

*one day*

# Dr. Nkrumah back - just in time for Court order

From Our Correspondent

*12/1/58*  
Accra, Tuesday.

GHANA'S PRIME MINISTER, Dr. Nkrumah, arrived back in Accra yesterday from his two-week visit to India. And yesterday an Accra judge ordered that a notice be served on him to show cause next week why two political detainees should not be brought to court.

Cited with Dr. Nkrumah, are the Attorney-General, Mr. Geoffrey Bing, Q.C., former Labour

M.P. for Hornchurch, Essex, and the Director of Prisons, Mr. C. B. Moses.

The detained men are Mr. R. R. Amponsah, general secretary of the Opposition United Party, and Mr. M. K. Apaloo, member of its executive committee. They were detained on December 19 for alleged conspiracy to kill or capture Dr. Nkrumah and overthrow the Government by force.

They are being held under the Preventive Detention Act, under which they can be detained for five years without trial.

A similar application for a writ of habeas corpus in respect of the other 38 political detainees was refused last week.

Meanwhile, at the airport yesterday, thousands gathered to welcome Dr. Nkrumah. Strict security precautions were taken.



## King Baudouin's broadcast

13/1/59

# Congo promised independence — in the future

Brussels, Tuesday.

**K**ING BAUDOUIN today promised the people of the Belgian Congo their independence in the future. In a broadcast he said: "Our firm resolution today is to lead the Congolese population to independence with peace and prosperity, without damaging delays, but also without undue haste."

The King's unusual broadcast was made only an hour before the Belgian Parliament was to hear a Government statement on the Congo's political future. The statement promised the Natives limited voting rights this year.

The King's message was addressed to "My dear compatriots in Belgium and the Congo."

Commenting on the idea of in-

dependence, the King continued:

"In a civilized world, independence is a statute which unites and guarantees freedom, order and progress."

The King said that independence could be achieved only "through solid and well-balanced institutions and experienced administrative personnel — a well-settled social, economic and financial organization in the hands of experienced technicians, and an intellectual and moral structure for the population — without which a democratic regime is mere derision, deception and tyranny."

**UNDISPUTABLE RIGHTS**

"If we do not hesitate to approve and to support the aspirations of our Black brothers, we cannot allow the fact to be forgotten that in 80 years of service and efforts Belgium has acquired undisputable rights to their sympathy and their loyal co-operation."

The King said: "We are attached to the realization of these basic conditions, and we intended to consecrate ourselves to them in enthusiastic, cordial and concerted efforts with our African peoples."

King Baudouin said: "Far from imposing all-European solutions on the Congo peoples, we intend to favour original adaptations."

He said that a large degree of decentralization, together with a rapid extension of the electoral system, and the abandonment of all discrimination between Whites and Blacks would enable the development of the Belgian Congo to go ahead.

**NOBLE AIMS**

King Baudouin alluded to his great-great-uncle, King Leopold II, who handed over the colony to Belgium 50 years ago.

"The aim of our presence on the Black continent has been defined by Leopold II to open European civilization to these backward countries, to call their peoples to emancipation, liberty, and progress after taking them away from slavery, illness and misery."

"Continuing these noble aims, it is our firm resolution today to lead the peoples of the Congo without procrastination, but without thoughtless haste, to independence in prosperity and peace."

## N.R. Native to study at Scotland Yard

From Our Correspondent

LUSAKA, Tuesday.—A 35-year-old Native inspector in the Northern Rhodesia Police at Ndilew will go to Britain towards the end of this month to begin a six-month course in criminal investigation at the Hendon Police College, London.

He will also attend a special course in fingerprints at Scotland Yard.

He is the first Native policeman in Northern Rhodesia to become a fingerprint specialist.

## To inquire into riots

BRUSSELS, Tuesday. A NINE-MAN commission of inquiry appointed by the Belgian Parliament to investigate the Leopoldville riots leaves here tonight by air for the Belgian Congo.

The commission, headed by M. Andre Dequae, former Social Christian (Catholic) Minister, will consist of four Catholics, three Socialists and two Liberals.—Sapa-Reuter.



# The Star

TUESDAY, JANUARY 13, 1959

## Facing the "agonizing decision"

THE State Information Office, in one of its current publications, has analysed the recent United Nations debate on apartheid and made two deductions from the facts.

One is that Britain and Australia may soon be forced into the "agonizing decision" whether or not to emulate the United States and Canada—traditional allies of South Africa who could "no longer resist the pressures of public opinion" and who cast their votes against this country in the apartheid debate.

The other deduction is that the Union's isolation from the rest of the world will increase.

What distinguishes—or mars—this survey is the assumption that while South Africa, in pursuance of its apartheid policy, may not be on the side of the rest of mankind, it is surely on the side of the gods.

In striking contrast to such self-righteousness is the anguished public declaration made yesterday by Mr. Centlivres, former Chief Justice of the Union, who said that the policy of separation had been carried to absurd lengths and condemned the new and strange doctrine of White infallibility which prevented inter-racial consultation.

Between such opposing views what is the ordinary citizen to think and do? As he contemplates the political and social evolution in West and Central Africa and ponders on the situation in Kenya, Nyasaland and the Congo, he probably wonders whether any attempt to build multi-racial states on foundations of parliamentary democracy and partnership



with."—Sapa.

*The Star*  
**Non-White  
journalists  
quiz Negro  
visitor**  
12/1/59

By a Staff Reporter

More than 30 pressmen, White and non-White, turned out for a Press conference by the visiting Negro newspaperman, Mr. William Gordon, in Johannesburg yesterday afternoon.

Almost as interesting as what he had to say was the barrage of questions fired at him, by representatives of the non-European Press.

What were the qualifications for Negro voters in America, they wanted to know. (None, drawled Mr. Gordon, that did not apply to Whites equally.)

Had the Negroes ever resorted to extremism in their fight for full equality?

Did they "think Negro" first and American second?

What about social integration? Had he been asked in the Union for his pass?

Mr. Gordon, tall and smooth-spoken, answered them all with assurance.

**LOOK ROUND FIRST**

He parried only when asked about the Union—"I'd like to have a good look round first," he said.

Mr. Gordon, who comes from Atlanta, Georgia—he began by apologizing for his "Deep South" accent—is the 38-year-old city editor of a Negro-owned newspaper.

He spoke at length of the rapid pace at which complete integration is proceeding in the South—everywhere except at the famous high school at Little Rock.

"I know how it is," he said. "I'm a newspaperman myself. We look for headlines and that was a good one."

Today Mr. Gordon was being taken on a tour of Native areas by Bantu Administration Department officials.

Tonight he will address an invitation-only meeting of the Political Study Group in Pretoria.



# Belgium promises new deal for Congo: end of racial discrimination

Brussels, Wednesday.

**T**HE BELGIAN GOVERNMENT yesterday promised its Congo territories a new deal—with elections, a “skeleton Parliament” and an end to all discrimination between black and white. A Government statement on the future of the 13-million Congolese was read before both Chambers of Parliament by the Prime Minister, M. Gaston Eyskens, and the Minister for the Congo, M. Maurice van Hemelryck.

Earlier, King Baudouin, in a broadcast, said that Belgium intended to lead the Congo peoples to “independence, in prosperity and peace.”

The Catholic Prime Minister, M. Eyskens, gave Parliament details of the proposed reforms, which, he said, would make the Belgian Congo “a democracy capable of deciding its independence.”

M. Eyskens said that local elections for Native councillors would be held in towns and most rural areas by the end of this year; and in 1960 they would elect provincial councils to form a skeleton of a chamber of representatives.

The objective of democracy would be pursued unceasingly “with the collaboration of all inhabitants,” he said. “The power of decision will progressively be left to them in ever wider fields.”

## “SKELETON” SENATE

M. Eyskens said after the Congo had developed politically, it would be “desirable that bonds of association should be maintained between the Congo and Belgium.”

Communal and rural councillors would be elected by universal suffrage, and these, together with the existing city councillors, would elect the majority of provincial councillors, and later, general councillors.

A “General Council of the Congo,” a “skeleton” Chamber of Representatives, would take the place of the present Government Council.

Parallel to the general council a Legislative Council, or “skeleton” Senate, would be created.

This body will be composed partly of members elected by provincial councils and partly by appointees, as in the present Colonial Council, whose place it will take, M. Eyskens said.

## NO DISCRIMINATION

M. Eyskens said that the General and Legislative Councils would have a joint power of legislation and decision progressively granted to them.

Consultative councils would be created immediately by the Governor-General of the Belgian Congo and by the Governors of the six provinces, to assist the process of development.

M. Eyskens said that none of these measures applied to the Belgian United Nations trusteeship territory of Ruanda Urundi, which adjoins the Belgian Congo.

The different liberties enjoyed by Belgians would have to be guaranteed by law in the Congo.

“All traces of racial discrimination will disappear, both in practice and in writing,” the Prime Minister added.

## ALL HAD RIGHT

Referring to the creation a year ago of the Congo's first Native burgomasters, M. Eyskens said all the peoples of the Congo had the right to be consulted, “for democracy does not stop at the gates of the town.”

The extent of the territory and the development of its organization now demanded an effort of decentralization, to bring together the administrators and those whose affairs they administer.

The Government declaration, read to the Lower House of Parliament by M. Eyskens, was read to the Senate by M. Maurice van Hemelryck, Minister for the Congo.

M. Eyskens was heard in silence by a tense house, and he was warmly applauded at the end.—Sapa-Associated Press.



14/1/59

Readers' views

# Natives asked to pay "on-the-spot" fines for pass offences

To the Editor of The Star

SIR,—My Native servant was recently accosted by a policeman who demanded to see his pass.

Unfortunately, through an oversight, the pass was dated November instead of December, although the months run concurrently in the pass. The policeman demanded a fine of £1, which was paid.

On another occasion another of our servants was accosted and a fine was demanded.

The Native had only 4s. 6d. on his person. This was accepted and the Native was allowed to leave.

Is it competent for any policeman to demand and accept a fine without arresting a Native and bringing him to trial?

A. BELL.

★ The Deputy-Commissioner of Police for the Witwatersrand says that members of the South African Police are not permitted to demand or receive money in lieu of fines from accused persons away from police stations. If the complainant would report at a police station the matter would be investigated. The police may well have been impersonated.



Col. J. C. Lemmer, Deputy-Commissioner of Police for the Witwatersrand, who today replies to complaints in letters on this page that Natives have been fined on the spot for alleged pass offences and that impersonation of the "Ghost Squad" still continues.

## "Ghost Squad" should identify themselves

Sir,—I am surprised, that, notwithstanding the publicity recently given to the impersonation of members of the "Ghost Squad", the police authorities have apparently taken no active steps to prevent such practices.

From the very nature of the "Ghost Squad", that is, that they are policemen dressed in plain clothes, the abuse to which the system is open is obvious and law-abiding non-Europeans are robbed and assaulted daily through this.

There should be some way in which members of the "Ghost Squad" accosting and apprehending a non-European should be made to identify themselves as such on demand to the satisfaction of the person so accosted.

Would the production of credentials by persons who purport to be members of the "Ghost Squad" entail much difficulty and inconvenience, or indeed defeat the whole purpose of a "Ghost Squad"? I and, I submit all rational persons are convinced it would not.

I AM THE SUFFERER.

★ The Deputy-Commissioner of Police for the Witwatersrand says that detectives or uniformed policemen employed in civilian dress are instructed to and will invariably identify themselves on being requested to do so by an accosted person. When such a request is refused the arrested or accosted person should ask to be taken to a police station.



14/1/59

# NATIONALISM OF BLACKS "IRRESISTIBLE"

## Is not anti-White or Communist, says Negro

**A**FRICAN NATIONALISM was not allied to Communism and was not anti-White, Mr. William Gordon told a large audience at a meeting of the Pretoria Political Study Group last night.

The quiet, well-spoken Negro, editor of a newspaper in Atlanta, Georgia, and holder of an Ogden-Reid Fellowship, was speaking in St. Alban's Cathedral Hall—the same venue where, a few months ago, the president of the African National Congress, Mr. Albert Luthuli, was assaulted while addressing the same group.

Last night's meeting passed without incident, and thunderous applause greeted Mr. Gordon when he ended his talk.

He said that nothing could stop the march of African nationalism. It was like a river that had broken through a dam.

"You cannot stop it. You can only go along with it and try to propel it into the proper channels.

### Local leaders want share in politics, he thinks

"The feeling I have got so far in discussions with your African leaders is that they do not wish to push the European out of the country, but to have a share with him in politics and government," said Mr. Gordon.

His advice to territories where African nationalism was becoming a problem was:

"Create the opportunity for people to rise, for where they rise in economic, political and social status among you, they are your friends.

"Give them the opportunity to share with you."

#### CONGO MISTAKE

Referring to the recent disturbances in the Congo, he said the Europeans had done a good job of advancing the African inhabitants.

"But the one mistake they made is that, along with economic growth, they took too long to give the African political freedom."

Asked whether hatred for the Whites was not a common denominator of African nationalism in its several facets, he said that this had not been his experience.

#### DIFFERENT TYPE

At the Accra conference, he gained the impression that African nationalism was not the emotional type of nationalism found in the Middle East or the Far East.

There had been attempts to throw the conference into different channels, but leaders knew that that type of influence was not the line to take.

For the first time in the history of Africa, African leaders proved to the world that they could come together as one unit.

There was a "light contrast" between African nationalism and Negro nationalism in America.

The Negro first tried to grasp social and economic strength before attempting to gain political strength.

#### POLITICS FIRST

The Africans tried to gain political power first but the two nationalisms emerged from two different atmospheres and experiences.

Today in America Negroes have political power, economic strength and social recognition. These things did not go against the grain of the White population.

Negro political strength was not used necessarily to elect Negroes to public office, but to elect the people most competent to serve all people.

"We in America believe in giving a person a chance to prove himself, in building up a democracy that rises above petty feelings of racial heritage.

#### WORLD WE WANT

"We want to build a world in which everybody can contribute alike and share alike, in which men are no longer judged on a basis of their colour, but on a basis of their hearts and a basis of character."

Asked "what will happen here if the African gets political independence," Mr. Gordon said that he did not think that the situation would be any different from that in Kenya, where there was an attempt to establish a multi-racial government.



maps. 10 minutes. would have been

*The Star*  
14/1/59

# Nat. Press admits that Natives' M.P.s are to be removed

By the Political Correspondent  
NO. I am not going to say it.

It would be very easy to say that the episode I am about to describe "throws into shameful relief the sort of reporting which is often found in the Nationalist Party Press."

I could add that "anyone who knows anything about State affairs would have immediately dismissed the Nationalist Press report."

It would be facile to jibe "It is only the ineptitude (or is it sometimes the mischievousness?) of certain Nationalist writers that can so put the cart before the horse."

### POSSIBLE DUTY

It might even be my duty to conclude that this sort of thing "ought to put the public on their guard against the sort of reporting in which the Nationalist Press specializes."

But I do not say these things, because we can all make mistakes and it serves no purpose to blame the whole organization for the slip of the individual.

Instead I shall just give the facts.

On Tuesday last week I wrote:

"The Natives' Representation in both the Assembly and Senate is to be abolished (this year)."

"At the same time the Native Advisory Boards will also be abolished, and legislative authority will be given for the appointment of tribal 'ambassadors' to the towns and for Government 'ambassadors' to the Bantu tribal authorities."

This, I added, was to place the tribal authorities and larger tribal areas on the road to a sort of "emancipation - without - representation."

On Thursday the "Burger's" lead story over three columns on its front page was:

Natives' M.P.s remain for the present. No Bill expected this session."

The report said it was officially stated that predictions in the English Press to the effect that the Native representation was to be abolished this year were unfounded.

This report was taken over and published by the "Transvaler" the same day.

### WHAT NATS. SAID

Then, in a leading article on Friday, the "Transvaler" said this statement "threw into shameful relief the sort of reporting which was often found in the English Press."

It went on: "Anyone who knows anything about State affairs would have immediately dismissed the English Press report."

"For, although it is the known intention of the Nationalist Party to get rid of the ill-starred system of Native representation, the Prime Minister, Dr. Verwoerd, only recently made it very clear that the Government were not prepared to create a vacuum in this matter."

"The present system of Native representation will disappear only when the principle of Bantu authorities covers the Natives of the White areas as well as of the reserves."

"Seeing that legislation is about to be passed 'o extend the Bantu authorities' system to the towns, some time must elapse thereafter before the system is in effective operation, and it speaks for itself that the Government are not now ready to replace the existing system."

"It is only the ineptitude (or is it sometimes the mischievousness?) of certain English writers that can so put the cart before the horse."

This, the "Transvaler" concluded, "ought to put the public on their guard against the sort of reporting in which the English Press specializes."

On Friday I wrote that, despite what the "Transvaler" said, there was in existence a Bill for the abolition of the Native representation in Parliament and if it were passed this year it could lead to complications.

New Native elections would take place this year for both the Assembly and Senate at a cost of several thousands of pounds, and unless the Government were pre-

pared to wait another five years it would be impossible to carry out the abolition "bloodlessly."

They would have to remove sitting Members of Parliament, of whom at least one might well be a Nationalist.

To this there was no immediate rejoinder.

### CLIMB DOWN

But today the "Transvaler," over four columns on its front page, quotes the Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr. de Wet Nel, as saying that he is preparing a Bill to abolish the Native representation in Parliament.

The Bill, Mr. Nel was reported as saying, would be introduced this session.

Bills sometimes were held over, he added, but he trusted that would not happen to this one.

He had, he said, obtained Cabinet approval for it, with the exception of certain details which he was still considering.

## The M.P.s affected

THERE ARE SEVEN Natives' Representatives—three in the House of Assembly and four in the Senate—who will be affected by legislation to abolish Native representation in Parliament.

In the Assembly there are Mrs. Margaret Ballinger, representing Cape Eastern; Mr. L. B. Lee-Warden (Cape Western) and Mr. W. P. Stanford (Transkei).

In the Senate, Sen. W. G. Ballinger represents the Natives in the Transvaal and the Free State; Sen. W. M. H. Campbell the Transkei, Sen. C. Cowley (Natal) and Sen. L. I. Rubin (Cape, excluding the Transkei).

### WHOLE PERIOD

Mrs. Ballinger, with more than 20 years' parliamentary service behind her, was elected shortly after the 1936 Native legislation making provision for separate Native re-

presentation in Parliament.

She will, if the law to abolish this representation is passed, have served right through the period of "direct" Native representation.

Having served more than 10 years, she will qualify for a pension.

Senator Ballinger, elected in 1948, will also qualify for a pension.

Mr. Lee-Warden and Mr. Stanford were elected as Natives' Representatives in the Assembly in December, 1954.

Senator Campbell and Senator Rubin were elected in November, 1954, and Senator Cowley in June, 1953.



The Slav

## BACKGROUND TO NEW INDICTMENT

# Marathon treason trial reopens on Monday with 30 in the dock

By a Staff Reporter

SOUTH AFRICA'S MARATHON TREASON TRIAL will reopen at Pretoria on Monday—more than two years after it all began when the Government ordered the round-up of leaders of the "liberation" movement. Many were accused of plotting the overthrow of the State by violent means.

But of the 156 people arrested in December, 1956, only 30 will be in the dock next week. They are the leaders of the African National Congress and related organizations.

Charges against 61 accused have been deferred and charges against the rest have been dropped.

The charge against the 30 who will appear on Monday—only two, Helen Joseph and Leon Levv, are White is high treason, which carries the death penalty.

Alternative charges of offences under the Suppression of Communism Act were dropped by the prosecution following attacks on the indictment by the defence.

### Special court

As before, the accused will be tried by a special court appointed by the Governor-General "with jurisdiction to try without a jury any charge which may be made in the indictment lodged by the Attorney-General in the Transvaal."

The new indictment results from the dramatic withdrawal of the original one on October 13 last year by the leader of the prosecution, Mr. Oswald Prow, Q.C., following sustained attacks on it by the defence even after the Court had quashed one of the alternative charges and the Crown had withdrawn the other.

### Not before

I understand, however, that the new indictment and particulars contain a number of allegations which have not hitherto featured in the case; and that, as yet, the defence have still not received all the particulars and documents which the Crown intends to serve in answer to the defence's request for particulars.

The general scheme of the new indictment, though, is much the

same as before.

It alleges a conspiracy between the accused and goes on to say that speeches were made, documents published and the Congress of the People convened "in pursuance of the conspiracy."

### Differences

There are, however, several important differences.

In addition to a reduction in the number of accused from 91 to 30, the number of speeches and documents quoted has been even more drastically reduced.

In the old indictment the speeches and documents came to about one thousand; the present total is about fifty.

All the speeches quoted are taken from the years 1954-56, whereas in the old indictment they began in 1952.

### Emphasis

Another important difference is the increased emphasis placed by the Crown on the element of violence.

For example, in the old indictment it was alleged that a special corps of "Freedom Volunteers" was recruited and organized.

To this has been added the allegation that the "volunteers" were to be "prepared for acts of violence"; and to the allegation of advocating the Marxist-Leninist doctrine these words have been added: "in which doctrine there is inherent the use of violence to establish a Communist state."

### Essential

In the section of the indictment dealing with the Congress of the People and the Freedom Charter, it is now alleged that the achievement of the demands in the charter "would necessarily involve the overthrow of the State by violence."

It would seem, therefore, that the Crown has accepted the contention that violence is an essential element in the crime of treason—and this is likely to be the central question in the forthcoming trial.

Though the advocacy of Communist doctrine is one of the points mentioned in the treason charge, there is no longer any alternative charge in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act. f



*The Star*  
**Rand Natives  
barred from  
this cinema**  
14/1/59

The Government have banned Natives from attending a non-European cinema, the Lyric Theatre in Fordsburg, from today.

This is believed to be the first such ban on the Rand. Similar orders, it is understood, may be issued soon to other cinemas in Johannesburg.

The manager of the Lyric said the order was served on him this afternoon by an inspector from the Group Areas Board.

"He said it has immediate effect, but as we are showing at the moment an Indian film that does not attract Africans it will only start to affect us at the weekend."

The notification says that the Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr. de Wet Nel, has refused the theatre's application to allow Natives to attend.

Indians, Chinese and Coloureds may attend provided they "shall only occupy the portions of the theatre buildings which have been specially set aside for them."

There are 14 non-European cinemas, owned by Indians and Europeans, in Johannesburg.

Some of them have audiences of up to 60 and 70 per cent. Native and may have to consider closing should they be served with similar orders.



with her children, Steve, ten, go to school during the  
and Lesley, six. Lauren is to stay in England.

*Rd mail*  
14/1/59  
**Congo promised 'a  
democracy, right  
to independence'**

BRUSSELS, Tuesday. — The Belgian Congo, where in the last few days hundreds of Africans have lost their lives in rioting, will "become a democracy, capable of deciding its independence," the Belgian Government promised to-day.

The first step will be the institution of a "skeleton Parliament."

Local elections will be held for African councillors in towns and most rural areas by the end of 1959, and they will elect in 1960 a provincial council to form the "skeleton" of a chamber of representatives.

This was announced to-day by M. Gaston Eyskens, the Belgian Prime Minister, during a Government declaration of policy on the Congo's future.

"Belgium intends to organise in the Congo a democracy capable of exercising the prerogatives of sovereignty and of deciding its independence," M. Eyskens said.

#### COLLABORATION OF ALL

"The realisation of this final objective will be pursued without stopping and with the collaboration of all the inhabitants of the Congo.

"The power of decision will progressively be left to them in ever wider fields," the Prime Minister added.

M. Eyskens said after the Congo had developed politically, it would be "desirable that bonds of association should be maintained between the Congo and Belgium.

"Our two countries will decide its form freely at that moment," he said.

The new communal and rural councillors would be elected by universal suffrage, and the inhabitants of the Congo would become politically incorporated in the Congolese community with equality of rights and duties.

#### NO DISCRIMINATION

These councillors, together with the existing city councillors will elect the majority of the provincial councillors, and later, general councillors.

The prime minister said that a "general council of the Congo," a "Skeleton" chamber of representatives, would take the place of the present government council.

The prime minister said that the different liberties enjoyed by Belgians would be guaranteed by law in the Congo.

"All traces of racial discrimination will disappear."

The new policy was also broadcast to Belgium and the Congo in a radio speech by King Baudouin.

A nine-man commission of inquiry appointed by the Belgian Parliament to investigate the Leopoldville riots leaves to-night by air for the Congo. —SAPA-REITER.



WEDNESDAY, JAN. 14, 1959.

## WARNING VOICES

**T**HE solemn warning against the dangers of apartheid issued by the former Chief Justice, Mr. Centlivres, will almost certainly go unheeded by those who are now in control of our racial policy, but it is to be hoped that the more thoughtful among their followers will listen to his words.

Opening the annual council meeting of the Institute of Race Relations in Cape Town, Mr. Centlivres said that policies were being pursued in South Africa which would eventually destroy White civilisation here. "I cannot afford to keep silent," he said. "We have reached a stage in the history of our country when it is the duty of every citizen who is not satisfied with the trend of things to speak his mind openly and with candour."

Such a statement, coming from a man with all the authority and responsibility of a former head of the judiciary, deserves a degree of attention that no party politician can command. These are the words of a man who is touching on political matters with reluctance and only because he feels that his duty to his country demands it.

Our present leaders, who are constantly claiming to be the saviours of White civilisation in South Africa, might note that Mr. Centlivres does not see them in that light at all. According to him they are betraying their heritage in at least two respects. They have debased the great principles of Roman Dutch law, which draws no distinction on the grounds of colour, and they propose to establish apartheid university colleges of a type "wholly foreign to the ideals of Western civilisation."

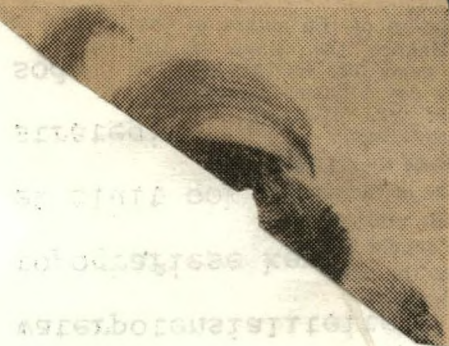
At the same meeting Mr. Molteno, the president of the Institute, carried on from where Mr. Centlivres left off. Assuming that the present Government's policies were disastrous, Mr. Molteno faced the problem of the political changes that would be necessary to bring about reforms without producing chaos. He rejected the idea of universal adult suffrage as merely leading to Black instead of White domination and asked for a constitution that would safeguard the rights of minorities in a way that could not be upset by an irresponsible parliamentary majority. He suggested that some form of federal framework might best serve the needs of a multi-racial country. Mr. Molteno regards two points as essential in any constitution: recognition of the "stubborn fact" of group differences in our plural society, and the need to prevent the domination of one group over another.

We should all mark what these two men have said. We should listen to the declaration by Mr. Centlivres that the time has come to speak out boldly against the suicidal policy of this Government, and we should listen to Mr. Molteno's plea for a realistic approach to new political thinking. Sooner or later, whether under pressure or voluntarily, we shall have to start considering a basic change in our political structure in South Africa. The sooner the better, since time is running out.



# Settler policy 'baffling'

THE ORCHID LOOK NOW



## EXPERT ECONOMIST CRITICISES UNION IMMIGRATION

STAFF REPORTER

ONE of the most baffling things about Nationalist Government policy was that it apparently aimed at maintaining White civilisation without Whites to do it. The latest immigration and population figures underlined this contradiction, said Dr. F. Cronje, M.P. for Jeppe, in Pretoria yesterday.

Dr. Cronje, an expert economist, was commenting on figures showing that in the past ten years South Africa's White population has been increased by 36,800 through immigration, while Australia's has increased by 1,250,000.

If present policy continued, according to estimates by the Viljoen commission of inquiry into the protection of South African industries, the year 2000 would see non-European population increased by 17,000,000 to about 28,000,000, a White population increased by about 2,000,000 to about 5,000,000.

### How can they . . . ?

"How can anyone with common sense think that only 5,000,000 of 33,000,000 can maintain a dominant position, particularly in a country falling in the Afro-Asian sphere?"

"There are already 135,000 non-Whites in Africa south of the Sahara and many hundreds of millions more in the east, all developing rapidly both politically and economically," Dr. Cronje said.

Limitless immigration was the crux of the question, but if the Government made it a first requirement of its policy that the European population should be increased by four per cent. a year, it would be over 15,000,000 in the year 2000.

### Positive policy

This rate of increase would require the maintenance of the present natural increase of two per cent. a year by a positive policy of encouraging larger European families — a policy already followed by all civilised European countries.

"This would have to be supplemented by immigration at the rate of two per cent. of the population each year.

This would not only strengthen the European population, but lead to very rapid economic development, thus greatly raising non-European living standards as well.

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# The Star

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 14, 1959.

## Tyrannical and foolish

WHEN representatives of the Johannesburg City Council sit down tomorrow with the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr. de Wet Nel, to discuss his objections to mixed gatherings, both sides will presumably be wise enough to forget about the mutual recriminations and even the muddle and confusion which marked the earlier stages of the present controversy.

The first task of the Council deputation will be to establish just what the Minister wants to do. But once that has been done they should have no hesitation in indicating moderately but firmly a quite inflexible determination not to countenance any further invasion of the rights of Johannesburg citizens.

The deputation will have to ask the obvious question: If offences under the Liquor Laws, or the Immorality Act or subversion are the target, why cannot existing legislation, which is sweeping enough in all conscience, be used?

If it should then emerge, as seems unhappily probable, that the Minister's objection is to the mere presence at a social gathering of people of different races, then the Council must surely refuse its co-operation.

Enforced separation becomes tyrannous when it lays down who shall speak to whom and who shall sit down together in the same room in a private house.

Even if such interference were justifiable, it would be grossly foolish. For whatever the theory of apartheid, even experts on the Government



(See Page Five)

F. Wind. LOCAL SUNSET  
sunrise tomorrow.  
tomorrow. 7.5 p.m.

*The Star*  
14/1/59

## De Wet Nel states policy on Natives in urban areas

**A**FTER ONLY EIGHT YEARS of concerted effort he was now able to say with confidence that, as far as certain aspects were concerned, the end of the Union's urban Native problem was in sight, said the Minister of Native Administration and Development, Mr. M. D. C. de Wet Nel, when he opened the administrative offices of Randfontein's new Native township, Mohlakeng, today.

By various means, including the training of Bantu building workers exclusively for Bantu housing and the lowering of building costs through research more than half a million urban Bantu had been settled in 100,000 family units.

### DIFFERENT OPINION

In Native affairs certain municipalities had acted as if they had the right to formulate their own policies in this regard.

They seemed to resent Government policy announcements and directions as interference in their affairs.

This was partly a result of a wrong conception of the relation between the central Government and local governments.

No Native from outside the Union would be allowed to settle here on a family basis.

Mr. Nel also referred to mixed gatherings of White and non-White in White areas.

Since 1923, he said, permits had been needed for Europeans to enter urban Bantu areas. For practical reasons the opposite provision was not made.

If it was the intention to have mixed social and other gatherings it would have been foolish to make provision for separate residential areas with all the other amenities.

Under the cloak of sweet-sounding sentimental excuses certain people were now trying to have regular mixed parties in European areas for subversive purposes. This would not be allowed.

The Minister said: "Any municipality which needs assistance will not in vain approach my department.

"No Bantu who realizes why he is present in a European area, namely to sell his labour here, or to render approved services to his own people, will be disturbed by anybody."—Sapa.



*The Star*  
Time to speak, says Centlivres

# Present policies leading to the destruction of civilization in Union

15/1/59

Cape Town, Tuesday.

THE GREAT PRINCIPLES OF ROMAN DUTCH LAW, handed down to South Africans by Western Civilization, were being steadily undermined by discriminatory legislation, the Hon. A. van de Sandt Centlivres, former Chief Justice of the Union, said in Cape Town last night.

He was opening the annual council meeting of the Institute of Race Relations.

"You may ask me why I speak so openly," he said.

"My reason for doing so is simple. We have reached a stage in the history of our country when it is the duty of every citizen who is not satisfied with the trend of things to speak his mind openly and with candour.

"We cannot, in the interests of our country, afford to be silent when we sincerely think that policies are being pursued which will eventually destroy Western civilization in our country."

"I am speaking as an individual, who does not belong to any political party and whose career has been wholly divorced from politics," he said.

He condemned the tendency in South Africa today to lay down policy in ignorance of the facts,

## How to restore confidence

The Government could, by one simple, yet major gesture, put new heart into the Natives and the Europeans in the country and at the same time greatly restore the confidence of the outside world in the future of South Africa. Mr. Quintin Whyte, director of the Institute of Race Relations, said today at the institute's meeting in Cape Town.

"The Government have protested their sincere desire to develop the reserves politically and economically.

"They have declared that they will not permit White capital and White technical personnel to develop industries in the reserves and it is probable that, for political reasons, they cannot make loan funds freely available.

### COULD GET LOAN

"I have every reason to believe that if our Government were to approach the World Bank, for instance, for a substantial loan for the setting up of training institutions and for the development of agricultural and industrial projects as suggested by the Tomlinson Commission, the loan would not be denied.

"The Government might regard this as part of their apartheid policy. We of the institute would regard it as part of the development of the underdeveloped area of our country."

then to appoint a commission, not to inquire into the feasibility of the policy, but to devise ways and means of carrying it out regardless of the facts.

### MORE THAN ONE

He said that too often certain policies were justified as being "the traditional policies of South Africa."

But there was more than one tradition in South Africa.

He said that the doctrine of "separation" had been carried to absurd lengths in a "Bill which is euphously, but inaccurately, called the Extension of University Education Bill."

"To introduce the principle of separation into an institution which is called a university college and to seek to prevent its teaching staff from collaborating, conflicts with the whole conception of a university and is wholly foreign to the ideals of Western civilization."

### CANNOT BE RECONCILED

"But, perhaps, this is not surprising in view of the fact that the course which is being followed today cannot be reconciled with the principles of that civilization."

He said that the system of Roman Dutch Law handed down by that civilization, drew no distinction on the ground of colour

"Any distinctions that exist today are the result of legislation, which is steadily undermining the great principles of Roman Dutch Law.

"It not infrequently happens that when the courts apply those principles to a particular case, Parliament forthwith passes legislation to destroy those principles," he said.

Little distinction was being made today between the tribalized and educated Native South Africans should encourage Natives in general to embrace Western civilization if they were sincere in their policy of preserving that civilization.

### HAS TO FAIL

The attempt to re-tribalize those who, in the course of time, had become detribalized, had to fail. "We are told that the type of university college for Africans will be as good as that provided today by the open universities.

"Assuming this will happen, it is impossible to believe that tribalism can survive among those who have enjoyed the benefits of a university education.

"I may add that we have not yet been told whether it is proposed to establish Chairs of Tribalism at the so-called university colleges. But that may well happen."—Sapa.



THURSDAY, JANUARY 15, 1959.

## LAND OF CONTRASTS

WITHIN twenty-four hours of the announcement by the Belgian Government promising the Congo political reforms that will lead to self-determination has come a positive statement by the Union's Minister of Bantu Administration that a Bill to remove the Natives' Representatives from Parliament will be introduced in the coming session. This near-coincidence throws into the sharpest possible relief the opposing forces at work on the African continent — Black nationalism making headway in the north; White nationalism digging in to the south. It is not a pretty picture, and one may well ask: If the former is the irresistible force it appears to be, can the latter be the immovable object it pretends to be?

The new proposals for the Congo's constitutional development are far-reaching and in normal circumstances could even have been regarded as imaginative. But these are not normal times in Africa and they will be judged against the unfavourable background of two recent circumstances. The first is the fact that one African state after another is winning its independence. The pace is on, gradualism has gone by the board and time is being measured in months rather than in years. In such an atmosphere the eminently sensible step-by-step programme outlined by the Belgian Prime Minister may seem almost laggardly to the excited Congolese.

The second disability arises from the fact that these reforms, planned for the past year, have come only a week after bloody riots in Leopoldville and they inescapably take on the colour of concessions forced by violence. This, in itself, is a lesson to those who would live out their lives in Africa: Be ahead of events, or be overtaken by them.

In the Union this is not yet understood. The crackpot machinery of apartheid creaks and quivers as it brushes against a group area here and a mixed meeting there, achieving nothing significant enough to shelter this country from the tide of African nationalism all around and within it. To speak, as the Government does, of substituting Bantu Authorities for Natives' Representatives is to act like a sleep-walker, oblivious of the thunderous traffic of reality on all sides. There will be a rough awakening, one fears, from this enchanted state of suspended cerebration.

## A CHALLENGE

MR. QUINTIN WHYTE, director of the Institute of Race Relations, has challenged the Government on a point that should be of special interest to those intellectuals who support the National Party. He said in Cape Town this week that he was sure the World Bank would, if approached, advance money for the development of the Reserves as recommended in the Tomlinson Report. It will be recalled that the Tomlinson Commission expressed itself frankly in support of the principle of apartheid, but it warned that unless an immediate start was made to develop the Reserves, there would be little hope of carrying the policy to any sort of conclusion. This was several years ago. The Government has so far done next to nothing. It did say, during the debate on the report, that £3m. would be placed on the estimates for the development of the Reserves, but none of this money was spent.

The Government has often told the Nationalist intellectuals who agreed with the report that there was not enough money to implement its proposals. Mr. Whyte has now shown them how this money can be obtained. Will Dr. Verwoerd respond to his proposal?



# Average wage of Black worker on farm £176 a year

From Our Correspondent

Cape Town, Thursday.

**T**HE AVERAGE WAGE of a Native farm labourer's family in the central Free State was £176 a year—£15 a month—in cash and kind, Mr. S. J. du Toit (senior professional officer of the Department of Agriculture, Economics and Marketing) told the meeting of the council of the South African Institute of Race Relations in Cape Town yesterday.

Mr. du Toit said the head of the family received an average of £55 a year in wages, sold crops for £23, livestock for £12, consumed his own produce worth £12, received housing, fuel and water worth £12, and the wages and rations of other members of the family amounting to £38.

He said. "The assessment is a

conservative one and in some farming regions it is certainly higher. In addition to the monetary benefits, there are others which cannot be assessed in terms of money. I refer to the relative security which a Native labourer's family enjoys on European farms in that they live without having to fear want of food and in many cases some education is taken care of on the farmer's initiative.

## FARMER TO BLAME

"The almost generally accepted inefficiency of agricultural Native labour in this country cannot all be laid at the door of the labourer. In many respects farmers are to be blamed through inefficient organization, poor planning of farm work and poor direction to labourers," he said.

Mr. du Toit said urban life had a special attraction for the younger generation of Natives, so that agriculture had to contend with the less able-bodied labourers, and thus necessitated the employment of large numbers for the same task.

In 1936 the non-European urban population was 1,843,000. In 1957 it was 4,040,000, an increase of 199 per cent. Over the same period the total non-European population increased by 48 per cent.

## NUMBER OF FARMS

According to the 1951 census, there were 2,120,000 Natives on European farms. Today, the number was estimated at about 2,500,000.

In 1951 the total male labour force actively engaged in farm work was 629,000, or about 31 per cent. of the total Native population on European farms. Today this figure was estimated at 750,000. Even if men, women and children given as working on farms were counted together, only about 45 per cent. of the Native farm population was so engaged.



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THIS IS WHAT THE  
MINISTER SAID

STAFF REPORTER

15/1/59

**M**ANY Europeans had been using the cloak of high-sounding ideals to undermine South Africa's accepted way of life and attitudes by holding mixed parties in European areas, Mr. M. D. C. de Wet Nel, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, said yesterday.

The Government had for a long time been receiving reliable information which showed that these "social" gatherings were only a screen for subversive activity, he said when he opened new offices in a Randfontein African township.

It had never been the intention in South Africa that there should be racial mixing on a social level. If it had been, it would have been stupid to provide separate residential areas.

Separate residential areas had been accepted policy even before it was laid down in the 1923 Urban Areas Act. If it had been intended that African families should live on the premises of their employers there would have been no need to provide separate African residential areas.

It was untrue that the enforce-

ment of this policy would mean the separation of husbands from wives, or mothers from their children.

Married women, whether or not they had children, could and should live with their husbands in family dwellings which the authorities provided for them in their own areas. The children of unmarried mothers could and should live with their grandparents.

Policy on non-Union Africans was equally clear, and always had been. They could enter the Union temporarily to work outside urban areas, but could not be naturalised and could enter urban areas only with the permission of the municipality and the Minister.

Africans from the Protectorates were in exactly the same position.



- 3 -

# Group Act is wholly wrong, says race institute

From Our Correspondent

Cape Town, Friday.

**T**HE COUNCIL of the South African Institute of Race Relations has condemned the spirit, intent and application of the Group Areas Act after a four-day conference in Cape Town during which the Act was discussed.

The findings of the council express "dismay at the terms of recent group areas proclamations for such towns as Pretoria, Durban, Cape Town, Ermelo, White River and Klerksdorp."

It says: "These like earlier proclamations for other towns, impose a greatly disproportionate burden of sacrifice on the non-White communities.

"Council condemns the ultimate uprooting of settled communities, whatever their race, the resultant destruction of community and commercial life and the loss of limited freehold rights previously enjoyed by Africans.

#### TRADERS REMOVED

"Enforced removal of traders from existing business sites to areas remote from customers hitherto served, without any right to compensation for loss of goodwill, involves gross disregard of the fundamental principles of respect for vested rights.

"Council points out that this sets a disastrous precedent for the adoption of policies of a ruthless type which will be destructive of economic security.

"This glaring departure from a basic principle, widely recognized and so strictly adhered to in previous Union legislation, is all the more serious in view of the recent admission by the chairman of the Group Areas Board that the board considers that one of its duties in the administration of the Act is to seek to curtail the number of Indian traders on the grounds that Indians have at present too large a share of trade.

"The selection of remote areas for Indians in many recent proclamations is not unconnected with this policy.

"Council views with apprehension the recent prohibitions on Africans from attending non-White cinemas in urban areas.

"Such exclusion constitutes both an infringement on personal liberty and a further barrier to African recreation and development."



SECRET

APPOINTMENT OF MEMBERS AND MEMBERS

The acting State President has, in terms of the provisions of section 119 of the Scientific Research Council Act, 1962 (Act No. 35 of 1962) approved the appointment of the undermentioned persons on the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research for the periods indicated:

(a) Dr. S. K. Konde as President for a further

**S.A. TEACHER FOR GHANA**

Own Correspondent

BLOEMFONTEIN, Thursday. — Mr. I. B. M. Thoka who has taught science at the Bantu High School in Bloemfontein for nine years will leave the Union with his wife at the end of this month to teach at the West African College in Accra.

Mr. Thoka, who has signed a five-year contract with his new college gives as his reason for leaving South Africa: "The prospect of a new life."



magistrate's court

*The Star*

# Native tax drive They must pay up, but will be told it is for schools

16/1/59  
By the Political Correspondent

**WITHIN THE NEXT TWO MONTHS** the Bantu Administration Department is going—belatedly—to go all out to warn Natives that their poll-tax is increased and to tell them why.

From January 1, 1959, Native men have to pay £1 15s. a year instead of £1, and from the beginning of next year Native men and women who earn more than £180 a year will have to pay a modest income-tax.

The increased tax became due on January 1, and there is three months grace in which to pay it.

But as things are going it is unlikely that the warning and explanation will have reached any considerable proportion of the Natives before the end of March.

Up to now the information has been spread through the Native Commissioners and Bantu authorities.

## GARBLED VERSION

Yet in my own experience many Natives—particularly country ones—either do not know about the tax increase at all or have a garbled version of it, and certainly do not know what it is for.

There is a danger, which the Bantu Administration Department recognizes, of Natives being shocked and angered by the—to them—unexplained rise.

So, in addition to the dissemination of information through the Native Commissioners and Bantu authorities, the department will buy space in the Native newspapers and have announcements broadcast over the radio.

Moreover, tax collectors themselves will be instructed to explain the reasons for the increase.

## SIMPLE REASON

The reason is quite simple and when stated it usually evokes an understanding response from Natives.

According to the then Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. Verwoerd, and the then Minister of Finance, Mr. Naude, at the last parliamentary session, it is to pay for more schools for the Bantu.

The increase of 15s. is in fact exactly tailored to meet the Bantu education budget for 1959/64.



*to mail*  
*16/1/57*

# Group Areas Act threat to cinemas

STAFF REPORTER

**A GROUP AREAS ACT** proclamation is threatening many cinemas to which non-Whites are admitted. For, since last July, Africans are banned from attending cinemas in areas not set aside exclusively for them.

A proclamation issued on July 4 last extends the provisions of the Group Areas Act of 1957 to "any person who is at any time present in premises in the controlled area or in a group area for the purpose of attending any public cinema" and certain other places.

Owners of non-White cinemas, however, may apply to the Group Areas Board for a permit to allow Africans to attend their shows.

Non-White cinemas — in group areas or controlled areas — which have not yet applied for permits are acting illegally by admitting Africans, said a lawyer in Johannesburg yesterday.

## PERMIT REQUESTS

Requests for permits are considered by the Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr. M. D. C. de Wet Nel, on the basis of a report prepared by the Group Areas Board.

Under the Act, cinemas in areas which are neither exclusively African nor exclusively White, may admit Chinese, Coloureds and Indians.

There are about 14 non-White cinemas in the Johannesburg area.

It is not a question of cinemas having individual bans placed on their African patrons except where a permit has been refused.

## WILL HAVE TO CLOSE

A non-White cinema owner said yesterday:

"Our attendances are between 60 per cent. and 70 per cent. African. If permits are refused to us, many cinemas will have to close."

Owners say it is difficult to distinguish between some Africans and Coloureds who often appear very similar.

"To accuse a would-be patron of being an African when he is really Coloured, would cause much bad feeling and he could sue for damages."

**FOOTNOTE:** The provisions of the July proclamation also apply to eating houses. African eating houses, therefore, which serve Chinese, Coloureds or Indians are breaking the law.



## Why South Africa has to raise foreign loans

To the Editor of *The Star*

SIR,—In *The Star* on January 9 Mr. V. A. Jackson, of Edenvale, asked me a rather naïve question as to why a country like South Africa has to raise loans overseas.

Quite delightful touches of naïveté appear to be common among liberal elements and multi-racialists for, on his return from Accra Mr. Patrick Duncan told us that “there is a place for the white man in Africa envisaged by the men at this (Accra) conference”!

However, I shall confine myself to the questions Mr. Jackson wishes me to answer, in order to (as he puts it) “unembarrass and unconfound us.” By “us” I take it that he refers to liberals and multi-racialists.

Mr. Jackson appears to be unaware of the fact that Britain has raised large loans in the United States and (so I understand) also one in defeated Germany.

Many other countries besides Britain and South Africa raise loans overseas for industrial development projects, armaments, and for other purposes.

If, therefore, Mr. Jackson would take the trouble to study statistical facts, he would find out that the mining and industrial development in the Union during the past 10 years has been nothing short of phenomenal and fantastic, and has impressed the world.

### No gifts

Obviously, therefore, a country with so small a European population as ours, and with expanding harbours and railways, needs foreign loans for its internal development until such time as we can finance such projects ourselves and without outside assistance.

While the raising of foreign loans is a common practice among most progressive countries, South Africa has never asked for a gift or financial aid from any outside sources, as the United States Ambassador, Mr. Henry A. Byroade correctly stated in Johannesburg last month.

It is becoming fairly obvious to all thinking South Africans that liberal and multi-racial elements delight in anything which may retard progress in South Africa.

Their voice is, however, a voice in the wilderness, a voice no loyal and thinking South African takes seriously. I am thus afraid that nothing of a really concrete nature can be said here to “unembarrass” and “unconfound” Mr. Jackson and his liberal friends.

### They are better off

In concluding my reply I quote the words of a much greater authority than that of our liberal elements, namely, Mr. L. Lulofs, retiring president of the Transvaal Chamber of Industries:

“We must not lose sight of the fact that our Natives, in regard to income, housing, hospitalisation, education and other amenities, are substantially better off than Natives in any other part of the continent of Africa.”

Whatever liberals and multi-racialists may say or hope for to the contrary, the dynamic growth of South Africa's economy will continue!

J. W. GADOW.

Rysmierbult.



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