

# VERWOERD SMACKS DOWN HIS SUPPORTERS

**D**R. VERWOERD has slapped down members of his party who have been too free in their interpretation of his call for national unity. He has attacked them in two long statements, issued exclusively to the Nationalist Press. During the period of the referendum many Nationalist supporters waxed eloquent on the theme of unity. Never before had South Africa known such promise of give and take.

Some non-Nationalists even deluded themselves that the ruling hierarchy were ready to listen to suggestions as to how official colour policy might be modified in order to achieve unity.

Last week the reply came, sharp and clear. The Prime Minister sailed into the "integrationists" inside and outside his party. He said that some Republicans have shown "liberalistic tendencies in regard to colour policy."

The wording of his two statements shows that Dr. Verwoerd found it necessary to come out into the open because the stirrings of discontent looked like getting out of hand.

Of late too many members and supporters of the Nationalist Party have been talking about revising the policy of the party, especially in so far as the Coloureds are concerned. Dr. Verwoerd's cronies complain that advantage has been taken of his great magnanimity in this period of his Republican triumph.

## New trend

**B**UT this attempt to break from the party line does not flow from the referendum alone. It all began with Sharpeville. In the panic of those days, the Nationalists quickly developed symptoms of reasonableness. The diehards lost their arrogance and there were whisperings in party circles of a more moderate approach to the colour problem. The suspension of the pass laws was one sign of the changed mood of the Nationalists.

New opinions, challenging the old ways of thinking in Nationalist circles, found their way into the party press. They revealed a desire on the part of party supporters to make concessions to the non-Whites. It became almost fashionable to talk about a new

## By VIGILANTES

deal for the Coloured people.

In Parliament, the Minister of the Interior, Mr. Naude, thanked the Coloureds for their behaviour during the upheavals of March and declared, "I can assure them that they will not find us unappreciative of their courageous and loyal attitude."

The Minister's cue was quickly taken up by his Deputy, Mr. Botha, who told a meeting at Hopefield that the Coloureds were an appreciable group of one and a half million people who could help the Whites to preserve Western standards in South Africa.

In this way the Coloureds, as well as the Whites were led to believe that the Government intended to be more generous in their treatment of the Coloured people.

## Support

**T**HIS belief was fostered by the next moves of the Government. A special committee was set up by the Cape Nationalist leader, Dr. Dönges, under the chairmanship of Mr. Paul Sauer, who had spoken of a new deal for Coloureds at Humansdorp.

This step was taken as an invitation to the supporters of the Party to come forward with proposals to improve upon the policy which created ill-feeling at home and hostility abroad.

Among those who thereupon advocated a bold break from the past were the intelligentsia of SABRA, who asked the Government to agree to give Coloureds the right to be elected to Parliament.

This view gained wide support among Cape Nationalists. Dr. Verwoerd and his henchmen were quick to see the potential danger to Nationalist domination if this idea spread, so prompt steps were taken to nip it in the bud.

The first move was to appoint another committee to override the Cape committee. A Cabinet committee, with Dr. Verwoerd as chairman, thereafter took control of any investigations that might be thought advisable in connection with a new deal for the Coloureds.

## Settled

**T**HE two statements last week settled the matter once and for all. They extinguished anything the Cape committee might have recommended. They are a firm order to party members to get back in line.

Dr. Verwoerd has spoken. This is now the official policy of the Nationalist Party. Anyone who dares to propose anything different will be smartly disciplined.

As is his custom, the Prime Minister is careful to point out that he has been consistent all along the line. He reminds his supporters and opponents that he has always said that broader unity cannot be bought by giving

up principles on the colour question.

This is perfectly true. Dr. Verwoerd is not flexible. Understandably, his opponents are constantly looking for flexibility in Dr. Verwoerd. The public, sick and tired of the unceasing anxieties and upheavals of baasskap apartheid keep on trying to penetrate the iron curtain of his apartheid monomania.

Always, their efforts end in disappointment and their hopes are dashed to the ground. But the optimists will never learn. They cannot believe that any man can be so dogmatic and unyielding.

The two statements by Dr. Verwoerd this week make two things quite clear. The first is that it is quite futile to expect any moderation in the extremist policies of the Nationalist Party as long as the present leadership remains.

The second is that the non-Whites will get no concessions whatsoever from the present Government. In spite of the grand words by Ministers and others, the Coloured people can expect nothing better than paternal domination.

## HIGH COST OF MEDICAL SERVICES

# S. Africa Needs A National Health Scheme

A NATIONAL Health Service has become an urgent necessity because an increasing number of sick men, women and children can no longer afford to go to hospital for proper medical attention.

This is the view expressed by the South African Trade Union Council in a memorandum to the Commission of Enquiry into High Costs of Medical Services and Medicines.

In saying this, the trade unions have stirred the embers of a fire which died down more than twelve years ago.

At the end of the war it seemed certain that South Africa would have a National Health Scheme. But, as often happens with worthy projects, the plans were pigeon-holed. Opponents of the scheme did all they could to kill it and finally succeeded with the argument that the country could not carry the financial burden.

To soften the blow, the disappointed people were given a limited provincial scheme of free hospitalisation. This operated under severe handicap until it was abolished in 1958. Now all medical attention must be paid for.

### Workers' Charter

TRADE unionists have particular cause to feel bitter about health services. They feel that they have been badly let down.

In the more promising days gone by they were led to believe that these post-war years would be blessed with generous social security measures. General Smuts, who maintained close liaison with trade union leaders throughout the war, encouraged them to take an interest in post-war planning and help in the

By **ALEX.  
HEPPLE**

making of the better South Africa.

In November, 1944, the S.A. Trades & Labour Council, which was then the mouthpiece of all trade unions (to-day there are no less than four federations and several unions have no affiliation) presented to the Government a Workers' Charter, in which a number of fundamental demands were set out.

The Council considered that it was quite within the capacity of South Africa to implement these demands and so bring about a new order, "where security of employment, freedom from want and poverty, with a happy and prosperous life, can be attained for all our people, irrespective of race, colour or creed."

In this Charter, the trade unions asked for a National Health Service, to provide free and adequate medical, dental, nursing and hospital services for all sections of the community. They stressed that a radical change would have to take place and the promotion of health be given priority, so as to reduce the cost of curative medical services.

All aspects of public health were dealt with, emphasis being

laid upon the payment of adequate wages and salaries, to enable workers to live under healthy conditions, where proper physical and recreational facilities, health centres and creches would be provided.

These proposals were well received by the Government of the day and there was a general expectancy among workers that steps were being taken to end their constant fears of being reduced to poverty because of illness in the home.

That was fifteen years ago. Some of those hopeful workers have passed on. Others, older and wiser in the ways of governments, have resigned themselves to the fact that the crushing cost of ill-health must continue to be a burden carried by South Africa's workers.

### Productivity

IN a country where there is so much talk about low productivity, it is amazing that so little is done to promote the good health of the community. Hardly any attention is paid to one of the main causes of low productivity.

Observant industrialists know well enough that ill-health lowers efficiency and retards production. Medical experts would be the first to admit that workers in poor health cannot perform their tasks adequately.

Yet, far too many South Africans of all races are expected to do a proper day's work in spite of indifferent health.

In most cases the deficiencies could be easily remedied, if the unfortunate workers could af-

ford the advice and services of doctors and specialists.

Unfortunately, the Government is not willing to take on the responsibility of overall care for the general health of the nation. While money can be found for almost everything else, it is never available for the common good.

### Social Security

**DURING** the war years it was fashionable for groups in all spheres of public life to engage in drawing blue prints for the wonderful new world that was to emerge after victory was won and the boys came marching home.

Commissions, committees and study groups spent long hours in exhaustive enquiries into ways and means of providing every human being with complete social security. South Africa had

a Social Security Committee and a Select Committee and an Inter-Departmental Committee, which in turn examined ways and means of introducing a comprehensive social security scheme.

The outcome of all the work of these three committees was that the original idea of social security measures like the New Zealand Scheme or the Beveridge Plan in Britain was abandoned in favour of some adjustments in existing social pensions and services.

In the field of health, a National Health Services Commission was appointed in 1942. This commission conducted an exhaustive survey throughout the country and produced one of the finest reports ever to have emerged from a commission in

this country. The report said, among other things, that health services were not available to all sections of the people. "They are distributed mainly among the wealthier sections who, on account of their economic potentialities, should need them least; and are but poorly supplied to the under-privileged sections, who require them most."

### Need for Change

**HAS** the position changed over the past 15 years?

Now that free hospitalisation has been abolished and a severe means test has been introduced, is it not true to say to-day that the majority of the people cannot afford adequate medical attention, while the rich can buy it in abundance?

This is what the trade unions wish to change.

*The Best Christmas Present  
is a Year's Subscription to*

**— FORUM —**

**South Africa's Independent Journal of Opinion**

**HELP YOUR FRIENDS AT HOME AND ABROAD TO KEEP IN TOUCH WITH  
SOUTH AFRICAN AFFAIRS**

Yearly Subscriptions: 19s., including postage; African Postal Union, 20s.,  
Overseas, 21s.

Here is your opportunity to help build "The Forum" — South Africa's most informed  
and only independent journal of opinion.

NAME: ..... NAME: .....

ADDRESS: ..... ADDRESS: .....

.....  
.....  
TO CIRCULATION DEPT., THE FORUM, P.O. BOX 7108, JOHANNESBURG.

# SYMPOSIUM on Racial Policies of

## SOUTH AFRICA'S MAIN POLITICAL PARTIES

**I**N this issue of the *Race Relations Journal* we present a symposium of political viewpoints. The articles have been written by well-known representatives of the different political parties and give a clear picture of the racial policy of each.

It is to be regretted that the National Party refused to accept our invitation to contribute to the symposium, thus denying our readers the opportunity of considering first-hand information from a reliable source.

An invitation to contribute to the Symposium was extended to the National Party, but, although individual members of standing expressed themselves willing to comply, the office of the party concerned refused to entertain the idea, thus missing an invaluable opportunity of explaining the Government's aims to interested readers. We regret that our invitation, made in all good faith, should have been rejected in the letter reproduced below.

*"I acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 4th instant in connection with a short article for your journal.*

*I cannot accept your invitation to supply you with such an article.*

*Our Information Service has its own ways and means whereby it publishes the policy of the National Party and disseminates reading matter in connection with it."*

## THE LIBERAL PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA

The Liberal Party of South Africa was formed in 1953 by a group of South Africans of all races. At the time it was the only non-racial political party in South Africa and it is still the only

LP  
P. 142  
L.P. viewpoint  
by Alex Heppel

**one with a truly representative non-racial membership. From the beginning this membership has been open to any adult person prepared to subscribe to the principles for which the Party stands. From the beginning the conduct of Party affairs has been in the hands of South Africans from all sections of the community, working together at all levels. From the beginning policies have been worked out together by people who represent a reasonable cross-section, racial and economic, of the South African community. What are these policies?**

Fundamentally the policies of the Liberal Party have one quite simple aim—to do away with the Colour Bar in every sphere of life in South Africa and to replace our present racial discriminatory society with one in which rights will be open to all South Africans and responsibilities shared by them. To achieve this society many of our existing laws will have to go and many new programmes started. There is no point in tabulating all the laws which the Liberal Party would repeal but amongst them would be the Pass Laws, Group Areas Act, Job Reservation, Separate Universities, Bantu Education, Bantu Authorities and all the other myriad laws which restrict the rights of individuals or impinge on their private lives.

### **Future Programme**

Having got rid of the bad, old laws what programmes would the Party introduce to try to establish the kind of society which it wants? In the economic field, the Party will supplement the removal of all restrictions on the opportunity to acquire and use skill, by greatly increasing basic, technical education; it will encourage private enterprise, with the proviso that monopoly power should be controlled and that the state should regard it as a primary and urgent task to provide a full range of

social services—health, educational, unemployment, old age etc.—for the whole community. Trade Unions would be encouraged and in rural areas a drive to ensure proper standards of housing, pay and skill amongst farm workers will be launched. Housing will provide one of the greatest problems confronting whatever Government succeeds Dr. Verwoerd and it may take years to solve. The Liberal Party will establish a special Housing Ministry to handle it. Improved housing and the removal of restrictions in employment, education and social services will solve some of our health problems, but many will remain, and the long-term plans of the Party envisage a co-ordinated, nation-wide health service directed at prevention rather than cure and with a shift in emphasis from hospitalisation towards domiciliary and clinical treatment.

### **Education**

In education, the Party aims to provide free, compulsory schooling up to Standard VI, or the age of 16, as soon as is practicable. Obviously this will not happen in a day but it must happen as soon as possible and, in order to make it possible, schools must be built, teachers trained and the bitter legacies of Bantu Education and CNO methodically worked out of the whole school system. As soon as possible free education up to Standard X should be available to any child who wants it. Although the Party aims to create an integrated school system it will, as an interim measure, provide mixed and non-mixed schools and parents will be free to choose to which they will send their children. The Party is

committed to a mass literacy campaign and to the removal of university discrimination.

### **Land Settlement Act**

Land presents a problem in every mixed community in Africa but nowhere is it as acute as here, where Non-White people have access to only about one-seventh of the land. There is no more explosive issue than this. How does one bring about a more equitable distribution without undermining productivity? The Liberal Party will remove all restrictions on the right to buy land, except for temporary protection for African rights in the Reserves; it will make the provisions of the Land Settlement Act applicable to all groups and its Government will itself purchase land on the open market and make this available to private purchasers, with assistance. But this will almost certainly not be enough to satisfy the demand for land from people who at present have none and it is therefore intended to use legislative measures and taxation to force back on to the market land which is not productively used. If this is not effective, and always subject to the individual's right of access to the Courts, other legislative pressures will have to be examined.

### **Universal Suffrage**

The franchise is the issue which divides people of different political persuasions more sharply than any other in South Africa. After years of debate in the only satisfactory forum for a sensible solution to our problems—one in which South Africans of all groups meet and discuss and vote together—the Liberal Party accepts universal suffrage as the franchise system to aim for in South Africa. The Party does not believe that the attainment of universal suffrage will necessarily usher in a new world flowing with milk and honey, but it does believe that a non-racial society based on universal suffrage is the only effective alternative in our country to either white domination, black domination or Communism.

The Party does not only believe

that a person has a right to a say in the election of the people who govern him, it believes that, for as long as any section of the community is denied the vote, for so long will the Government have on its hands a dissatisfied body of people who owe it no loyalty and feel no obligation to ensure its stability. Stability is more certain when everyone votes than it is when some people cannot. Nevertheless, the Party is only too aware of the abuses a minority Government has produced in South Africa and of those a majority Government might produce.

Coupled with universal suffrage it sees the need for a rigid constitution, entrenched in which would be a Bill of Rights, guaranteeing to every person those particular personal rights which touch his life most closely and which the Universal Declaration attempts to specify. All legislation would be subject to examination by the Courts, whose function it would be to protect individual members of society from arbitrary interference by the State in their private affairs.

Briefly, this is the sort of society the Liberal Party wants. How does it intend to bring it about? It certainly hopes to do so by winning seats in Parliament through contesting elections, but the Party recognised and accepted years ago that it has an extra-Parliamentary role as much as it has a Parliamentary role.

**As long as the political struggle in South Africa is confined to the Parliamentary field alone, the Nationalists have shown that they cannot lose. They have marked the pack and every deal gives them all the aces. It is in any case impossible for four-fifths of our people, and the majority of members of the Liberal Party, to do anything at all through Parliament. They are excluded from it completely. Extra-Parliamentary pressure is therefore quite justified in South Africa and the Liberal Party is committed to its use as long as it is non-violent.**

The Party recognises very clearly the dangers of violence. It also knows that the longer the Nationalists stay in power the greater the

danger of conflict destroying all that is good in our society. The last thing the Liberal Party wants is another Congo, and the surest way to get it is to let apartheid go on along its "merry" way. We believe that the deterioration in relations between the races is so grave now that extra-Parliamentary pressures of a non-violent nature are the only real hope of bringing change without large scale violence. We hope that such pressures will induce white supremacists to revise their attitudes and that, confronted with the non-racial policy the Liberal Party offers at its inter-racial meetings, they will be persuaded to accept, as their best hope for the future, the non-discriminatory, non-racial society we aim to establish.

The Liberal Party may not have achieved startling electoral successes in the last seven years but in that respect it is no different from any other opposition party. What it has done, I believe, is to show that non-racialism can work. It has shown that, even in South Africa, with all

the tensions about us, it is possible to build up a body of people who can work together without being conscious of their race and without thinking in racial terms. In South Africa this is revolutionary. And it has had its impact. The Party has grown steadily, if slowly, amongst all groups. It continues to do so. Its views may not be acceptable to most white people at present, but it is our belief that time and events will lead to their becoming so. In the meantime, if the Congo has one lesson for us it is of the possible consequences when there is no community of interest cutting across tribal and racial barriers. Its story might have been quite different if there had been such community of interest. The Liberal Party is out to create it in South Africa and to build across the colour line a body of people who know and like and trust one another. It will do so on the basis of a policy which would be regarded not as radical but as **common-sense** anywhere else in the civilised world.

## THE SOUTH AFRICAN LABOUR PARTY

The principal object of the South African Labour Party, declared soon after its inception in 1908 and remaining in its constitution ever since, is "to secure for the producers by hand or brain, the full fruits of their industry and the most equitable distribution thereof . . . and to secure the best obtainable system of popular administration and control of each industry and service, with a view to the ultimate achievement of a democratic and socialist commonwealth".

With this end in view, the Labour Party strives for equal opportunity for all South Africans and their protection against economic exploitation and unjust discrimination. The Labour Party believes that racialism in South Africa has its roots in material greed and is fostered by those who seek to

enrich themselves at the expense of workers of all races.

### Equality

The Labour Party is inspired by a moral philosophy which claims that all men and women are basically equal; it is guided by a practising belief in liberty and economic justice, seeking to create machinery of administration which will protect human dignity and

abolish man-made inequalities in the material distribution of goods and incomes.

The Labour Party has a deep-rooted faith in fundamental human rights and the ways of democracy, and holds that if democracy is to survive and expand in Africa, all those who are governed by the law must have a say in the making of the laws. This philosophy determines the Labour Party's attitude to the many racial, social and economic problems of South Africa today. It explains the Labour Party's strenuous opposition to policies of **baasskap apartheid**, which are rejected on the grounds that they stifle democratic action, deny four-fifths of the people fundamental human rights and circumscribe the liberty of the subject.

In the field of labour there is widespread discrimination on the basis of colour, presumed to operate as a protection for White workers but in fact merely hampering the progress of the Non-White workers. To this the Labour Party is opposed. Its policy is one of equal opportunity for all workers, subject to minimum wage standards and the principle of the rate for the job, or equal pay for equal work.

### **Programme—Social and Economic**

1. A minimum wage for all workers, related to the cost of living. No wage discrimination on the grounds of sex, race or colour.
2. Equal opportunities for all in the field of labour, with the right of all workers to perform the work they are capable of doing.
3. The protection of earnings against the ever-rising cost of living by, among other things, the control of rent of all dwellings, the regulation of profits on all essential consumer goods and services and the provision of food subsidies.
4. The protection of all workers against exploitation and dis-

crimination and the repeal of all laws which unjustly interfere in the affairs of the trade unions and hamper their activities.

5. A National Social Security Scheme on a contributory basis, to provide decent pensions for the aged and disabled, free hospitalisation and medical care for the sick, unemployment pay, and other social benefits. The Means Test must be abolished.
6. Free and Compulsory education for all. The abolition of "Bantu Education". The right of universities to admit students, untrammelled by racial considerations.
7. The provision of decent housing (at sub-economic rentals where necessary) for the lower income groups, both European and Non-European.

**The Labour Party supports the objective of a universal adult franchise. It believes that the exclusion of Non-Whites from the South African Parliament is a provocation against the Non-White majority, giving them good reason to despise democracy. The Party desires to extend democracy, not restrict its growth.**

As a short-term programme, the Labour Party advocates the following immediate practical constitutional reforms:—

1. The election of members of the House of Assembly by a system of proportional representation, so that the composition of Parliament will truly reflect the political outlook of the electorate.
2. The abolition of Government-nominated Senators and a reform of the Senate.
3. The repeal of statutes which have curtailed civil, political and personal liberties, such as the Suppression of Communism Act, the Group Areas



Act, the Public Safety Act and the Riotous Assemblies Act.

4. The restoration of Native Representation in Parliament and the extension of this franchise right to all provinces, so that the African people would have 10 representatives in the House of Assembly. African voters should be entitled to elect to Parliament members of their own race. The common roll right of the Coloured voters of the Cape should also be restored and extended to all provinces.

### **Native Policy**

The social and economic pro-

gramme and the political and constitutional reforms outlined above envisage that our African population is to be treated as an integral part of our whole population.

The Labour Party advocates co-operation between the racial groups in contradiction to apartheid. Differences in cultural and educational levels cannot be disregarded but these can never justify exploitation and the denial of human rights and opportunities.

The aim of the Labour Party—the attainment of social justice—applies equally to European and Non-European.

## **UNITED PARTY COLOUR POLICY**

*A Policy for Orderly Advance*

*(Incorporating thoughts from recent policy statements by Sir De Villiers Graaff, M. P.)*

The voyages of discovery of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries opened a new chapter in the history of the world and brought new problems, the most perverse of which have been the problems of bringing advanced cultures to primitive environs and establishing a peaceful co-existence among the peoples of the East, the West and now on the continent of Africa.

After 500 years, these problems are only now nearing their apogee, though at different rates in different parts of the world. The pioneers of North America, for example, have achieved for that continent a degree of stability, prosperity and international status that has earned for the Americans the right to adjudicate as one of the world's champions of justice and liberty. We South Africans have so far

earned a different fate. Our history is 150 years behind America's, our continent poorer, our primitive people more numerous and our concept of stability and our concern for just government still compromised because of our desire for the maintenance of Western culture in South Africa.

### **Traditional**

South Africa's traditional colour policy has so far had no respite from these influences; we emerge in the mid-twentieth century with our problems more involved than ever as a result of a tidal wave of nationalism among the under-developed people on the continent of Africa, all the more dangerous and difficult to handle because of its dependance on emotion and strong personal objectives, rather than on objectivity and the wish for gradual evolution.

At times it appears almost impossible to reconcile the just aspirations

of the Black man with the equally just rights of the White man to maintain himself on this continent. But in South Africa, we believe, the chances of making this difficult reconciliation are better than anywhere else. Here our ratio of White to Black is one to three, compared with the next highest White nation in Africa, in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, where it is one to 26.

We also have a large Westernised group, the Coloureds, numbering about 1,500,000 and an Asian group numbering 500,000. These groups prefer Western ways of life to what one could call "Africanism".

And in South Africa the White man's claim to the land which he occupies is stronger than anywhere else, for here the Black man is as much a settler as the White man. If we would follow sensible policies we can maintain and strengthen Western civilisation here to the great benefit not only of all people in South Africa, but also of the whole Western world in its struggle against Communism.

Yet few countries of the Western world believe that we can succeed in this at the present time. Their doubts arise because our Government has for twelve years placed undue emphasis on the restrictive aspects—and too little on the positive aspects—of a racial policy that can have little chance of success in any event.

### **Failure**

Government policy has so far failed South Africa because it has ignored the inescapable facts of our history: South Africa has, relatively speaking, enjoyed an almost unprecedented rate of economic development in the last 20 years. Unduly harsh restrictions on immigration have kept our White population to a minimum, which has meant the growth of an economy dependent for its existence on Native labour. Although a considerable number of Natives still fall under tribal influence in the Reserves, it is a fact that there is no way back for the urbanised Native. Here is the crux of the Government's dilemma: here is the wheel on which the

Government's policy of separate development must break—a fact which more and more Nationalist supporters are beginning to realise.

Men like Prof. N. J. J. Olivier, vice-chairman of SABRA, are making statements today that would have been regarded as heretical even a few months ago. "The fundamental error of the past has been to make race or colour the sole criterion—unless we can get away from this attitude which entails a fundamental change in policy, I can see only hardship, strife and conflict ahead." (Rand Daily Mail, 25.10.1960.)

### **Blind Spots**

Will men like these get the Government to change its attitude? It is not likely: there are blind spots in Nationalist thinking that have done as much harm as any intentional racial measures. Dr. Verwoerd is reported to be adamant in his view that he will give Non-Whites maximum advancement on their side of the colour line, that he is in no way prepared to retreat from that line—a perpetuation of Nationalist ideological insistence on "every man in his place":—a place they have set themselves to define. There can be no reconciliation between this hypothesis and the fact of a large, permanent Native settlement on a basis of intimate daily contact in areas that the theory of apartheid must define as "White".

### **A Place For Every Man**

The Government's policy of separate development is, therefore, no answer to South Africa's dilemma. The development of the Reserves, while praiseworthy in itself, provides only an arm to lean on and does not build the whole man. In answer to the Nationalist policy's "every man in his place", we of the United Party believe in a place for every man, whatever his language, his creed or colour. A policy suited to the South African situation cannot, however, for some years avoid the compromises required by the fact that our population groups are at different stages of development; a measure of

differentiation in the co-existence of these groups will therefore persist.

This is a vastly different attitude from that adopted by the present Government who accept blatant discrimination against some sections in favour of others as a substitute for the well-being of all South Africans. Job Reservation is a glaring example. The bitter frustration and injustice that can be perpetuated by the implementation of the letter of this particular piece of apartheid legislation, and the ministerial spirit behind it, are intolerable to any administrator with an ounce of common humanity in his bones, quite apart from its disruptive effect on the economic system.

Our problems are real and our efforts to solve them will remain largely empirical, but no solution can endure that so denies principles of justice as do such aspects of Nationalist apartheid policy.

We of the United Party accept that we are all here together and we shall have to remain together. We must realise that we are wholly committed to the Western way of life, and the industrial and scientific technology on which it rests. The urban Native must be accepted as an essential and permanent part of the economic and social order.

Prosperity is indivisible and a rising standard of living must be sustained for all sections of our people, no matter what their race or colour. The bulk of our people has already been brought into a money economy, from which they cannot now be excluded, except at enormous expense to us all and at the cost of making our whole society unstable.

### **Prosperity**

Our economic potential is such that we should be embarking upon a period of increased prosperity and rising living standards for all sections of the population. In fact, there is no reason why we should not develop as fast, if not faster, than any other young country in the world, once freed from the retarding effects of the unrealistic Nationalist policies.

There is no doubt that our racial

problems will be easier to solve in a period of rapidly rising living standards and growing national prosperity. The circumstances, the population distribution and the history of this multi-racial country of ours combines to lay upon us the unavoidable duty of demonstrating that people of different races, different colours, different background, and different standards of culture and civilisation, can work and live together successfully and in harmony.

We do not live in a static society; there is room for modification, for alteration, for adaptation. A major adaptation in the thinking of many South Africans that is now necessary is to distinguish between the tribal Native with his roots in the Reserves and the permanently detribalised Native who has become part of our money economy. Accepting this distinction we emphasise the development of the Reserves with White capital and White skill in the interests of those Natives who are still tribal.

No one will deny that our political problems in South Africa will be simplified if certain areas are predominantly White and certain areas are predominantly Black. Different political solutions may be possible in the predominantly Black areas. But it is futile to imagine that we can ever have total racial segregation as Dr. Verwoerd implies. We will always have a large settled Native population in the White areas with no roots in the Reserves.

### **Real Challenge**

The real political challenge in South Africa is whether we will have the courage to accept the fact of a permanently detribalised Native population. This group must be accorded representation and that representation must be primarily based upon a permanent urban middle-class whose emergence Government policy should foster. Furthermore, the vast mass of statutory restrictions upon our Native peoples will have to be carefully and expertly examined so that no one in South Africa, Black or White, will suffer unnecessary

assaults upon his personal freedom and his personal dignity.

### **Asian Needs**

In respect of our Asians, immediate attention must be given to the effect of the application of the Group Areas Act upon their economic enterprises. The Nationalist Party can no longer pretend that repatriation is possible. The time has come, therefore, for negotiation to determine their future political status as a permanent part of the South African population.

### **Cape Coloured Group**

The Cape Coloured people are a Western group. The consequences of that fact must be faced. Coloureds, qualified to vote on the common or the separate roll should have the right of being elected to either House of Parliament if they can gain the required support of the electorate.

In short, the United Party policy is one of willingness to share Western civilisation with all our peoples in this country, but not at the expense of the standard of civilisation already achieved by many of our people. And we are convinced that, in order to maintain this standard, European leadership is essential.

The United Party has always looked to greater rigidity in our Constitution, not only to protect the rights of minority groups, but also to ensure that certain essential

freedoms are preserved. Safeguards are difficult but not impossible. We shall seek to introduce this principle of effective safeguards when the legislation to establish a republic comes before Parliament.

### **Emergent Peoples**

Our problems south of the Limpopo are part and parcel of the problems of Africa as a whole. New nation states have brought independence to people who have either never known it or have no historical memory of it. Whether it will bring success or failure, peace or strife, advance or retreat, no one can see at the moment; but whatever happens, it is going to affect us. We must realise that we cannot stand still. It is vital that we establish and maintain friendly relations with these emergent peoples. What we lack here is not a new direction but any sort of direction at all, for if ever a Government was guilty of diplomatic bankruptcy, it has been this Government in respect to the states of Africa.

We believe that we South Africans can prove that the great principles upon which our Western civilisation has been built are the right principles for the government of man even in a multi-racial state.

We are called upon to discharge our duty to our country and its people through a loyalty to South Africa, greater than any loyalty which we owe to any section or group.

## **PROGRESSIVE PARTY**

**The Progressive Party has built its platform on the simple proposition that all persons in our multi-racial community are entitled to enjoy democratic rights, and that such rights must be extended on a basis of merit, not colour. In other words, a man's progress in the community, and his assumption of the responsibilities that go with progress, must be determined by ability and not the colour of his skin.**

It follows that the Progressive Party rejects the principle of apartheid as a basis of extending political and economic rights. The Party regards the

thesis of territorial apartheid as both unattainable and undesirable, and it considers that the enforcement of apartheid in the economic and industrial spheres

amounts to discrimination of a dangerous kind.

On the other side of the picture, the Party believes that in the conditions that prevail in South Africa, where large sections of the population are still unfortunately primitive and ignorant, and incapable of understanding democratic procedures in a modern state, it would be unwise to extend political rights and responsibilities on a basis of universal franchise. The Party holds that experience in our own country and in other lands such as the Congo, suggests that democracy can only work in a community that understands what it is all about and how it is meant to operate.

### **Common-Roll Franchise**

Accordingly the aim of the Progressive Party is to extend a common-roll franchise to all sections of the community, irrespective of colour, on a basis of educational and economic qualifications. The plan is that there should be two voters' rolls, an "A" roll with relatively high qualifications to elect 90 per cent of the total number of members in the House of Assembly, and a "B", low-qualification roll to elect 10 per cent of the members of the Assembly.

Since it is a democratic principle that rights already held should not be taken away, all those on the existing Parliamentary voters' roll would automatically go on to the new high-qualification "A" roll, but future registrations would be determined by the qualifications laid down. These qualifications were decided as follows at a national congress of the Party in Johannesburg in November, 1960:

"A" roll—Union citizenship, to be defined by law and entrenched in the constitution; 21 years of age, irrespective of sex; passing of standard 8, or standard 6 plus an income of £25 per month for at least two years previously or occupation for at least two years of fixed property of an unencumbered value of £500. A married woman will be entitled to count her husband's income or property quali-

cations but must stand on her own educational qualifications.

"B" roll—Union citizenship, to be defined by law and entrenched in the constitution; attainment of 21 years of age, irrespective of sex; literacy according to an objective prescribed test in an official language.

It is proposed that the income and property qualifications should be reviewed at five-yearly intervals by a committee headed by a judge, and revised upwards or downwards in accordance with variations in the purchasing-power of money.

In order that the policy of a qualified franchise should be acceptable to Non-Whites, the Progressive Party's programme visualises full educational and economic opportunities. The colour-bar will be abolished in commerce and industry; universities will again be allowed to admit whom they desire to admit, irrespective of race; all races will be allowed to own property, to seek the work of their own choice, and to move freely throughout the land.

However, the Party considers that it will be necessary, for as long as can be foreseen, to afford special protection for groups of the community. For example, it will be necessary to protect the land-rights of Africans in the reserves. The Party is pledged to a programme of massive development of the reserves, not for ideological reasons but because it believes the rehabilitation and progress of the reserves to be in the economic interests of the country as a whole.

### **Protection**

A Bill of Rights is proposed, to protect group political and economic rights. Its provisions include equality before the law, liberty of the person, freedom of speech and the press; freedom of assembly, of association and religion; inviolability of home, right of petition, privacy of correspondence, prohibition of forced labour and prohibition of *ex post facto* laws. Other provisions include freedom of occupation, equal opportunity to enter the public service and the

right of parents to select the type of education they prefer for their children.

### Senate Reform

The Party hopes to introduce a further moderating influence into the legislature through a novel proposal for reforming the Senate. The plan is to elect the Senate directly by the Parliamentary voters on the high-qualification roll, the candidate being returned who receives the largest number of votes, provided that his votes must include at least one-fifth of the total votes cast by members of each group. This would ensure that no candidate who fought a racial campaign aimed at a minority would be likely to be elected.

It is proposed that the Senate should have power to reject all bills except money bills, and that if a bill should be rejected twice in succession the deadlock should be resolved at a joint sitting of both houses. It is also proposed that

senatorial approval should be required for important public appointments other than the judiciary and ordinary civil-service promotions; that standing committees of the Senate should review the administration of each government department; and that private bills should originate in the Senate.

Finally, the Progressive Party stands for the adoption of a rigid constitution as opposed to the present flexible constitution in which Parliament is sovereign and can override entrenched rights with comparative ease. The Party is satisfied that the enactment of a rigid constitution presents no legal difficulties, and the procedure to be followed in so doing, together with the precise form of the safeguards to be adopted, are at present being considered by a commission headed by Mr. Donald Molteno Q.C. It is hoped that the Commission's report will be available for adoption or amendment by a national congress of the Party in 1961.

## THE NATIONAL UNION

By Japie Basson, M.P., Chairman

The National Union has established what it calls a Programme of Priorities.

The programme recognizes the realities of the South African situation, but is intended to usher in a Fresh Start towards a more hopeful and co-operative future for all peoples and nations in the country.

### 1. The White Nation

The Party believes that the White people of South Africa possess the same right to national and natural existence as is possessed by all other nations of the world.

It realizes, however, that the inveterate rivalry for political power between its Afrikaans and English speaking sections has not only

continued to undermine the self-confidence of the White minority *vis-a-vis* the Non-White majority, to the detriment of all, but also given rise to a persistent exploitation of colour prejudices for political gain — both resulting in an ever increasing repression of Non-White aspirations under succeeding governments, be it in turn the South African, United or National Party.

Topping its list of priorities, therefore, is an urgent striving for White national unity, expressed in the full co-operation, participation and co-responsibility of both English and Afrikaans speaking White communities in the government of the country, so that the brain-power and experience of both can be applied jointly to a serious re-ordering of race relations generally.

### 2. The Coloured People

In the nature of things the

Coloured people provide the most obvious medium and starting-point for re-adjustment.

The Party believes that the existing principle of group representation for the Coloured people in our legislative bodies should, in their own interest, be retained for the present, but that fair application of the principle demands that they be given the immediate right to elect their own representatives to Parliament from their own people.

It follows that the Party wants to have measures which assail the dignity of the Coloured people as human beings and as citizens of the country, removed from the spheres of policy and administration.

It recognizes, too, that the Coloured community already possesses excellent administrative talent, which, if further trained and properly utilized, could be of inestimable service to South Africa at home and in the various branches of its political, information, trade and promotional services abroad; and the Party wants to see the Coloured people make this fuller contribution to the political development of the country.

### **3. The Territorial Bantu**

The Party is in favour of energetic action for the political and economic development of the Bantu Territories in the Union, in order to render them capable of becoming satisfying and happy national homes for their inhabitants, with the highest measure of self-administration of which they show themselves to be capable, and which is compatible with the general safety and welfare of the whole State.

For this purpose it accepts the economic data and recommendations of the Tomlinson Commission as a guide, and will strive, along the path indicated by those recommendations, to — combat soil erosion; improve agricultural and stock-breeding methods, with intensive training of the Bantu in the desired direction; establish and promote suitable industries; create and develop a class of Bantu who will not be dependent on agriculture or

stock farming, but who, collected in villages where that is convenient, will be able to subsist as industrial labourers, also as skilled workers, overseers, and managers, and as artisans, traders, clerks and professional men as civil servants in the general administration of the affairs of the Territories concerned.

The Party accepts the majority recommendation of the Tomlinson Commission for allowing private White enterprise and capital to play a part in the promotion of the economy of these Territories, subject to the reservations and safe-guards contained in that recommendation. It takes this line because it realizes that the time is too short and the necessity for rapid development too urgent to let ideological obstacles stand in the way.

### **4. Constitutional Future**

As ultimate superstructure the Party envisages, and indeed propagates the systematic establishment in Southern Africa of a Confederation of states comprising the Union, any of its Bantu Territories which becomes autonomous, South-West Africa, the British Protectorates in South Africa, and the neighbouring Rhodesias.

The principle of unity without uniformity — unity in matters of highest common concern, with the greatest possible measure of regional autonomy which the development and circumstances of each unit makes desirable, should form the basis of the Confederacy, which could conveniently be called the Associated States of Southern Africa (the A.S.S.A.).

With the eventual consolidation of smaller Bantu Territories in the Union, and the high potential of larger units such as the Transkei and Zululand, provincial status should be within comfortable reach for some of them, constitutional evolution for these Territories leading to the autonomy of an Associated State

### **5. The Extra-Territorial Bantu**

The Party accepts the fact that

in the areas outside the Bantu Territories, especially in our urban centres, there are a substantial number of settled Bantu who have adapted themselves to the Western way of life, and consider these centres, where they live and work, as their home. In the case of these people their freedom of movement, their freedom in the choice of work, and their opportunities of leading a family life and of acquiring security of housing accommodation for themselves and their families, cannot be restricted and controlled in the same way as in the case of people who come as workseekers from their tribal homes into the non-reserved areas.

Therefore, while the Party recognizes the necessity for effective influx control, in order to prevent the entry into the non-reserved areas of people for whom there is no work and no proper housing accommodation, laws aimed at controlling the movements of newcomers — generally referred to as "the pass laws" — cannot be applied to the settled class, at any rate not without radical modification. To bring about the necessary change in this respect there should not only be an immediate review of the "pass laws", but machinery should also be devised for their periodic reconsideration and re-adaptation.

The Party believes that every effort should be made to give these settled Bantu a greater share of responsibility and participation in the management of their own local affairs. There is, for instance, considerable room for the granting of executive powers to the advisory boards, or similar bodies, in Bantu townships, allowing them as much as possible of the same sort of supervision over, and regulation of, activities in those townships as is exercised by municipalities in the urban centres.

Machinery should be created for consultation between the local boards of Bantu townships on the one side, and members of the committees for Bantu affairs of the town councils concerned on the other.

Generally, measures which are

unnecessarily restrictive and cause friction and ill-feeling and which deny the recognition of human dignity should be removed from the spheres of policy and administration.

Migrant labour is an established system which cannot suddenly be put to an end. The Party recognizes, however, that it has economic disadvantages and brings social evils in its train, and therefore considers that the State should not put obstacles in the way of the stabilization of labour but, on the contrary, should encourage it.

On the national political level the Party advocates the restoration of the representation which the Bantu had in Parliament, with more direct participation of the Bantu outside the Bantu Territories in the election of their representatives. As an independent channel for giving expression to the views, the sentiments and the grievances of the Bantu in the country's highest legislative authority it can play a very necessary role.

## 6. The South African Asian

The Party declares for recognition that the position of the Indian is a domestic concern of South Africa, that repatriation cannot be a solution, and that the Indian community is consequently a permanent and valuable constituent of South African society. They must be represented in Parliament, while suitable arrangements should be made for their personal and direct representation in provincial and local government in Natal, in which the Indian community is primarily resident.

There would, of course, also have to be an immediate reconsideration of the measures which improperly curb the economic development of the Indian people.

## 7. Patriotism, External Policy and Democracy

(a) The Party believes it to be conducive to the peace and prosperity of South Africa to foster amongst all the population groups



of the country a feeling of unity of fundamental interests, a will to cooperate for the general good, and a common loyalty to the Republic of South Africa.

(b) The Party wants the maintenance of solidarity with the Commonwealth, because it believes that South Africa can exercise the most constructive influence in Africa and make the most effective contribution to international peace by a dynamic membership of this grand association of free states and peoples.

(c) The Party also favours the fostering of friendly relations with the other states and powers in Africa. This implies the establish-

ment of diplomatic and of contact with these states for the rest, full co-operation with the United Nations and other powers.

(d) The Party believes in a democratic way of life as the basis for civilized government. That it is the duty of the state to maintain and protect the freedom of religion, personal freedom of the press, of peaceful association, independence of the courts, and that before the Party believes there should be free access to the land for all, and that it opposes Communism and all forms of dictatorship.

## Latest Fact Papers

- **THE "PASS LAWS"** compiled by Muriel Horrell.

Price 5s. plus 3d. postage

- **THE LIQUOR LAWS**—As they affect African, Coloured and Asian people, compiled by Muriel Horrell.

Price 5s. plus 3d. postage

- **THE URBAN AFRICAN IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT**—A Study of the Advisory Board System and its Operation, compiled by Lawrence Rey.

Price 5s. plus 3d. postage

BLACK SASH  
DEC 1960

# CENSORSHIP AND PRESS CONTROL

*New steps towards dictatorship*

THE threat of tighter censorship has been hanging over our heads ever since the present Government came to power. Until now, they have nibbled away at freedom of opinion and expression by making wider use of existing censorship laws (there are no fewer than 21 of these on our Statute books) and adding restrictive provisions to several new laws.

In the coming session of Parliament, South Africa will move closer to dictatorship if the Censorship Bill is passed. This measure, entitled "Publications and Entertainments Bill," was introduced last April and referred to a Select Committee for inquiry and report, with power to bring up a new Bill.

The Select Committee was unable to complete its task because of the early end of the session but will be reappointed when Parliament reassembles in January.

## The Disciplined Republic

It is a well-known fact that the Government have a strong desire to control the reading matter of the public. The declared aim of the Nationalist Party is to establish a Christian-National Republic with the strongest emphasis upon the effective disciplining of the people.

The Nationalists firmly believe that the State should decide what the public should and should not read. In the debates on the Censorship Bill we are likely to hear a great deal about obscene publications. But pornography is not the main target of this Bill. We must take care not to be fooled by the puritan protestations of the politicians. We should keep our eye on the main target, which is political censorship.

The Nats. want to clamp down on those who hold and express political views which they detest. They want to suppress the publication of anti-apartheid news and views; they want to prevent the dissemination of "subversive" doctrines, such as those embodied in the Universal Declaration of Human

Rights; they want the power to block the transmission of critical reports.

The Censorship Bill provides the means to this end. It empowers the authorities to apply a strict censorship over all reading matter and entertainment, both imported and locally-produced.

Significantly, it embraces the press as well as all other publications. Significantly for two reasons—firstly because the Press Commission, appointed in

---

By ALEX HEPPLER

---

1950, has not yet reported, secondly, because the Nationalists have been persistently demanding drastic action to curb the "English" press, which they look upon as one of their worst enemies.

The Bill provides that all books and publications must be approved by a Publications Board, consisting of a chairman and at least ten members, all appointed by the Minister. Naturally, the Minister will take the greatest care to select the right people for this job.

If the Bill becomes law, it will be a criminal offence to print or publish any book or periodical without the prior permission of the Board. The Board can prohibit "the manufacture, printing, publishing, distribution, display, exhibition, sale or offering or keeping for sale" of any book, periodical, pamphlet, poster, writing, drawing, picture, photograph, painting, statue, record, etc., which in the opinion of the Board is undesirable or on any ground objectionable.

This means that this Board of the Minister's choosing will be the sole judge of what books and magazines South Africans should be allowed to read and what paintings and pictures they should be allowed to see. These connoisseurs will select our culture for us. They will be the controllers of our intellectual life.

Any author, publisher or other person who is dissatisfied with a decision of the Publications Board can appeal to an Appeal Board. Here again, the members are appointed by the Minister. The chairman must be a man with legal qualifications. He

## CENSORSHIP—continued

will be assisted by not less than four other members "appointed by virtue of their knowledge or experience of matters pertaining to art or literature or any other matters incidental to the appeal." The more one reflects upon this qualification, the more meaningless it becomes.

All decisions by the Appeal Board are final. No decision or steps taken by either the Publications Board or the Appeal Board can be tested or reviewed by any court of law.

## Press Control

The Board has no power to ban newspapers, but the press gets special censorship treatment. The Bill makes it a criminal offence to print, publish, distribute or sell "any undesirable newspaper," and proceeds to define an "undesirable newspaper."

This definition says that a newspaper is undesirable if it, or any part of it, "prejudicially affects the safety of the State; can have the effect of disturbing the peace or good order, prejudicing the general welfare, being offensive to decency, giving offence to the religious convictions of any section of the inhabitants of the Union, bringing any section of the inhabitants into ridicule or contempt, harming relations between sections of the inhabitants, promoting crime, discloses details of evidence given in legal proceedings regarding indecent acts, adultery or impotence . . . or is otherwise on any ground objectionable."

This definition is so wide that newspapers will find it virtually impossible to cover the news adequately without committing a crime. Sub-editors and lawyers will have to go over every item with a fine tooth comb to make sure that not even the most innocent reports or articles fall foul of these indefinite offences.

The last phrase alone—"or is otherwise on any ground objectionable"—exposes all newspapers to prosecution on the complaint of any narrow-minded or malicious person. Judging from the constant stream of abuse against the English-language press by Nationalist politicians, this sweeping definition would be used constantly to drag critical newspapers into court. Political reporting would become a dangerous hazard.

Worse than the criminal prosecutions would be the intimidation. The mere existence of a law of this kind would compel newspapers to impose a strict censorship themselves. As it is, the press now has to operate under the menace of the existing 20 or more censorship laws.

The very nature of the Publications and Entertainments Bill would force the press to err on the side

of over-caution, rather than take risks. The result would be that South Africans would be served doctored news. They would not be told many things that they ought to be told. The free exchange of opinions, which is so essential to the health of a democratic society, would no longer be permitted.

To succeed in their drive to the disciplined, Christian-National Republic, the Nationalists must control the press. A free press thwarts them beyond patience. Action would have been taken long ago, were it not for the fear of damaging repercussions. One is the curb on their own press, which they wish to avoid, and another is a new outburst of worldwide censure against South Africa.

All the Government are now waiting for is the yellow light from non-Nationalists. If the Government can persuade the opposition that some form of censorship is necessary they will be willing to risk overseas criticism and find a way to protect their own press. Dr. Verwoerd has made no bones about it. In his radio broadcast after the referendum he threatened us with censorship when he said, "We cannot allow the Republic and the future welfare of the nation to be ruined by sensation-mongering, incitement or the besmirching of our country's name or that of its leaders."

As the Nats. alone will be the judges of what constitutes sensation-mongering, incitement and besmirching, we can guess what Dr. Verwoerd was aiming at.

## Emergency Powers

The State of Emergency showed what the Government are after. The emergency powers indicated the form of censorship they would like to make a permanent institution in South Africa.

The draconic powers assumed by the Cabinet last March, by use of the Public Safety Act, enabled them to decree that the publication of "subversive statements" was a crime, punishable by a fine of

### CENSORSHIP AND PRESS CONTROL IN SOUTH AFRICA

By

ALEX HEPPLÉ

80 pp. FIVE SHILLINGS (post free)

Obtainable from Booksellers or  
from the Author,

P.O. Box 2864, Johannesburg.



"If only the press would be quiet nobody would know about you!"—*Contact*.

£500 and five years in jail. The definition of "subversive statement" was so wide that the International Press Institute was prompted to comment, in an article entitled "South Africa: A Press in Chains," that regulations couched in such sweeping terms "constitute a serious threat to the free and responsible reporting of actual events."

Using these emergency powers, the authorities raided the premises of several newspapers and closed down two weeklies, *New Age* and *Torch*. Later, the editor of the Liberal weekly *Contact*, Mr. Patrick Duncan, and his business manager were prosecuted for publishing subversive literature, alleged to be contained in two issues of this paper. The editor of the Port Elizabeth daily, the *Evening Post*, Mr. John Sutherland, was also brought before the courts on a charge of publishing "subversive statements" during the emergency.

The S.A. Society of Journalists expressed concern at other prosecutions of journalists and publishers. They referred specifically to the cases of Mr. Parkes of the *Rand Daily Mail* and Mr. Duncan of *Contact*, who were sent to prison for refusing to disclose sources of information to the police. Mr. Parkes was released after a few hours but Mr. Duncan was held in prison for three weeks before the police released him, saying that they had obtained the required information elsewhere.

Like all Select Committees, the one which will deal with the Publications and Entertainments Bill will have a majority of Government members. In view of the strong views of the Nationalists on the question of press control, it is likely that some members will feel that the Bill does not go far enough.

They may decide that control should be exercised through a Press Commissioner, as suggested by Dr. Carel de Wet, M.P., who has described the English-language press as "the country's worst agitator." Or they may prefer to wait for suggestions from the Press Commission, which has been busy investigating the press for ten years and has so far cost the country about £80,000.

The Select Committee may even prefer the "Undesirable Publications Bill" drafted by the Commission of Enquiry in Regard to Undesirable Publications (the Cronje Commission), which submitted its report in October, 1956. This Bill provides for the compulsory registration of newspaper publishers and distributors, and for censorship enforced by severe penalties, including the blacklisting of editors, withdrawal of licences and fines of £1,000 as well as imprisonment for five years.

## Who wants Censorship?

There was been no public demand for an extension of censorship in South Africa. Only intolerant Nationalist politicians, who hate having their policies censured by critical journalists, are seeking to limit the freedom of the press.

These men, who seek to dictate to us in regard to every aspect of our lives, must be resisted. If there is to be any hope whatsoever for democratic discussion in South Africa, it is essential that public criticism of politicians, political parties and Government should be maintained. Political censorship of any kind has no place in a free society.

## DR. HERTZOG DEEPLY CONCERNED

REGARDING press censorship, Dr. Albert Hertzog has said that the success of democracy depends on the ability of the people to judge fairly, justly and reasonably on all matters of common concern. This was possible only if the information on which the people formed its judgment was in itself correct, fair and reasonable.

"South Africa's good name, her general welfare, and the interests of every section of our people have suffered so badly as a result of abuse by some journalists, both South African and foreign, and by part of the press in this country of their trusted and responsible positions, that serious-minded people cannot help feeling deeply concerned about the present state of affairs. Something has to be done. What exactly, I am not in a position to suggest. Nobody likes press censorship, and the newspapers least of all. They can easily remedy the situation. Why don't they?"

## THE NEW EDUCATION BILL

# A WARNING TO PARENTS

ARE parents going to resist or tamely submit to the "Education Bill," which is expected to be introduced into Parliament during the coming session? The Black Sash awaits the answer with anxiety, for there is very little time left in which to protest.

The provisions and the implications of the Bill in its present form were analysed in the special issue of our magazine *Education for Isolation* and nobody who has read the magazine should be under any illusions about the fate of education in South Africa should the Bill become law.

The Black Sash, through brains-trusts, lectures, pamphlets, letters and articles in the press, has campaigned strenuously in all Regions to warn parents that the Bill, despite its innocuous title and official denials, paves the way to rigid State control of all schools receiving a government subsidy, and possibly to the introduction of Christian National Education principles.

### Not Consulted

It should be noted that no Teachers' Associations or University Education Departments were consulted about the contents of the Bill when it was introduced into Parliament last year. The teachers of South Africa (and they include supporters of the Government) through their Federal Council have unanimously rejected the Bill in its present form.

### THE FÜHRER SPEAKS

WE will take away their children. These we will train and educate to become new Germans. We will not permit them to lapse into the old way of thinking but will give them thorough training. We will take them when they are 10 years old and bring them up in the spirit of the community until they are 18. They shall not escape us. They will join the Party, the S.A., the S.S., or other formations, or go into factories or offices. Later they will do two years of military service. Who shall dare say that such training will not produce a nation?—*Adolf Hitler.*

Mrs. Sylvia Nell, founder of the Home and School Council in Johannesburg, speaking recently in Cape Town at one of her many lectures organised by the Cape Western Region of the Black Sash, said that in terms of personal freedom the Education Bill was one of the most dangerous Bills that had been set before the country. After this meeting the audience elected a committee which later was called The Cape Council of Education. Its main aim is to analyse and examine all developments within the field of education in the Cape Province and the Union, with the object of ensuring the establishment and maintenance of a sound and progressive system of education.

### Demand Information

In an article in the *Cape Times* on 15th November, 1960, the Council commented on the Bill as follows: "That it is the intention to interfere with the minutest detail of provincial educational activities, can be inferred from sub-clauses (3) and (4) of Clause 4, which empowers the Minister, after consultation with the Administrator concerned, to appoint three-man committees, one member of which shall be a member of the Council and be chairman of the committee to carry out such investigations at any school as the Minister in writing may direct, in connection with any matter affecting the basic principles of education. The committee shall have the right of access to the school and may demand documents, information and assistance from the school authorities in connection with its investigation.

"Such powers are normally only given to Commissions appointed by Parliament or the police.

"It has been shown that the Bill places powers in the hands of the Minister, which, however good his intentions, he should not possess in relation to any function of the state, let alone one as vital to the welfare of the nation as education.

"It is therefore hoped that every voter and every parent will bring pressure to bear upon his Member of Parliament, whatever his political affiliations may be, to have the dangerous clauses removed from the Bill before it again comes before Parliament. This is a vitally important matter entirely divorced from party politics."

*The Nationalist Government is itching to get its fingers on the press. The mammoth Press Commission inquiry is still not ended, but the first round of censorship control is being introduced through the clauses of the Publications and Entertainments Bill, now before a parliamentary select committee. This article by ALEX HEPPLER reviews the provisions of this Bill.*

## THE PRESS

# CLAMPS and CONTROLS

The Publications and Entertainments Bill is another of those measures to regiment the people of South Africa and compel them to conform to the narrow standards demanded by prejudiced politicians.

It was introduced in parliament last April but held over because of the early end of the session and will be dealt with by a Select Committee when parliament reassembles in January.

The purpose of the Bill is to apply a strict censorship over all reading matter and entertainment, both imported and locally-produced.

Significantly, it embraces the press as well as all other publications. Significantly for two reasons — firstly, because the Press Commission, appointed in 1950 has not yet reported, and secondly, because the Nationalists have been persistently and hysterically demanding drastic action to curb the "English press", which they look upon as one of their worst enemies.

### Not Pornography But Politics

As far as general censorship is concerned, righteous people may easily be persuaded that such control is necessary to protect public morals or to safeguard the younger generation against the corruptions of smut. But pornography is not the real target.

This Bill is undoubtedly aimed at political opinions.

The authorities want to clamp down on those who hold and express political views which they detest. They want to suppress the publication of anti-apartheid news and views; they want to prevent the dissemination of publications which advocate subversive principles such as those contained in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; they want the power to block the transmission of critical reports on the situation in South Africa.

### PAC & the Emergency

that he is an African and not a European.

If we define racialism as a belief that a race is innately inferior or superior to one's own, or that it should be discriminated against, PAC is not racialistic. It wants to abolish racialism, even to the extent of assimilating Whites and Coloureds. It rejects alien rule and co-operation with non-Africans in the same way that Afrikaners have rejected English domination in every sphere. We should describe PAC's attitude as chauvinism and not racialism.

PAC stands or falls by its rejection of co-operation with non-Africans. If its 'go it alone' policy is wrong, then it should never have been formed.

FIGHTING TALK, FEBRUARY, 1960

### Selected Censors

The Bill provides that all books and publications must be approved by a Publications Board, appointed by the Minister. Naturally, the Minister will take the greatest care to select the right people for this job.

The Board can prohibit "the manufacture, printing, publishing, distribution, display, exhibition, sale or offering or keeping for sale" of any book, periodical, pamphlet, poster, writing, drawing, picture, photograph, etc., which in the opinion of the Board is undesirable or on any ground objectionable.

Appeals against decisions of the Publications Board can be made to an Appeal Board, also appointed by the Minister and all decisions by the Appeal Board are final. No decision or steps taken by either the Publications Board or the Appeal Board can be tested or reviewed by any Court of law.

### Press Control

The Board has no power to ban newspapers. The press gets special censorship treatment. First, there is the outright banning of newspapers considered to be "undesirable". On the passing of the Bill, it will become an offence to print, publish, distribute, exhibit or sell an undesirable newspaper.

A newspaper is "undesirable" if it, or any part of it, "prejudicially affects the safety of the State; or can have the effect of disturbing the peace or good order, prejudicing the general welfare, being offensive to decency, bringing any section of the inhabitants of the Union into ridicule and contempt . . . or is otherwise on any ground objectionable."

Prosecutions against newspapers can be instituted only by the Attorney-General. The definition quoted above is so wide that it would not be difficult for the A-G to frame an indictment against every leading newspaper in the country.

To succeed in their drive to the disciplined Christian-National, Republican State, the Nationalists must control the press. A free press thwarts them beyond patience. Action would have been taken long ago, were it not for the damaging repercussions. One is the curb on their own press, which the Nats. wish to avoid, and the other is a new outburst of world-wide censure against South Africa.

If the Government can persuade the Parliamentary opposition that some sort of censorship is necessary, it will be willing to risk overseas criticism and will find a way to protect its own press.

### Emergency Powers

The State of Emergency showed what the Government is after. The draconic

powers assumed by the Cabinet last March, by use of the Public Safety Act, enabled them to decree that the publication of "subversive statements" was a crime, punishable by a fine of £500 and five years in jail.

The definition of "subversive statement" was so wide that the International Press Institute was prompted to comment, in an article entitled "South Africa: A Press in Chains", that "regulations couched in such sweeping terms constitute a serious threat to the free and responsible reporting of actual events".

Using the same powers the authorities raided the premises of several newspapers and closed down "New Age" and "Torch".

The State of Emergency was prolonged for five months and the Prime Minister issued a warning that even when it was lifted, he would not hesitate to reimpose it if he thought it necessary.

The Emergency must be related to the Censorship Bill because it indicates the form of censorship which the Government seeks to apply permanently.

### The Select Committee

The Select Committee has been given leave to bring up an amended Bill. Like all Select Committees, the one that will consider the Censorship Bill will have a majority of Government members.

It is possible that some members will feel that the Bill does not go far enough. They may prefer the Bill proposed by the Cronje Commission, which submitted a report on Undesirable publications in October 1956.

The Cronje proposals included the compulsory registration of newspaper publishers and distributors and censorship enforced through severe penalties, including the blacklisting of editors, withdrawal of licences and fines of £1000 as well as imprisonment for five years.

A ferocious curb on political journalism was brazenly recommended by bland references to "communistic" matter, using the convenient, all-embracing definition of "communistic" in the Suppression of Communism Act. Any newspaper found to contain "communistic" matter would be permanently suppressed and its editor banned from employment in any capacity with any other periodical.

### Who Wants Censorship?

There has been no public demand for an extension of censorship in South Africa. Only angry Nat. politicians, who hate having their policies censured by critical editors and journalists, are seeking to limit the freedom of the press. But they must be resisted. If there is to be any hope whatsoever for democratic discussion in South Africa, it is essential that public criticism of politicians, political parties and Government should be maintained. A free press is the life blood of democracy.

# ON THE INDIAN CENTENARY A STAKE IN THE LAND

by J. N. SINGH

1960 marks the end of a century in the life of the Indian people in this country. It was in Durban, that on November 16, 1860, the first batch of just over 300 settlers from India arrived in the S.S. Truro to commence a new life in a strange land. These first settlers and those who followed them for the next decade or so, are the roots which gave birth to the almost half a million of our people who now live in South Africa. Homage and tribute must be paid to these pioneers, who with their descendants have made a significant contribution to the economy, progress and development of Natal and South Africa.

In the Natal Parliament, one of the leaders of local European opinion, Sir Liege Hullet admitted that from the date of the arrival of Indians "began the material prosperity of Natal", and made it, just before Union, the premier producing province in South Africa.

## Settlers

As the periods of indenture of the first arrivals ended, they became free to pursue the work and occupations of their choice. Many were employed on the railways and the coal mines, some took to gardening and farming of their own, others to domestic service and a few to business and commerce. In the wake of the indentured labourers followed numbers of Indians who came as free settlers and became pioneer traders in the towns and remote country areas, opening up new vistas of commercial life where none existed before.

At the outset there was no hint that differential treatment would be in store for any section of our people and the Indian naturally expected that he would be entitled to progress without any hindrance in whichever field he chose. But this was not to be.

Legislative and administrative difficulties were slowly being placed in the path of the small Indian community, especially in their right to own land and trade freely. They were also subjected to the paying of a heavy poll tax of £3 for every female over thirteen years and every male of sixteen.

They had already been hounded out and barred from the Orange Free State and the Transvaal had passed Law 3 of 1885, requiring every Indian trader to register at a cost of £25 and barring him from owning an inch of land, or enjoying the rights of citizenship.

In Natal a move was afoot to disfranchise all Indians and prohibit their future entry into the colony. In the Cape, however, there were no legal restrictions but the treatment of Indians was not free from humiliating features, for example Indian children could not attend public schools and Indian travel-

lers could hardly secure accommodation in hotels.

It was in such a climate that a young Indian barrister arrived in South Africa in May, 1893 to handle a brief in the case between Dada Abdulla of Durban versus Taib Haji Khanmamad of Pretoria. His name was Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. His fee was a free passage, expenses paid, and a hundred guineas for a brief lasting one year.

## Gandhi

Gandhi left these shores 21 years later on 18th July, 1914, after a most eventful and historic sojourn in this country. During his stay we saw the birth of the first Indian political movement in the country. In May, 1894 the Natal Indian Congress was born. The first batch of Indians under Gandhi enrolled as volunteers during the Boer War of 1899 and their work was mentioned by General Buller in his despatches. War medals were conferred on 37 of their leaders.

It was Gandhi who led the great Satyagraha struggle for 8 years against the unjust and discriminatory laws of his day. It is now history that he successfully concluded that struggle resulting in the abolition of the £3 tax, recognition of Indian marriages, and permitting the re-entry into Natal of Indians previously domiciled here — the main grievances of the Indian people at that time.

Gandhi has left us an inspiring heritage of courage, self-sacrifice, devotion and tolerance and an unshakeable faith in the priceless and matchless weapon of Satyagraha and non-violence.

## Race Laws

As we move into the second century of our stay in South Africa, we find ourselves still far short of our ideals, ambitions and aspirations. We, who comprise 460,000 inhabitants in this land, about 3% of the total South African population, are still not recognised as a permanent part of this country, although we regard South Africa as our home and know no other. 95% of our people were born here. We are the most indigenous of all the communities in Natal. In Durban we are the biggest single group.

Yet we live in fear of being unsettled by such evil forces as the Group Areas Act, which by its displacements is causing untold misery, hardship and loss among our people and engendering bitterness and racial feelings. The uprooting and removals in Durban and other parts of the country under the Group Areas Act are the most shameful chapter in the history of South Africa under Nationalist apartheid rule.

Only a few days ago we have had foisted on us the unwanted, unsolicited

and deeply shunned and unarmour condemned separate ethnic Indiversity on Salisbury Island. We wish nor will we endure the creation of an isolated island for our people whole nor for our students in pass. We reject this as we reject apartheid and discriminatory measures.

## Closed Doors

Despite the tremendous sacrifices we have made in the acquisition of independence by the self help we have practised in building of schools, we are still at the end of a hundred years, short of attaining the desired standard of compulsory education, nor are children in school. Many opportunities in acquiring skill, learning, training and participation in various professions and trade remain closed to us. We are grieved by the restriction of job opportunities and its consequential unemployment. We are still barred from moving from one province to another. We enjoy no voting rights of any consequence since the Parliament was withdrawn from our people and the municipal franchise denied us in 1924.

Lest we be accused of a biased view of the present and outlook, let me quote the Natal Daily News:—

"As they commemorate the 100th anniversary of the arrival of the first settlers in Natal, the Indians should look back on a period of endeavour and achievement of which they can be justly proud. They should be proud about as they have been by their own and artificial restrictions on every front, victims of discrimination from the very beginning, a large number have nevertheless made a worthwhile contribution to the community. . . . Now nobody any longer regards the time as surely come to face the question of citizenship rights for those who have earned them and to exercise them. . . . Simplicity and justice suggest that the last be given a permanent status in the land they are helping to build."

As the smallest minority of the population of this country, our rights in South Africa is one of hope and justice will govern the relations and relationships of all our fellow citizens towards each other. We do not regard ourselves the superior to any other group. We do not concede that we are the best of any. We have the greatest respect for all our neighbours and fellow citizens in this land, regardless of race, creed, or language. We expect mutual respect from all.

We are determined to work for goodwill and tolerance among all men, to strive for a happier South Africa in which there will be harmonious relations among all sections of the people, with no artificial barriers of racial or colour prejudices to human understanding and harmony in this fair land of

**Collection Number: A3393**

**Collection Name: Bob Hepple Papers**

***PUBLISHER:***

*Publisher:* Historical Papers Research Archive, University of the Witwatersrand

*Location:* Johannesburg

©2015

***LEGAL NOTICES:***

**Copyright Notice:** All materials on the Historical Papers website are protected by South African copyright law and may not be reproduced, distributed, transmitted, displayed, or otherwise published in any format, without the prior written permission of the copyright owner.

**Disclaimer and Terms of Use:** Provided that you maintain all copyright and other notices contained therein, you may download material (one machine readable copy and one print copy per page) for your personal and/or educational non-commercial use only.

People using these records relating to the archives of Historical Papers, The Library, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, are reminded that such records sometimes contain material which is uncorroborated, inaccurate, distorted or untrue. While these digital records are true facsimiles of paper documents and the information contained herein is obtained from sources believed to be accurate and reliable, Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand has not independently verified their content. Consequently, the University is not responsible for any errors or omissions and excludes any and all liability for any errors in or omissions from the information on the website or any related information on third party websites accessible from this website.

This document forms part of a collection held at the Historical Papers Research Archive, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa.