

UMHLANGANISI

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TOO LATE

IT IS A MEASURE of how deeply the Group Areas Act has impinged upon life in South Africa that it is repeatedly offering new opportunities for concern and comment. At the moment Durban is in the news again.

The Group Areas plans for Durban are probably as vicious as any others, but not more vicious than most. They could possibly involve the uprooting of a very high proportion of the Indian (49.2%), African (Over 50%) and Coloured (50.6%) populations, while leaving the European population (2.4%) virtually untouched. If the business areas are zoned the figures will rise.

Durban is the spiritual home of the Group Areas Act. Dr. Donges may have fathered it but Durban was his willing hand-maid. In fact, Durban had persuaded his predecessor to introduce strict segregationary measures before Dr. Donges took office. When he did so, and introduced his new Act, Durban welcomed it, and took steps, not only to make it work, but to garnish it with some of its own philosophical amplifications. The result in 1952 was proposals roughly along the lines indicated above.

In the years since 1952 there have been many protests against Durban's Group Areas plans. In the early days these came mainly from Non-White organisations. Here and there an isolated White voice was raised, but, on the whole, there was no concerted White opposition and the daily newspapers were not unsympathetic to the Council's proposals. Since 1953 the anti-Group Areas campaign has been intensified. Campaigns have been organised by the Congresses and by the Liberal Party. The Natal Indian Congress has organised special Conferences, Liberal Party and Congress leaders have addressed hundreds of meetings in and around Durban. Mass gatherings, such as that held at Curries Fountain last year, have been staged.

For a long time these protests had no effect. Last year the first proclamations were published. Almost simultaneously the City Council proposed certain modifications to its plans which would have reversed the decision to zone Cato Manor for Whites. Late last year a sub-committee of the City Council, swollen by new recruits, recommended against this Council decision. There was an immediate reaction from sections of the White community of Durban. Suddenly they awoke to the fact that Indians, who had been living in the area for 80 years, were going to have to move. Mass public meetings have been held. The City Council has been rattled and accusations have been made that some of its members have been doing potentially profitable deals in Cato Manor real estate.

It is difficult to know whether the White citizens of Durban have undergone a genuine change of heart or whether they have suddenly realised the economic implications of residential apartheid. While the second motive was probably the strongest influence in the Council's 1958 change-of-heart the people who have supported the recent demonstrations have almost certainly been influenced by revulsion against the scarcely-concealed robbery of the Durban proposals.

If this is the case, then there is still some hope for South Africa. It is just possible that recent events in Durban are the first signs of a fundamental rejection of "apartheid in practice" by White people who have, up till now, been quite content to let things slide. The tragedy is that the people who are now protesting did not do so five or six years ago when they were first warned of the implications of the Group Areas Act. The Cato Manor area has been proclaimed. The Minister has said that he no longer has power to reverse this proclamation. The protest may well have come too late.

LIBERALS IN PARLIAMENT

TWO MEASURES of special importance occupied the attention of the Liberal members in the Assembly during February. The first was the Bantu Investment Corporation Bill, and second was the first reading debate on the so-called "Extension of University Education Bill."

With regard to the first, our members worked hard, though it seems in vain, to turn a piece of window-dressing into a proposition which would stand some chance of realization in practice. Mrs. Ballinger summarized her main difficulty by explaining that although the Ministry and the Native Affairs Commission "are all anxious to tell us how anxious they are to develop the Native reserves, our difficulty is to get them to do it!" She made an urgent plea, in conformity with the recommendations of the Tomlinson Commission, that White capital should be allowed to participate in the development, especially as it was made clear that the State could not supply sufficient funds itself; she moved an amendment during the committee stage for a doubling of the share capital proposed to £1 million, of which £250,000 should be made available for the public in £1 preference shares, and for the right of investors especially African investors, to sit on the board. It was extraordinary, she said in effect, that a plan for the development of the African Reserves should (a) prevent the people who had the money from investing it, and (b) prevent those who were supposed to benefit from the scheme, namely the Africans, from holding responsible positions in the Corporation, to give them experience in business management—experience which many Africans were competent enough to profit from.

Her advice on how the scheme might be rendered workable was not rooted in a conviction that the scheme itself was a good one. In the course of her second reading speech she stressed the lack of an adequate foundation for a Corporation of this sort, and the Government's failure to provide such a foundation. "I can't find in the Eastern Province which is the . . . part of South Africa with the longest industrial record, one industrial school; I can't find one technical school (for Africans); there is not one place in the whole of my constituency, as far as I can discover, where a girl or a man can go to learn typing and shorthand." And again, "how can (the Government) imagine that they can ever finance this Corporation when first of all they reduce all the efforts of the people to advance themselves economically in the urban areas". If they stop the urban Africans from developing their economic potential in the towns, "all these investments that the hon. the Minister tells us they will be free to make in the industrial corporation are just moonshine".

Mr. Stanford had some trenchant criticisms of the Native Affairs Department in its self-appointed capacity as an industrial entrepreneur, and contrasted the Government's shoddily worked out proposals, and the half-heartedness of the whole scheme, with the work that went into the Tennessee Valley project. He suggested that the Government should give evidence of their sincerity by sending the proposals to a Select Committee—not, as some Nationalists urged, to stall improvements, but to see how much of the Bill could be rescued by experts.

The University "Extension" and Fort Hare retardation bills were considered by our members with the contempt they deserve, as "legislation dictated by politicians for politicians", introduced for doctrinaire reasons, without pretext, without heed to the advice of experts consulted, without consultation with the institutions affected, and with a cold-blooded determination to destroy the progress achieved in African higher education over 50 years. The give-away, said Mrs. Ballinger, and it was a significant enough point for Mr. Stanford to develop, was that Fort Hare is already an apartheid institution. If the Government considers that Fort Hare needs to be brought under the direct control of the Bantu Education Department, with the nearly unlimited control which some Minister or other (it is not yet clear which) is to enjoy over its running, there can only be one objective which the Government has in mind: the muzzling of opinion.

ABE-NHLALA-KAHLE EPALAMENDE

KULENYANGA ka February kubekhona izingeniso zomthetho ezimbili okuyizona amalungu ePalamende eBandla Lenhlalakahle abebhekene nazo ngqo. Esokuqala beku isiPhakamiso Somthetho oqonde ukwakhela amaAfrika isikhwama sentuthuko (Bantu Investment Corporation Bill). Esisibili kwabe seku okuxoxwa ngokwesibili kwesingeniso somthetho okuthiwa uqonde ukuqhubela-phambili imfundo ephakeme (Extension of University Education Bill).

Malunga nesokuqala, amalungu eBandla leli lethu asebenze ngamandla, noma kambe kufane nesithukuthuku senja, ezama ukuba kuphele ukubhencwa kwabantu ngodaka, kodwa banikwe ingqikithi yento enokubonwa nawu bani. UNkosikazi Ballinger yena uchaze ubuluhuni ahlangana nabo ukuba kuthi uma uNgqongqotshe kanye nabeBandla le Khomishani yeNdabazabantu "bezame ukusitshela ngokuzimisela kwabo ukuthuthukisa izabelo, singaboni noko abakwenzayo". Wenza isicelo esiphuthumayo esenzwana ngqo nombiko we Thomlinson Commission nokuba kwamakelwe wamukelwe ukuba izinkinsela zabelungu zibenalo ilungelo lokufaka imali kulesi sikhwama senthuthukiso, kakhulu njengoba uHulumeni engenakho yena ukufaka imali eyanele. Waphakamisa yena ukuba lemali athi uHulumeni uzoba wona mthapo walesi sikhwama mayiphindwe kabili ibe u£1,000,000 kuthi £250,000 engeniswe ngokuvumela noba ubani athathe isabelo sika pondo, kuthi labo abafaka imali yabo kuso, banikwe ilungelo lokuba nabo bangene babe amalungu eBandla elisiphethe, kakhulu leli ilungelo linikezwe amaAfrika. Wathi kuyamangalisa ukuba isu elidalwayo lokuthuthukisa izabelo livimbele abantu abanemali ukungena kulo, nokuba livimbele labo okoqondwe ukuba basizakale ngalo abangamaAfrika bangaphathi nesisodwa isikundla kulomthapho ukuze phela bathole ukufunda ukuphathwa kwemithapho enjalo, ethi yena amaAfrika akulindele ukufundiswa.

Noma kambe yena angabonisa indlela engenza ukuba lesikhwama sibenokusebenza lokho okusho ukuthi uvumelana naso nje ngento enhle. Ubonise kakhulu ukuthi lomthapho wakhelwe esisekweni esitetemayo ngenxa ngoba yena uHulumeni kakwazanga ukwenza isisekelo esiqinile. Wathi "kulo lonke lase Bayi, eku iyona ndawo esikade yaba nemisebenzi efana imfundo, akukho nesisodwa sikole esifundisa amaAfrika imisebenzi, akokho nalapho kufundiswa khona ukubhala ngomshini." Futhi uHulumeni angakucamanga kanjani ukuthi angase afake imali kulomthapho uma bona bakwaHulumeni benqonda yona imizamo yama-Afrika ayenzayo ukuzithuthukisa. Uma benqabela amaAfrika asemadolobeni ukuzithuthukiza, kusobala ukuthi umbhedo lokho okushiyo unqongqoshe ukuthi abantu bokululeka ukuba bazithuthukise.

uMnumzane Stanford yena wahlasela abakwaNdabazabantu ngokuzibeka phambili njengovulisango lemisebenzi, walinganisa umqondo ovezwayo kanye namasu angaphelele adalwayo nomsebenzi owenziwa kwi Tennessee Valley. Wathi uHulumeni lo kavele obala ukubonisa lokho akuqondile ngokuba athumele lesingeniso ekomidini lePalamende. Mhlawumbe lokho wokwenza lesingeniso sihlolwe izazi.

Ukuqhutshekiswa kwemfundo ephakeme kanye nokugunyatha iFort Hare, amalungu ethu akubona kuyinto ephansi kabi, kuyinto eyenziwe abamapolitiki, ukufaka umoya umubi, bengavumi nokulalela izaluleko zalabo abanolwazi ngempela, futhi bengathandi nokucebisa nezikole lezo abaziqondile, ngoba bezimisele nakanjani ukubulala inqubela-phambili ase-beyenzile abantu malunga nemfundo ephakheme eminyakeni ewu50 eyedlule. Bobabili uNkosikazi Ballinger noMnumzane Stanford babonisa ukuthi iFort Hare ibisivele izibandlulile. Uma uHulumeni ebona ukuba iFort Hare kufanele ibephansi kwe Bantu Education Department ukuze uNgqongqoshe nabanye bathole ukuzilaula, lokho kungabakhona uma uHulumeni eqonde ukuthuntubeza umqondo.

PARTY NEWS

This issue of *Umhlanganisi* may not reach all members before the National Congress. In case it does members are reminded that Congress will take place in Johannesburg from April 3rd to 6th. There will be a public meeting on the night of the 3rd. It will take place at the Vrede Hall, Louis Botha Ave., Johannesburg and the Speakers will be *Alan Paton, Jordan Ngubane* and *Leslie Rubin*.

On Saturday morning the National Committee meets and at 2 p.m. the closed session of Congress starts at the Catholic Centre, 98 Kerk St. All members will be very welcome.

During the month a National statement was issued depreciating the attempts made by Sir Roy Welensky and others to tie the Nyasaland unrest to the African people's Conference at Accra. Jordan Ngubane's report on the Conference is nearly completed and will be going to the printers shortly.

In Natal a total of four public meetings have been held during the month. On March 4th the Provincial Chairman, Dr. Hans Meidner, addressed a meeting at Stanger on "The Role of the Liberal Party in the National Liberation of S.A.". About 85 people attended. On March 5th Jordan Ngubane spoke in Maritzburg on the Accra Conference and the following week he spoke on the same subject in Howick. Both meetings were well-attended, the Howick one in particular being packed out by a largely African audience. At both there was a very full session of questions on every facet of the Conference. The fourth meeting was addressed by Violaine Junod in Durban. Miss Junod, has just returned from a year in America and she told of her experiences, particularly in the Deep South, where race feelings still run at a high pitch.

Liberal Party addresses in some of the larger centres are: 47 Parliament Street, Cape Town; 268 Longmarket Street, Pietermaritzburg; 25 Plowright Buildings, Plowright Lane, Durban; P.O. Box 5495, Johannesburg; P.O. Box 1556, Port Elizabeth; c/o Mrs. S. Stakemire, 21 Princes Road, East London; c/o J. van Riet, Barolong Store, P.O. Excelsior, O.F.S.

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