



Self-inflicted Wounds

Self-toegedane Wonde

THE FOREBODINGS expressed in our last issue that 1963 would prove a most unhappy year for South Africa were, it seems, only too well founded. In the last few months, blow after blow has been struck at our image as a democratic nation, and set South Africa farther and farther apart from the countries of the West. If any proof were needed of our complete isolation, we have the Foreign Minister's recent revelation of the lamentable failure of our foreign policies.

Our greatest tragedy is that most of these blows have been self-inflicted. There was the publication and first reading of the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill, most of the clauses of which have now been held over until next year, possibly because the storms of protest which arose from many different groups showed how controversial the proposals were. The Transkei Bill was passed, launching the first of the "homelands" where Africans will enjoy civil rights and a limited form of "independence" in exchange for the total denial of rights in the rest of the country. There were drastic new proposals for Alexandra Township and similar African freehold areas and a harsh Government directive to local authorities placing severe restrictions on African business men in the urban areas, even in their own townships. A proclamation under the Group Areas Act which has hung like a sword over Johannesburg Indians for many years has now descended upon them, and a stable, prosperous and law-abiding community will be uprooted and possibly ruined. There have been disturbing trends in Parliament, irresponsible exhortations from high quarters for South Africans to stand together and "fight for White survival" and equally irresponsible threats of boycott and counter-boycott directed against South Africa's critics.

There was the enactment of this year's General Law Amendment Bill, which far outstrips the notorious "Sabotage" Bill of 1962 in conferring extensive powers on the Minister of Justice, and makes drastic inroads on the Rule of Law. Even

(Continued Overleaf)

DIT WIL VOORKOM asof die voorspelling wat ons in ons laaste uitgawe gemaak het, n.l. dat die jaar 1963 'n uiters ongelukkige jaar vir Suid-Afrika gaan word, maar alte waar is. In die afgelope paar maande was daar een aanslag na die ander op ons gestalte as demokratiese nasie gemik, en die kloof tussen Suid-Afrika en ander Westerse-lande word al hoe groter. As enige bewys van ons totale isolasie nodig is, dan vind ons dit onlangs in die verklaring van die Minister van Buitelandsesake oor die betreurendswaardige mislukking van ons buitelandse beleid.

Ons grootste tragedie is dat dié aanslaë deur ons self gedoen word. Daar was die publikasie en eerste lesing van die Bantowysigingswetsontwerp, waarvan meeste van die klousule nou oorgehou word vir volgende jaar — moontlik as gevolg van die storm van protes deur verskillende groepe, wat getoon het hoe omstrede die voorstelle was. Die Transkeiwetsontwerp is aangeneem, waardeur die eerste „tuisland", waar Bantoes burgerregte en 'n beperkte vorm van „onafhanklikheid" sal geniet in ruil vir 'n totale ontseggings van regte in die res van die land, van wal gestuur is. Daar was drastiese nuwe voorstelle vir Alexandra en soortgelyke Bantoe-wyke met eiendomsreg, en 'n ongevoelige Regerings-bevel aan plaaslike owerhede om strawwe beperkings toe te pas op Bantoe sakemanne in die stedelike gebied, selfs in hulle eie woonbuurtes. 'n Proklamasie onder die Groepsgebiedwet, 'n wet wat al baie jare soos 'n swaard oor die hoofde van Johannesburg se Indiers gehang het, het nou op hulle neergeval, en 'n stabiele, voorspoedige en wetsgehoorsame groep sal ontwortel en heel moontlik geruineer word. In die Parlement sien ons verontrustende neigings; en daar is onverantwoordelike weskroepe van hooggeplaasdes aan Suid-Afrikaners om saam te staan en te „veg vir Wit bestaan", en net sulke onverantwoordelike dreigemente van boikotte en teen-boikotte teen kritici van Suid-Afrika.

(Vervolg Ommesy)

Dreamy non-listener.



Bob Connolly

(Rand Daily Mail)

SELF-INFLICTED WOUNDS (Continued)

more alarming that the unseemly haste with which this extreme measure was rushed through Parliament, supported by the official Opposition, was the unquestioning acceptance by most White South Africans that the Bill was necessary for the preservation of law and order. Not many years ago, the whole country would have been rocked with protest at the Government's permanent assumption in time of peace of such arbitrary powers as can only be justified in time of war or the gravest national emergency.

Are a handful of men like Robert Sobukwe and the braggart Potlako Leballo indeed so dangerous that nothing will suffice to restrain them but the suspension of the normal processes of the law, of trial and due conviction in open court? Why do African leaders find themselves in such total opposition to the Government? Has apartheid, with the frustrations and limitations it imposes on the non-Whites, brought us so close to the brink of disaster that a doubtful security must be purchased at the expense of freedom and our traditional democratic rights?

For there is no doubt that enforced apartheid is at the root of South Africa's troubles. For fifteen years the Nationalist Government has pursued this mirage, at tremendous cost to the country as a whole and especially at the expense of the non-Whites. One restriction after another has been placed upon them, their few remaining rights

SELF-TOEGEDANE WONDE (Vervolg)

Daar was die passeering van die 1963 Algemene-regswysigingswetsontwerp wat die berugte „sabotage-wetsontwerp” van 1962 ver oortref, deur ver-reikende magte aan die Minister van Justisie te gee en drastiese inbreuke te maak in die oorheersing van die reg. Selfs nog meer sorgbasend dan die oorhastige wyse waarop die wetsontwerp, met die steun van die offisiële opposisie, deur die Huis gejaag is, was die gelatenheid waarmee meeste Blanke Suid-Afrikaners aanvaar het dat so 'n wetsontwerp nodig is om wet en orde te handhaaf. Net 'n paar jaar terug sou landswye proteste die Regering se permanente oorname in vredestryd, van sulke arbitrêre magte, wat mens alleen kan regverdig gedurende oorlog of die ernstigste nasionale krisis, begroet het.

Is 'n handjievol manne soos Robert Sobukwe of die grootprater Potlako Leballo werklik so gevaarlik dat daar geen ander manier is om hulle te beheer dan deur die opskorting van die normale wetsverloop of die behoor en beslissing in die howe? Hoekom bevind die Bantoe leiers hulle so geheel en al in opposisie teen die Regering? Het Apartheid, met die frustrasies en beperkings wat dit op nie-Blankes plaas, ons so na aan 'n ramp gebring dat ons 'n twyfelagtige sekuriteit moet koop ten koste van ons vryheid en ons tradisionele demokratiese regte?

Dit is ongetwyfeld dat apartheid aan die wortel van Suid-Afrika se moeilikhede is. Vir vyftien jaar het hierdie Regering nou al hierdie lugspieëling, teen 'n enorme koste vir die land as geheel, en veral ten koste van die nie-Blankes, agtervolg. Een beperking na die ander is hulle opgelê; die paar regte wat hulle nog geniet, word stelselmatig verminder, en wet na wet ontlaai hulle met ontberings, beledigings en vernederings. Redelike en beheerste proteste word bars stilgemaak, en dit is nie verbasend nie dat die diepe onrus van 'n stemlose mensdom nou en dan tot uiting kom in gevalle van sabotasie en geweldpleging. Ons beleid het binne ons land vir ons haat en bitterheid gebring, en van oorsee smaad en dreigemente. Die ander Afrika-state is byna sonder uitsondering ons uitgesproke vyande, terwyl ons 'n las geword het vir die paar vriende wat ons nog in die weste het.

Wit Suid-Afrikaners het groot geword in 'n tradisie van Wit superioriteit; baie van hulle vind dit moeilik om die Weste se verwerping van Wit dominasie en rasse diskriminasie te verstaan, en skyn geen benul te hê van die ernstige belemmeringe waaronder die nie-Blankes as gevolg van ons kleurbeleid ly nie, belemmeringe wat vas gelê

have been whittled away, and law after law has heaped hardship, humiliation and degradation upon them. Reasonable and moderate protests have been harshly silenced, and not surprisingly the deep unrest of a voiceless people now finds vent in occasional outbursts of sabotage and violence. Our policies have earned us hatred and resentment at home and opprobrium and threats from abroad. Almost without exception, the other African states are our avowed enemies, while we have become an acute embarrassment to our few remaining friends in the West.

Many White South Africans, who have grown up in a tradition of White superiority, find it hard to understand the West's rejection of White domination and racial discrimination. They seem to have little comprehension of the grave disabilities under which our non-Whites suffer as a result of such discrimination, entrenched in laws which the Whites alone have power to change. Such disabilities affected all non-White groups in varying degrees even before 1948, but they have been immeasurably intensified since the advent of the Nationalist Government, with its fanatical determination to enforce apartheid by law and "keep South Africa White". This is impossible of attainment, because even if, under present policies, the Bantustans could be developed into stable independent "homelands" for the African people, South Africa would still remain a multi-racial country, with a privileged White minority and a migrant Black labour force.

Thousands of rands have been spent on propaganda to "explain" and justify apartheid to the outside world, but what explanation can justify the injustice of the Pass Laws, the callousness of the Group Areas Act, the folly and cruelty of Job Reservation, the tragedy of Race Classification and the Immorality Act, the farce of Separate Amenities, the frustration of separate education or the cold inhumanity of the proposals in one version after another of the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill? The world will continue to judge this policy by its effects on human beings, and as long as the Government refuses to relax or abandon enforced apartheid, our country will remain "the polecat of the Western World". More and more force will be required to stifle the grievances of our oppressed peoples, and we can expect more drastic laws year after year to give the Government more and more despotic powers.

Enforced Apartheid, designed to preserve White civilization, will enslave us all.



"You say you know the names of the Whites behind the Transkei disorders? We want you for 90 days' interrogation." (Cape Times)

is in wette wat alleen die Blankes het die mag om te verander. Sulke belemeringe affekteer al sinds 1948 al ons nie-Blanke groepe in meerdere of mindere mate, maar onder die bewind van die Nasionale Party Regering, met sy fanatiese determinasie om apartheid, deur middel van wetgewing, af te dwing, teen einde „Suid-Afrika Wit te hou”, het daar 'n onmeetlike uitbreiding van beperkings plaas gevind. Om 'n „Wit Suid-Afrika” te skep is onmoontlik, want selfs as onder die huidige beleid die Bantostans tot stabiele en onafhanklike tuislande kan ontwikkel, sal „Wit Suid-Afrika” nog 'n veelrassige land wees, met 'n bevoorregte Blanke minderheid en 'n groot aantal Swart trekarbeiders.

Duisende rand is alreeds bestee aan propaganda om apartheid te „verduidelik” en te regverdig aan die buite wêreld, maar watter verduideliking kan die onbillikheid van paswette regverdig; die gevoelloosheid van die Groepsgebiedwet, die stomheid en wreedheid van werksversekering, die tragedie van Rasseklassifikasie en die Ontugwet, die klug van aparte geriewe, die frustrasie van aparte opvoeding, of die koue onmenslikheid van die voorstelle in een Bantoe-wysigingswetsontwerp na die ander? Die wêreld sal voortgaan om hierdie beleid op grond van sy uitwerking op mense te beoordeel, en so lank as ons Regering weier om gedwonge apartheid te verslap of te laat vaar, solank sal ons land „die muishond van die Westerlike wêreld” bly.

Meer en steeds meer mag sal nodig wees om die griewe van onderdrukte mense te versmoor, en ons kan jaar na jaar verdere drastiese wette verwag om meer en meer despotiese magte aan die Regering te verleen.

Gedwonge Apartheid, wat die beskerming van Blanke beskawing ten doel het, sal ons almal tot slawe maak.