

## THE NEW FACE OF APARTHEID

In any speech of Dr. Verwoerd, one can usually find apparently contradictory statements about apartheid. His recent address to the Nationalist Party Congress was no exception. On the one hand, he presented his party as the white front against African advancement. On the other hand, he claimed that apartheid would eventually put an end to discrimination.

These contradictions in words are matched by actions which seem on the face of them to point in different directions. On the one hand, there is the Bantu in Urban Areas Bill, which will consolidate and aggravate all the restrictions and discriminations to which Africans in the cities have been subject over the years. On the other hand, there is a liberalizing measure such as the new Liquor Act and there is a continual trickle of measures which could be described as "positive apartheid". There are to be "Bantu Urban Councils" which, though far from independent, will have more powers than the old location Advisory Boards. Money is being spent on tribal universities and well paid jobs on their staffs are being offered to Africans. The same applies to the projected "Bantu Service" of the S.A.B.C. Housing development continues and the new schemes are often an improvement on the old.

Opponents of the Government are inclined, if they are conservatives, to use all this as evidence that the Government does not really know its own mind and is not as "firm with the natives" as it claims to be. If they are liberals, they dismiss "positive apartheid" as mere window-dressing and propaganda material.

### No Contradiction

Both explanations are facile. There is no contradiction between "negative" and "positive" apartheid and the Government is not spending its time and money merely to create propaganda effects. The Government has a very thoroughly worked-out plan for creating a new economy and a new society for the African population. This new society, astonishing though it may seem, will more closely resemble a communist society than any other existing precedent.

The sting in the tail of all "positive apartheid" measures is, of course, absolute Government control. Under the Bantu Authorities and Bantu Urban Councils schemes, an African can have a position of some power and influence - on condition that he renders absolute obedience to the Government. In the tribal colleges or "Bantu Radio", he can have a well-paid and interesting job - on condition that he renders absolute obedience to the Government. New opportunities for trade, skilled and professional work are being opened up - under Government control. The

peasants of the Reserves are offered soil reclamation and betterment schemes - under Government control.

At the same time, opportunities for African advancement outside the state-controlled economy are being steadily whittled down. Independent African traders and professional men have already been squeezed out of the city centres. The barriers to African employment as skilled artisans in private enterprises have been re-inforced. Private schools for Africans have been virtually abolished. Freehold tenure of land by Africans exists only in a few isolated areas. In the so-called "Bantu Homelands", land tenure is for all practical purposes at the discretion of the Government. If white private enterprises should conceive the idea of advancing Africans to senior clerical or administrative posts, it will find that the Government has power under the Group Areas Act to make that practically impossible, and that power will certainly be used.

#### State-Controlled Society

As the process continues, the Africans, and more especially their leaders and their intelligentsia, will be faced with the following choice: to enjoy a measure of prosperity and opportunity in the new state-controlled society, or to face a future outside it which offers harassed poverty at best and imprisonment, exile or death as the consequence of any attempt to change the situation.

That is the plan. Its prospects of working should not be underestimated. A state which on the one hand has all the economic, political and social advancement in its gift; and on the other hand will stop at nothing to crush opposition, is a machine of terrible power. Such machines are operating smoothly over a quarter of the world's surface and, with one exception, show no sign of breaking down.

#### Contact with Free Society

The one exception is important. East Germany has proved that totalitarianism cannot exist without an iron curtain - cannot exist in daily contact with a free society. Now the Nationalist Party purports to hope that its new African society will exist side by side in one territory with a white society based on Parliamentary democracy and free enterprise. That certainly cannot be. As long as a free society exists in South Africa, it will be the West Berlin of Bantustan. More laws and decrees will not suffice to prevent that. The Nationalist Party has already made up its mind that its solution to such a difficulty will be no different from Herr Ulbricht's. If democracy for white South Africa conflicts with dictatorship for black South Africa, it is democracy which must give way. This was the message which Mr. John Vorster conveyed in his first speech as Minister.

Apartheid, then, is no longer old-style tyranny which rests merely on bullets and bayonets. It is becoming a new-style tyranny in which all the forces of the economy are used to bend the people to the will of

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the state. This is Verwoerd's distinctive contribution to Afrikaner Nationalism. Few of his followers understand what he is doing. It is high time that his opponents should.

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UNO in Africa (from page 4)

These are vital questions which the UNO should be getting ready to answer. For it is true that, however remote Angola and South West Africa may be from the power centres of the world, in the mood of modern Africa they can present a threat to world peace, as much as the Congo did.

Like the people of Angola and South West Africa, we look forward to the day when UNO will have the power to intervene effectively to ensure that the just aspirations of a subject people can be achieved - but by negotiation, not violence.

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Freedom of Expression (from page 8)

It is not simply in the light of law that we must consider Mr. Vorster's statement. Since he spoke there have been many instances of the now traditional intimidation of the opponents of the Government by the Special Branch. The methods of the Special Branch are well known and include attendance at lawful meetings of law-abiding citizens where notes of speeches are taken. Persons attending meetings have their car numbers taken and are often visited and interrogated by the Special Branch.

Since these activities are rarely followed by prosecutions, we can assume that the investigation of crime is a remote purpose, if it is a purpose at all.

The real purpose is, of course, to intimidate the opponents of the Government. As Brookes and McCauley remark in their book, "an aura of sinister plotting and crime against the security of the state is made by these attentions to hang over their discussions."

Punishment for Beliefs

Mr. Vorster clearly does not intend to abate the activities of the Special Branch. He will also, presumably, justify all other actions of his Government, such as the detention of Liberals during the Emergency, who, as we all know, were being punished for their beliefs, and the banning of the ANC and PAC although the law under which they were banned strikes at the heart of freedom to express opinions. Parallel notions are held in all totalitarian jurisdictions. Indeed it is becoming difficult to distinguish Nationalist and Communist power techniques.

The statement that freedom of expression must be exercised in accordance with the law is illuminating. As we have seen, there is no real freedom of expression under the law. In Nationalist thinking "law" and "right" are synonymous. People will not be allowed to protest in places inhabited by other races and "freedom of expression must not be abused". As we know, "abuse" to Nationalists does not mean contrary to conventional restraints on freedom, which they find hopelessly inadequate, but contrary to Nationalist notions.

Mr. Vorster, in short, believes in the right to protest, provided that content, place and person are approved by the Nationalist Party.

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