

27.2.1965

7-OCT 1965

P.O. Box 313,
JOHANNESBURG.
5th October, 1965.

The Director,
The Institute of Race Relations,
Auden House,
68, de Korte Street,
BRAAMFONTEIN. Jhb.

Dear Sir,

I am a New Zealander about to revisit New Zealand after an absence of nearly 30 years.

I have been living in South Africa since November 1945 when, together with wife and family, I was discharged from the R.N.Z.A.F. in South Africa instead of New Zealand.

I want to do all I can to improve the image of South Africa when I visit New Zealand in November, December and January and for this purpose am now acquiring all the knowledge I can relative to what is being done for the Black and Coloured peoples in our country.

During the course of my stay I shall be meeting a number of high ranking Government Officials, Politicians and business-men, as many of these were my friends of 30 years ago, and with whom I have kept spasmodic contact.

I feel that I should try and prepare myself so as to be able to answer even the most difficult questions that may be directed at me and here is where I would like your help.

Your experience and knowledge is much vaster than mine. Could you send me a list of say a dozen controversial questions that I might be asked and if at all possible furnish me with the sort of replies that I should make to those questions. What I am asking for is not the usual run of questions that I can very easily obtain from literature put out by the South African Foundation, State Information Office etc. but questions such as these:-

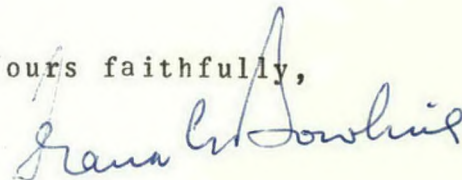
- (1) Why is it necessary to break up family life by not allowing wives and families to join their husbands when the latter are in permanent employment in the various cities.
- (2) In view of the tremendous wealth in South Africa what is being done to provide education for the Africans at a faster rate.
- (3) When visitors are touring the country districts of South Africa it is noticed on many farms that quite large numbers of Africans are employed. Do all these have education facilities?

On the face of it, this may seem rather a tall order but I feel sure you will appreciate what a big help this could be as I would then be able to give the right information in the right place.

I would mention that I am a member of the New Zealand Committee of the Foundation and I am naturally obtaining considerable literature together with information from this source.

I offer my sincere thanks in anticipation of your help and if it would not be too much trouble, could I ask for your reply by the 20th October,

Yours faithfully,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'F.G. Bowling', written in a cursive style.

F.G. BOWLING.

misc

Gen Hls

2/1/3

18th October, 1965.

F. G. Bowling, Esq.,
P.O. Box 313,
JOHANNESBURG.

Dear Mr. Bowling,

I write to acknowledge your letter of 5/10/65.
You have set me rather a difficult task.

May I suggest first that you look at the titles on the enclosed list of publications produced by the Institute. We have, in addition, memoranda. These could supply you with the answers to a number of questions. Also, I suggest that an invaluable "vade mecum" is our "Annual Survey of Race Relations" which is very well indexed and which will give facts and figures, dispassionately laid out, on most questions that you may be asked. The Survey of 1964 was published in January 1965.

Certain basic questions might be :-

1. Why separate development?
2. What is being done for African education, welfare, training?
3. Will Bantustans solve South Africa's problem?
4. Why job reservations and the colour bar?
5. Why 90 days and 180 days?
6. What is the reason for influx control?
7. Why border industries?
8. Why is there no revolution?
9. Is South Africa a police state?
10. Will an adverse decision on South West Africa affect South Africa?
11. Why does South Africa "defy" the world?
12. Will the United Nations or African states take up arms against South Africa?
13. How long will the Nationalist government remain in power?
14. Is there freedom of the press, association, opinion?

You will appreciate that a full and fair answer to any one of these questions would involve an essay or memorandum. Take for example, question 1.

Why Separate Development?

One would have to allude to the history of the Afrikaner, to British imperialism in South Africa, to the struggle of Afrikaners to achieve recognition of language and status, to Afrikaner nationalist determination to survive as a group. One would also have to show how white South Africa has its colonies and its dependent peoples inside its own metropolitan boundaries and how devolution of power in this situation has few, if any, precedents. One could then suggest that the government has decided on separate volk development for all communities as a means towards securing Afrikaans survival. At the same time, one would have to point to the extreme difficulty of any such "solution", because of the high degree of integration already present, the dependence of industry etc. on African and non-white labour, the lack of resources in Bantustans, the particular position of Indians, and Coloureds who have no such "stans". One would have to question the viability of any such solution.

2. Education and Training.

Question 2 can be answered from an Institute pamphlet "A Decade of Bantu Education" and from 2 memoranda on the financing of Bantu education. These would perhaps, not be sufficient; for one would have to refer to the determination of the government that the Africans must themselves pay for further extension of African education. One would have to refer also to the assertions that the Africans must pull themselves up with "their own bootstraps". And one would have to question the principle of all this in the middle of the 20th century. It would be important also to put this in the party-political context where it is difficult for a government to expend what is regarded as "white" taxation on Africans even although the Prime Minister himself has said that Africans pay even for their own services which this Institute also believes they do. Actually, I believe that the government will be forced to provide much more from the general revenue of the country, to which Africans obviously contribute, for the primary, secondary and technical education of Africans.

3. "Bantustans" or "Homelands".

Only one is operating - the Transkei, and an Institute memorandum indicates to what extent development has taken place. But the establishment of Bantustans must be linked with the establishment of "border industries". The existence of the latter would suggest that it is residential segregation that is aimed at, not working-day segregation. Border industries could, perhaps, be justified by the idea of decentralisation of industry, but the government has linked this with its policy of separate development and Bantustans.

4. 90 Days and 180 Days.

Presented with African aspirations resulting from economic development, the expectations raised by a war against tyranny, the emergence to independence of African states, increasing urbanisation and industrialisation and fully aware of the threat of this to Afrikaner Nationalism, the government took steps to break African political organizations. This it has done by a series of legislative enactments including the 90 days and 180 days laws. The existence of a small, well-organized Communist group gave validity to and secured general acceptance of such measures, but they alienated non-white opinion. The only historical justification of them will be if separate development as propounded by the government can achieve racial accommodation in South Africa. In the meantime, they ran contrary to British and American traditions and democratic approaches.

9. Is South Africa a police state?

South Africa is not yet a police state despite what might be termed "arbitrary" legislation. The press is pretty free but has to be careful. Many of the accepted normal rights have been limited in many fields. For Africans and non-whites - free political expression, for trade unions, free association of workers; for white and African alike, free entry into each others areas. One would suggest that for white and non-white alike there is fear of any association across colour lines.

13. The Government.

The government will remain in power at the next

general election, probably with an increased majority, for it is dependent on all the white electorate. While there may be saboteur infiltration and some subversive action, it is unlikely that there will be revolution.

You will, I am sure, appreciate that I cannot go into detail and expand. I do not know if what I have said will enable you to present a better image of South Africa in New Zealand. The situation is most complicated, but basic, in this mid-20th century, is whether full, free, cultural economic and political freedom is envisaged for non-whites in South Africa. You have been in South Africa for 20 years and are aware of the nuances of the situation and it is your reaction to South Africa as an aware South African, that will tell in New Zealand.

Yours sincerely,

Quintin Whyte
DIRECTOR

Encl.

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