaks of his schooldays in London and describes vividly and entertainingly his adventures on the pilgrimage to Mecca—and who may not buy a stamp at the same counter as a white-faced office boy.

GAYEST INHABITANTS

But the picture of these Coloureds would be wildly out of perspective if it gave the impression that they were a sad lot, always conscious of chips on shoulders.

As a whole, and in spite of being mostly poor, they are the gayest and most ebullient inhabitants of South Africa—not excluding the Bantu, with his fickle capacity for riotous high spirits.

The Cape Town City Hall, as solid and respectable a pile as any British municipality can boast of, is packed night after night with crowds of Malay family parties listening with critical appreciation to their own choirs, who compete in singing traditional and modern songs.

ENJOYMENT OF LIFE

The capacity of the Coloureds for enjoying life would strike even a most casual visitor. If they are much given to drunkenness, promiscuity and a hand-to-mouth attitude to work—as their critics accuse them of being—such shortcomings may fairly be laid at the door of the 100 per cent. European.

But, in fact, there is a hard-working, sober-living, self-respecting section among them. Even under discouraging conditions, as in the picturesque slums, plentifully served with mosques in the Malay quarter, you will see ample proof of house-proud families.

A novel decision is faced by the ambitious Coloureds. For them a special university college has just begun its first term at Bellville, a few miles out of Cape Town, and there Coloureds must go now that the White universities are being closed to them.

Coloureds to whom I talked said they would enter their children rather than deny them any chance of higher education. But they invariably added that they resented segregation.

That resentment will run more and more strongly through the ranks of the Coloureds, unless their status in South African society is put on an equitable basis.

(To be continued)

STAIR 11/2/60

The history of race relations within the D.R.C.

TWO lions, each with one claw holding a chaplet of leaves aloft, and the other resting on a parchment scroll, support on their shoulders the pulpit in the Grootse Kerk. This pulpit, first used in 1789, is overshadowed by a magnificently carved wood canopy, and dominates the mother church of the Dutch Reformed faith in Cape Town, writes a special correspondent of "The Times."

There is a strength, an air of austere delight in striking blows for orthodoxy about the whole decor of this historic place of worship. Many a hot Sabbath morning has slipped by while the old predikants advanced from ninthly to tenthly in their High Dutch sermons.

They preach, today, in Afrikaans, for, to the regret of purists, the language of Holland is no longer generally understood. But doctrine has not been weakened.

The Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk thrives under a presbyterian system of government and is proud of never having loosened its links with the sternest tenets of the Reformation.

Muscular Christians

Its clergy are as influential in politics and other branches of public life in the Union as is the hierarchy in devout Roman Catholic countries.

They come mostly from the country districts, from the fruit and wheat farms of the south, the sheep farms of the Karoo and the crop and cattle farms of the north.

They are muscular Christians, seldom, if ever, throwing up a pale young curate.

One of them has claimed with truth that they ride, shoot, and hunt with the best and are no strangers on the Rugby football fields of Stellenbosch and Pretoria.

They owe something to presbyterian Scotland. But the Murrays, McGregors, Robinsons, and Thoms among them have long since ceased to be Scots and become sons of the veld.

Almost half the White population belong to this, the largest and oldest South African church.

Its congregations are divided into Whites and non-Whites.

There are 842 congregations of the first with 1,131,000 adherents; the non-Whites have 432 congregations. Missionaries of the Dutch Reformed Church are at work in the Union, in South-West Africa, Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Northern Nigeria, Kenya, and the British Protectorates.

More than £1,000,000 a year is being spent on missionary work among non-Whites. Medical and welfare activities are vigorously pursued.

Students for the ministry are being trained at the Theological Seminary at Stellenbosch and at Pretoria University.

Coloured pastors go to Wellington and Bantu pastors and evangelists to Turfloop or other separatist centres.

There are five federated branches of the Church, each with its own synod, in the Cape Province, the Orange Free State, Natal, Transvaal, and South-West Africa.

The history of race relations within the Dutch Reformed Church is significant of trends, over the years, of Afrikaner thinking.

At first, Whites and non-Whites, the latter mostly slaves, belonged to and worshipped in the same church.

But missionary enthusiasts took a lead in gathering the non-Whites in separate groups for catechismal teaching in their own languages.

Separate buildings were erected to help in this practical work, though it was not intended that non-Whites should be debarred from the fellowship of the Church. There are now 630,000 adherents.

Synod of 1829

A Synod of 1829 decided in favour of a simultaneous taking of Holy Communion without discrimination on the grounds of race or colour.

For the first 200 years of its existence the Dutch Reformed was thus a multi-racial church.

A century ago a movement be-

gan among sections of the Whites for worshipping and taking Holy Communion separately from the non-Whites.

They pleaded social, cultural, and hygienic considerations and they referred to the danger of miscegenation.

The Church Council refused their request on the grounds that it conflicted with the formulary for the Communion Service, the articles of Faith and the Scriptures.

But the separatists were not to be silenced. They felt, no doubt, that the time stream was flowing with them in Boer society.

They returned to the attack at the Synod of 1857 and they were rewarded by the carrying by a large majority of a motion so nicely worded that it deserves to be quoted.

Its wording

"The Synod considers it desirable and scriptural that the converts from the Heathen be received and absorbed into our existing congregations wherever possible: but where this measure, as a result of the weakness of some, impedes the furtherance of the cause of Christ among the Heathen, the congregation from the Heathen, already founded or still to be founded, shall enjoy its Christian privileges in a separate building."

Naturally, after that, the practice of worshipping in separate buildings went ahead.

In 1880 the by then numerous separated congregations were linked together and a Dutch Reformed Mission Church for the Cape Coloured people established.

This was the first of 10 separate and indigenous churches. The present custom of the D.R.C. is that each racial group is limited to membership of its own church.

Three reasons are given in explanation of this arrangement:

First, that the indigenous churches have been founded, each with its own interests and aspirations; secondly, the cultural and social differences of the various ethnic groups; thirdly, the practice of administering to the spiritual needs of the non-Whites separately by specially trained missionaries because of differences of language.

The Bantu, one is told, want it that way. They have expressed the desire that White missionaries should not become full members of their congregations for fear of hempering their independent development.

Self-examination

Much anxious and searching self-examination goes on inside the D.R.C. Its theologians are well aware of the criticism levelled against apartheid.

Going over to the attack they have issued a warning against "the unholly abuse of Christian principles for purely secular and political interests."

It is not necessary to be closely familiar with the South African scene to read between the lines of this report and to recognize to whom it is addressed.

But, in spite of determination not to be shaken in its traditions, comparatively recent though they are, the leaders of the Church sometimes seem embarrassed.

They emphasize that the fundamental unity of the human race is at least as important as all considerations of colour.

They quoted in a recent resolution of the Reformed Ecumenical Synod from Acts xvii, 26 "God hath made of one blood all nations of men."

They state that, as in Adam all human beings are equally subject to sin and "Come short of the glory of God" (Romans iii 23), the implication is that, in its relationship with God, no single race may deem itself entitled to a superior position or think that it is superior to other races.

Fellow sinners

A believer has primarily to look on the members of another race as fellow sinners to whom he should bring the message of the Gospel.

If those others are also believers, he should receive them as his brothers and sisters in Jesus Christ.

In such a relationship all human distinctions, no matter how much weight they carry in social life, become considerations of secondary importance.

This train of thought might seem to be leading away from apartheid.

It goes further with the reflection that no direct scriptural evidence can be produced for or against the intermixture of races through marriage as a statement of principle.

The strength of this reflection is, however, diluted with the caution that the well-being of the Christian community and also pastoral responsibility require due weight to be given to legal, social and cultural factors affecting such marriages.

The dilemma of the D.R.C. can be fairly summed up in this recent synodical resolution:

Is not led

In everything it teaches or practises in connection with racial matters, the Church should make every effort to state unequivocally that it is not being led by general slogans such as those popularly proclaimed, but that it will endeavour, whenever it is confronted by an embarrassing situation, to act in humility and in obedience to the will of its Saviour and Sovereign Lord.

This implies that it should critically examine in the light of God's Word such concepts as trusteeships, racial distinctiveness, etc., which are the stock-in-trade of discussions of racial matters in order to purge such concepts of any ulterior motives which may be lurking therein.

Members of other churches in and out of South Africa, conscious of their own weaknesses and difficulties, must sympathize with the fathers of the D.R.C. in this strenuous and painful wrestling with circumstances.

The kindly humanity and the deep piety of the Dutch Reformed minister are qualities that make him more and more uneasy about the state of the Union.

(To be continued.)

The laws for Natives: what a visitor found

"BAD LAWS MAKE HARD CASES" was the headline in "The Times" to this article by a special correspondent, who has written a series of seven articles on the "Anatomy of Apartheid." This article is the sixth of the series. The first five articles appeared in The Star last week, from Monday to Friday. The last article will appear tomorrow. The sixth article reads:

An African and his wife were the first applicants on a recent morning to an advice bureau.

It is hard to judge an African's age, but I guessed that this couple were in their late 20s.

The man had a job in the city. His wife should not have joined him: the law required her to stay in the reserve. But she had broken the law.

She was anxious because they had no children and they both wanted to start a family. She had a chance of seeing a doctor who might be able to help. But she was faced with immediate separation from her husband; she was due to be packed off back to the reserve.

Influx control

The next African was a sheepish-looking middle-aged man. His trouble, he explained through an interpreter, was that a "lightning bird" had got into his stomach and could only be ejected by a witch doctor.

He had, accordingly, left his job so that he could put himself in "professional" hands among his fellow tribesmen. Now he was well again. But he was told that, once having gone back to a reserve, he was no longer entitled to work in the city.

The third case was an old man, with one eye and in fear of losing the other, who had been employed in the city for 25 years; now, because he had gone off for a spell, he was being threatened with permanent exile.

I do not know how these anxious, perplexed Africans were finally dealt with. They may all have been steered to a happy ending to their difficulties.

The staff at the advice bureau told me that the Government officials responsible for working the laws are often helpful and do their best to administer them as humanely as possible.

Regimentation

These are only mild examples of everyday occurrence, and they may have been due to misunderstanding. But they are typical of how African men and women are being dragooned and regimented. Influx control regulations are stopping many thousands of Africans from leading normal family lives.

Men in the urban areas are tempted to live adulterously with what are called "city wives." Children who have been left in the care of relatives in rural areas can be prevented, when they leave school, from joining their parents in the towns.

Women whose husbands die, divorce or desert them may be forced to leave an urban area.

Banning system

No less unforgettable than the plight of these simple folk is that of the more articulate Africans who come under the vicious and arbitrary system of banning.

I have had talks with several of the most prominent of these victims of Nationalist so-called precautionary measures and they all, without exception, seemed to me just the sort of men whom a wise Government would have welcomed as responsible representatives of the African community.

But they are being forced to stay put in restricted areas, so strictly that they may not go outside for a picnic; they are forbidden to attend meetings and, in some instances, they are desperately hard up because they can no longer earn normal livings.

Official secrecy

Why a man or woman is banned is the Minister's secret.

What documents the police may have put before him and what witnesses (if there were any) said under cross-examination (if they were cross-examined) are mysteries.

Mr. Erasmus, who succeeded Mr. Swart as Minister of Justice in December, has signed banning orders against at least eight people in his first month of office.

The "Cape Times" reckons that Mr. Swart signed similar orders, between 1954 and 1959, against 160.

Inquiries at Ministerial level are met with indignant protestations that all these banned men are bad men.

"There is enough in this folder," said one of those of whom I inquired, "to convince you that... is lucky not to be serving a long sentence in jail."

"But," he added, "of course I can't show you the papers; they're confidential."

Treason trials

This approach, this plaintive appeal—pathetic even in its impudence—to the inquirer to trust the man at the wheel is also shown over the treason trials.

The police are, it is true, blamed for having cast their net too wide. But the principle of the arrests is defended.

State security, one is told again and again, requires that "dangerous elements" should be put under restraint.

Some Nationalists compare the present situation in the Union to that of wartime Britain.

Was not Military Intelligence then given a pretty free hand?

Tensions now mounting in the Union justify, it is claimed, a similar licence for the Government and its officers.

A spirit of impatience with any-

one who speaks in favour of the normal processes of law is frequently encountered. "Vat nou jou roer"—get your gun—is the signature tune of these Nationalist men of action.

Afrikanerdom

But by no means all their acts can be attributed to the nervous strain of seeking to put apartheid into practice.

Side by side with this attempt the more highly agreeable one of advancing the cause of Afrikanerdom has been indulged in with gusto.

The aim of the uninhibited Afrikaner is, bluntly put, to keep the kaffir in his place and the English out of the country.

The second of these objectives has partly been realized by the clamping down on immigration and it has been furthered by favouring the chosen people when key positions have to be filled.

The packing of the armed services to the disadvantage of officers who fought in the war is widely referred to as having reached the dimensions of a public scandal.

Judicial appointments

More grave are the charges brought against the Government over appointments to the judiciary.

I was assured more than once at very high legal level that the time-honoured traditions of the South African Bench have been shattered.

Appointments have shamelessly been made by the Government on its own initiative and without the customary consultations.

The Government have made no attempt to disguise its attitude towards the judiciary.

When the Appellate Division declared the Separate Representation of Voters Act invalid, Cabinet Ministers in Parliament and at political gatherings furiously attacked the judges.

Mr. Paul Sauer talked contemptuously of "The five old men of Bloemfontein."

Dr. Donges (who ought surely to have known better, seeing that he is a successful lawyer by profession) said: "The people must now decide whether to trust a Bench, appointed and paid by a Government but which was not responsible to one, or the Parliament elected by the people."

Louw's view

Mr. Eric Louw expressed the sentiment of the Government in a nutshell when he declared that Parliament "cannot be subject to the whims of the Courts."

How the composition of the judiciary has changed over the years may be seen from the figures of Afrikaans and English names.

Thirteen out of 42 judges in 1947 had Afrikaans names; in 1954 there were 23 out of 51; now there are 36 out of 58.

The critics of what is going on do not, of course, suggest that there should be any preordained balance between speakers of the two languages.

But professional unanimity in condemnation of the Government is impressive.

I heard the same charges made independently by practising lawyers, senior and junior, and almost all too busy to take an active interest in general politics.

Broadcasting

Broadcasting has been another victim of this determination on the part of the Nationalists to wield absolute power. Sound programmes are kept obediently to heel and, for the time being at least, there is to be no television for fear that it might open unwanted windows on to the outside world.

Education is going the same way as broadcasting.

This is especially tragic because the Afrikaners are so genuinely lovers of learning and have done so much to increase facilities for getting educated from primary school to university level.

But they have been unable to refrain with so interfering with the curriculum that most people, especially among the Africans, have grown suspicious of their intentions.

Fort Hare

When, early this year, they imposed a new regime on Fort Hare they were greeted with a shrug of the shoulders.

Fort Hare was regarded by many educationists as having been ripe for elevation to the status of a full university.

Now it is being described as a seed-bed for subservient Natives.

Blind spots

This is unfair. But the Government have only themselves to blame.

One of their supporters, a man of great personal charm and with a most distinguished academic record, said this to me of one of the non-White university colleges which has just been started:

"I mean these young men and women to get the best education from which they are capable of benefiting. I shall take them from any quarter. But there is one thing I won't have—that is political talk and agitation."

Such an illusion that undergraduates, whatever their colour, can be kept off politics by the fatherly control of their tutors is only too characteristic of the strangely blinkered Afrikaner mentality.

It is this proneness to suffer from blind spots that may, perhaps, explain why Nationalists, from Cabinet Ministers to rank and file, so often simply cannot understand why they are reproached for their treatment of law in the Union.

(To be concluded.)

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ANATOMY OF APARTHEID—Concluded

Six questions Nationalists have to answer

From Our Special Correspondent

“THIS WILL NEVER BE A COUNTRY UNTIL someone hangs a reporter.” So said an English-born Prime Minister of the Cape, Merriman, and that simple solution to the nuisance of comment would still find favour with many South Africans of British no less than of Afrikaner blood.

The comments made in these articles will no doubt be received in South Africa with “Here’s another of them. They’re all alike, attacking us for what any White man who had to live here, and not merely visit us and enjoy our hospitality, would do.”

South African opinion, especially but not exclusively on the Nationalist side, is now pathological in its reactions to European criticism.

I shall never forget the sight (seen from the gallery) of senators and M.P.s leaning back with bewildered faces and crossed arms and gazing at one another with wild surmise when Mr. Macmillan sat down after addressing them.

What seems obvious to a visiting observer with no axe to grind strikes South Africans—with an important minority of exceptions—as outrageous.

Let it be granted that South African resentment against some British, Continental, and American critics is amply justified. There is a smug “Holier-than-Thou” streak that has shown up with marked prominence in a few much publicized British opponents of apartheid.

But the natural human reaction at being accused of charges of which they are patently not guilty need not lead any one man to close his mind to comment.

Rarified air

The most extreme Nationalists appear to have such closed minds. Men, able, sincere, clear-headed and coherent in argument, like Dr. Verwoerd and his right hand man, the permanent official most responsible for apartheid, that remarkable figure, Dr. Eiselen, live on high mental peaks where a visitor cannot breathe.

What they mean by saying with unruffled self-confidence that the Reserves can be peopled with millions more Bantus and the millions of Bantus in the cities made to look to the Reserves as their homelands is a mystery beyond the powers of a journalist to solve with certainty.

Is it that they use figures as Lloyd-George was said to do—that is as adjectives? Do they feel that it is their duty to keep up the morale of the White man in the Union at all costs on a short time basis?

Pure White society

But these strictest believers in apartheid are becoming less and less typical even of Nationalist supporters as a body, and the scepticism of Whites who have no loyalty to the party is being expressed more and more openly and anxiously.

Most White South Africans would like to think that Dr. Verwoerd has an ace up his sleeve

with which to take the Time Geist’s trick. But fewer and fewer accept that pipe dream in their hearts or even in conversation.

This is far from meaning that they accept that what is said about them from outside is just.

They have no intention of being stampeded by Britain, France, Belgium or Portugal into making what they regard, with deep and passionate sincerity, as cowardly surrenders to the Black man.

They see us, the Europeans and the Americans, as using Africa as a pawn in a ruthless game of anti-Communist world politics. They have no intention of being swept off the board in the course of that game.

They will fight for the maintenance of a pure white society whatever happens north of the Zambezi and between that river and the Limpopo they will find an ally in Southern Rhodesia—or so they are, increasingly, sure.

Even allowing for all this, the policies which have been pursued, at a faster and faster rate since the Nationalists came into power 12 years ago, do not make sense to a visitor.

How far do they make sense to good Nationalists outside the most committed inner circle? That is the fascinating question. As it arises in the mind, so do the images in a portrait gallery of contemporary South Africans all in the Nationalist camp, but, otherwise, as diverse as strong personalities can be and having little in common, except integrity.

Get together

There is Mr. Cillie, the editor of the “Burger,” the daily newspaper born in the same year as the Nationalist party, which it supports nowadays with a critical independence that is the hallmark of honest journalism.

Beside him (in this random company) are the Reverend Landman, Scriba Synodi (general secretary) of the Dutch Reformed Church, Mr. Piet Meiring, sportsman and man of the world, and son of a Paarl manse, and Mr. Anton Rupert, whose flair for big business is making him a familiar figure up and down the world.

Such men—and many others among the Nationalists could be named—are not fanatical racials; but they are loyal South Africans with their roots permanently in the soil of their country.

What will be their reaction to critical comment as it mounts—and mount it will—if apartheid continues to be driven without brakes?

So far, the main reaction has come from the “Foundation” group in which Sir Francis de Guingand on the English-speaking and Mr. “Tinie” Louw and other distinguished industrialists on the Afrikaans-speaking side have got together.

But they have not, so far, gone further than to attempt to counteract the wilder criticisms of a land in which they have so much materially at stake.

Positive answers to the questions that are inevitably put have not yet been given either by the Nationalists or by what may be called middle-of-the-road beneficiaries of the existing social, political, and economic situation in South Africa.

Six basic questions cannot be escaped.

Not his fault

The first is, does the apparently inflexible determination of the Afrikaners to exploit their narrow dominance in the White minority of the population up to the hilt—and beyond—admit of a respectable defence?

It is all very fine for old stagers still fighting the Anglo-Boer war. But can the younger generation of Whites in the two streams afford not to pool their resources of intellect and imagination?

The Afrikaner will reply to this that it is no fault of his that the English half of the electors is so apathetic about politics and so wrapped up in holding on to its disproportionately large share of industry and commerce.

The English-speaking South Africans should, indeed, be ashamed of themselves for having stood so long and so cynically on the touch-lines of public life. But does this hanging back from the duty of a citizen excuse the Afrikaners for indulging in naked exploitation of a spoils system?

What answer to that can be given by a good Nationalist?

The second question concerns Bantustan. Can the Bantu national homes, as they are officially described, absorb anything like the expected increase of 10 million of the Bantu population between now and the turn of the century?

Has not the time come for taking two steps?

The first is to tell the White electorate that, if it wants substantially to raise the agricultural level of these Reserves and to create industries inside them and on their perimeters, then capital on a very big scale indeed must

Last article

THIS is the last of a series of seven articles written by a special correspondent of “The Times” on the Union’s apartheid policy after a long stay in South Africa, which he already knew well.

be provided. And more land taken from White farmers.

Next, the place of the African in city and agricultural life alongside the White man has still to be faced.

This raised the third question. Does the good Nationalist accept the doctrine that all Black men must be regarded, in perpetuity, as strangers, migrants, temporary residents outside the frontiers—quite artificially restricted—of their so-called national homes?

Is it not as plain as anything can be in an uncertain world that a permanent black population will be a feature of life in every South African city?

What sense is there in the make-believe of declaring that the Bantus in, say, Johannesburg, born of parents and grandparents of the same origin, ought to look to chiefs in remote districts in which they have never set foot.

Would it not be as sensible, say, to tell men and women of Irish origin in Glasgow that they must go back to their ancestral Tara or Connmore and settle down under the laws of Brian Boru?

Even if the answer to this last question were “It can be done” then a fourth question arises.

Is it right to treat human beings as the African of city and countryside are being treated under the impulse of the apartheid laws?

Is it not true that the present Government by its insistence on carrying out the letter of these laws is losing moral authority among its own people? That it is thus losing moral authority in a deeply religious community has impressed at least one observer.

What alternative?

At this point a counter-question will be put from the other side. What, the Nationalists ask, is our alternative?

Is not your obvious course—the reply must be to this—to recognize that you have already Bantu professional, middle and lower middle class men and women and a much bigger Bantu working class in your midst?

What stronger bulwark have you against Communism, agitators and all the other evil forces that you so fiercely and with such good reason denounce than a stable African society with a stake of its own in the prosperity of South Africa?

Would not the chances of avoiding a clash between races and equally of encouraging natural separation be more likely to be realized if truly representative and responsible African leaders were sought out?

Is it safe to rely on tribal leadership, important though that may still be?

A final question: Unless there is a reappraisal, however agonizing, of thought among the Whites in South Africa, will they not be in the position described by the most perceptive of their living poets, Mr. Anthony Delius, of fatalistically awaiting the hour

“When the ethnic time-bomb blows the state apart?”

Surely the Nationalists and their opponents, who have overcome so many perils in their past history, are not now going to turn defeatist and plan on the dismal lines of—after us the deluge?

(CONCLUDED.)

VERWOERD'S 'REFORMS'

More scope given to urban Africans

POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.

THE Prime Minister, Dr. Verwoerd, announced last night that the Government intends granting urban Africans greater authority over their own people in the townships "in accordance with the policy of separate development."

In a surprise statement read by the Minister of Finance, Dr. Dönges, he said urban Bantu authorities, working under the supervision of municipalities, would replace existing, "almost useless," African advisory boards. These would have limited, though real, authority.

He also announced that the Government, "in spite of certain doubts still felt," intended bringing about certain changes to make liquor raids in townships unnecessary. Other points were . . .

Police protection against tsotsi gangs, agitators and inciters will be increased, assisted by African auxiliary services.

The reference book system will be retained, with "certain alterations."

Speed-up in Bantustans

No commission of inquiry will be appointed at this stage to find out the basic causes of recent disturbances.

There would be a big increase in the pace of developing the reserves and border industries. White capital, however, could not be used for this. The Government would encourage employers to increase African wages.

The Government saw no reason, as a result of the disturbances, to depart from its policy of separate development. In fact, these events had emphasised that racial peace could best be achieved through this policy.

Mr. Marais Steyn (U.P., Yeoville), said the only conclusion one could draw from the statement was that it was "the mixture as before—with an infusion of alcohol."

The only real reform which the Prime Minister had proposed was that the White man's alcohol should be made available to non-Whites.

For the rest, the statement indicated an intensification of the Government's apartheid policies. With the exception of the recommendation in respect of liquor, all the other proposals merely reflected policies which had been in force since 1948.

These proposals were in fact an announcement by the Prime Minister that "stronger negative action" would be taken by the Government.

More stooges?

Referring to the proposal concerning urban Africans, Mr. Steyn said it was a "veiled attack" on the municipal administration of African affairs. The proposal was that the local authorities should be ousted and replaced by bureaucrats.

Mr. Steyn warned that the new system might be used as a "lever" to break down contact between the local authorities and the urban Africans. He concluded by saying that, for all it was worth, the statement need not have been made.

The following is the full text of the Prime Minister's statement:

The recent disturbances in certain urban areas and the state of emergency which followed, have given cause for general reflection. Certain authorities have submitted ideas and proposals to the Government. However good their intentions, those who made proposals often did not have sufficient facts at their disposal to test the effects of their proposals, and it remains the task of the Government, with full knowledge of affairs and after consultation with its experts, to make the necessary decisions.

Here one must guard, in the first place, against the tendency among some people, in the light of internal and external propaganda, to see the disturbances in the wrong perspective and secondly, against the attempts of opponents to try to use the events and the atmosphere to encourage

Continued Page 2

SUNDAY TIMES 22/5/60

Verwoerd's 'no' to Commerce's "peace" plan

SUNDAY TIMES REPORTER

THE Prime Minister, Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, has rejected the main proposal offered him by commerce and industry to ease racial tension.

The proposal: That the Government should acknowledge that the completely urbanised Native is an integral part of the community in respect of whom satisfactory methods of consultation are urgently needed.

When I investigated the reaction to Dr. Verwoerd's statement of policy — read for him in the House of Assembly on Friday by Dr. Dönges, Minister of Finance — I found that leaders of the business and industrial world were generally disappointed that the Prime Minister had failed to accept their "basic" proposal.

In the statement, Dr. Verwoerd announced no relief in the application of apartheid. His only real concession, say critics of the Government, was in respect of the liquor laws.

On May 12, five employers' organisations presented a memorandum to Dr. Verwoerd in which industry, commerce and the mining industry made suggestions to ease racial tension.

The organisations speak for employers of two-thirds of the Union's Native male labour force — 1,500,000 men.

Main proposal

The main proposal of the Federated Chambers of Industry, and also of organised commerce was (on this and other occasions) that the Government should acknowledge the urban African as an integral part of the community.

But provision for such acknowledgement is not made in Dr. Verwoerd's latest statement.

Leaders of commerce and industry with whom I spoke yesterday expressed regret that the Prime Minister had failed to recognise what they describe as "the basic fact," that the urban Native worker is an integral part of the community (and economy) and should be recognised as such if racial tension is to be eased.

I understand that this view is expressly that of commerce and industry, and not necessarily that of mining.

Dr. W. J. Busschau, President of the Chamber of Mines and chairman of the joint committee

of commerce, industry and mining which gave the memorandum to the Prime Minister, told me yesterday:

"I am not prepared to comment now, as Dr. Verwoerd's statement will be considered next week by the joint committee. We will probably have a statement after the meeting."

Organised commerce, as well as industry, has played a very active role in trying to get the Government to change its policies since Sharpeville.

This week the executive committee of the Association of

Chambers of Commerce, after a three-day meeting in Johannesburg, told the Government that if the country's economy — which was in danger — were to be advanced, greater co-operation was needed between White and non-White.

They recommended that: The Union should be developed as a single economic unit; Restrictions preventing members of any race from conducting business in any part of the Union should be progressively relaxed with a view to their ultimate withdrawal.

Verwoerd did not interpret industry plea

— Mr. Patrick Lewis

SUNDAY TIMES REPORTER

MR. PATRICK LEWIS, chairman of Johannesburg City Council's non-European Affairs Committee, said yesterday that he was "disappointed" because the Prime Minister, Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, had not correctly interpreted many of the recommendations and representations made to him by commerce, industry and other organisations to ease racial tension.

Mr. Lewis, whose committee is responsible for controlling the greatest concentration of urban Natives in the Union, gave the SUNDAY TIMES a critical appraisal of Dr. Verwoerd's latest statement of policy.

Mr. Lewis said: "I trust that the Prime Minister will make use of the large body of men and women who realise the difficult tasks that lie ahead and who, while not subscribing to many aspects of Government policy, are nevertheless striving to assist South Africa in finding a *modus operandi* for resolving its difficulties."

Policy

"The recommendations made are not new or made in a state of panic. I cannot follow Dr. Verwoerd's argument that occurrences of the last few months have proved that the Government policy of self-development has proved to be the correct policy."

Mr. Lewis said he could not follow the suggestion that the disturbances did not take place in the areas which support Government policy.

"I welcome the decision to establish liaison with the urban Bantu through the agency of the municipalities."

In Johannesburg, it had been found that the advisory board system was "most valuable," Mr. Lewis said.

(Dr. Verwoerd said these were "practically useless.")

Mr. Lewis said Johannesburg was mindful of the frustration felt by members of these boards and their feeling that they had a lack of contact with the Government.

Difficulty

"We feel that there is a responsible class of urban dwellers whose goodwill is available if given the opportunity to express it."

"I recognise the difficulty of the police in administering laws some of which are unenforceable and unacceptable to the people. I believe that until the relationship between the police and the urban Bantu is right there can be no improvement in race relations."

He welcomed the courage the Prime Minister had shown in agreeing to a relaxation of the liquor laws.

"I had hoped that Dr. Verwoerd would have recognised the different strata among the urban Bantu. Under the present system, the educated professional man is subject to the same restrictions as the ignorant tribal labourer."

Mr. Lewis said he was glad that

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Dr. Verwoerd announces his plans for urban Africans

a change to a totally new policy, or a revision of policy.

This, in the end, appears to be nothing other than an effort to give new life to the policy of integration, which has already failed here and elsewhere in Africa.

The Government sees no reason to depart from the policy of separate representation as a result of the disturbances. On the contrary, the events have more than ever emphasised that peace and good order, and friendly relations between the races, can best be achieved through this policy.

Thereby alone can points of friction be eliminated and White and non-White, each in his own community group, develop the highest responsibility and authority in various spheres. In this way only can the human dignity of each be best protected, and neither the one nor the other racial group be the oppressor of the other.

Suspicion

It is regrettable that the Government is being so hindered by misrepresentation here and abroad in its efforts to promote, as quickly as possible, the process of separate development. The good things it envisages must be done in the unfavourable atmosphere of suspicion and incitement created by organisations and persons, some of them White, who are imbued with Communistic aims.

However, the delay and misunderstanding which this brings about, must not make us depart from the policy of separate development and the underlying good it holds for all in the future.

It was also significant that the disturbances took place mainly in areas where the local authorities are controlled by opponents of Government policy. It is well known that the principles of separate development are not always applied in the good spirit of the Government's aims, or with sufficient information to make it more understandable. Objections are met by putting the blame on the Government rather than giving the Bantu useful explanations.

In connection with the above the Government therefore declares, firstly, that it will have to take steps to prevent incitement from continuing.

Contact

Secondly, the Department of Bantu Administration would be equipped to enable it, in every city with a large urban Bantu residential area, to supervise the administration of the Bantu through the municipal authorities concerned. This will ensure that the Bantu are properly informed

of all the aims of Government policy, and it will strengthen existing opportunities for contact with the urban Bantu on matters of policy.

Therefore, while the disturbances have not affected the policy of separate development, they have had such an effect on public opinion that people are now better able to understand the problems confronting the Government. This enables the Government to apply certain aspects of policy which have been under consideration for a considerable time and which previously did not have the necessary support.

One example is the institution of urban Bantu authorities. Five years ago a bill was prepared in terms of which the practically useless Native Advisory Boards in Bantu residential areas were to be replaced by urban Bantu authorities with limited, though real, authority over the Bantu residential areas. These were to be under the supervision of the municipalities concerned.

Judicial authority

These urban Bantu authorities would, apart from certain administrative authority, also have a measure of judicial authority, whereby they would be able to control minor crimes, tsotsism and possibly also intimidation by inciters.

At that stage the proposal was opposed by White city councils by urban Bantu, and by organisations which had been made suspicious of the bill's objects. Meanwhile, however, the department had gone ahead and amended this type of proposed legislation in accordance with negotiations with interested parties.

The completion of this staff now coincides with the changed atmosphere, and it is the Government's intention, in accordance with its policy of separate development, to give the Bantu in the urban areas an increasing measure of authority over their own people.

Provision will also be made for the necessary connection with the broader Bantu authorities and, where necessary, for consultation with the Commissioners-General to be appointed for the various ethnic groups.

A second example concerns the protection of the law-abiding

Bantu in the urban areas. It has long been realised that full protection by the police is necessary for the protection of the law-abiding Bantu against tsotsis, criminals and intimidators. It has been claimed that, in the spirit of the false accusations that the Union is a police state, a strengthening of the police services among the Bantu would not be welcomed as a means of protection, but would lead to further accusations of suppression.

These riots in which law-abiding Bantu are dragged in—by mass and group psychology and by direct intimidation by tsotsi hordes under the leadership of agitators and instigators—convince everybody that protection by a greatly increased police force within the Bantu residential areas is essential.

In the interests of these Bantu, the present measures of protection provided by the state of emergency cannot be repealed until such full police protection is available.

Liquor

Methods will also have to be devised to integrate the proposed urban Bantu authorities and their auxiliary services, with this police protection service.

Another example of how public opinion is now prepared for steps which have been under consideration for a long time, concerns the problem of liquor for the Bantu.

For a number of years the police have expressed the opinion that the maintenance of strict liquor laws—which have been adopted with the best intentions to protect the Bantu against the abuse of liquor and its resulting evils—have undesirable results which outweigh the advantages. Among other things, there are the liquor raids, without which it would be impossible to enforce the law.

Apart from this, the manufacture of unlawful concoctions and the huge illegal trade in the White man's drink is taking place. The deterioration of the feelings against the White man, and particularly against the police, is also a factor of importance.

A large part of the former Department of Native Affairs also held this view. But others, includ-

ing the churches, pleaded for the retention of these measures, although they were against the raids without which this legislation would have been thwarted.

In the light of this dilemma, the Government decided, firstly, to get more information about the results elsewhere in Africa where liquor laws have been relaxed as far as the non-Whites are concerned.

By coincidence, a report in this respect has now become available and the Government announces that, in spite of certain doubts still felt and certain difficulties expected, it intends bringing about certain changes to remove the necessity for the system of raids. At the same time it will guard against crime, including the illegal liquor trade, and the manufacture of dangerous concoctions.

Reference books

It has been alleged that the reference book system, among other things, led to the riots. The only truth in this accusation is that this has been seized upon for incitement by agitators. This has been possible because of unfounded, politically-motivated attacks on the system, and because the police, in their fight against crime, have had to arrest instead of warn in cases of contravention of the reference book legislation.

As far as the first-mentioned fact is concerned, it should again be stressed that, in contrast with the old pass system, the reference book system was intended as a great concession to the Bantu. This system extended to the great mass of the Bantu what had previously been reserved only for the few who had exemption passes.

This document is like the exemption pass—a proof of identity, a proof of the right to be in a city and to work there, and a proof of the person's rights under his service contract. It also shows that he has complied with his tax requirements.

No exemption

This gives the urban Bantu protection against the influx of rural Bantu, including illegal immigrants, which has the result of keeping wages low by over-supply of labour and leads to large-scale idleness, which, in turn, results in crime and hampers improvements in their housing conditions and school facilities.

The Government is, therefore, unable to abandon the reference book system, and it is also not able to assist with advice and finance.

Proposals in this regard are based on wrong impressions. Even the proposal that some groups must be granted exemption cannot be considered because difficulties will arise in regard to the control of those people who incite riots.

What has already been done by the department concerned is to reduce the size of the reference book so that it can be carried and handled with more convenience. The department is also trying in other respects to introduce methods to make this document what it was originally intended to be—a means to facilitate Bantu administration.

In other words, the Government intends speeding up its measures to make the reference book system such that the Bantu will experience all the advantages and privileges, instead of the disadvantages which were never intended and only came later.

Wages

It has also been said that the cost of living for the urban Bantu is such that they have difficulty to make ends meet and are therefore liable to be incited. Nobody wishes the Bantu or any other person to exist on a starvation wage. Everybody realises that the increased purchasing power of the country's inhabitants, including the Bantu, is in the interests of the country's prosperity.

A rise in wages cannot, however, be brought about mechanically by one sector alone. It must also be remembered that, notwithstanding what is said in this connection, Bantu wages in South Africa are

still of such a nature that people seeking work are continually coming in from the British High Commission territories and other neighbouring territories.

Apart from this, the Government fixes only minimum wages and any employer is free to increase wages by means of increasing the productivity of workers and by using less labour.

It is not regarded as desirable by the Government to exert compulsion in this respect, but it wants to encourage employers to pay higher wages by rationalisation of their trades and by improving the productivity of their workers. The Government will also see to it that the machinery which exists under present legislation for Bantu workers to negotiate with their employers is implemented to a greater extent.

The riots also have another lesson on which the Government fixed attention previously. This is that, in those parts where the Coloured community is the natural source of labour, it is wrong to allow the Bantu to enter in great numbers and, in the end create unprosperous communities.

Bantustans

The Government will, therefore, see to it that its policy for industries in these areas to make the best use of Coloured labour is implemented more strictly. It appeals to industrialists in these areas to take the initiative themselves.

The Government is aware of the fact that its policy of separate development necessitates that the Bantu homelands must be enabled to provide for both their increase in population and the returning flow of Bantu.

It is with this in mind that the Government has developed its policy of industries on the borders of the reserves. In that way industries can be established soon, and on a reasonable scale in these areas, to enable the Bantu to increase his earning capacity and to spend his earnings in the Bantu areas in order to form the basis of large-scale development there.

Towns will be established there and the Bantu will become the professional people of all the tertiary occupations which will follow.

The need will also arise for service industries which the Bantu is already able to own and manage, particularly where the Bantu Development Corporation is ready to assist with advice and finance.

In addition, these developments within the Bantu areas will have a fertilising influence on the neighbouring agricultural and Bantu areas by providing the necessary markets.

Industrial development controlled by the Whites within the Bantu areas, will not be able to contribute anything more to the broader development of these areas. It will be more difficult and it will take longer to develop, and it will also be immoral in the sense that it will not retain the development potential for the Bantu when he is, as a result of his development, prepared for it.

The Government has therefore decided, after consultation with the newly-instituted Advisory Economic Council, to concentrate immediately on the development of industries on the borders of the reserves.

Details of this will be made known soon in a separate statement.

In conclusion, the Government would like to declare that it does not intend, at this stage, appointing a broader commission of investigation into the causes of the disturbances. It is essential that the reports of the two existing committees should first become available.

It is also essential that the treason trial should first be concluded, in so far as the trial itself in part has the character of an inquiry into the causes of the disturbances.

Further, it is considered desirable that the effects of the above-mentioned measures should first be determined.

smashes 'New Deal' hopes

By Aubrey Sussens

ALTHOUGH a quick reading of Dr. Verwoerd's statement gave the impression that it might be a "new deal" speech along the lines of Mr. Paul Sauer's now famous Humansdorp plea, closer study shows there is little similarity.

There is to be no material change in the pass laws, generally regarded as a major cause of the recent troubles. Nor did the Prime Minister commit himself to any detailed reforms in the liquor laws as applied to the Africans. He did say the necessity for liquor raids would be removed, but left it at that.

WAGE ISSUE

On the wages front he made it plain that this is a matter for commerce and industry. There was a vague reference to collective bargaining, but no indication of free African trade unions.

His main reference to Coloured people—persistent voices in his camp have urged that they be brought closer to the European—was that they would be protected from competition by Africans. This smacks of still more job reservation, a measure which has hit the Coloureds hard where it has been applied against them in favour of the Whites.

There was no hint that job reservation as a policy would be eased, or that group areas restrictions and other sanctions imposed by law would be softened.

MOST DISAPPOINTING

Perhaps the most disappointing part of the Prime Minister's statement was where it touched on the Bantustan scheme.

This is the cornerstone of Dr. Verwoerd's policy, but his remarks yesterday show no advance on what he has been saying for the past 18 months. It would have been reasonable to expect a specific indication of what is to be spent on the reserves. The Tomlinson Commission said five years ago that at least £10 million a year would have to be provided but so far only a small fraction of this has been forthcoming.

WHITE CAPITAL

People sympathetic to the Bantustan plan—on both sides of the political fence—have repeatedly claimed that it can be implemented only if White capital and skill is used to develop the African areas, since it would be impossible for any Government to bear the cost on its own. Dr. Verwoerd doggedly rejects this view; he says it would be immoral.

Although the portion of the statement dealing with Africans sharing in local government in the townships indicates a forward step, it does not mean any new thinking. As Dr. Verwoerd himself says, it is merely an attempt to implement a bill drafted five years ago. And in any case the idea is to link the local authorities with the tribal councils in the reserves—something which the urban Africans oppose.

Summed up, Dr. Verwoerd's statement means little change, and certainly no new deal.

Verwoerd's 'no' to Commerce's "peace" plan

SUNDAY TIMES REPORTER

THE Prime Minister, Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, has rejected the main proposal offered him by commerce and industry to ease racial tension.

The proposal: That the Government should acknowledge that the completely urbanised Native is an integral part of the community in respect of whom satisfactory methods of consultation are urgently needed.

When I investigated the reaction to Dr. Verwoerd's statement of policy—read for him in the House of Assembly on Friday by Dr. Dönges, Minister of Finance—I found that leaders of the business and industrial world were generally disappointed that the Prime Minister had failed to accept their "basic" proposal.

In the statement, Dr. Verwoerd announced no relief in the application of apartheid. His only real concession, say critics of the Government, was in respect of the liquor laws.

On May 12, five employers' organisations presented a memorandum to Dr. Verwoerd in which industry, commerce and the mining industry made suggestions to ease racial tension.

The organisations speak for employers of two-thirds of the Union's Native male labour force—1,500,000 men.

Main proposal

The main proposal of the Federated Chambers of Industry, and also of organised commerce was (on this and other occasions) that the Government should acknowledge the urban African as an integral part of the community.

But provision for such acknowledgement is not made in Dr. Verwoerd's latest statement.

Leaders of commerce and industry with whom I spoke yesterday expressed regret that the Prime Minister had failed to recognise what they describe as "the basic fact," that the urban Native worker is an integral part of the community (and economy) and should be recognised as such if racial tension is to be eased.

I understand that this view is expressly that of commerce and industry, and not necessarily that of mining.

Dr. W. J. Busschau, President of the Chamber of Mines and chairman of the joint committee

of commerce, industry and mining which gave the memorandum to the Prime Minister, told me yesterday:

"I am not prepared to comment now, as Dr. Verwoerd's statement will be considered next week by the joint committee. We will probably have a statement after the meeting.

Organised commerce, as well as industry, has played a very active role in trying to get the Government to change its policies since Sharpeville.

This week the executive committee of the Association of

Chambers of Commerce, after a three-day meeting in Johannesburg, told the Government that if the country's economy—which was in danger—were to be advanced, greater co-operation was needed between White and non-White.

They recommended that: The Union should be developed as a single economic unit;

Restrictions preventing members of any race from conducting business in any part of the Union should be progressively relaxed with a view to their ultimate withdrawal.

Verwoerd did not interpret industry plea

—Mr. Patrick Lewis

SUNDAY TIMES REPORTER

MR. PATRICK LEWIS, chairman of Johannesburg City Council's non-European Affairs Committee, said yesterday that he was "disappointed" because the Prime Minister, Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, had not correctly interpreted many of the recommendations and representations made to him by commerce, industry and other organisations to ease racial tension.

Mr. Lewis, whose committee is responsible for controlling the greatest concentration of urban Natives in the Union, gave the SUNDAY TIMES a critical appraisal of Dr. Verwoerd's latest statement of policy.

Mr. Lewis said: "I trust that the Prime Minister will make use of the large body of men and women who realise the difficult tasks that lie ahead and who, while not subscribing to many aspects of Government policy, are nevertheless striving to assist South Africa in finding a *modus operandi* for resolving its difficulties.

Policy

"The recommendations made are not new or made in a state of panic. I cannot follow Dr. Verwoerd's argument that occurrences of the last few months have proved that the Government policy of self-development has proved to be the correct policy.

Mr. Lewis said he could not follow the suggestion that the disturbances did not take place in the areas which support Government policy.

"I welcome the decision to establish liaison with the urban Bantu through the agency of the municipalities."

In Johannesburg, it had been found that the advisory board system was "most valuable," Mr. Lewis said.

(Dr. Verwoerd said these were "practically useless.")

Mr. Lewis said Johannesburg was mindful of the frustration felt by members of these boards and their feeling that they had a lack of contact with the Government.

Difficulty

"We feel that there is a responsible class of urban dwellers whose goodwill is available if given the opportunity to express it.

"I recognise the difficulty of the police in administering laws some of which are unenforceable and unacceptable to the people. I believe that until the relationship between the police and the urban Bantu is right there can be no improvement in race relations."

He welcomed the courage the Prime Minister had shown in agreeing to a relaxation of the liquor laws.

"I had hoped that Dr. Verwoerd would have recognised the different strata among the urban Bantu. Under the present system, the educated professional man is subject to the same restrictions as the ignorant tribal labourer."

Mr. Lewis said he was glad that

the Prime Minister had recognised the poverty of a large section of the urban Bantu, and that he supports measures to increase wages and felt that the Government could assist by speeding up wage board investigations.

ANGLO AMERICAN CORPORATION OF SOUTH AFRICA, LIMITED

Chairman's statement: Mr. H. F. Oppenheimer reviews the affairs of the Corporation

MR. H. F. Oppenheimer, chairman of Anglo American Corporation of South Africa, Limited, has issued to members of the Corporation, in booklet form, a statement in which he reviews the operations and affairs of the Corporation in 1959. The text of Mr. Oppenheimer's statement is published below:

On the 21st of March at Sharpeville, in the course of demonstrating against the pass laws 69 Africans were killed and 178 were wounded in a clash with the police. As a result of this deplorable event and wide-spread disturbances in other parts of South Africa the Government proclaimed a state of emergency. This situation has come about at a time when we are called upon to celebrate the 50th Anniversary of the formation of the Union. The achievements of the past 50 years are certainly notable, but in present circumstances no thinking South African can look to the future without misgiving, and the feeling is widespread that new methods, and new policies are urgently needed, if we are to build a truly united South Africa. This mood is by no means confined to the political opposition, and recently Mr. Pr. Sauer, the senior member of Dr. Verwoerd's cabinet, stated in a speech in Humansdorp that "the old book of South African history was closed a month ago at Sharpeville..."

The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland also is going through a difficult time. Here African discontent is not directed primarily against discriminatory legislation but against the existence of the Federation as such. In the economic sphere the high hopes that were entertained when the Federation was formed have been more than realised and all races have shared in the general prosperity. Politically, and socially also, the African population has probably advanced faster and further in the last six years than in the whole history of the country. Nevertheless, influenced by what has happened in quite different circumstances in other African territories to the north, certain African politicians in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia have succeeded in inducing a large part of the African population in these territories to believe, in contradiction to the plain facts, that Federation is an instrument of racial oppression and that they would be much better off without it. Recently the whole situation has been further complicated and race relations seriously embittered by a number of senseless attacks by bands of African hooligans on both Europeans and Africans. In one case these attacks resulted in the murder of a European woman and the injury of her two children. Barbaric incidents of this sort, which fortunately are isolated and which are condemned by reasonable African opinion, must be countered by firm action, but it is of the utmost importance that the Europeans in Northern Rhodesia, and throughout the Federation, should not allow their indignation at these incidents to divert them from the policy of partnership. I am confident that they will not do so.

The Monckton Commission, which is to make recommendations in regard to the constitutional future of the country, is faced with the difficulty of reconciling the demands of extreme African nationalists—who are always ready to brush aside the need for efficient government and economic development—with the responsibility which the British Government must feel for maintaining law and order and for raising the standard of living of the masses in these countries which it has taken under its protection. The Commission's task is indeed far from easy, and all of us who are interested in the future of the Federation are awaiting their report with sympathy, anxiety and hope.

Operations of Group

I am glad to be able to report that, in spite of all these difficulties, operations at all the mines we administer have proceeded normally. Nevertheless, it is obvious that we are gravely affected in other ways, and I shall return to discuss the implications of the political situation on our affairs later in my statement. Before doing so, however, I propose to review the results of our operations last year.

The consolidated profit, after tax, of the Corporation and its subsidiaries, allowing for minority interests, amounted to £7,730,864 compared with £7,181,537 in 1958 and £5,254,540 in the previous year, and was again a record. This satisfactory improvement of £549,327—equivalent to over 1s. for each ordinary share—is due to a substantial increase in income from invest-

ments. This, in turn, reflects the record profit levels achieved by the gold and uranium mining industry and by the diamond industry and also the considerable improvement over the previous year in the profits of the copper mining industry of Northern Rhodesia. It was considered by your board that the increase in profits justified an increase of 1s. per share in the ordinary dividend, bringing the total for the year to 9s. per share. I should mention that your board is of the opinion that the differential between the interim and final dividends on the ordinary shares has now become too great, and it is their intention to rectify this when the interim dividend for the current year is declared.

GOLD AND URANIUM

Gold production by the mines of the Union of South Africa increased to a record total of 20 million ounces and our group's share of the increase was more than proportionate. Our direct investments in certain of the gold and uranium mines of the Union are considerable, but our most important investments in the industry are held indirectly through our shareholdings in West Rand Investment Trust and Orange Free State Investment Trust. The former company paid an unchanged dividend of 3s. 6d. per share and the latter increased its distribution by 9d. a share to 4s. 9d.

In view of the likelihood that supplies of uranium will exceed demand until early in the next decade, some concern is felt about the future of the uranium industry of the Union once the present contracts expire, and discussions have recently taken place between the Atomic Energy Board and the Combined Development Agency, during which the possibility of revising the basis of the contracts was explored. No decision has been reached and the talks may be resumed at a later date. Although there is great uncertainty at the present time, it is possible to feel confident that at least the low-cost uranium producers will survive the difficult market conditions that lie ahead.

DIAMOND INDUSTRY

Until recently our stake in the diamond industry was held exclusively through our investment in Anglo American Investment Trust. However, during the year, we increased our interest in diamonds by exercising our right to convert our loan to De Beers Consolidated Mines of £4.2m. into 700,000 deferred shares in that company at 120s. a share. The De Beers group of companies also had a record year in 1959. The proportion of the group profit, after tax, attributable to the De Beers company, was £21,402,943, an increase of £3,663,895 over the previous year. This profit, after providing for dividends on the preference shares is equivalent to over 24s. a deferred share. The dividend on the deferred shares was increased by 2s. 6d. to a total of 12s. 6d. a share. Anglo American Investment Trust, whose main investment is in the De Beers company, increased its distribution for the year by 2s. 6d. to 22s. 6d. a share.

The Central Selling Organisation sold diamonds to the value of £91,135,943 during the year, which is well over £14m. higher than had ever been achieved in any previous year. I am pleased to be able to say that the market for diamonds this year continues to be very satisfactory. The Government Diamond Office in Sierra Leone, which is managed by The Diamond Corporation, is operating satisfactorily, and as a result the illicit trade, which at one time was a threat to the stability of the industry and the economy of the country, has been much reduced. The trade has also been strengthened by an agreement made last year between The Diamond Corporation and the Soviet authorities, whereby all diamonds for export to the Western world from Soviet mines are being sold to The Diamond Corporation. The discovery by the De Beers Research Laboratory in Johannesburg of a method of making synthetic industrial diamonds of the same type as those manufactured by the General Electric Company in America is a remarkable technical achievement. Good progress has been made recently in negotiating renewals of the sales agreements which expire at the end of this year. All-in-all I do not think that it is putting it too high to say that, from many points of view, 1959 has been the most successful year in the long history of the De Beers company.

COPPER INDUSTRY

Although 1959 was not a record year for profits, the six producing copper companies of Northern Rhodesia achieved new high levels of production. Output was 530,604 long tons of copper, worth over £115m., compared with 374,026 long tons, worth £75.3m. in 1958. At the present time production by the producing mines on the Copperbelt

is at an estimated rate of 554,000 long tons a year, the rate of production on the three mines of our group being about 350,000 long tons a year. For most of the year the price of copper was at satisfactory levels and this has continued into the current year. There can be no doubt, however, that this is to a large extent due to the protracted strikes on American properties which have now been settled, and, if there are no further interruptions in production or delivery, the industry may have to face an excess of production over consumption in the second half of this year. Such a situation, if it comes about, would be met by an appropriate reduction in supply by leading producers, and the knowledge that producers would act in this way is a factor for stability in the market. The long-term prospects for an increased demand for copper are good.

Rhodesian Anglo American, through which our interest in the copper industry of Northern Rhodesia is largely held, made a net profit, after taxation, for the year ended June 1959 of £3,854,213 compared with £2,837,641 in the previous year. Dividends of 5s. net per unit of stock were paid for the year, which is 1s. higher than in the previous year; and an interim dividend for the current financial year of 2s. has recently been paid, which is 9d. higher than the interim paid in 1959.

COAL INDUSTRY

Our investment, mainly through our subsidiary African and European Investment Company Limited, in the coal-mining industry of the Union and the Federation is also of great importance to us. Sales of coal in the Union during the year were slightly lower than in 1958, due to a falling-off of internal demand, but, generally speaking, the profits of the mining companies were more than maintained owing to the benefits of the price increase granted in November 1958. Wankie Colliery had a satisfactory year, but the demand for coal in the Federation is likely to fall off to some extent over the next three or four years as power from thermal stations is increasingly replaced by power from Kariba. The extent to which demand recovers depends on industrial expansion in the Federation. The company is in a strong financial position, and I am confident that it will be able to maintain dividends at a satisfactory level.

I would like to express here my deep sympathy with all those who have had to bear the anguish of the disaster at the Coalbrook Colliery.

NEW BUSINESS

We attach the greatest importance to the development of new avenues for investment, not only within the main spheres of activity which I have mentioned but also in new spheres. In Swaziland, at Bomvu Ridge, we have proved an important iron-ore deposit of high grade, and, in conjunction with the Commonwealth Relations Office and the Swaziland Government, we are now attempting to negotiate the financing of a rail link with Goba in Portuguese East Africa, and, simultaneously, we are exploring the markets for iron ore. We are hopeful that these efforts will lead to the opening up of the property. This new industry and the railway which must be built to serve it would be of incalculable benefit to the economy of Swaziland. We have recently taken a controlling interest in Minerals Engineering of South Africa Limited, a company that produces vanadium pentoxide at Witbank.

Political factors

Last year was therefore a particularly successful one for our Corporation, and if it were not for the difficult political situation, the way ahead would be clear for a continuation of the rapid expansion and development of recent years. To the political situation I must now return. The disturbances in the Union have gravely affected us in their immediate effects and we are, of course, also deeply concerned about their ultimate outcome. We are in the first place affected by the reaction of the investing public to what has taken place. We have always looked to London, and to a lesser extent to the other capital markets of Europe and to America, for a substantial proportion of the finances required for the South African and Rhodesian development for which we are responsible. The recent disturbances have affected these markets to a degree which is not generally appreciated in South Africa. Not only have they caused investors to fear for the safety of their holdings, but they have evoked a wave of moral indignation against the present South African racial policy. Moreover, the referendum on the republican issue overhangs the market, which is particularly affected by the possibility that if South Africa were to become a republic it might, for one

reason or another, cease to be a member of the Commonwealth. The consequences for our group are obviously serious. We think it is reasonable to expect that, if conditions in the country remain quiet, the share market will gradually improve, but, in my opinion, it would not be prudent for us to count on being able to raise sufficient money for a considerable time from the public, either here or overseas, for our new ventures on terms that we would regard as satisfactory. We will, therefore, have to rely to a greater extent than we would normally think desirable, on the internal financial resources of our group. These are fortunately substantial, and provided we follow a conservative policy, there need not be, for financial reasons, any serious slowing down in the tempo of our new development.

It is not, however, only in regard to the inflow of capital that the adverse effects of Sharpeville and its aftermath are felt. In the first place, it is already clear that it will be much more difficult than it was to induce the skilled specialist personnel which are almost always needed to establish new industries, to come and settle in Southern Africa. Secondly, for many new enterprises it is essential for a group such as ours to tie up with leading companies overseas, who are able to provide the essential technical and commercial "know-how". In no fewer than four instances—the one envisaging only the introduction of capital from overseas, and the other three the investment of overseas capital and the provision of expert knowledge—large scale projects which we have had under active consideration have had to be put into cold storage for the time being, because our overseas associates are not willing to proceed until the political situation in the Union is clearer.

CONFIDENCE UNSHAKEN

In spite of all these difficulties, our confidence in South Africa is unshaken and we are determined to continue to play our full part in the economic development of the country. We shall do this not only in our own direct interests, but in order to help to create that background of rising standards of living, which is essential in order to give South Africa a fair chance of dealing effectively with her social and racial problems. In the long run, however, prosperity in South Africa must depend on a general restoration of confidence. Great emphasis has rightly been placed on the need to restore law and order, and it appears at this time that this essential preliminary has been accomplished. It is, however, only a preliminary. Even a long period of quiescence will not suffice, unless, at the same time, it appears that successful steps have been taken to regain the goodwill of the African population. Of course, not all the Africans are disaffected, and many people have argued that the disturbances were due merely to agitators and intimidators. There is no doubt that agitators have been busy and that there has been serious intimidation of law-abiding Africans by the extremists. Equally, however, there can be no doubt that there is deep discontent among the African population in the urban areas. That is why the agitators have been so successful. Law and order have been restored, but only at the expense of far-reaching interference with the liberties of the population, black and white alike. Unless we can create conditions in which agitators are ineffective, not because of draconian legislation, but because people do not want to listen to them, the future of South Africa will be a gloomy one.

Now this, is easier said than done. The situation of South Africa and the Federation, in which there are comparatively large settled white populations with no other home and with every bit as much right, historical and moral, to live there permanently as the Africans themselves, is quite different from that of the purely African territories to the north. That vital difference is, however, very naturally not appreciated by many of the Africans themselves, who watch with satisfaction and astonishment the unconditional handing-over of power to men of their colour in other parts of the Continent. Nor apparently, do the masses of liberal-minded, well-meaning people throughout the Western world understand that the white population, whose ancestors began to enter the Union some 300 years ago from the south, are just as "African" as the black population whose ancestors began to enter the country just about the same time from the north. This is a difficult situation which is continually exacerbated by harsh and often misleading reporting and comment. No doubt there is much that is wrong in South Africa, and we would welcome the understanding and goodwill of the world outside to help us put it right. Too often we are met merely with indiscriminate condemnation and thoughtless

encouragement to every form of resistance to the existing system, without any clear idea of what should be put in its place. This merely tends to make a problem which was hard enough in the first case still more difficult to solve.

Obviously, the re-establishment of normal conditions will depend just as much on the attitude of the Africans as on that of the Europeans. Many people in South Africa are convinced that no changes in government policy or European attitudes short of complete surrender to the full demands of the extreme African nationalists would suffice to secure African goodwill. To this one can only report that you never know till you try. Certainly South Africa's reputation overseas, and relations with the rest of the Commonwealth and the Western democracies in general would be very different if they could be persuaded that a genuine and determined effort was being made to remove all the reasonable causes of discontent which have provided the background to the activities of extremists and agitators. The difficulty of dealing with an explosive internal situation is vastly increased if the world outside is convinced that genuine grievances exist and that no serious effort is being made to remove them. Only this month in an important article on "The New Africa" that great American, Mr. Adlai Stevenson, made this important statement:

"Racialism is hateful whether it is black or white. America, however, can use its influence to advocate African patience and restraint only if there is a clear prospect ahead for African advance. Where this is lacking—as in the Union of South Africa—the extremists will gain increasing influence."

Such a statement from such a source should give all South Africans much to think about.

The immediate cause of the present crisis was African protests against the pass laws, and it is clear that this legislation, together with the laws governing the sale of liquor to Africans and the unsympathetic manner in which they are sometimes administered, are major causes of inter-racial friction. In the case of the liquor laws the necessary changes could probably be made without too much difficulty, and it is satisfactory to see that the Government intend to tackle this problem; but when we come to the pass laws, the matter, as is so often the case in Africa, is far from simple. Some provisions covered by these laws are necessary for good government and are very much in the interests of the Africans themselves. It is essential, to begin with, that there should be an effective means of personal identification, and this, with a people of whom the majority are still comparatively primitive, and in the absence of the necessary statistics which are taken for granted in a fully developed country, is not an easy matter. In addition, since South Africa does not possess either an efficient system of voluntary labour bureaux or (a much more difficult matter) an educated African labour force to take advantage of such a system, it is not necessarily wrong or against the Africans' own interests that for an interim period anyhow, administrative machinery should be maintained by the Government to direct Africans seeking employment to the areas where jobs and proper housing are available to them.

URBAN AFRICANS

There are, however, certain aspects of the pass laws so intolerable to the urban Africans that everything connected with the whole system is included by them in the same condemnation. And what they resent most of all is the provision that the failure by an African to produce his pass to a policeman immediately on demand is in itself a crime punishable by a fine or imprisonment. The other features of the pass laws which do most damage to race relations flow from the pretence that permeates all the legislation dealing with the urban African that he is not a permanent resident where he lives, but merely a temporary visitor with his real home in quite a different part of the country. There was a time when it might have been reasonable to regard the bulk of the Africans in the urban areas in this light. But that time is long past and today, while large numbers of tribal Africans still come to work in the urban areas, there is a very large and increasing African population in the towns whose connection with their original tribal homes has almost or entirely ceased to exist. Moreover, these urban Africans are absolutely indispensable to the industrial life of the country. Nevertheless, they are treated as though they were migrants, and the pass laws and other legislation operate to prevent their obtaining the right of permanent occupation of the only homes they have. If they lose their jobs

and do not find another one within a short period, they may be uprooted and forced to go to quite a different part of the country. In this way, families are broken up and the urban African is denied that sense of permanence and security which is one of the prime needs of all human beings.

The entirely unrealistic assumption that the Africans in the towns are only there temporarily and will one day return to the tribal areas affects every aspect of these peoples' lives. It is used to justify the refusal to urban Africans of the right to own their own houses, in spite of its being universally recognised that widespread home-ownership in any population is a major factor making for stability and respect for the law. It is used to justify the Government's taking power to reserve at short notice by proclamation any particular class of job for Europeans. So far as Africans are concerned, the assumption is that they are "foreigners" in the urban areas and that if work is not readily available for them there they can always return to their own country. Many more examples could easily be adduced. It is difficult to exaggerate the sense of frustration these features of African urban life cause, particularly amongst the growing number of intelligent and educated men who hold responsible positions. And it is these people who are the moulders of African thought and the effective leaders of their people.

It seems to me that what in the first place is required, in order to improve race relations, is that white South Africa should fairly and squarely face the fact that whatever may be done to build up the economy of the reserves, so as to enable them to carry as large a population as possible (and I hope that every effort will be made to this end), there will necessarily remain millions of Africans in and around the European cities who have their permanent homes there and belong to those urban communities just as much as the Europeans themselves. Once that fact is grasped and the consequences that flow from it worked out and acted upon, we shall, I believe, have gone a long way to remove the sense of grievance and frustration which lies behind the present crisis.

NEED TO WORK TOGETHER

It would be idle to pretend that Southern Africa is not subject to serious political risks. But there are very few parts of the world where there are not serious political risks of one kind or another. And in Southern Africa, in spite of all the problems and difficulties, there are solid grounds for optimism. The Union and Southern Rhodesia are multi-racial countries with a comparatively large European population. Europeans are in a minority as compared with the Africans but are certainly not, as in many other African territories, a small and helpless minority to be swept aside or tolerated as the African majority may decide. In Northern Rhodesia the European population is smaller both absolutely and in relation to the Africans. The Europeans, however, occupy a key position in the copper mining industry which is the most important industry in any of the territories that make up the Federation, and on which the economy of the Federation in a large measure depends. Without the Europeans, that industry would come to a standstill. Nyasaland has only a very small European population and must be regarded as almost entirely an African country. Nevertheless, it depends for its economic welfare on very close links with Northern and Southern Rhodesia, and to a lesser extent with the Union. In all these territories the time has passed, if it ever existed, when Europeans could afford to ignore the interests and feelings of the Africans. But that does not mean that the Africans are, or will be, able to get along without the Europeans. In all the four territories with which we are concerned, conditions differ and the constitutional forms which apply to one will not necessarily be appropriate for the others. Nevertheless throughout this vast area, the safety and welfare of all the races who inhabit it are inextricably tied together. Eventually they will be forced to work together, and the sooner this is accepted the better for all concerned.





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Living with a republic

A GOOD START

ON the day that the result of the referendum became known, the "Rand Daily Mail," in a front page editorial, accepted that the republicans had won with a sufficient majority to proceed with their plans. We pointed out that the country's grave colour problems remained to be resolved, and that the duty of anti-republicans was to hold fast to their principles but to be ready to co-operate with republicans in the national interest on any reasonable basis. In short, there was to be a republic and we should try to make the best of it.

Something of this attitude pervades the Declaration of Beliefs issued today by 69 leading South Africans representing both language groups and various political allegiances. They, too, accept the verdict of the polls without recrimination and they urge that men of goodwill, without abandoning their private political beliefs, should now come together to seek out common ground and work where they can for the benefit of all sections of the community.

In the South African situation, so long dominated by dinosaurian conflicts between the great political parties, a bi-partisan statement such as this, backed by men of such calibre, is almost unique. Looking back one recalls only such isolated episodes as the famous declaration of May, 1955, on the Senate Act by the Thirteen Professors. This new declaration may have an even greater impact on public opinion, especially overseas where the advent of a republic here has been viewed with undisguised apprehension.

In this case, too the initiative has come from the restless intellectuals in the Afrikaans universities and churches who find no satisfactory outlet for their views in the party they normally support. Indeed the statement reflects a measure of the general discontent that is felt at the stiff heraldic postures of the main political parties with their traditional commitments and set viewpoints.

Yet whether this impressive group of community leaders can become an effective force in South African affairs — even should its members see themselves in this role — remains to be demonstrated. Our political history offers little encouragement to pressure groups outside the main political organisations, as even bodies so favourably placed as SABRA have found to their discomfort. Furthermore, the statement itself is — unavoidably no doubt — so generalised that almost anyone can subscribe to its terms without modifying his customary standpoint. One has only to note the moves being made today in the fair name of Press freedom to curb the Press, to see how high principles can be summoned in support of base practices.

Finally the fact must be faced that the differences in outlook in South Africa today are so fundamental that they will not be bridged by fine phrases or the desire for unity alone. No doubt the sponsors understand this and no doubt what has motivated them is a hard, practical recognition that even where there are differences between groups of people they still have to live together as best they can. Unrelenting strife between intractable opponents is ruinous. As in the sphere of diplomacy, even the strongest members of diametrically opposed power blocs now accept that they live in one world and must therefore seek such common interests as exist and work painstakingly away, step by step, at improving the conditions for co-existence.

This is the only way. The effort must be made, the patience must be mustered. The great merit of today's Declaration of Beliefs lies in its readiness to adopt this approach in South Africa. It is the tone, rather than the actual wording, that is hopeful.

In the days and weeks to come, all of us will be wondering about our future in a republic and how best to conduct ourselves. Let us at least start by trying to be constructive. This seems to be the lead that these 69 South Africans are giving us. Does it not deserve our close consideration?

—THE EDITOR.

Prominent S. Africans draft 'Declaration of Beliefs'

DRAMATIC UNITY CALL BY 69 MEN

'No racial group is superior'

SIXTY-NINE prominent South Africans representative of all walks of life and of the three political parties represented in Parliament, declared their belief yesterday "that no group is superior or inferior to another merely on the grounds of race or colour."

They added that every South African, regardless of race, colour or religion, "has an inalienable right to respect of his personal dignity as a human being."

TWO FORMER HIGH COMMISSIONERS

Among the personalities who have subscribed to the "Declaration of Beliefs" are two former South African High Commissioners in London, Dr. A. L. Geyer and Dr. J. E. Holloway, and two former Administrators, Dr. W. Nicol (Transvaal) and Mr. D. G. Shepstone (Natal).

Others are Professor C. H. Rautenbach, Principal and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Pretoria, Professor J. P. Duminy, Principal and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cape Town, Professor S. P. Cilliers, Professor J. L. Sadie, Dr. M. S. Louw, past president of the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, and Dr. H. J. van Eck.

The 69 said in their declaration that there was a "need to examine many aspects of present racial relationships."

Divisions between Afrikaans-speaking and English-speaking White South Africans were making it difficult to give effective attention to the many problems of the country.

There was an urgent need to bring about a far greater degree of unity. White South Africans were today more than ever before being challenged to meet the spiritual, material and political needs of all racial groups.

The declaration urged effective action to improve continually the position of "all South Africans of all races."

Here is the text of the declaration:
 We South Africans of both



Dr. VAN ECK



Mr. G. H. R. EDMUNDS Dr. A. L. GEYER

language groups declare our belief that the great opportunities which await our country can only be successfully realised on the basis



Dr. W. NICOL Mr. V. R. ATKINSON

of what is right and just for all sections of our population; that no group is superior or inferior to another merely on the grounds of race or colour; that every South African, regardless of race, colour

(Continued on Page 2)

GAITSKELL WINS UNION BACKING

LONDON — Powerful British trade unions yesterday rallied behind Mr. Hugh Gaitskell in his fight to defend his official policy on the H-bomb — and his leadership of the Labour Party.

Chiefs of the giant Amalgamated Engineering Union, which swung Labour's recent annual conference over to a resolution renouncing the bomb, were being deluged by protests from the union's provincial branches.

Many of the protests demanded that the union hold a plebiscite. The petitions were critical that the delegation — against the strong advice of Mr. William Carron, the union president — took a line which split the movement and highlighted the power struggle between Mr. Frank Cousins' "anti-bomb" Secretary of the Transport Workers' Union, and Mr. Gaitskell.

JAPANESE TO BAN

STAFF RE

SEVERAL Japanese clothing manufacturers are interested in starting Black Industries in South Africa's future Bantustans.

This was disclosed in Johannesburg yesterday by one of the Union's leading clothing industrialists, Mr. A. J. J. Wessels, who is to fly to the Far East for possible negotiations with the Japanese.

In an interview with the "Rand Daily Mail" yesterday, Mr. Wessels said the Japanese manufacturers were interested in starting border area factories under licence. If this was not possible, they were prepared to negotiate with South Africans with the view to forming Japanese-South African partnerships.

It was thought this might be necessary in view of the difficulty Japanese nationals have in obtaining long-term permits to operate in the Union.

Mr. Wessels said he would also meet Japanese business executives

the excess of that end

An Afrikaner monarchist explains 'Why I voted against the republic'

BY A MEMBER OF THE AKADEMIE

I AM an Afrikaans-speaking "monarchist," like many thousands of Afrikaans-speaking people—especially among the more intellectual group.

I voted against a republic.

I did it without emotion. My approach to the whole question was not influenced to any degree by either pro-monarchist or anti-republican sentiment as such.

While many an English-speaking voter was emotionally wildly pro-monarchist and many an Afrikaans-speaking voter violently pro-republican, I was one of tens of thousands of Afrikaans-speaking citizens who had no definite sentiment or bias either way.

I was born at the time of Union, have never lived in a republic, and the historical forms of republican government in South Africa were not an issue.

Learnt respect

I grew up to respect the monarchy, as it exists in England today. I also learnt to respect the old South African republics as they existed in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State before the Boer war.

Why then did I not vote for a republic on October 5? Was it because I was pro-British or pro-monarchy or anti-Afrikaans and anti-republic?

Nothing could be farther from the truth.

I voted for the monarchy because, having taken all factors into consideration I was convinced THAT I WAS BEING PRO-SOUTH AFRICA BY VOTING AGAINST THE REPUBLIC AT THIS TIME.

I still believe that the best interests of South Africa and of my own group would have been served if we had stuck to our present structures and not run the risk of even more isolation.

I have never accepted the thesis that a republic is an essential for the unity of the two White language groups. On the contrary I am convinced that the problems of Africa are forcing us together not necessarily in party political outlook but in our general approach and common loyalties to South Africa and in safeguarding our way of life.

Unhappy feeling

I could not disregard the grave possibility that a constitutional struggle at this time in which emotional and sentimental factors played a major role, could arrest this development towards understanding and instead of linking us together could cause greater division.

After a study of the referendum trends, I have an unhappy feeling that my fears were not unfounded.

It must be clear that while perhaps 85 per cent. of the Afrikaans-speaking group and by far the majority of the smaller continental groups in South Africa—Germans, Italians and Greeks, etc.—voted for a republic, the English almost voted *en bloc* for the retention of the monarchy.

On this specific issue we are as divided as ever though below the surface, on other major questions, there has of late been a more general consensus of approach.

I believe it was unwise to force this constitutional issue at a time when the hard realities of the African situation tended to draw us closer together in any case.

In the course of time I believe we would have become a republic in any case; but then by the broad will of the people and not by a precarious four per cent. majority.

Akademie member

As one who fully belongs to the Afrikaans community, speaks Afrikaans in my home, belongs to the Dutch Reformed Church and who is a member of Afrikaans cultural organisations like the *Akademie*, I have tried to analyse the reactions to this issue among Afrikaans people.

Among the pro-republicans at least three different groups can be distinguished.

A. Those who hate the English and everything they stand for. These are the people who, during the war rejoiced in every German victory and in every defeat of the Allied armies. To them

'The English' are even today the enemies.

B. Those moved consciously or unconsciously by psychological factors especially by the feeling of shame or inferiority, at being a conquered people.

Many of them feel no hatred towards the English, but their egos need a republic as the final proof that they are no conquered or subservient people but a free nation.

To them the referendum was the final battle of the Boer War, and victory was sweet.

C. Those who for sentimental reasons alone wanted a republic. These are the people who idealise the history of the Afrikaner and his constitutional heritage as such.

I know of many United Party people, of the older generation especially, who voted for a republic for this specific reason.

Where do we go?

The question now is: Where do we go from here?

I know many English-speaking South Africans are worried about the attitude of the Afrikaans group. How will they act when the republic is a reality?

The answer to this query is not a simple one.

I honestly believe that many people who voted for a republic will be found extremely willing and keen to co-operate with the "English section."

This does not apply to the (A) group. If they have their way the English will by force of numbers be made to feel that they are receiving their due reward for "past injustices" to the Afrikaners!

To them English-speaking people are "the enemy" in Dr. Hertzog's typical phraseology.

Much of the future trouble in South Africa could be caused by this group. Much will depend on their numbers and on whether they receive some sort of official support from the party leadership.

If the Government really put unity first they will have to run the risk of alienating this group.

Keen to co-operate

As far as the other two groups are concerned, I am absolutely convinced that they are not only ready but very keen on closer co-operation with their English-speaking fellow-South Africans.

Some of them are so keen to "build bridges" that they must expect some official affronts in these attempts.

The rather comic occurrences in connection with wreath-laying at the Botha memorial by Pretoria students recently may be a first proof of this.

During the past few days I have heard heated discussions between individuals who feel that "this is the time to break down all barriers dividing the Afrikaans and English-speaking groups" and those who warn against "a new type of fusion" which could only mean the sacrifice of the Afrikaner's principles for the sake of "so-called unity."

IF THE GOVERNMENT ARE WISE AND GIVE A STRONG LEAD I BELIEVE THEY COULD TAKE MOST AFRIKANERS WITH THEM IN A GREAT MOVE TOWARDS REAL UNITY AND CO-OPERATION

Firebrands

It would imply, however, that a few of the firebrands in the Cabinet—men like Hertzog, De Klerk, Vorster and Maré—would have to be curbed, not to mention ordinary members of Parliament like Messrs. Carel de Wet, Cas Greyling, etc.

Many Afrikaans-speaking people, who refused to follow

General Hertzog in 1933, because they felt that the Afrikaner was still at a disadvantage (though only psychologically as mentioned), would now be willing to follow their leaders in any great move towards closer co-operation.

This also applies to many of our young people, though they have, as a result of school apartheid, become virtual strangers to the English-speaking group.

Worth saving

The other crucial part of the question, "Where do we go from here?" lies with the English group, who voted against a republic.

How will they react?

If the English group, through fear or a lack of trust, react as the Afrikaans group did in 1933, the future of our republic is not promising. Then tension will lead to more tension, and distrust to more distrust.

As an Afrikaner who respects the English and appreciates their immense contribution to the development of the South Africa we know today, I only hope and pray that our English-speaking fellow South Africans will react with great wisdom and loyalty towards South Africa in this time of crisis and of disappointment to them and many of us.

This country IS worth saving. The battle is not lost.

In spite of political differences we have a great task on our hands — to work towards a united South Africa, to exploit every opportunity offered in this direction and never to weary in our efforts towards justice and human decency towards every group — White or Coloured — in this great land.

STAR 21/10/60
"WHAT WE BELIEVE"—BY THE 69

No new body is to be formed, says Nicol

By the Political Correspondent

THERE WAS NO INTENTION of implementing the "Declaration of Beliefs" by 69 South Africans by forming a party, society or organization, said a former Administrator of the Transvaal, Dr. W. Nicol, one of the signatories, in Pretoria today.

Dr. Nicol said that although there would be no practical implementation of the declaration,

it was hoped that it would have a big effect on the thinking of South Africans.

Dr. Verwoerd declined today to have any comment on the appeal for a reappraisal of race relationships.

Nobody expects the appeal to have any immediate effect on the Government's race policies. But in the present climate its long-range consequences might be significant.

ULTIMATE

The appeal amounts to an attempt to persuade South Africans to make Western standards—and not colour—the ultimate basis of "discrimination" in this country.

This would mean abandoning apartheid, and Dr. Verwoerd has said repeatedly that the Government are not prepared to do this.

What he and the Government are doing—without saying much about it—is to give non-Whites more room to move in the framework of separate development. They are generally believed to be ready to continue that trend to

the maximum consistent with the retention of the colour line.

But now, in addition to the clamour from overseas for this country to breach the colour barrier, comes this call from within.

Its significance is that it shows how fast the pressure for a radical re-examination of racial principles is spreading, and how far it has already eaten into the ranks of the Government's most reliable supporters. For the list of signatories includes some prominent Nationalists.

(See Page 11.)

The same thing is true of the reference to the Union's place in Africa and the need for better relations with the rest of the continent. The signatories know how far removed we are from that ideal, farther indeed than at any time in our history. But where is the forthright demand for the positive conditions necessary to save us from our worsening isolation?

We would not suggest that this well-intentioned document is valueless; but its value does not lie in what it says. It lies in the fact that South Africans with different backgrounds and interests have felt the urge to cut across the barriers for a meeting of minds and in so doing have revealed their discontent with the present set-up.

It is for them to apply continuing pressures where they are most needed to sweep aside the obstacles to a better order.

STAR 21/10/60
These four names must go, says Nat. paper

The name Milner Park must go, says the "Transvaler" in a leading article today which calls on the new Mayor, Mr. Dave Marais—"who is of Afrikaans extraction"—to remove the names of Roberts, Kitchener, Rhodes and Milner from Johannesburg.

The newspaper says: "For more than half a century, Johannesburg has been saddled with certain street and park names which are a thorn in the flesh of every right-minded Afrikaner."

"There" are Roberts and Kitchener Avenues and Rhodes and Milner Parks. Together these four men wrote the ugliest page in the history of South Africa and they wrote it with the blood of the Afrikaner—man, woman and child.

APPALLING

"So appalling is the role that these men enacted on South African soil that anyone who still has any admiration for them should certainly see a psychiatrist."

"What makes the position more difficult to understand is that men who devoted their lives to the service of their country have never been similarly honoured by the Johannesburg City Council."

"Where are Johannesburg's Daniel Malan and Johannes Strijdom Avenues?"

The Star

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 21, 1960

Sentiment is not enough

FOR loftiness of sentiment and sincerity nothing could be more unexceptionable than the statement of principles issued today by 69 South Africans of high standing in the economic, intellectual and religious life of the nation. It is a pity that its practical impact is unlikely to match the moral fervour its authors have brought to the task or the hopes they may have built on their handiwork.

We can understand their difficulties but they themselves have made sure, perhaps unavoidably so, that their efforts will be largely nugatory.

Representing a responsible cross-section of the White population drawn fairly from both language groups without party distinctions, the signatories have tried to discover common ground on our major problems within the new constitutional pattern.

It is a sad reflection on the level of thinking to which South Africans have been reduced that men of this calibre, earnestly seeking for a saner approach, cannot or dare not express themselves in anything more than the vaguest generalities.

Though the subject matter of their discourse touches the very essence of the political struggle and can have meaning only in the political context, the signatories must hasten to disavow any political purpose or any departure from the set party lines. If the aim was to influence the course of events, the excess of caution defeats that end.

When, for example, the statement proclaims that no group must be considered superior or inferior merely on grounds of colour or race or when it affirms the inalienable right to human dignity for all, it surely intends to voice more than a platitude. It invites comparison with the realities of South African life.

Candour should have compelled the signatories to say openly that current policies do not meet the test and that a change of direction must come from those who have the power and the duty to make the change.

'What we believe in for the Union'

NO RACE BETTER THAN ANOTHER, SAY THESE SOUTH AFRICANS

TWO FORMER South African High Commissioners in London, Dr. A. L. Geyer and Dr. J. E. Holloway, and 67 other prominent South Africans from the three political parties represented in Parliament, issued a "declaration of beliefs" last night.

The 69 say in their declaration that no group is superior or inferior to another merely on the grounds of race or colour and that every South African, regardless of race, colour or religion, has an inalienable right to respect of his personal dignity as a human being."

Among the signatories to the declaration are a former Administrator of the Transvaal, Dr. W. Nicol, and a former Administrator of Natal, Mr. D. G. Shepstone.

The 69 say: "We are conscious of the need to examine many aspects of present racial relationships in the light of the important changes which have taken place in the last two decades within South Africa and also throughout the whole world.

"Divisions between Afrikaans speaking and English-speaking White South Africans are making it difficult—or even impossible—for men of goodwill to give effective attention to the many problems of the country

Urgent

"It would, therefore, appear that there is an urgent need at the present time to bring about a far greater degree of unity, understanding and co-operation between the two White language groups, so that the welfare of the whole nation may receive undivided thought and attention.

"The result of the referendum having been announced the people of South Africa should now will-

ingly accept the decision of the majority of voters and proceed to establish a republic, having the existing form of democratic constitution and desiring to maintain the present Commonwealth relationship.

Humility

"We realize that White South Africans are today more than ever before being challenged to meet the spiritual, material and political needs of all racial groups; we be-

lieve that this challenge should be accepted in a spirit of humility and understanding."

The declaration urges effective action, within the framework of these principles, to improve continually the position of "all South Africans of all races."

It calls also for all attempts to be made to establish a friendly and constructive relationship with the other countries in Africa.

INVITATION

ANYONE who wants to support this declaration is invited to communicate with the Secretary, Box 6010, Johannesburg.

Let the republic be declared—soon

1—We are conscious of the need to examine many aspects of present racial relationships in the light of the important changes which have taken place in the last two decades within South Africa and also throughout the whole world.

2—We believe that thinking South Africans in general earnestly desire to do what is in the best interests of all our people, but that divisions between Afrikaans-speaking and English-speaking White South Africans are, at the present time, making it difficult or even impossible for men of goodwill to give effective attention to our many problems.

It would, therefore, appear that there is an urgent need at the present time to bring about a far greater degree of unity, under-

standing and co-operation between the two White language groups so that the welfare of the whole nation may receive undivided thought and attention.

3—Having taken part in the referendum according to our own individual convictions we believe that the result of the referendum having been announced, the people of South Africa should now willingly accept the decision of the majority of voters and proceed to establish a republic, having the existing form of democratic constitution, and desiring to maintain the present Commonwealth relationship.

4—We believe that the constitutional issue should be settled as quickly as possible so that no time be lost in giving effective and undivided attention to colour and racial issues, and to

other matters of fundamental importance to our country.

5—We realize that White South Africans are today more than ever before being challenged to meet the spiritual, material and

political needs of all racial groups. We believe that this challenge should be accepted in a spirit of humility and understanding and that our responsibilities should be carried out in such a way as to maintain the basic western character of our society.

6—We urge that effective action, within the framework of these

principles, be taken to improve continually the position of all South Africans of all races.

7—We believe that all attempts should be made to establish a friendly and constructive relationship with the other

countries on the African continent, that South Africa has a major contribution to make in the orderly and progressive social, economic and political development of these countries, and that our human and material resources should be harnessed to the

Mr. Corbett



The 69 who have signed

Mr. V. R. Atkinson, past president of the South African Federated Chamber of Industries; Mr. F. H. Y. Bamford, director of companies; Mr. F. A. Berrill, director of companies; Mr. C. L. F. Borckenhagen, former Director of Imports and Exports; the Rev. C. B. Brink, clergyman; Mr. C. H. Brink, director of companies.

Prof. S. P. Cilliers, university professor; Mr. G. A. Coetzee, Q.C.; Mr. W. B. Coetzer, director of companies; Mr. C. G. Corbett, past president of the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce; Mr. C. S. Corder, director of companies; Mr. Cecil Dace, industrialist.

Mr. C. F. de Wet, director of companies; Mr. L. Donnelly, director of companies; Prof. J. P. Duniny, Principal and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cape Town; Mr. W. P. du Plessis, director of companies.

Mr. G. H. R. Edmunds, director of companies; Mr. A. J. Fergusson, president of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange; Mr. J. G. Finlay, director of companies; Mr. E. Gallo, director of companies; Dr. A. L. Geyer, former Union High Commissioner in London; Mr. H. Goldberg, past president of the Association of Chambers of Commerce of South Africa.

Col. G. D. Henderson, direc-

tor of companies; Mr. P. H. Hind, director of companies; Mr. S. A. Hofmeyr, director of companies; Dr. J. E. Holloway, former Union High Commissioner in London and Ambassador for the Union in Washington.

Mr. E. J. Horwitz, communal leader; Mr. C. E. James, director of companies; Mr. A. B. Klipin, director of companies; Dr. L. Kruger; Mr. W. I. Lamb, vice-chairman of the S.A.B.C.; Mr. C. H. Leon, director of companies.

Mr. P. R. B. Lewis, chartered accountant; Dr. M. S. Louw, past president of the Handelsinstituut; Mr. A. D. McPhail, past president of the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce; Dr. F. Meyer, director of companies.

The Rev. C. F. Beyers Naude, clergyman; Dr. W. Nicol, former Administrator of the Transvaal; Mr. A. G. Norris, past president of the Association of Building Societies; Prof. N. J. J. Olivier, university professor; Mr. J. du P. Oosthuizen, director of companies.

Mr. E. Orr, past president of the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce; Mr. G. M. Poole, member of the Decimalization Board; Prof. C. H. Rautenbach, Principal and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Pretoria.

Mr. F. C. Robb, director of companies; Mr. P. Ettiene

Rousseau, director of companies; Mr. M. A. G. Rud-dock, past president of the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce; Prof. J. L. Sadie, university professor; Mr. E. R. Savage, past president of the Federated Chamber of Industries; Dr. G. C. Scully, past president of the Natal Chamber of Industries.

Mr. Karel Schoeman, farmer and director of companies; Mr. G. M. K. Schuler, university lecturer; Mr. D. G. Shepstone, former Administrator of Natal; Mr. Denhigh Smith, past president of the Cape Chamber of Industries; Prof. F. Smuts, university professor; Mr. G. F. Spilhaus, director of companies; Mr. A. F. Stephen, director of companies.

Mr. R. B. Stuttaford, director of companies; Mr. G. E. Sutton, past president of the Natal Chamber of Industries; Maj.-Genl. Frank Theron, former Minister Plenipotentiary in Rome; Mr. J. J. Trengove, Q.C.; Dr. H. J. van Eck, director of companies.

Prof. W. W. M. van der Westhuizen, university professor; Prof. J. P. J. van Rensburg, university professor; Mr. J. H. B. van Zijl, advertising agent; Maj.-Genl. C. J. Venter, director of companies; Mr. C. C. Wiley, past president of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, and Mr. Ivan J. D. Wentzel.

Friendly

8—We support the firm alignment of South Africa with the Western world, and with the principles of Western democracy as opposed to Communism, as well as the maintenance of good relations with all friendly countries.

Support

9—Support of this declaration is in no way intended to affect or be in conflict with membership of or loyalty to any political party.



Mr. Savage



Mr. Lamb

RDM 22/10/60

Living with a republic

UNITY IS ELUSIVE

FULL unity between the two White race groups in South Africa will never come about. Some of the differences that exist between them are too great and there are too many unassimilables on both sides. The best we can hope for is unity in certain limited areas and a readiness to understand and respect the differences that remain. But even this will not be easy to attain.

Yesterday provided a graphic illustration of the difficulties. It will be recalled that the Government and its Press put forward as their main reason for seeking a republic that it would bring unity in South Africa. "Look," they said, "we are holding out the hand of friendship." But yesterday, when a group of 69 eminent South Africans of both language groups and of various political persuasions, made an earnest declaration calling for unity and enumerating certain general principles within the framework of which men of goodwill could work together in this country, what was the result? Did the Government Press welcome this as a move in the direction of unity? On the contrary. "Die Transvaler," the official organ of the National Party and the pet newspaper of the Prime Minister, its former editor, did its level best to hide the statement on its last general news page at the back of the paper under an incorrect and misleading headline.

Place names

Instead that newspaper produced a leading article calling on the Mayor-elect of Johannesburg to use his term of office to remove the names of Kitchener, Roberts, Rhodes and Milner from the city's public places. So much for the hand of friendship. So much for the Press that claims to be "national-minded" and accuses all other newspapers of being unpatriotic.

However, it would be wrong to become disillusioned and cynical about things like this. "Die Transvaler" has never represented anything other than the worst and most irreconcilable element in Afrikaner Nationalism. And as a distinguished Afrikaner writer said in the "Rand Daily Mail" yesterday, the Nationalist extremists, with their anti-British hatred and fascist outlook, constitute only a third part of the Nationalist following. We must therefore guard against the temptation to stereotype all Nationalists and all Afrikaners in this one mould.

Ugly image

Unfortunately, the group loyalty and group discipline of Afrikaner Nationalism are so strong that the sensitive, thinking Afrikaner too often keeps silent, afraid of the charge of treachery to his people. The result is that there is little said and done to offset the ugly image of Afrikanerdom that the extremists are left free to create, here and abroad.

We, on the Opposition side, must seek out and encourage this silent section to emerge, and to play its rightful part in helping Afrikanerdom adapt itself to the changing times and meet, along with us, the challenge that confronts us all. In many ways the future of South Africa rests with this particular group of Afrikaner Nationalists. If they continue to submit to their extremists, then we are lost, for political power is firmly held by Afrikaner Nationalism. The essential change of heart that alone can save South Africa must come about within Afrikaner Nationalism itself.

The rest of us should be ready to help wherever and whenever we can.

—THE EDITOR.

69 urged to back beliefs with action

OWN CORRESPONDENT

CAPE TOWN.

DR. JAN STEYTLER, leader of the Progressive Party, and Professor H. B. Thom, principal of Stellenbosch University, yesterday called for translation into action of the general sentiments expressed in the "Declaration of Beliefs" signed by 69 prominent South Africans.

Both welcomed the declaration as "a step in the right direction," but said that much more than an impressive array of signatures beneath a series of fine-sounding phrases was needed to bring about better human relationships in the Union.

Professor Thom said that, although he agreed with the general sentiments expressed in the declaration, he did not consider that it had brought forth anything new.

"These sentiments have been a reality for some time now among a great section of our population. But I think the time has passed for us to do nothing more than subscribe to fine-sounding academic statements and declarations. It is a matter of how we are going to translate those sentiments into action."

Premier's lead

"I think the Prime Minister has given us a lead by appealing for co-operation in a sincere and inspired way in his recent speech at the Voortrekker Monument. Now it is up to all of us to follow that lead."

Dr. Steytler said the declaration, the spirit of which he welcomed as an encouraging step in the right direction, posed the inescapable question: "Where do we go from here, and what are we going to do about it?"

This question had to be faced squarely if the declaration was to be translated into reality. There was only one basis for putting these principles into practice, and that was by granting rights on a qualified basis. Otherwise the statement meant nothing.

One of the famous 13 professors who opposed the Government over the Senate Act, said in Pretoria yesterday that the declaration hardly went beyond the point of being interesting.

"Unless views of this kind are boiled down to fundamentals and backed up by action, they can be dismissed as so much lip service," he said.

"Only members of Parliament and political party leaders can lead the country to unity and harmony—and I do not see the names of any of these people among the 69."

RDM 22/10/60

NAT. PAPER WANTS JO'BURG STREET NAMES CHANGED

STAFF REPORTER

THE Johannesburg Nationalist morning newspaper, "Die Transvaler," asked in an editorial yesterday why Roberts, Kitchener, Rhodes and Milner, who had written "the ugliest page in the history of South Africa," were still honoured in Johannesburg by having streets and parks named after them.

It called on Johannesburg City Council, and in particular the new Mayor, Mr. Dave Marais—whom it described as somebody who had no past record of "exerting himself on behalf of the Afrikaans minority"—to see that these names disappeared.

The editorial said this was all the more ardently desired "because the Union is to be a republic and the Johannesburg City Council ought to demonstrate that it abides by the decision which the majority of the voters have taken about their country's form of government."

IN BLOOD

"We have a Roberts and a Kitchener Avenue, and a Rhodes and a Milner Park.

"Between them these four men wrote the ugliest page in the history of South Africa. And they wrote it in the blood of the Afrikaner—man, woman and child.

"So deplorable is the role which these men played on South African soil that the person who still cherishes any admiration for them really needs to see a psychiatrist.

INCOMPREHENSIBLE

"Why must these men, who were responsible for so much pain and misery, still be honoured in Johannesburg by having streets and parks named after them?"

"What makes the situation more incomprehensible is the fact that men who dedicated their lives to the service of their country have never been honoured in the same way by the Johannesburg City Council.

"Where are Johannesburg's Daniel Malan and Johannes Strijdom Avenues?"

"Die Transvaler" said the names to which it objected could be replaced by those of Merriman, Duncan and others — "men for whom the Afrikaners have always had respect."

RDM 22/10/60

NEW LOOK PATRIOT

by Bob Connolly



COMMENT

APPEAL FOR GOODWILL

WHEN 69 prominent men, from many walks of life, belonging to both language groups and holding various political opinions, come together and issue a public declaration of Basic beliefs to which all subscribe, the rest of us would be irresponsible indeed if we did not pay heed to what they have to say.

It would be equally irresponsible merely to welcome their statement without going on to consider what practical good can come of it.

The very fact that this unusual action has been taken is an encouraging sign of deep and growing concern throughout the country about the urgent racial problems which beset South Africa.

The "Sixty-Nine" begin admirably by asserting their belief that the great opportunities which await our country can only be successfully realised on the basis of what is right and just for all sections of our population; that no group is superior or inferior to another merely on grounds of race or colour; and that everything possible should be done to improve the relationships between different sections of our population within the framework of a civilised, stable, well-run and prosperous society.

This opening declaration cannot be faulted but the nine points which follow are disappointingly vague.

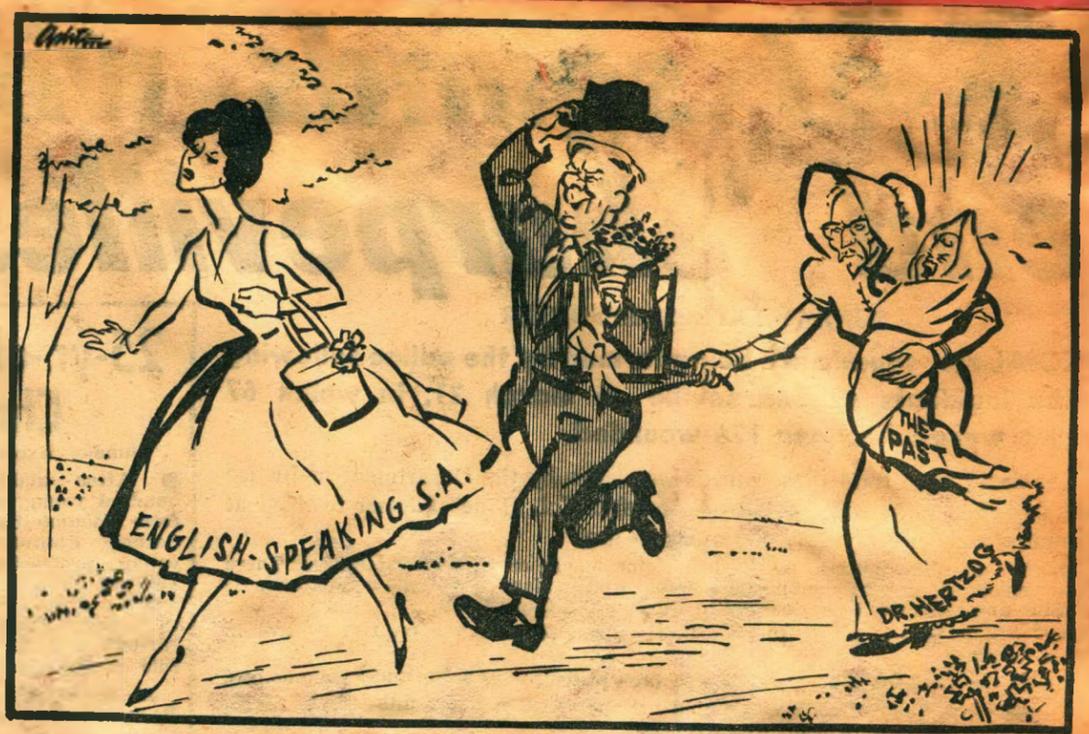
The preamble goes to the root of the political struggle.

The generalisations which follow are so cautious and un-controversial that any of the political parties would agree with them.

The final paragraph says that support of the declaration is in no way intended to affect or be in conflict with membership of or loyalty to any political party. Since that is so, the declaration cannot be said to be any practical guide to those whose task it is to form the country's racial policies.

Nor can an appeal for unity between the White sections of the population be of much service while Afrikaner Nationalism and the majority of the English-speaking people are in such fundamental disagreement about the right way to tackle the non-European problem.

May there indeed be goodwill. But Afrikaner Nationalism certainly will not give way and those with more liberal views would be failing in their duty if they were to do so only for the sake of unity—much as we all long for it.



FOUR'S A CROWD

SUNDAY EXPRESS 13/10/60

IS IT NEW "HATE" MOVE?

English speaking worried by 'change names' demand

THREE weeks after the referendum and the call for unity by top Nationalists, including the Prime Minister, a demand has been made by the Transvaler, official mouthpiece of the party in the Transvaal for four "hated" Johannesburg street names to be wiped out. YET THESE STREET NAMES HAVE NO POLITICAL IMPACT ON THE MINDS OF THE AVERAGE CITIZEN.

The demand, made to Johannesburg's Mayor-elect, has angered many Johannesburg citizens. It caused Mr. P. A. Moore, M.P. for Kensington, the district in which the street names occur, to comment yesterday: "Is this the new gesture of unity?"

Calling on the city's Mayor-elect to expunge from the city's streets and parks the names of Roberts, Kitchener, Rhodes and Milner, the Transvaler declared:

"Between them these four men wrote the ugliest page in the history of South Africa, and they wrote it in the blood of the Afrikaner—man, woman and child."

Yet Johannesburg people questioned yesterday—many of them Afrikaners—told Sunday Express reporters: "We have never thought of our streets and parks having any historical or political derivation."

The newspaper declared that the change was desired "because the Union is to be a republic and the Johannesburg City Council ought to demonstrate that it abides by the decision which the majority of the voters have taken about their country's form of government."

"What else is in store?"

But many people see in this grouse a scheme to find a new grievance against the English-speaking South African. Kensington's M.P. is one of them.

"If the Nationalists can come up with this idea three weeks after winning their republic," he said, "who knows what else is in store for us?"

"Speaking for the people of Kensington, I know we will never allow these names to be changed."

"Perhaps our record poll in the referendum and our increased anti-republican majority of 300 gave the Nationalists a grievance against us—and now they are exploiting it."

A prominent business man who has lived in Kitchener Avenue for 35 years said: "Suggestions like this stir up hatred again for no reason at all."

"People have lived here for about 30 years and they are the people who have built the area to what it is today. I know they are satisfied with the name and will bitterly oppose any change."

Mrs. G. Mathis, of Roberts Avenue, said: "I have the greatest sympathy for the feelings and traditions of the Afrikaner, but this matter is so trivial."

"We don't connect the street names with the people they are named after. My political feelings don't enter into it at all, but

I feel that the names should not be changed after all these years."

Mrs. M. van Rooyen, an Afrikaans-speaking housewife, said: "It doesn't matter to me historically, and I feel it is senseless to stir up more trouble at a time when we are trying to promote goodwill and unity."

"I don't look at street names and think about the people they were named after."

"Chaotic"

A 20-year-old arts student, Miss Jill Tonkin, said: "It will cause a lot of inconvenience. After all, some of us may feel that certain Afrikaans historical figures wrote ugly pages in South African history too."

"To be fair we would have to change so many historical names, and think of the chaos it would cause."

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SUNDAY TIMES 23/10/60

Unity call by the 69 gets wide support

SUNDAY TIMES REPORTER

LETTERS supporting the dramatic unity call by the 69 prominent men from the three political parties represented in the Union Parliament have been received in Johannesburg from all over South Africa.

Among the people who support the declaration published this week are some well-known university professors, doctors and a retired Receiver of Revenue.

Mr. Harry Goldberg, one of the signatories, said yesterday: "We have had a genuine response. The letters are from people in all walks of life. They have written to us because our declaration has honestly offered them hope."

Right

In their declaration, the 69 men affirmed their belief "that no group is superior or inferior to another merely on the grounds of race or colour."

They added: "Every South African, regardless of race, colour or religion, has an inalienable right to respect of his personal dignity as a human being."

An Afrikaans-speaking man from the platteland says in his letter: "This is some of the best news for South Africa which I have yet read in the newspapers."

Another writes: "I voted anti-republican, but I support the sentiments expressed by you all the same."

An Afrikaans-speaking couple from Langlaagte, wrote: "We are certain that the declaration is the missing link to bring unity to South Africa. There really is no gap between the races; it is only imaginary."

A Natal university professor said that while there was a racial split in South Africa, the country's problems would always remain unsolved. Another man from Durban says: "A movement such as yours will be well supported in Natal."

An Afrikaans doctor wrote to Mr. Goldberg—half of his letter in English, half in Afrikaans.

Mr. J. H. B. van Zyl, well-known

Afrikaans business man, told me that he had received encouraging telephone calls.

"People have telephoned me to say that they are only sorry that their names could not have appeared among those of the 69 signatories," Mr. Van Zyl said.

Mr. Van Zyl added: "Now it is up to the politicians to search their consciences. I know there are one or two who have been upset by the declaration."

SUNDAY TIMES 23/10/60

Nat. conflict over friendship with the English

SUNDAY TIMES POLITICAL REPORTER

A SHARP conflict of opinion is developing in the Nationalist Party over its "friendship" policy towards English-speaking South Africans.

Dr. Verwoerd's conciliatory policy is being challenged by a powerful group of Transvaal extremists under the leadership of Dr. Albert Hertzog.

This group is worried by Dr. Verwoerd's sincere attempts to reach a genuine friendship with the English-speaking section. Subtle attempts are being made to sabotage this policy, which is regarded as a danger to Afrikaner Nationalist unity.

They argue that:

- Opening the ranks of the Nationalist Party to English-speaking supporters would dilute the "purity" of Afrikaner nationalism.

- Afrikaner unity will be destroyed if the Nationalist Party diverges from its course and principles to win English-speaking support.

- In any event, the Nationalist Party no longer needs English-speaking support—the referendum result proved that the Government could win without non-Afrikaner votes.

- Concessions must come from the English-speaking group, not from the Government.

- Tried-and-tested Nationalist supporters should not be passed over in favour of English-speaking persons, when "plum" posts are filled.

Leading spokesman

Their leading spokesman is Dr. Albert Hertzog who, in his Kruger Day speech on October 10, repudiated Dr. Verwoerd's "hand of friendship" gesture.

He said the formation of Union was a British device to render the Boer republics powerless by coupling them with "the loyal Cape and jingo Natal."

Britain deliberately retarded South Africa's industrial development so that she would provide a market for British products, he said.

The extremists are making vigorous attempts to ensure that supporters of their "hard" line are nominated for the Senate.

The extremist faction has been lobbying energetically against

SUNDAY TIMES

THE "Declaration of Beliefs" issued this week by leading South Africans drawn from all sections is an impressive document, whose value is enhanced by the calibre of the men who signed it.

They express a sincere desire to attain "what is right and just for all sections of our population," and solemnly assert "that no group is superior or inferior to another merely on the grounds of race or colour." They add that "every South African, regardless of race, colour or religion, has an inalienable right to respect of his personal dignity as a human being." The statement, which emphasises the need for closer accord between the two White sections, reflects a feeling widely held throughout South Africa. Most people will applaud the sentiments of the Declaration and will congratulate the signatories on their courage and vision in demanding a better deal for all the inhabitants of South Africa.

So far, so good. But where does one go from here? We have no wish to introduce a discordant note into these otherwise cordial proceedings, but it is obvious that the Declaration of Beliefs, sincere and honest though it may be, will become a document of meaningless platitudes unless its solemn affirmations can be translated into practice. How can this be achieved? In our view, it can be done only through the medium accepted in every democratic country—the medium of the political platform.

The signatories, however, specifically exclude the political platform by declaring: "Support of this declaration is in no way intended to affect or be in conflict with membership of or loyalty to any party."

SUNDAY TIMES

Men of Goodwill

23/10/60

If that is so, what becomes of the Declaration of Beliefs? We cannot help feeling that the signatories will find themselves in much the same position as the men of Commerce and of Industries who recently made equally sound and reasonable representations to the Government. Their views were rejected, and they were told, in effect, that businessmen should not meddle in politics.

The lesson to be learned from this experience is that if you want to introduce political reform, then the only way you can hope to succeed is by going into politics and fighting for it. No one can compel the signatories to the Declaration of Beliefs to go into politics; nor do we wish to minimise the very fine gesture they have made. What must be emphasised, however, is that it is idle to issue what is essentially an affirmation of political faith unless you are prepared to back it with political action.

One may ask, then, what the purpose of the Declaration is. It seems to us to have two main objectives: first, to reassure overseas opinion that South Africa's "top" men still have liberal and progressive ideas; and, second, to warn the Government that there is a new kind of thinking in South Africa and a need to readjust one's ideas to the challenge of a changing world.

Whether the Declaration of Beliefs will itself bring any immediate or effective results remains to be seen. In the meantime, we can give the signatories every credit for lending their names and their prestige to such a splendid gesture of tolerance and goodwill.

STAR 25/10/60

Verwoerd said to have seen appeal by the 69 beforehand

By the Political Correspondent

REPORTS ARE CIRCULATING in Pretoria that Dr. Verwoerd saw the appeal of 69 leading South Africans before it was published and approved it. A signatory whose name cannot be divulged says this is so.

He says that certain of the other signatories who are Nationalists would not have dared to sign the appeal without their leader's approval.

This is being interpreted as meaning that Dr. Verwoerd is using the appeal to test the strength of the winds of change within South Africa itself.

The appeal originated among the Sabra people at Stellenbosch and was subsequently supported by 40 members of the South African Foundation in their private capacities. It amounts to an attempt to persuade South Africans to make Western standards—and not colour—the ultimate basis of discrimination in this country.

Some of its supporters argue that it can be reconciled with apartheid on the ground that people can theoretically attain equality even if separated.

CRITERION

But others feel it demands abandonment of apartheid's central principle—that colour is the final criterion.

Hitherto, the Government have refused to budge from that principle. But it is a fact of everyday observation that the mood among their close advisers is changing, and it would be natural for Dr. Verwoerd to want to know whether the public's mind is changing, too.

Living with a republic

THE NEXT STEP

REACTION to the Declaration of Beliefs by 69 eminent South Africans can best be described as qualified enthusiasm. The spirit of the Declaration is accepted as admirable, but there are reservations about its generalised phrasing and, especially, about the prospects of its being put into practice. The public's attitude appears to be: So far so excellent, but what happens now?

This is the essential question. The mere issuing of high-sounding statements gets us nowhere. And because the Sixty-Nine have not indicated what they propose to do next, there is a feeling that their call for unity may be a gesture soon forgotten.

Yet this need not be. Indeed it would be odd if the sponsors—most of them men of affairs with outstanding records of practical achievement—were content to let this happen. It has been explained that they do not intend to form a political party or similar organisation. How then do they hope to influence events? They can do so by performing tasks that the political parties, with their entrenched positions, cannot do.

Common ground

In other words, they can seek out among themselves and many others who think like them, the areas of common ground which do, in fact, exist in this country but which are obscured by the dust and tumult of ceaseless political strife. They can direct public attention to this common ground, suggest courses of action to be followed in the national interest, and throw their influence as community leaders behind such courses.

But, it may be asked, have not proposals of this kind been made before by other important groups standing outside party politics, and have they not invariably come to naught? It is true that mountains must be moved before our political structure will shift or bend, but there are two new points to be considered. The emergence of the Sixty-Nine breaks fresh ground. In composition and motivation it represents a formidable nucleus for an effective pressure group. Secondly, the republican issue, so long a source of contention, has now been resolved for better or for worse.

In this country of sharp divergences of outlook on colour, is it possible to discover common ground and devise common approaches? The answer is yes—provided that we think in terms of limited objectives. At this time of crisis—in race relations at home and international relations abroad—people on all sides are searching their hearts for a solution to our immense problems. But there is no solution in sight that commands national support. We have tried for twenty years and more to find one, but we have failed.

Immediate tasks

Now, because we dare not waste more time, we must settle for something less—hoping it may lead to something greater. We must cease quarrelling about the ultimate objectives that divide us—separate development on the one hand and a multi-racial society on the other—and get on with tackling those immediate tasks on which we can agree.

It was to this end that the "Rand Daily Mail" proposed, on Union Day, a programme of action to restore a measure of national unity and some forward movement in our deadlocked affairs. As an example of the kind of programme the Sixty-Nine could consider, we re-publish these proposals on page 2 today.

—THE EDITOR.

Living with a republic

GIVE AND TAKE

AS Bob Connolly would say, how are you enjoying the unity? The trouble, of course, is that ideas vary on what constitutes unity. Anti-republicans are already being accused of spurning the hand of friendship, but the fact is that Nationalist republicans have little understanding of what unity involves.

After the referendum, the Prime Minister spoke about unity in the republic in terms of bride and groom. If that is so, then unity involves adaptability as between the partners to each other's wishes and views—in short, an attitude of give and take on both sides.

But we do not think the Government will adopt such an attitude. Mention a course with which they do not entirely agree and they will say: "But that means departing from what we believe in—we cannot do it." Yet this is what unity between different groups of people often demands, just as it does between individuals.

Anti-republicans, by and large, are more ready to do this than are Nationalist republicans. If the Government were to make any real concessions to the views of other people, they would be surprised at the response. But this is a "strong" Government which never gives an inch. It believes it has a monopoly of wisdom and that no one else need be consulted. It speaks, for example, of appointing English-speaking people to the Government, but we say here and now that we do not want the kind of people it has in mind—the Warings, the Barlows, the Pettersons and so on. Such people do not represent the English-speaking section or its thoughts and feelings. If the Government is going to look under boulders for a handful of English-speaking reactionaries, it can save itself the trouble. For this would not be a step towards unity. What we want is some sign of willingness to listen to English-speaking opinion, not Nationalist opinion echoed by English-speaking oddities.

We also want, equally strongly, the views of our Afrikaner anti-republican colleagues to be respected. If they are to be branded as traitors and scorned for thinking as we do, then there is no prospect for unity on a wider scale. Thousands of South Africans of both language groups have found unity in the United Party where there is respect and tolerance for one another's viewpoint. The Nationalists are always demanding that others acknowledge their sincerity; let them credit the Opposition and its followers with equal sincerity.

To be frank, we have no great hopes for unity. The Government has never been more confident that its policies are the correct ones for South Africa. The Congo, Kenya, the Federation and, yes, Sharpeville and Langa—the happenings at these places have persuaded them as never before that they are on the right track. Thus the likelihood of their paying attention to what anyone else thinks is remote.

But, fortunately, this does not apply to all Nationalists. The thinking, enlightened Nationalists are deeply disturbed at the course of events. They see what "kragdadige apartheid" is leading us to. They want substantial modifications in our national policies—not, it is true, so much in direction as in method. But this is something; it is a beginning.

With these people, we can perhaps establish some rapport. It is only a tiny ray of encouragement, but these days we must be grateful for small mercies.

—THE EDITOR.

How non-Whites view their recent declaration

THERE were Three Wise Men and Four Just Men. But what can we call the Sixty-Nine? Sixty-Nine Sane Men, perhaps. At first sight, a public declaration of their sanity by any 69 South Africans, famous or unknown, might seem a valuable step, even if followed by no action of any kind.

So far as White South Africans are concerned, I believe this is true. It is something that 69 leading men can agree on unexceptionable principles. But so far as non-Whites are concerned, fine sentiments, if backed by nothing practical, may actually do harm.

How is this possible? What harm can they do? That of adding to the cynicism—the contempt even—with which mere professions of goodwill are increasingly regarded by the African.

LITTLE CHOICE

In the eyes of the non-Whites in South Africa, both the two European groups stand condemned as hypocrites. Each group flatters itself that the other is the more distrusted. But, in fact, there is little to choose.

The English-speaking group talk of freedom and democracy. But they do nothing to share these possessions with the majority. Their main political party appears just as set against any real extension of democracy as the Nationalists.

"How do the English think of democracy?" an African asked me once.

"Is it a faith? In that case, surely the more people share it, the better. Or is it like burglars' loot—the fewer get a cut, the more's left for those who do?"

The Afrikaans-speaking group claim as their special privilege to be the standard bearers of Christianity. The Christianity

By
**TOM
HOPKINSON**

they offer, however, is not universal brotherhood. To the Black man it looks more like a monopoly. A claim to divine backing for a system of gradations with the White perpetually on top and Black always at the bottom.

Africans who read the New Testament sometimes discover its contents with amazement. "Why, if all this is true," said one, "it lets us in as equals! Why do you Whites go for a religion which supports the opposite for everything you stand for? Aren't there some other religions which would suit you better?"

WHAT?—HOW?

This being the position—that everything Whites say is turned upside down to see what is hidden underneath—any public declaration of high-sounding ideals is going to be looked at very narrowly, first, as to what it says; second, as to how actions will measure up to the professions.

Have the Sixty-Nine, I wonder, considered their own declaration in this light? Take just a few of the phrases in their manifesto:

● They believe, they say, that "no group is superior or inferior to another merely on the grounds of race or colour."

In that case, they oppose discrimination in the quality of

educational opportunity based on the grounds. They oppose discrimination in the opportunities available for employment. They oppose in addition the whole mass of discriminatory legislation—which has been passed or is being planned—based on the supposed superiority or inferiority of different colour groups.

● "Everything possible should be done to improve relationships between different sections of our population, within the framework of a civilised, stable, well-run and prosperous society."

FIRST STEP

"Everything possible" will require as a first step developing much closer and more varied contacts between racial groups. These will involve, first, social contacts; second, contact in the working of trade and industry through such machinery as Works and Factory Councils. Third, it must include discussion with all groups on any administrative measures which may affect them, or on any new legislation proposed concerning them.

The first and second of these can be brought about by the Sixty-Nine directly and immediately—in their own homes and in that very large section of our commercial and industrial life for which they are severally responsible. The last is one which they are in a position to press upon the Government with authority.

● "All attempts should be made to establish a friendly and constructive relationship with the other countries on the African continent..."

This clearly demands a complete re-thinking of South African foreign policy, which at the moment is leading in just the opposite direction.

IN THE CONGO

It was painful in the Congo, when we were all involved in difficulties, to see British, French and Americans reaching for their passports to establish their good faith. South Africans in the same circumstances were reaching for anything they could find, from home-made identity cards to driving-licences, which might appear official without immediately betraying their place of origin.

Re-thinking our foreign policy means acceptance of the fact that powerful African states, dominating vast tracts of the continent, are here to stay and have in some cases begun to make astonishingly rapid progress, and that their hostility or goodwill must affect the lives of all of us profoundly.

And if, as the Sixty-Nine rightly urge, "South Africa has a major contribution to make... in the development of these countries,"—then we need also a complete change of heart, not only in the Government but in ourselves.

At present the interest of most South Africans seems limited to hoping that the newly independent states will break down in chaos, exulting over the disaster when they do, and minimising their achievement when they are successful.

DEEP SPLIT

White hostility towards these emergent states is the cause of a further deep split among our own people, since Africans in the Union watch the progress of these states with passionate hope and deep personal concern.

I have listed only a few of the most obvious ways in which the words of the Sixty-Nine must lead to action, if they are not to lead to harm.

In a characteristic utterance to the Disarmament Conference at Geneva, the late Mr. Ramsay MacDonald once declared: "Great phrases like justice and so on very often mean nothing and have serpents concealed in their folds."

No one is likely to accuse the Sixty-Nine Sane Men of having serpents concealed in the folds of their fine phrases. The fear of the non-Whites is that there may be nothing concealed there at all.

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