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ORGAN OF THE SPRINGBOK LEGION.

Redaksioneel

Vrede op Aarde. . . .

KERSFEES 1950 sal seker nouliks 'n verposing bring in die wêreld se bewapeningsveldtog. Met 'n agtergrond van Atoombomme, Oorlogsvliegtuie en kanonne klink die eeu oue Kersfeesboodskap „Vrede op Aarde, in die mens 'n welbehae" ironies, en gee totaal die leuen aan ons sogenaamde beskawing.

Nog meer ironies is die feit dat die vryheid van die mens gebruik word as dekmantel waaronder die mensdom slag-gereed gemaak word vir die volgende oorlog.

Die mensdom staan verdeeld in Ideologiese groepe, elk waarvan voorgedoen word as Kampvegter vir 'n beter samelewing. Hierdie Ideologiese verdeling vind weerklank in die kleiner groepe van ons samelewing met die verhouding tussen individue as uiteindelijke uitgangspunt. In sommige opsigte is dit 'n goeie teken, omdat dit toon dat die massa begin het om aandag te skenk aan die onsigbare magte wat invloed uitoefen op hulle as enkelinge, en dat die individu 'n aanvang gemaak het om 'n poging aan te wend om daardie onsigbare invloede te beheer.

Aan die ander kant sal so 'n neiging noodwendig die beskawing soos ons dit ken tot sy fundamente skud, eenvoudig omdat die individuele belange van so 'n wyd uiteenlopende aard is, en hoe meer die enkeling sy eie belange op die samelewing as 'n geheel laat geld, hoe geweldig sal die botsing wees.

Die verhouding tussen blank en gekleurde in ons eie land is maar een voor-

beeld van hierdie stelling. Die strewe tot beskerming van eie belange in hierdie geval is besig om magte te ontketting wat nouliks vooruit besef kan word, en wat alte sekerlik n'e beheer sal kan word nie. Dit is 'n donker prentjie en word al donkerder namate die gematigde groep wat probeer om 'n middeweg van verdraagsaamheid te soek, verswelg word deur die twee teenoorgestelde groepe.

Verswakking van die geledere van die Liberale groep in Suid-Afrika wie se strewe dit is om langs d'e weg van gesonde beredenering 'n oplossing vir ons

rasseprobleem te soek, kan vir ons land onberekenbare gevolge hê.

Ons Kersfeesboodskap aan die leser van „Fighting Talk" is dus: Werk aktief vir verdraagsaamheid in u eie land en vir vrede in die wêreld as 'n geheel, en onthou dat as u strewe faal mag hierdie u laaste Kersfees wees. En ons beroep op U vir die Nuwejaar is: Weier om U te laat wegvoer deur die vloedgolf van emosies wat besig is om ons eie land en die wêreld te verswelg.

Nie sentiment nie maar gesonde verstand sal ons probleme oplos.

The Chairman and members of the National Executive Committee extend to all Legionnaires and their families best wishes for a Merry Christmas and a Prosperous New Year.

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YOU'RE TELLING US

Letters to the Editor



HOW THE NATIONAL WAR MEMORIAL HEALTH FOUNDATION BEGAN

30/11/50.

The Editor,
"Fighting Talk,"
Johannesburg.

Dear Friend,

The recent launching of the appeal for the National War Memorial Health Foundation brings back to mind how this highly original war memorial originated in Florence immediately after World War II.

Some readers will remember Sgt. Schein of the 4/22 Regt. S.A.A. The germ of the idea arose in his mind. He, Bdr. Roscoe and I were sent to the Army Education course at Florence from the 4/22nd Regt. I remember how Schein remarked to me the first day that it was just a stupid idea of the Colonel to send him to Florence. It wasn't.

The room in which Schein, Roscoe and I were quartered gave passage to other rooms, 20 blokes used to drop in and chat. But I think the three of us were alone when the conversation drifted to war memorial. We thought it should be something living. Then Schein came with the idea of clinics or hospitals for natives. Possibly he thought of this because of the really good Native Affairs lectures Leo Kuper had been giving on the course. Anyhow we talked some more about the idea, gradually it took shape. We mentioned it to some fellows strolling through our room. More discussion. Eventually it was discussed by all the pupils on the course. It took on and spread from the Army Educational School to the 6th Division and the S.A.A.F.

At the school some Legionnaires were at first against it. Reg. smelled charity

which he hated. Modifications were made to the original idea to meet this objection. Then the Legion took to the idea and I remember that in the 6th Div. the Legion Committees did a great deal to propagate the idea.

I remember General Anderson, a Rhodesian and veteran of World War I and II was very keen. To my memory Roscoe particularly did very much to propagate the idea, I remember Gnr. Welsh too as very keen.

Members of the Legion, members of other organisations, members of no organisations — but the idea spread. There was opposition. There was a scheme for hospital beds. The relative merits of the two schemes were thrashed out in all Legion Committees in Italy and eventually it was through those Legion Committees that the idea, which really did come spontaneously from the ranks, triumphed.

I have named people and organisations; but I don't think these are important. There were many chaps who did a lot, and although it is now long after the time I hope the country will carry forward their great idea.

It is interesting, however, to look back to those days and I think of Sgt. Schein and people like Roscoe, Leo Kuper, Cecil Williams, who contributed greatly to what was certainly the finest action ever by men returning from a war.

PARLIAMENTARY PROSPECTS FOR 1951

THE speech from the Throne has been approved and the Government is now ready for the 1951 session of Parliament, which opens on January 19.

The next session will be the fourth since the Nationalist Government came to power. The first was a short one in the latter half of 1948, soon after the General Election. In the 1949 and 1950 sessions, the Government revealed a tendency for lengthy sessions — in spite of their length, not much work was done. By all accounts the 1951 session is going to be equally long and very important.

The Speech from the Throne is expected to contain a reference to the international situation and to the Union's participation in the Korean War.

Of the bills known to be pending, by far the most important is the one to remove Coloured voters in the Cape Province from the common roll and place them on a separate roll. This legislation is expected to result in one of the biggest Parliamentary struggles ever known in the Union. The struggle outside Parliament will be no less determined.

The United Party will ask the Speaker (there will be a new Speaker, Mr. J. H. Conradie) for a ruling on whether the proposed legislation is a violation of the Entrenched Clauses. The Government itself may ask for this ruling. If Mr. Conradie expresses the opinion that the legislation will not contravene the entrenched clauses, the Parliamentary Opposition nevertheless will oppose it with all its resources, to use an expression of Mr. Strauss.

The Coloured Voters' Bill will not be the only apartheid legislation to be introduced next year. Held over from last year is the Native Building Workers' Bill, which the Minister of Labour, Mr. B. J. Schoeman, will re-introduce. This Bill is designed to prevent Non-Europeans from working as artisans in European areas.

Among the other legislation will be bills relating to hotel tariffs, on water

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PARLIAMENTARY PROSPECTS

(Continued from page 3)

rights, to the liquor laws, to marketing, to public holidays, to Native housing and to the registration of Native births.

There will be a number of changes in Parliament itself next year. In addition to the new Speaker of the House of Assembly, there will be a new Clerk of the House and Assistant Clerk, and five new Members of Parliament.

Parliament will be opened by a new Governor-General, Dr. E. G. Jansen, who was Minister of Native Affairs until recently. Dr. Jansen, it is reported, has decided to dispense with the traditional uniform worn by the Governor-General at the opening of Parliament.

There will also be new Cabinet Ministers — Mr. Tom Naude, the former Speaker, who is now Minister of Posts and Telegraphs; Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, who has been made Minister of Native Affairs, and Mr. J. H. Viljoen, the Afrikaner Party Member of Parliament, who is Minister of Mines and of Education.

The Nationalist Government has been in power now for two-and-a-half years. These two-and-a-half years have been apartheid years. At the same time, a steady campaign of intimidation of critics of the Government has been in progress. Next year, it is safe to expect, will be a year of further intimidation. It will be remembered as the year of the Great Assault on the Freedom of Speech.

The Government is determined to stifle criticism of its policies, particularly of its Non-European policy. Liberal-minded people, of course, will be the main target of attack. The year 1951 will be a testing period for South Africans with progressive instincts and human feelings. The Nationalists are going to subject them to increasing pressure. Some, no doubt, will succumb. Most, we hope, will stick to their convictions, in the knowledge that the Nationalists cannot last.

To be silent when it is necessary to speak one's mind means capitulation to the Nationalists. That is the test for South Africans in 1951. When decent people see wrong things being done, when they see Europeans and Non-Europeans being deprived of rights and liberties, their consciences will urge them

The Franchise Campaign is YOUR Campaign

THE Government proposes, during the coming session of Parliament, to remove the Coloured voters of the Cape Province from the common roll and to give them instead a fixed number of representatives (4 Coloured to 150 European representatives). The Government is prepared to effect this change by a bare majority, thus ignoring the entrenched clauses in our Constitution.

The Civil Rights League campaign is directed to voters. They will be urged to demand the withdrawal of the Cape Coloured Franchise Bill for the following reasons:

(a) The common roll franchise is a vested right of the Cape Coloured people, dating from 1853, and they regard it as a symbol of their value within the South African community. The Coloured people have no separate culture (language, religion, conventions etc.) and no land of their own.

(b) The Coloured people themselves regard the proposals as a form of unjust and unprovoked discrimination, and a betrayal of pledges freely given at the time of Union and later.

(c) We should be working towards greater, not less, co-operation between all sections of the community.

(d) If the Government is allowed to remove one group of voters from the common roll by a bare majority, ignoring the provisions of the Constitution, there will be no safeguard at all for the rights of any other group or groups of voters.

The Campaign demands the whole-hearted co-operation of all people, who

to speak in defence of human rights. If they evade their consciences and remain silent, they will be doing exactly what the Government wants them to do.

The struggle will begin early in the year, when the Coloured vote legislation is introduced in Parliament. The Government will attempt to prevent criticism and free speech generally, inside and outside Parliament, on this vital question. The Opposition will be tested inside Parliament; the South African public will be tested outside Parliament.

The situation next year will expose the appeasers. Every decent South African will have to make up his and her mind: To appease the Nationalists; or to resist the ruthless attack on democratic rights. There will be no room for compromise next year.

realise that this country is fast slipping away from the democratic aspirations we have held for several decades. People who understand the implications of this descent down the slope to fascism will seize the opportunity of slogging away to the maximum of their ability in order to shake the Government out of power.

How does one help?

In the first place Legionnaires in rural towns must be prepared to take the initiative in forming an ad hoc committee of responsible people to run the campaign in their town or village. Everywhere you will find plenty of people who are opposed to the policies of the Government. They must be asked to organise. From your small beginnings you must find one or two speakers and then arrange a public meeting.

Your speakers will require the facts of the situation. These can be obtained in Dr. L. M. Thompson's handy little book, "The Cape Coloured Franchise," which can be ordered at 2/6 a copy from the Institute of Race Relations, 19 Stejneger St., Braamfontein, Johannesburg. Quite soon, in addition, the Civil Rights League will have ready a shorter pamphlet with all the salient facts, which will be obtainable from the Civil Rights League, P.O. Box 4118, Johannesburg. With these books YOU can do the talking, if necessary.

At your meeting you must get volunteers to do a house-to-house canvass with the petition forms. Every voter must be asked to sign. You must ask people to organise small meetings in their homes. You provide the speaker and the petition forms and so the circle spreads.

Right now, today, you must start talking. Get people aware, interested, enthusiastic. For our own good there is a job to be done. Up with your sleeves and keep them up!

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● *Spotlight on*



THIS YEAR OF GRACE

If ever a country moved backward, it was South Africa in 1950. There is no need to mourn the passing of the year; rather should we be glad that it is over and prepare ourselves to make better of 1951. South Africa has never had so bitter and disastrous a Parliamentary Session as that of 1950, she has never been so helpless in the face of rising cost of living, she has never seen so great a deterioration in one year of race relations, she has never lost so many of her best people by emigration, she has never seen so many pernicious developments in the field of education, and she has never been so despised and hated in the world at large — all this is the legacy for the future of the year 1950.

Let us look more closely into some of these matters.

THE PARLIAMENTARY SESSION, 1950.

There was not one major constructive measure passed during the Parliamentary Session. Pressing issues were brushed aside to enable the Government to push through bills implementing various aspects — mostly negative — of their apart-hate policy. The Government showed an incredible contempt for public opinion, for protests, petitions and pleadings. Using over and over again their threadbare arguments, long ago exploded, they treated Parliament as a sausage machine to pass the Unlawful Organisations Act, The Group Areas Act, and the National Registration Act — three measures which would have done credit to Hitler's regime.

The Budget produced no nasty surprises for the man in the street due to the benefits of devaluation but it made no attempt to reduce the spiralling cost of living. All Mr. Havenga could do was to warn the people to live more frugally. The rise in cost of living since March points to the fundamental unsoundness of the Budget.

The other major issue of the session was the debate on the Press which resulted in the Commission of Enquiry appointed recently. If the debate did anything it showed once again that the Nationalists are not only over-sensitive to criticism in the press, but are determined that no criticism will be tolerated.

DETERIORATION IN RACE RELATIONS

The year has seen an alarming deterioration in race relations, particularly in the European-Non-European field. There was ritoing at Newclare and then the ghastly business of May Day in

which the Minister and the Police produced so great a state of tension by their preparations to deal with trouble, that trouble inevitably arose. The Riot Squad moved into Alexandra and there was bloodshed to replace the peace that had prevailed until the Squad moved in.

A year of increasingly petty apart-hate restrictions and growing intolerance promised to end on a brighter note when the new Minister of Native Affairs began to show a creditable interest in his job. He summoned the Native Representative Council — but so quickly emasculated it by forbidding it to discuss political issues that it adjourned. As a result the year ends blacker than ever.

THE COST OF LIVING

There can be no greater condemnation of the Nationalist government than its failure to do anything to combat the upward surge of cost of living. The rise in the price of many essentials has been phenomenal. The situation is fast getting out of hand. When the women of Johannesburg attempted to point this out to the Minister all they got was curtness and the charge that they were the tools of the United Party. So the situation deteriorates. The only bright thought is that in their failure to tackle this bread and butter problem before their airy philosophies, the Nationalists have sowed the seed of their own downfall.

WORLD OPINION

Anyone who has been overseas in the last year will tell you that South Africa is the best-hated country in the world. The peoples of other countries, many of them still recovering from the ravages of Hitler's nazism, are more informed on South African affairs than we dare to believe. There is undoubtedly much

ignorance and lack of awareness that South Africa's is no easy problem to solve, but there has been no 'campaign of misrepresentation' as the Nationalists aver. It is their own policies and their own speeches — many of them only meant for Platteland ignoramuses — which have given the country its bad name overseas. Confidentially, we stink.

SOUTH WEST AFRICA

South Africa's theft of South West Africa was completed during the year when elections were held there for the Union Parliament. A great number of the territory's people, particularly newly-naturalised Germans have much to thank the Nationalists for, particularly for giving them a vote worth three times the vote in the Union, and they showed their enthusiasm for Nationalist chicanery by putting all their candidates into power. If South Africa felt that it had now presented the world with a fait accompli, it was wrong — the attitude overseas has hardened particularly since the World Court decision and Malan's contemptuous treatment of it. The little boy, South Africa, will not forever be able to stick his fingers to his nose when UNO passes by.

DEFENCE

Mr. Erasmus has continued to be the comedy artist of the Cabinet in this year of grace. Many of the changes he has made would be downright funny were they not so serious. His building up of the Platteland Army and his dress reforms are the obvious things, but there are fundamental changes being made that the public hears little about — the resignation of General Beyers gave some hint as to what was going on. The day will come when it will be the private army of the Nationalists.

EDUCATION

Christian National Education has been less in the news but we are not blind to the fact that its doctrinaires have been busier than ever. It is infiltrating into many universities and schools to an extent that will make it unnecessary soon for the Nationalists to put

(Continued on page 14)

The GENTLE PEOPLE OF PREJUDICE

by H. A. Overstreet

DOROTHY BARUCH, in *The Glass House of Prejudice*, tells the story of José Morales, a Mexican war worker in the Los Angeles area. José was proud of his war job. He had written his brother, who taught at the University of Mexico, that at last he had work in which he could use his knowledge and skill. One day, after finishing his shift, José took the bus home. When he got off at his street corner he saw some men standing waiting. "They were strangers to him. He had never seen them before, nor they him . . . But they looked hard at him, and they saw under the light of the street lamp that he was slim and dark . . .

"One of them cried, 'Dirty Mexican!' And they were on him. They tore off his clothes. They beat him with chains and iron pipes. They left him naked and bleeding. His back was broken.

"The next morning he died."

A story like this leaves one bewildered. How could human beings do so cowardly a deed? They had never seen the man before. They did not know what kind of person he was. But to them, apparently, he was some form of evil. And that was enough. They killed him.

It does not answer the question to call them hoodlums. In a railway station, a ticket agent deliberately keeps the Negroes waiting until the last minute of train time while he first serves the whites and then sits at his desk leisurely with a pal. He intends to be infuriating. He sees the Negroes at the ticket window, and he enjoys keeping them waiting. He knows they are bitter and relishes their bitterness. He feels big. He is a white man. "Let the damn niggers wait!"

A woman with rooms to let slams the door in the face of an inquiring couple. "I don't take any Jews here." She knows her words are an insult. She intends them to be. She feels important, righteous.

The terrifying thing about the cruelty of prejudice is that it justifies itself to itself. It was that way with Hitler's Nazis. To strike down an inoffensive old man, kick him, defile him; that was good, right, beautiful. It was what any well-disciplined Nazi ought to do. It was expected.

How do people get that way?

"Easy," said the poet, "is the descent to Averna." The first slippery step down is the assumption of an unearned right.

The white man can eat where he pleases, live where he pleases, dance where he pleases, enter the occupation he pleases. He takes that right as his — an absolute one unrelated to his own merit or desert. He does not need to give a thought to the fact that dark-skinned people do not have these rights, nor to the fact that they are denied them not because they are worse people, but because they do not belong to the dominant group. They may even be better people — more intelligent, more reliable, more gracious and pleasant to have around. But the white man would be vastly surprised if someone were to say to him: "You cannot have those privileges of yours without earning them. It is on the record that you are an untrustworthy man; you are foul-mouthed and you beat your wife. You'll have to be put in a Jim Crow car."

Justice is a relation between what an individual does and the rewards or punishment he receives. A culture begins to slip morally when it grants special privileges or denies them on grounds that have nothing to do with individual desert. An employer who gave higher pay to an incompetent official of the company merely because the two of them bowled together or hailed from the same town would be an unjust employer. Justice plays no favorites. The basic moral law requires that as a man is and does so shall he be judged.

The Night of Race Prejudice.

Once the dubious principle is accepted that group privileges need have no relation to individual merit, the descent into immorality is easy. The Nazis made that descent, with a cruel arrogance unmatched in history. No Nazi needed to give the slightest thought to the individual Jews he was herding into the freight car. They might be the noblest persons in the world or the most scoundrelly. So far as he was concerned, all human distinctions among them had vanished. "In the night," wrote Hegel, "all cats are grey." In the night of race prejudice all persons in the despised group are alike. When that happens there is no more morality.

Happily, not everyone who is afflicted with race prejudice goes as far down as did the Nazis. Most people who are prejudiced merely take the first slippery step down: as members of the privileged race they assume the right to have and to hold their special privileges irrespective of their own merit, and they deny these rights to others with a like disregard of individual worth. This may not

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seem a dangerous downward step to take since so many otherwise respectable people take it. But note what it involves. Everyone who accepts for himself the special privileges that go with denying them to people of a subordinated race makes possible all the cruelties that arise out of such unjust discrimination.

Thus, for others less kindly disposed than himself, he makes possible the next downward step: scapegoating. A basic requirement of the moral life is to make sure that the person blamed is the person who merits the blame. Here again the Nazis were flagrant offenders. "It was the Jews who did it." That applied to all situations where the Germans, individually or collectively, had suffered frustration. Half-starved after World War I, unemployed, dispirited, ignorant of the reasons of their plight, belated by a mystic sense of their own greatness, Germans did not take the sturdy course of seeking out the real causes of their defeat and distress. Had they done so they might have found many causes within themselves. But it takes moral maturity to declare oneself in the wrong. The morally immature person finds it easier to put the blame on someone else. Children do this. "It was Johnny spilled the ink; he joggled my elbow."

Road To Violence.

Scapegoating is dangerous because it leads easily to violent acts. Where society condemns a certain group as inferior and rightless, it provides an area of permitted insult and cruelty. The man who has lost a business contract cannot go out and kick a white passer-by; he might get kicked back. But in certain parts of America he can punch a Negro

and call him a black bastard. The Negro has no right to hit back or even to answer back. So in like manner, the poor white can take out his poverty-frustration on his more well-to-do Negro neighbor by joining with the night riders to burn the Negro's barn. The California "vigilante", burdened with his mortgage and his envy, can empty his revolver through the windows of the returned Nisei farmer. Scapegoating is a way of releasing our own hurt feelings onto someone else.

After scapegoating, the next step down is not difficult: justifying one's acts by lies. The Protocols of Zion were deliberately forged to prove the case against the Jews. To the Jew-hater, however, this was not dishonesty in the ordinary sense of the word; it was "pious dishonesty." You had to make the people hate the Jews; so the end justified the means. But wherever evil means are used, no matter what the ends, they become a moral infection. The story of race prejudice is one long, sordid tale of the use of lies to support a hate.

Self-Deceived and Duped.

The prevailing stereotypes about the Negro — that he is by nature shiftless, lazy, mentally inferior, lawless, sexually unsafe to have around — have no basis in truth whatsoever. The best that can be said against those who continue, in the face of disproof, to use those stereotypes is that they are self-deceived or ignorant or duped; the worst is that they are deliberate perverters of the truth.

Finally, the last slippery step down — and here again the Nazis provided us with the most shocking examples. This last step down is to make self-importance out of cruelty. It is bad enough for a person to be unjust, to take privileges for himself and deny them to others without regard to individual merit, to put blame on others when the blame rests elsewhere, and to justify all this by lies. But complete moral disintegration comes when to all this is added a glorying in cruelty and a sense of greatness achieved by inflicting it. The most outstanding parts of the testimony of the war criminals was their repeatedly expressed pride in what they had done. Low as men may fall, moral sensitivity remains as long as shame remains, but when, instead of shame, there is a glory-

ing in foul deeds, the creature is no longer moral.

It is the willingness to hurt and be happy in the hurting that is the deepest condemnation of certain forms of race prejudice. The men who broke the back of José Morales and glouted in doing it were at the best stage of life. But one does not have to break a man's back to achieve moral degradation. The ticket seller who enjoyed being cruel and made importance out of it for his own ego was himself already well on the way.

All of this will seem to have nothing to do with ordinary, kindly people who happen to have a streak of the anti-Jew or anti-Negro — or anti-Japanese feeling in them. Such people would never for a moment descend so far as to do cruel things for the fun and the glory of it. Happily, these people are a majority even among the prejudiced. Why worry then? A little prejudice now and then might well be allowed the best of men.

Evil In Us

Is the matter as unimportant as that? It might seem to be harmless enough for a man to say: "Well, I don't like Jews, that's all, and I surely have the right to choose the people I want to associate with, haven't I?" The answer to that, of course, is yes. The right to choose the people with whom we wish to associate is undeniable. But if we choose (and exclude) on a principle which, when magnified, makes not only for injustice but for inevitable cruelty, then we are helping to create an evil, and, as willing creators of an evil, we have evil in us.

When I say that I have a right to choose the people I want to associate with, I make a true judgment if I imply that I make my choice in terms of the qualities of those I choose. But when I say that I don't want to associate with Jews, I actually imply that I don't even stop to consider them as individuals. I shut my eyes and say: "The whole bunch is not for me!"

Magnify this: let every individual say to himself: "I choose my associates by first excluding a whole group of people whom I don't know and don't intend to know," and a cultural pattern is created that is fraught with the profoundest evil.

This is what ordinary, kindly people, with their seemingly harmless streak of

racial prejudice, do: they permit the immoral principle of condemning people in the mass to take root in society. Once that principle takes root, other things inevitably follow. It becomes then a permitted thing to look down upon certain groups of people. When this permitted way of looking down becomes an established habit, the consequent habit follows: regarding these despised people as permitted objects of insult and humiliation. Then the next thing follows: these people — because they are in effect righteous — provide an outlet for pent-up hostilities. They become whipping boys for those members of the dominant group who need to project their frustrations upon others. When society makes an area where hostilities can freely be vented on others it provides for its own moral disintegration.

Sense of Guilt in Our Culture

He who permits evil commits evil. This is what makes for the haunting sense of guilt in our culture. Many a member of the dominant group will earnestly aver that he never intended it that Negroes should be insulted and maltreated on buses, in railroad stations, and on public streets; that he never intended it that Mexican-Americans should be brutally beaten up; that his heart is sore and ashamed when he reads of the defiling of Jewish synagogues by hoodlums. He did not intend these things. But he created the social sanction for these things. By adopting a twisted principle of human association he and the people like him opened the Pandora's box out of which have flown the intolerances and cruelties that have defiled our culture.

There is a deep wisdom in the negative clause of the confession: "We have left undone those things which we ought to have done." The moral sickness that is in most prejudiced people of the dominant group is that they have learned to stand by and do nothing. They do not go to lynchings, but they do nothing to create a condition of human dignity that would make lynchings impossible. The reason why they do not create such a condition of human dignity is that in their heart of hearts they do not believe in the equal right of all human beings to human dignity. Deep and seemingly

(Continued on page 12)

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THIS C.O.L. BUSINESS (4)

The Cost of Giving

"DARLING," protested my wife, Joan, "you can't not give your own mother-in-law a Christmas present, now, can you, sweet?"

"Yes, I can," I replied, "I didn't ask for a mother-in-law, did I? That was just one of the dirty tricks of life that a man can't dodge. Seriously, Joan, you know I love your Mother, but let's be sensible and act on my suggestion; let us cut out altogether this business of giving Christmas presents, shall we? Perhaps next year things will be cheaper or we'll have more money or perhaps Christmas will have been officially abolished as a non-National-minded festival and we'll have no worries at all. What do you say, darling?"

My wife looked hurt, intrigued and aggressive at one and the same time. Her mouth was pursed, as it usually is, when she's itching to throw something at me. Her nose sort of looked as if she were sniffing at my suggestion, while her eyes had a troubled, full look about them, as if I were always a cruel, insensitive, thoughtless and unloving monster. God! how these women can get through your defences, can't they? Anyway, she replied in a patently 'reasonable', yet appealing, tone:

"Look, Snookie, I know you're right, you're absolutely right, we can't afford presents and we couldn't very well give to one and leave the others out, but, darling, don't you think we could find some little cheap thing — after all, it's the thought that counts, not the value of the gift — something sweet but inexpensive for say your father and mother and my mother (her father died before we got married). As for the rest, we'll concentrate on the children. As a matter of fact, Snooks, why shouldn't we leave each other out this year? You've already given me the pendant for my birthday . . . what do you say?"

Damn it all, I thought, that's a lousy idea, because I've already bought her one of these nylon nighties — she loathes pyjamas, says they're unfeminine and you should only see her in a nightie, no! I mean you shouldn't see her in her nightie, you shouldn't see her in anything at all . . . no, damn it, what the hell am I trying to say? I mean, what my wife wears is something between her

and me, I mean, it's none of your bloody business! So, I've got her one of those nylon nighties and a slip and panties. God, did they soak me! But they'll look marvellous on her, you should only . . . no! that's enough of that. The other thing is this: I couldn't give up the idea of giving each other presents, because Joan had already suggested that she would try and get me a new golfbag, and, boy, can I do with one. I look a disgrace going round the course.

So I said very gently, "No darling, we must have a surprise for each other . . . it wouldn't seem like Christmas at all, if I couldn't give you something nice on Christmas morning. I tell you what, let's make a list of names and put down a suggested present and how much we're prepared to spend on each, what do you say?"

Of course, Joan was delighted and got pencil and paper straightaway. We first of all put down 'Five Pounds' . . . that was for the toys for Barbara and Junior's stockings. We knew it wasn't much in these days, but what can you do? Then came the list:

Children: toys — — — — —	£5 0 0
Joan's Mother: a black handbag	2 5 0
My Mother: 2 scatter pins — — —	0 17 6
My Father: 2 packs plastic playing cards — — — — —	2 0 0
Coral: 2 pairs panties — — — — —	0 15 0
Dinah: dress length (print) — — —	0 10 0
Mrs. Donovan: half doz. handkerchiefs — — — — —	0 10 0
John & Hilda: vase — — — — —	0 17 6
Mr. & Mrs. Vane: 2 books — — — —	1 5 0
The Clark Children: toys — — — —	0 15 0
	£14 15 0

(N.B. Coral was Joan's bridesmaid — she's man-mad and when she gets one, she can't keep him. I begrudge giving her anything. Dinah is our African servant — she's marvellous, loves the kids, as if they were her own. Mrs. Donovan is an old friend of my family and I sometimes wonder whether she'll leave anything to me or the kids. No harm in keeping polite, is there? John and Hilda, my bestman and his wife. Mr. and Mrs. Vane old friends in Cape Town and the Clark children live next door and

play with Barbara and Junior.)

So the next thing, I took off an afternoon from work and we went shopping. Mind you, it was quite fun, until we realised in a fret of fury and frustration that our calculations just didn't measure up to what Mr. Eric Louw thinks we should spend on Xmas presents. We went for the handbag first. Of course, you can get them at £2 5s., but my mother-in-law wouldn't be seen dead with one. (Better be careful what I say! many a true word spoken in jest!) So, we got one at £4 15s. after throwing aside the really nice one's at £7, £8 and £9. The scatterpins — did you ever hear of such nonsense? — were 25/- the pair, not 17/6. We couldn't get any plastic playing cards, so had to get a bridge set in a leather case, which cost £3 3s. The panties for Coral at 7/6 you could have shelled peas through. Joan said Coral would walk the length of Eloff Street with none on at all rather than be seen in the 7/6 ones. Too right, I thought to myself, but I didn't say anything. So bang went 25/- on Coral.

Dinah's print we got quite reasonably at 12/-, but Mrs. Donovan's handkerchiefs cost 19/6 instead of 10/-. Tissues would be cheaper, I said. We went to the Pickwick Bookshop, of course, and could have got a couple of books at about 12/6 each, but Joan saw an arty-tarty book for Mrs. Vane, which cost 21/-. John and Hilda's vase finally cost 27/6 and the toys for the Clark boy and girl came to 23/-.

By the time we had sadly but defiantly spent over £7 on our own kids, we had spent £23 7s. 6d. instead of our estimated £14 5s. Poor Joan was almost in tears with rage. She knew that we had subbed on our holiday money . . . and even that we're saving only by putting off the income tax collector. Can't last for long.

We went in and had a spot to revive our spirits and rest our feet. "But, how is it darling," asked Joan, "there is this disgusting increase in prices? God knows your salary is a good one, but how can we go on at this rate?" She was really upset. She must have been, for I've never known her before to worry about where the money comes from or goes to.

(Continued on next page)

(Continued from previous page)

"Cheer up, honey," I soothed her. "It's like this. Everything we import has gone up madly in price, probably because America and Britain have to spend so much on rearmament that their taxation is terribly high: that makes the people clamour for more wages: that puts the factory prices up: transport costs more and so on. Then when the stuff arrives here there is heavy taxation and the high cost of the basic materials means that the cost of the manufactured goods also goes up. That means that we all shout for higher wages and cost-of-living allowances."

At this stage I felt my economics getting a bit shaky, but I went on.

"Another thing you must remember is the effect of this blooming government . . ."

"Oh! them!" sneered Joan.

"Well, somebody's got to pay for 'apartheid'. It costs the country good hard cash every time we have a new separate station and post-office entrances: there's a waste of money every time a train or a tram runs only half-full of whites or blacks, when it could run full with both lots together. But what's worse is the fact that because we won't let the Africans learn more highly-skilled jobs, our national income remains about the lowest in the Commonwealth and the bulk of our population haven't got the spending power to justify mass-production. S.P.Q.R., you know."

"What on earth's that?" asked Joan.

"Small Profits and Quick Returns,"

I replied, feeling rather witty.

"Well, what I think, then, is that we must stop wasting money on rearmaments . . . who want war? . . . and let's get rid of this Government."

And do you know what? Joan joined the women's section of the United Party: I turned up at our Labour Party branch meeting (I'm a socialist, you see. As a matter of fact, Joan's mother was opposed to our getting married, because she said I was a nasty Labour man. Huh!) And we both went to the Legion's monthly meeting — I've been slack, I must admit — and it was damn good to get the feeling of 'fight' the boys have. And we've bloomint' well decided to join the Civil Rights League and help them with their campaign about the Cape Coloured vote.

God! when we had decided all that,

THE GENTLE PEOPLE OF PREJUDICE

(Continued from page 9)

ineradicable in them is this twisted view of their fellow-men. This is the intellectual and moral sickness in them. Out of this sickness comes their effortlessness, and out of their effortlessness come the revolting cruelties of our culture.

Neurotic Inertia

We have become familiar through psychiatry with one peculiar pattern of inertia: the inertia that comes from two conflicting and compulsive drives which, because they are conflicting, make it impossible for the individual to do anything. The irresistible force meets the immovable body within a human mind that cannot seem to throw the weight of decision on one side or the other. Out of such inability to resolve a conflict comes one pattern of neurosis; neurotic inertia. If we look long enough at this pattern it may afford us a peculiar insight into the kind of social inertia we have just mentioned. This type of inertia cannot technically be called a neurosis, but, existent in multitudes of citizens, it pulls down the standard of their common behaviour and makes for an increasing obtuseness toward moral values. Caught between ideals that they cannot give up and habits and practices that are equally entrenched, they develop a protective unresponsiveness to events within their society that should properly fill them with horror and induce action. But they do not know how to act nor what price they might have to pay for action. Hence they cannot feel an appropriate responsibility for action. Consciously or subconsciously, the sense of responsibility is dimmed out in them. The power to feel is blurred. The issue is fogged by rationalisation. The more often this inertia-response is made, the more satisfactorily, in short-range terms,

we felt marvellous, so there and then we ordered another drink and I said:

"Cheers, darling. Here's to Xmas and to hell with gloom. Here's to peace and a new government: here's to progress and prosperity and a cheaper budget for next year's Christmas celebrations!"

And we downed our drink in one glorious gulp.

Hooray for Christmas!

it reduces the conscious unhappiness and guilt of the person who makes it, and the easier it is to make it on the next similar occasion. So the guilt feeling is diminished on the surface, but the guilt remains and works its corruption at a deeper level of consciousness.

Burden of Moral Guilt

Thus it is the mild and gentle people of prejudice, with their compulsive effortlessness, who must bear the burden of the moral guilt. They have given the green light, and the legion of low hostilities has broken through on the run.

"The corruption of the best is the worst of corruptions." It is the college president who earnestly justifies the quota system who is inwardly corrupt, because, supposedly enlisted in the age-long struggle for human dignity (the Great Tradition), he rationalises himself out of the struggle when it goes counter to the local mores and the prejudices of his board. It is the minister of the church who timidly suggests that Negroes go elsewhere who is inwardly corrupt, because he denies the Master he asks people to serve. It is the respectable people who would not dream of letting a Negro enter by the front door who are inwardly corrupt because they are willing to insult without even knowing that they insult.

What prejudice does to the prejudiced is, in subtler or in grosser ways, to work this inner corruption. This is the image we need to build of the people who claim white supremacy and Christian superiority. They are intellectually and morally sick people. What is worse, they are sick people who try to make their own sickness the measure of their society's health.

TO INSCRIBE THE ROLL OF HONOUR.

Miss M. E. Duxbury, the well known scribe, has been commissioned by the National War Memorial Health Foundation to inscribe the names of South Africa's 10,000 fallen in the last war, on a Roll of Honour. The Roll of Honour takes the form of a Book of Remembrance, which when completed, will be placed beside that of the First World War in the House of Assembly in Cape Town.

THE N.R.C. AND THE GOVERNMENT

THE Native Representative Council came into being with the passing of the "Representation of Natives Act" (No. 12 of 1936). To really understand the history of the Council, however, is to go back to 1852 when the Cape of Good Hope extended the franchise to all British subjects in the Cape regardless of colour, provided they satisfied certain qualifications. The Africans used their vote with some discretion and in 1903 an event occurred which provoked quite a keen controversy. In the Cape election of that year, the African vote played quite a decisive role in returning the Jameson Progressive Ministry. By 1910 the Cape Vote had become such an issue of practical politics that it became one of the stumbling blocks to Union. The three Northern Provinces did not want to see the vote extended to their Africans. At last a final compromise was hatched out. The Cape African Vote was retained while for the African in the other 3 Provinces provision was made for four Senators to be appointed to watch Non-White interests.

The fear that Africans all over the Union would one day demand the same privileges as their Cape brothers, still remained. Between 1927 and 1930 South Africa was torn by racial quarrels. The agitation of the African people for democratic rights gave the Hertzog Government an excellent opportunity to misrepresent this development as an anti-white move. So well did General Hertzog exploit the situation that when he brought his Native Bill before Parliament he was able to command the necessary two-thirds majority. So in 1936 the common vote was taken away from the Africans in the Cape and provision was made for the compilation of a special roll for them. Members on this roll were entitled to return three European members to the House of Assembly and 2 European members to the Provincial Council.

A further compensation was the Native Representative Council of 22 members — 6 official, 4 nominated and 12 elected. The Secretary for Native Affairs was one of the official members and permanent chairman of the Council. The other five official members were the chief Native Commissioners appointed by the Minister. The Governor-Gen-

eral nominated four Africans to serve on the Council. The remaining members were elected by electoral colleges (voting units combined) and Urban Advisory Boards.

The functions of the Council were to consider and report on any matter referred to it by the Minister, recommend to Parliament or any Provincial Council, legislation which it considered necessary in the interests of the Africans. Certain forms of legislation affecting the African could not under very special conditions be proceeded with unless first placed before the Council. The Council also had to consider estimates of expenditure and reports of the Council's deliberations had to be placed before the Minister who was required to table such reports before both Houses of Parliament.

Initially when the Council first came into being, the Department of Native Affairs took a very keen interest in its deliberations. In more recent years the Government has just about ignored the Council. Some Cabinet Ministers have not hesitated to get through Parliament measures which had received strenuous opposition from the Council. Nobody is under any obligation to act on the Council's advice. The Council functions in a purely advisory capacity. The resultant feeling of frustration became so strong that in 1946, Native representatives decided to boycott the Council unless the Government abolished all discriminatory legislation affecting Non-Europeans.

In 1949 the Nationalist Government announced that it would abolish the council and replace it by an extension of the Bunga system involving the establishment of local councils representing the native people. At an informal meeting in August this year with the Secretary for Native Affairs, Dr. W. W. M. Eiselen, the Native representatives declined to withdraw their boycott resolution in order to discuss this development and were told that the Council would be summoned at a later date.

The Council finally met last week in an attempt to break the deadlock between the Government and the Council. The Minister of Native Affairs in his opening address gave an explanation of "apartheid". He made many contentious

statements to the effect that Europeans and non-Europeans should adopt a form of development that kept them separate. In this way the Bantu could proceed with his own development with full respect for his language, traditions and history. In the interests of both Europeans and the Bantu the place to start giving the Bantu equal opportunities was obviously the reserves, where little more than a third of the Native population lived on what was unequivocally Native territory.

The fact that this policy takes no account of the recommendation to be found in the Fagan and other Government Reports, is obviously of no account to the Minister. These reports state quite plainly that the Africans must be considered an integral part of urban economic life and that the drift to the towns from the reserves is likely to continue and that these Africans must be provided with the amenities of life and admitted into European secondary industries. Furthermore this drift to the town is the result of the impoverishment of the Reserves with their resultant incapacity to provide even a subsistence level. To leave the Africans to develop on their own in the overcrowded reserves is to leave them to starve.

None knew these factors better than the African representatives. Unfortunately the Council was informed by the Minister that it was not empowered to discuss politics. His political address was delivered to them as leaders of the Native people and not as councillors. The African Councillors were obviously puzzled as to how they could be expected to discuss any of the items affecting the African people without trespassing into the field of politics.

One is led to ask how sincere are the Government's overtures to the African people? In what way has the position changed from 1946? The Council is even more impotent than before with the present political ban, OR is the Government afraid it would be unable to reply to the accusations of the Native Councillors?

In the meantime the Council has taken legal opinion as to whether or not the Chairman's ruling is valid. In any case the position is much the same as it was before the Council reassembled. It seems clear then that the Nationalists do not wish to continue with the N.R.C. and are using this opportunity to take away more meagre rights of the African people.

THIS YEAR OF GRACE

(Continued from page 7)

anything on the Statute book to enforce it. Other bad developments in the field of education have been the passing of the Potchefstroom University Bill with its abhorrent "conscience clause", the new Language Ordinance in the Transvaal which has been somewhat shaken by the Supreme Court, and the new School Feeder System in the Transvaal. Education is vitally important — we must beware that democracy is not cut away from under us by the abuse of our schools.

The Trek to the North has become so serious that even the Nationalist Party has become alarmed about it — only in so far as some of the Trekkers are Afrikaners; the attitude seems to be that it is good riddance to those English-speaking South Africans who decide they are not wanted here and move away. South Africa desperately needs people and can afford to lose none at all — even if they are only United Party supporters! We must not bluff ourselves that these people go merely because the economic prospects are better up North. Politics plays its part as well — they find they can no longer breathe in this stifling, stagnant atmosphere.

THE NATIONALIST PARTY

The Nationalist Party has no reason to be unhappy about the year 1950. It has won the S.W. Africa election completely, it has pulled through Parliament three important measures, it has forced Havenga to sell out on the Coloured vote issue, it has made one of its Cabinet Ministers the next Governor-General, it has put its cronies on to every possible board and committee, it has increased the size of the Cabinet — and it has bamboozled some of Natal's non-Nationalists with their complexes on the Indian problem, by Dr. Malan's curious, soft-soaping speech in Durban at the Congress of the Party.

On the other hand there is some evidence that the Nationalists are not as happy as they were. They haven't lived up to the promises to their supporters and they have incurred the displeasure of all by their failure to handle the cost of living crisis. Their real test comes early in the new year when the Coloured vote becomes the subject of debate.

THE UNITED PARTY

There is no point in bluffing ourselves that the United Party has made great strides in the year. On the other hand it has not stood still. It has jumped the hurdle of electing a new leader without rift, it has improved its organisation and it seems to be listening a little more to those who can shape a sensible policy for it.

GENERAL SMUTS

Talk of the United Party leads on naturally to the final matter in this review for the greatest and saddest event of the year has been the death of the Oubaas. The measure of the country's appreciation of his services was shown at his birthday celebration only a few months before. Even the puny men who have followed him in power could not but recognise his greatness and mourn his death. He was the friend of ex-servicemen and has left us a great task to perform.

This is the legacy of 1950 for 1951. Seldom has a new year had to start with so alarming a debit balance. It must therefore be our aim for 1951 to eliminate that debit balance and build up a handsome credit to pass on to the succeeding year. There is only one way of doing that — get the Nationalists out!

CHAMPION BECOMES MEMBER

Mr. Vic Toweel, world bantam weight boxing champion, has become a member of the National War Memorial Health Foundation. He was enrolled as a voting member at the annual ball of the Jewish Ex-Service Men's League held in Johannesburg recently when the gathering was briefly addressed by Dr. Henry Gluckman, the Foundation's Hon. Director.

Thirteen other guests signed enrolment forms, three of them for life membership.

GRAPPIES.

Die seun het die dag sy 21ste verjaardag gevier. Vader aan Moeder: „Vrou, jy moet nog vir Jan vertel.”

Vrou: „Nee, dis jou plig.”

Vader (na 'n bietjie na te dink): „Wel, seun, jy is vandag mondig en ek dink jy kan ons ook nou 'n bietjie geldelik help.”

Seun: „U moet net sê wat ek moet doen of gee.”

Vader: „Jy kan gerus die laaste paaiement van jou kinderwaentjie betaal.”

* * * *

'n Soldaat, op wag, sien iets in die pad beweeg. „Halt, wie gaan daar?”

„'n Vriend met 'n bottel bier,” kom die antwoord.

Soldaat: „Voortwaarts, vriend, halt, bottel bier!”

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