

kei and the Republic of South Africa is more difficult to predict. Part of its heavy price to them is the continuation of their chief hardship — pauperism, made almost incurable by their lack of land and of freedom of movement.

Those, and they are certainly the majority, who distrust “self-government” as a new form of white-backed chiefs’ rule, will be hardened in their hostility to the Government and the chiefs, as the tyranny of indirect rule intensifies, without relieving their poverty.

Soul-destroying subservience

Those, and their number may include the leading pro-Government man, Chief Kaiser Matanzima, who consciously or unconsciously seek, by collaborating with Dr. Verwoerd, to escape from the soul-destruction of perpetual subservience in the land of their birth, will learn too late that this “self-government” affords no such escape.

Genuine independence in African states has brought many post-uhuru “morning afters”, often gleefully highlighted by the white press in South Africa. They will appear as nothing to the “morning after” that awaits the Transkeians when they find that they still have acute land-hunger, police rule, passes, Bantu Education, “influx control” and the industrial colour-bar; and that the self-government that was to take the sting out of all these evils, is no uhuru at all.

Conjuring trick for world to see

Yet so intense has the Government’s concentration been on producing the rabbit out of the hat, that Liberal Party observers have gained the impression that the Afrikaner Nationalist politicians are not particularly concerned about the effect on the Transkei, even about the risk of open revolt, when the Transkeians find that this was a conjuring trick and not the arrival of freedom.

For the conjuring trick was for the world to see. The expertise with which it was carried out will keep pro-apartheid propagandists busy at home and abroad for some time to come. The

near-miss of the October 1961 anti-apartheid sanctions motion at the United Nations called for a dramatic display of the good intentions of apartheid, renamed “separate development”, and this has been performed with some success. Time has been bought, in fact, at the immediate cost only of heavier Transkei police and prison estimates. . . .

Liberal role of catalyst

But that time will run out fast. It is essential that in the difficult period ahead in the Transkei, the Liberal Party continue its role of catalyst among the anti-Government forces and as the sower of the ideals of liberalism and nonracialism. It must also continue to try and supply a clear South African national perspective and a world link-up to the Transkeians, as the time of their hardening and disillusionment comes.

Swinging Right

WE KNOW from everything that has happened in the electoral field since the General Election in October last year, that South Africa’s voters have turned sharp right. The Nationalist Party has gained votes from the United Party and the Progressives have lost ground to the U.P. Only Dr. Verwoerd can draw consolation from what has happened in the past nine months. The United Party is winning no converts from him. Its only cause for satisfaction is that it has been able to turn the drift to the Progressives and win back some of the votes it lost to them in October.

Progressives’ dilemma

The Progressive Party is in a dilemma. It clearly has substantial support in a number of urban seats but it has not got enough support to win them. It is quite possible that even Helen Suzman’s magnificent work in the Assembly this year would not keep her seat for her if there was to be another election in Houghton now.

But apart from the way elections are going, Dr. Verwoerd has further reason to be satisfied.

Militant opposition from urban non-voters has declined alarmingly. Perhaps the threat of the "Vorster Bill" will revive it. In the meantime the banning of African political organisations coupled with a relaxation of police pressure on African people in many urban areas has certainly affected African resistance to apartheid. As much as the bans and the police relaxation, this decline is due to the fact that the Government has successfully smashed every campaign launched against it outside Parliament since 1948. There is now a very natural reluctance on the part of African people to become involved in campaigns of whose success they have little hope. Even if one accepts the argument that it was the Government's precautionary measures which were mainly responsible for the failure of last May's stay-at-home, the fact remains that it was a failure—and a shattering blow to non-white morale.

Only worries outside Parliament

In spite of this the lesson of 14 years of Nationalist government is clear. The Nationalists are quite impervious to argument. No Parliamentary debate has ever deflected them from their course. They are delighted as long as the fight remains in the hands of the electorate because they know very well they can never lose it that way. The only campaigns which have ever worried them at all have been fought outside Parliament.

The size of the Progressive vote last year was at least partly due to the stir-up in white attitudes which was a hang-over from Sharpeville. The threat of the May demonstrations at least kept white South Africa thinking. But now Dr. Verwoerd has weathered these storms and emerged stronger from them. These successes coupled with war talk from the Minister of Defence and shallow appeals to patriotism are rallying white South Africans behind the Government. The polls show it.

This is a dark picture but there is no point in pretending it isn't so. We must face the fact that white South African voters in general will

only start to move left again when things quite separate from the conventional electoral struggle persuade them to do so. Some of these things will happen outside South Africa. Others will happen inside South Africa—but outside Parliament.

Peaceful pressures

In the present state of opposition to the Nationalists some people have turned desperately to violence. The Liberal Party's rejection of violence is well known. We do not want, or see a solution to our problems through, a second Algeria. But what we do see very clearly is the need to build a nonracial extra-parliamentary force capable of exerting the necessary peaceful pressures to make white South Africa change. We hope that, in the light of recent election results, the Progressive Party will realise that its chances of electoral support depend largely on building up this same force. And we hope that Progressive leaders will accept that one of their tasks is to help build it.

Apartheid and the Law by a lawyer

2. *PUNISHMENT OF THE SPOUSE FOR SEXUAL INTERCOURSE WITH THE MARRIAGE PARTNER.*

IN WESTERN society the institution of marriage is carefully protected by the law-maker. Only monogamous unions are recognised, and religious teachings about this reach back for centuries.

South Africa shares a Western culture and its rules, of course, are similar in respect of marriage to the ordinary civilised practice of all Christian countries.

A famous judge, in defining marriage in the Roman-Dutch Law, has said: "With us marriage is the union of one man with one woman to the exclusion, while it lasts, of all others."