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The African World (London)

No 1305.

DR. MALAN.

As Seen by Vere Stent, in the
"Pretoria News."

Like most fanatics, he is an ambitious man. To be merely a schoolmaster did not content him: he became a predicant. The pulpit did not offer him a large enough audience: he became the editor of a daily paper. The daily paper palled upon him and—entering politics—he became a Cabinet Minister. (Is there no end to this man's cleverness?)

The motive that drove him, though, was not mere personal ambition. If it had been, Dr. Malan would be a man easily dealt with. The driving power behind Dr. Malan, behind the very ambition that set him where he is, is a fanatic worship of his race, its language, and its traditions. You will note that I say "its" not "his" language. For Afrikaans is no more Dr. Malan's language than it is General Hertzog's language or the language of any of the members of the Cabinet. Dr. Malan expresses himself best either in English or in what is called Biblical Dutch. His worship of Afrikaans, then, may more properly be called fetish worship than his worship of his race. Dr. Malan may be just the ordinary politician, and his



DR. MALAN, MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR.

amazing political attitude may be due simply to the fact that he—mistakenly—thinks that attitude most likely to keep him in power

and continued enjoyment of his princely emoluments.

Personally, I prefer to believe him actuated by the higher motive, fanatic though it be.

The difference between idolatry and fetishism is well illustrated by the attitude of the Minister, chiefly in regard to appointments in the public service. Dr. Malan insists upon bilingualism as a sine qua non to all promotion. This is not because a knowledge of both languages is necessary for the proper discharge of the duties connected with the positions falling vacant, but simply because the bilingual shibboleth is more easily pronounced by members of his own race. These compatriots, with himself, he believes to be fashioned after God's own image and especially favoured by the Creator. They are, obviously, therefore, fitted for promotion in the public or any other service. This is clearly a form of idolatry, since it endows certain imitations of God almost with divinity.

It is a curious fact that a man who preaches, in heartfelt accents, about one's neighbour should show such relentlessness in carrying out so unjust a provision as compulsory bilingualism. No pity for the unfortunate men who have spent years in the public service and have no other means, or hope, of earning a living, seems ever to enter into the Minister's character, though it should be Christian. He is merciless in his determination to penalise every subordinate unable to master Afrikaans. It would be thought, too, that a sense of Christian charity would cause the Minister at least to hesitate before committing a series of injustices that must leave behind them the bitterest of feelings. He will leave an evil legacy of race-hatred that many decades will not eradicate. He will leave, what is much worse, a fixed determination on the part of the victims of this rigid application of the bilingual principle to be revenged and, some day, to turn—if ever in a position to do so—upon their

(Continued in next column.)

fellow South Africans of foreign descent and treat them, innocent though they may be, to as rigorous a denial of promotion on as flimsy an excuse.

Already there is a demand that reprisals shall form one of the planks of the Opposition's platform.

In his obstinacy over flag and language, we perceive the Torquemada touch in the Minister's character. He would willingly destroy South Africa, materially, in the hope of saving its soul, which he believes can only be done by Afrikaans and his many-coloured ensign with its escutcheon of pretence. Dr. Malan knows—must know—that his Flag Bill and the general racial policy of his party is checking the advancement of South Africa and retarding immeasurably its development. Farming, mining, manufacture, are all suffering under the unrest and sense of insecurity which the Nationalist policy creates. That, however, does not worry him.

One has only to realise these facts about the Minister for the Interior, and that is how dangerous a man he is to South Africa.

Holding, as he does, all these bizarre beliefs conscientiously, nothing will ever persuade him to abandon them, nor is he in the least likely to be moved by considerations of political expediency. A conscientious man knows only one guide—his conscience. He scorns the idea that his conscience—that still small voice—may be utterly wrong, and guide its owner upon lines that lead to the infliction of infinite pain and suffering upon others, causing the ungodly to blaspheme and doing immense harm to the very cause its owner seeks to benefit. With such a man argument is wasted and persuasion lost.

There is only one thing to be done with the Minister of the Interior, and that is to send him back to his pulpit or his paper at the next election.

South Africa, like every other democracy, has to deal, amongst its public men, with rogues, fools, and fanatics. The fool may be persuaded, the rogue can be squared, but the fanatic can only be prayed for.

Orate Fratres!

VERE STENT.

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Frankfurter Zeitung (Frankfurt a. M.)

Nr. 25

Südafrika wählt.

Die Aussichten der Parteien. — Die Nationalisten stellen 104 Kandidaten.

(Drahtmeldung unseres Korrespondenten.)

WvD London, 18. Mai. Nach wochenlangem Wahlkampf sind heute die Staatsbürger der Südafrikanischen Union zur Wahlurne gegangen. Von ihrer Entscheidung wird es abhängen, ob die Regierung Herhog-Smuts noch weitere fünf Jahre an der Macht bleiben wird. In der britischen Öffentlichkeit bezweifelt man nicht, daß die von den beiden Staatsmännern geführte Vereinigte Partei siegen werde. Sie hatte bisher von den 150 Sitzen, die den Vertretern der weißen Bevölkerung im südafrikanischen Parlament gehören, 115 innegehabt. Ihre Gefolgschaft wird sich jetzt fraglos verringern, aber man rechnet in England damit, daß sie in der neuen Volksvertretung über mindestens 100 Sitze verfügen werde. Ihre Hauptgegnerin ist die Partei der (reinen) Nationalisten, an deren Spitze Dr. D. F. Malan steht. Sie wurde im Jahre 1934 gebildet, als die Südafrikanische Partei des Generals Smuts und die Partei der Nationalisten des Generals Herhog nach erfolgreichem einjährigem Bündnis miteinander verschmolzen wurden. Die Verschmelzung, deren Grundgedanke war, daß Buren und Briten zu einem geeinigten Volk werden sollten, hatte anfänglich sehr starken Anklang gefunden, weil Südafrikas Wirtschaftslage damals durch ein zu langes Festhalten am Goldstandard schwer bedroht war. Seitdem haben sich die Verhältnisse des Landes dank dem Ansteigen des Goldpreises sehr wesentlich gebessert. Die Regierung Herhog-Smuts vermag sich dieses gewiß als Erfolg anzurechnen. Andererseits hat aber die Beseitigung der Wirtschaftsgefahr die Begeisterung für die Idee der Volkseinheit verringert.

Dr. Malan, der sich im Jahre 1934 geweigert hatte, die Verschmelzung mitzumachen, ist ein ehemaliger Prediger der Reformierten Kirche. Er und seine Anhänger sehen in Paul Krüger ihren Nationalhelden. Sie wollen vom britischen Einfluß in Südafrika und einer politischen Verbundenheit der Union mit Großbritannien nichts wissen. Bekämpfung des Kapitalismus, des Großindustrialismus und des jüdischen Einflusses, Unterstützung der Landwirtschaft und schärfste Trennung der Schwarzen von den Weißen sind andere hervorstechende Punkte ihres im Wahlkampf verkündeten Programms. Die Partei der Nationalisten ist in einigen landwirtschaftlichen Gegenden besonders stark; sie hat nicht weniger als 104 Kandidaten aufgestellt und wird ziemlich sicher in dem neuen Parlament stärker sein als in der jetzigen Volksvertretung. Aber es wird ihr — nach den in London zu vernehmenden Voraussagen — höchst wahrscheinlich nicht gelingen, die gegenwärtige Regierung wirklich zu gefährden. Immerhin wird sich aus dem Grad ihres Anstiegs erkennen lassen, ob der bürische Nationalismus ein Faktor ist, mit dem in der Zukunft ernstlich gerechnet werden muß.

Auch auf dem britischen Flügel der Wählerschaft gibt es eine Oppositionsgruppe, nämlich die von Oberst Stallard geleitete Dominionpartei. Diese wirft Herhog und Smuts Vernachlässigung der britischen Ideale vor. Während des Wahlkampfes hat sie sich in Widersprüche verwickelt, wodurch ihre Aussichten noch weiter verringert wurden. Außerdem haben 36 Labourkandidaten und einige Unabhängige im Kampf gestanden.

Das Wahlergebnis der größeren Städte wird wahrscheinlich heute nacht, das der Landgemeinden aber nicht vor Donnerstagabend bekanntgegeben werden. In dem bisherigen Parlament saßen, außer den 115 Regierungsgefolgseuten der Vereinigten Partei, 20 Nationalisten, 6 Labourabgeordnete, 5 Mitglieder der Dominionpartei und 4 Unabhängige.

Kampf um die Macht in Südafrika. Die Nationale Partei Dr. Malans gegen Smuts und Herzog.

SI In dem Gebiet der Südafrikanischen Union leben zur Zeit etwas mehr als zwei Millionen Weiße. Ein Teil davon umfasst Nachkommen der „Buren“, jener ersten holländischen Einwanderer, die das Kapland in ihren Besitz nahmen und später nach Norden zogen, um sich der englischen Herrschaft zu entziehen; der andere Teil sind später zugewanderte Europäer, in erster Linie Engländer. Genaue Erhebungen darüber, wie das Kräfteverhältnis zwischen den beiden Volksgruppen ist, gibt es kaum. Schlüsse aus der Sprachzugehörigkeit sind nicht ohne weiteres zuverlässig, man glaubt aber annehmen zu dürfen, daß der afrikanische Teil der weißen Bevölkerung, zu der auch erst in jüngster Zeit zugewanderte und „assimilierte“ Europäer gehören, etwa sechzig Prozent der Weißen ausmache. Das starke Selbstständigkeitsgefühl der angestammten Südafrikaner hat öfters, auch nach dem Burenkrieg, lebendigen Ausdruck gefunden; diese Südafrikaner betrachten sich, besonders seit der Bildung der Südafrikanischen Union (1910), als Angehörige einer Nation. Dem Europäer, der das Land besucht, mag dieses Nationalbewußtsein nicht leicht verständlich sein, da er allenthalben, freilich nur in den Gebieten der Städte, einen außerordentlich starken englischen Einfluß spürt, gleichviel, ob es sich um die Sprache, die Lebensweise oder um die Art zu kochen handelt. Aber dies alles hindert nicht, daß, hauptsächlich vom Lande ausgehend, eine Art der Selbstbefinnung um sich gegriffen hat, die sich kulturell wie politisch auswirkt. Diese Feststellung an sich ist zwar nicht neu, aber es bestand seit dem Kriege wohl kaum mehr Anlaß, sie zu machen, als in dieser Zeit.

„Vereinigte“ und „Nationale“ Partei.

Der Gegensatz zwischen den beiden Volksgruppen war einst — verständlicherweise — sehr groß. Aber die Einsichtigen haben mit der Zeit doch erkannt, daß sich die Kräfte der Weißen in diesem Kampf zersplittern, daß die Zukunft der weißen Rasse in Südafrika, der nahezu viermal soviel Schwarze gegenüberstehen, nur durch eine Zusammenarbeit der beiden Teile gesichert werden kann. Die Folge dieser Erkenntnis war die Versöhnung der beiden führenden Politiker, der Generäle Herzog und Smuts, und der Zusammenschluß ihrer beiden Parteien, der Nationalen und der Südafrikanischen (der pro-englischen) Partei. Nicht Gegensätzlichkeit und politischer Kampf, sondern planvolles Zusammenwirken beider Richtungen zum Wohle des jungen Staates war jetzt die Parole. Die Nationale Partei hatte jedoch nicht geschlossen diese Schwertfugung mitgemacht, ein Teil lehnte den Weg Herzogs ab und blieb als besondere Partei bestehen, auch mit dem Namen

„Nationale Partei“. Im Parlament stand diese Gruppe zum Teil loyal beobachtend, zum Teil argwöhnisch abwartend abseits, während die Vereinigte Partei, zahlenmäßig stark überlegen, die Regierung ausübte. Unter der Leitung Dr. Malans, eines ehemaligen Pfarrers aus dem Kapland, führte die Nationale Partei den Kampf für ihre Ideale weiter, für die nationale Erstarkung Südafrikas.

Kaum eine Zeit war wohl jemals so gut geeignet, den Südafrikaner für nationale Gedankengänge aufnahmefähig zu machen wie das vergangene Jahr, in dem eine Welle der vaterländischen Erhebung der Hundertjahrsfeier zur Erinnerung an den Sieg der „Boortrekker“ über den Zuluskönig Dingaan vorausgegangen war. Trotzdem darf nicht übersehen werden, daß diese Feiern, ebenso wie der Demonstrationszug der Boortrekkerwagen vom Kapland bis zu den Zoutpansbergen, ihrer ursprünglichen Idee nach eine unpolitische Angelegenheit waren. Ins Leben gerufen wurden die Pläne für diese Feiern schon sechs Jahre vor der Veranstaltung durch die Kulturabteilung der Südafrikanischen Eisenbahnen. Die Absicht war, das Verständnis in der Bevölkerung für die heroische Vergangenheit des Burenvolkes zu vertiefen und dem Volk durch die Erinnerung an die Taten seiner Vorfahren Klar zu machen, daß es ein Anrecht habe, auf seine Geschichte stolz zu sein. Diese Atmosphäre war geeignet, das Selbstständigkeits- und Zusammengehörigkeitsgefühl zu stärken. Der nationale Auftrieb, der daraus erwuchs, kam schon bei den letzten Parlamentswahlen im vorigen Jahre der Nationalen Partei Dr. Malans zugute. In der Verteilung der Sitze drückte sich das Kräfteverhältnis zwischen den beiden wichtigsten Parteien freilich nicht voll aus, weil die Mandate nicht auf Grund der Gesamtzahl der abgegebenen Stimmen, sondern auf Grund der Wahlsiege in den einzelnen Bezirken verteilt wurden; so ergab sich die etwas merkwürdige Tatsache, daß die Vereinigte Partei, also die Partei der Regierung, von den 150 Sitzen im Parlament 111, das sind fast drei Viertel, erlangte, obwohl sie von den nahezu 830 000 abgegebenen Stimmen nur 54 Prozent erhalten hatte, während sich die Nationale Partei mit 27 Sitzen zufriedengeben mußte, obwohl sie fast 30 Prozent der Stimmen auf sich vereinen konnte. Die Führung und die Anhänger der Nationalen Partei sind überzeugt, daß sie bei den nächsten Wahlen, die spätestens 1943 stattfinden müssen, die Mehrheit erlangen und die Regierung übernehmen werden.

Das Verhältnis zu England.

General Herzog, der gegenwärtige Premierminister, der als Führer der Nationalen Partei 1933 die Gründung der Vereinigten Partei zustande brachte, hat sich stark für die Süd-

wenden

afrikanische Union eingesetzt und auch viel für sie erreicht. Einer seiner offensichtlichsten Erfolge war die Anerkennung des Africaans, der alten (niederländischen) Burensprache, als offizieller Landessprache neben dem Englischen; was dies bedeutet, kann nur der voll ermessen, der weiß, welche Zustimmung es für den englischen Bevölkerungsteil und namentlich für die Beamten war, die zweite Sprache lernen zu müssen. Aber General Herzog ist den Nationalen trotz allem noch nicht national genug, eben weil er in der Synthese zwischen Afrikanertum und Engländerum die Zukunft des Landes sieht. Das Ziel der Nationalen aber ist die volle Selbständigkeit in kultureller, politischer, wirtschaftlicher und — wenn möglich — auch in militärischer Beziehung. Sie wollen nicht Südafrikaner und dadurch zugleich auch British Subject sein, sondern nur Südafrikaner. Sie wollen nicht, daß die Flagge der Union auf dem weißen Mittelfstreifen auch den Union Jack zeige, sondern nur die Farben der beiden alten Buren-Republiken. Sie möchten, daß ihre Regierung nicht von einem Premierminister geleitet werde, sondern daß an ihrer Spitze ein Präsident stehe und daß der englische General-Gouverner verschwinde, obwohl er als Repräsentant der britischen Krone praktisch keine Macht ausübt. Dementsprechend soll bei offiziellen Anlässen auch nicht mehr die englische National-Hymne gesungen werden, sondern nur noch „Die Stem van Suid-Afrika“. Man ginge zu weit, wollte man alle diese Forderungen als Beweis grundsätzlicher Feindschaft gegen England auslegen, sie sind nur der Ausdruck eines erstarkenden Nationalgefühls, das nach einer immer klareren Selbständigkeit drängt. Das zeigt sich auch darin, daß die Beherrschung des „Africaans“ auch für den Geschäftsmann immer zwingender wird. Wenn der selbstbewußte Südafrikaner auch ungern zugibt, daß ohne englische Hilfe sein Land wohl niemals die rasche Entwicklung hätte nehmen können, so erkennt er dies doch an. Eine Gegenseitigkeit zu England ist zwar vorhanden, aber sie ist keine grundsätzliche Feindschaft. Daran ändert nichts, daß es Heißsporne gibt, die überhaupt keine Engländer und England-Freunde mehr im Lande sehen möchten und glauben, daß sie alles aus eigener Kraft meistern könnten.

Wirtschaftliche Pläne.

Mit den politischen Forderungen ist das Arbeitsprogramm der Nationalen noch nicht erschöpft. Sie wissen, wie sehr der Farmer unter den hohen Zinssätzen leidet und wie sehr auch die Entwicklung neuer Industrien gefördert werden muß, obwohl die gegenwärtige Regierung schon manches in dieser Richtung tut. Beiden Teilen gedenkt man durch die Gründung einer besonderen Bank zu helfen, die Kredite zu einem Zinssatz von etwa $3\frac{1}{2}$ Prozent gewähren soll, während die Zinssätze zur Zeit mit Rücksicht auf die guten Investitionsmöglichkeiten bei der Goldindustrie $7\frac{1}{2}$ bis $8\frac{1}{2}$ Prozent betragen. Die Mittel für die Gründung dieser Bank sollen durch eine noch schärfere Besteuerung der Goldproduktion gewonnen werden. Zwar sind die Goldminen heute schon durch eine

doppelte Steuer — eine direkte Steuer und durch eine weitere Abgabe, die sich aus dem Verhältnis zwischen Arbeitsaufwand und Gewinn errechnet — stark belastet, aber man sieht für den Staat noch eine weitere gute Einnahmequelle in einer Besteuerung der zum Teil immer noch sehr hohen Dividenden. Daneben soll eine Preisüberwachungsstelle in allen wichtigen Zweigen der Wirtschaft die Verdienstspannen kontrollieren. Außerdem wird daran gedacht, gewisse südafrikanische Produkte, zum Beispiel die Wolle, nicht unmittelbar zu exportieren, sondern im Lande zu verarbeiten und zu diesem Zweck neue Fabriken zu gründen, die zusätzliche Arbeitsmöglichkeiten für das Land schaffen sollen.

Der Kampf der Nationalen Partei richtet sich nicht zuletzt auch gegen die Rolle, die der jüdische Bevölkerungsanteil in Südafrika spielt. Tatsächlich sind die eingewanderten Juden hauptsächlich im Gebiet des Witwatersrandes konzentriert, wo sie, vor allem in Groß- und Kleinhandel, wirtschaftlich einen starken Einfluß ausüben. Die Partei Dr. Malans hat hier in den letzten Monaten besondere Aktivität an den Tag gelegt, und manche Beobachter glauben, auch bestimmte Wirkungen dieser Tätigkeit feststellen zu können, so etwa im Rückgang spekulativer Geschäfte auf dem Grundstücksmarkt, bei der Ausschaltung der Wollhändler im Kapland durch den Verkauf der Wolle auf dem Weg über die Agenten und bei der Gründung eines nichtjüdischen Warenhauses.

Das Kräfteverhältnis.

An Ideen und dementsprechend auch an Kritik an der Arbeit der gegenwärtig regierenden Partei fehlt es den Anhängern Dr. Malans nicht. Die Stärke der Nationalen Partei liegt aber nicht allein in diesen Ideen, sondern auch in ihrer Angriffsstellung, die die Regierung ständig in die Verteidigung drängt. Hinzu kommt, daß die Vereinigte Partei in ihrer ganzen Existenz stark an die beiden führenden Personen, General Herzog und General Smuts, gebunden ist und daß beide schon über siebzig Jahre alt sind. Zwar wird für den politischen Nachwuchs auch in der Regierungspartei gesorgt, aber der persönliche Anhang scheint bei der Denkart des Südafrikaners stärker ins Gewicht zu fallen als anderswo. Der stärkere Glanz ist jedenfalls bei der Nationalen Partei zu sehen, und dieser psychologische Vorteil könnte dazu beitragen, daß das politische Leben der Südafrikanischen Union in absehbarer Zeit bewegter würde als bisher.

Südweste Gesetz angenommen

Burische Opposition gegen Unionsregierung

dnb. Pretoria, 26. 4.

Auch die dritte Lesung des sogenannten Südweste Polizeigesetzes brachte am Dienstag im Kapstädter Parlament erneute Zusammenstöße zwischen der nationalburischen Opposition und der Regierung der Südafrikanischen Union. Das Gesetz selbst wurde endgültig mit 88 gegen 26 Stimmen angenommen.

In der Aussprache griff der nationalistische Oppositionsführer Dr. Malan insbesondere die Bemerkung des Generals Smuts an, wonach das gegenwärtig erörterte Polizeigesetz und die Anwendung seiner Maßnahmen und sogar eine etwaige Einverleibung von Deutsch-Südwestafrika sich kaum voneinander unterscheiden würden, da die Verwaltung Deutsch-Südwests unter dem Mandat tatsächlich einer Einverleibung gleichkomme. Eine solche Auffassung darauf wies Dr. Malan hin, sei in diesen kritischen Zeiten alarmierend. Selbst wenn die Unionsregierung die Macht über Deutsch-Südwest in Händen hat, habe General Smuts kein Recht, eine solche Erklärung abzugeben, weil sie nicht den Tatsachen entspreche. An sich sei der Mandatar berechtigt, das Mandat als integralen Bestandteil seines Landes zu verwalten. Zwischen einem integralen und einem verfassungsmäßigen Bestandteil bestehe aber ein wesentlicher Unterschied.

Dr. Malan schloß seine Ausführungen mit einer an die Regierung gerichteten Warnung. Aus der Tatsache, so erklärte er, daß Südafrika das Mandat über Deutsch-Südwest inne habe, dürfe die Unionsregierung Südafrika weder direkt noch indirekt in einen etwaigen Krieg hineinziehen. Die Gefühle der burischen Bevölkerung seien mit aller Deutlichkeit gegen jegliche Kriegsbeteiligung gerichtet. Die Regierung dürfe nicht in den gleichen Fehler verfallen wie 1914 und diese Strömungen im Volke unterschätzen. Dr. Malan spielte damit auf die antienglische Erhebung der Buren generale anlässlich des Weltkrieges an und erinnerte an die Rolle, die General Herkzog, der der damaligen Erhebung nahestand, seinerzeit spielte.

Im weiteren Verlauf der Aussprache bestritt auch der frühere südafrikanische Gesandte in Paris und jetzige Gefolgsmann Malans, Eric Louw, die Richtigkeit der scheinbaren Auffassung des Generals Smuts, nach der der Union das Recht zustehe, Deutsch-Südwest, ohne die Mandatskommission zu fragen, einzuverleiben. Er könne Smuts nur versichern, daß die Mitglieder der Mandatskommission entschlossen seien, ihre Rechte zu wahren. In seiner Antwort bezeichnete General Smuts schließlich die Einverleibung Deutsch-Südwests als eine „heute nicht praktische Frage“, da die „gesetzliche Stellung der Union in Deutsch-Südwest stark genug“ sei.

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Südafrika hat keinen Kriegsgrund.

Dr. Malan auf dem Kongreß der „Nationalen Partei“.

Berlin, 28. Oktober. (DNB.) Nach einer Meldung aus Südafrika wandte sich Dr. Malan auf dem Kongreß der „Nationalen Partei“ in Blomfontain gegen die von General Smuts als Begründung für die Kriegsteilnahme Südafrikas vorgebrachten Argumente. Dr. Malan erklärte, daß es keinesfalls Deutschland sei, das die Sicherheit der kleinen Nationen bedrohe. Was von dem Schutz der kleinen Nationen durch England zu halten sei, wisse der Afrikaner genau, denn Südafrika habe seine eigenen Erfahrungen mit den Briten gemacht. Noch absurder sei es, wenn Smuts auf die „Heiligkeit der Verträge“ hinweise. Der Versailler Vertrag, an dessen Zustandekommen Smuts mitgewirkt habe und um dessen Aufrechterhaltung es jetzt gehe, sei ein Instrument der Gewalt, der Unterdrückung und der Erniedrigung des deutschen Volkes. Deshalb sei es ein Verbrechen, wenn Smuts das südafrikanische Volk auffordere, einen solchen Vertrag zu verteidigen. Wenn Smuts ferner behaupte, England kämpfe für die „Rettung des Christentums“, so sei es merkwürdig, daß als einzige Verbündete in diesem Kampf England „das gottlose Frankreich und das Weltjudentum“ habe und daß es ausgerechnet zur Rettung des Christentums die Türken umwerbe. Schließlich wies Dr. Malan auf die französische Absicht hin, schwarze Truppen gegen Deutschland zu verwenden. Für jeden Afrikaner sei der Einsatz schwarzer Truppen gegen Weiße verabscheuungswürdig. Wenn daher ein Land verdienne, aus Afrika herausgehalten zu werden, dann sei es Frankreich mit seiner die Existenz der Weißen in Afrika bedrohenden Eingeborenepolitik. Auf dem Kongreß der Anhänger des Generals Herzog in Kapstadt erklärte der mit General Herzog zurückgetretene frühere Minister für Eingeborenen-Angelegenheiten, Fagan, daß Deutschland der Südafrikanischen Union nicht einen einzigen Anlaß zum Kriege gegeben habe.

Duplikat

693 9

Deutscher Kolonial-Dienst (Berlin)

Nr. 11

Malan kritisiert erbittert. . . Die scharfe Kritik an der Kriegstreiberischen Heße des südafrikanischen Ministerpräsidenten Smuts ist u. a. in starkem Maße in einer Rede zum Ausdruck gekommen, die der Führer

der Nationalistischen Opposition Südafrikas, Dr. Malan, gehalten hat. Dr. Malan, der in diesen Gedankengängen ganz auf der Seite des von Smuts gestürzten früheren Ministerpräsidenten, General Herkog, steht, sagte dabei u. a.: „Jetzt kommt General Smuts zur Behauptung, Deutschland habe die Absicht, die ganze Welt zu beherrschen. Dabei geht es um Propaganda, wie wir sie auch im Weltkrieg gekannt haben. Ich frage: Ist das deutsche Auftreten nicht immer von zwei Gedanken beherrscht gewesen, 1. wiederherzustellen, was mit dem Frieden von 1919 geraubt wurde, und 2. alle in einem Reich zu vereinigen, die zum deutschen Volk gehören und die die deutsche Sprache sprechen. Für einen Afrikaner ist das kein Gedanke, der abzulehnen ist. Dieser Wunsch ist natürlich. „Unter diesen Umständen uns zu bitten, unser Blut für Danzig und den Korridor zu opfern, ist zu viel von Südafrika verlangt. Ein derartiger Krieg ist nicht eine Kugel aus einer afrikanischen Flinte und nicht einen Tropfen Blut eines Südafrikaners wert. Man hat hier gesagt, Südafrika sei moralisch verpflichtet, an der Seite Englands zu kämpfen. Wir reden hier von Freiheit, wenn das aber so ist, dann sind wir ein Land von Sklaven. Jenes Argument ist nichts anderes als eine Unterminierung unseres Unabhängigkeitsstatuts.“

19342 0007 BEC

Nachrichten für Außenhandel (Berlin)

Nr. 21

Südafrika — Nationalistenführer fordert groß angelegte Sozialreform

§ Vigo — Mit einem Antrag vor dem südafrikanischen Parlament trat der Führer der Nationalen Volkspartei, Malan, für eine groß angelegte Sozialreform ein. Er betonte darin „im Hinblick auf die durch den Krieg geschaffenen Probleme und die herrschende Not und Armut eines großen Teils der Bevölkerung“ die dringende Notwendigkeit, durch baldige drastische Umbildung des bestehenden sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Systems bessere Lebensbedingungen für die Bevölkerung im ganzen und ein volles Maß sozialer Sicherheit für jeden Einzelnen zu schaffen.

Zur Verwirklichung dieser Grundsätze fordert der Plan u. a.: Schaffung eines repräsentativen und kompetenten zentralen Wirtschaftsausschusses, Koordination verschiedener wirtschaftlicher Interessen, Ausmerzung parasitischer Umtriebe und Erhaltung der sozialen Gerechtigkeit durch Profitbeschränkung und Festsetzung von Preisen und Löhnen. Er sieht ferner vor eine wirksame Staatskontrolle der Goldminenindustrie sowie anderer Schlüsselindustrien, Befreiung von der Herrschaft fremden Kapitals, Einführung einer gesonderten Währung, Schutz der Arbeiter gegen unfairen fremden Wettbewerb, Einführung eines staatlichen Gesundheitsdienstes, allgemeine Verbesserung des bestehenden Gesundheitsdienstes, allgemeine Verbesserung des bestehenden Systems für Sozialversicherungen und Pensionen, Arbeitsbeschaffung durch öffentliche Arbeiten usw.

Malan bat das Parlament um eine möglichst ausführliche Aussprache über seinen Antrag, dem überall größte Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt werde. Schon die Wilsonschen Punkte seien, so führte er weiter aus, voll von Versprechungen gewesen, die nicht gehalten wurden. Die Atlantic Charta sähe ihnen sehr ähnlich, und man sei schon heute im Begriff, auch sie zu zerreißen, was die viel zitierte Bemerkung Churchills „Wir halten, was wir haben“ beweise. Eine radikale Reform sei notwendig.

Der Sozialplan der südafrikanischen Nationalen Volkspartei dürfte unter dem Regime Smuts wenig Aussicht auf Annahme im Parlament haben.

Duplikat

19342/0007

Malan, Dr.

Signatur

19342 0008

BEC

Datum

22. April 1944

Berliner Börsen-Zeitung

Nr. 110

Dr. Malans ernste Warnung

Genf, 21. April.

Im südafrikanischen Parlament hielt der Führer der nationalistischen Opposition, Dr. Malan, eine Rede, über die die Kapstadter Zeitung „Cape Argus“ berichtet. Siegen die Alliierten, dann sei der wahre Sieger und Herr in Europa nicht der Amerikaner oder Engländer, sondern der Bolschewist. Das ergebe sich schon aus der Rücksichtslosigkeit, mit der die Sowjets heute bereits mit ihren westlichen Nachbarn umsprängen. England und die USA wagten nicht einmal, gegen das Vorgehen der Sowjets gegenüber Polen zu protestieren, obwohl sie um Polens willen in den Krieg zogen. Der bolschewistische imperialistische Militarismus und die bolschewistische Ideologie seien gefährlicher als irgend etwas anderes. In England und den USA scheine man aber völlig vergessen zu haben, daß man früher einmal in Deutschland das einzige Bollwerk gegen den Bolschewismus erkannte und der Sowjetunion gegenüber Feindseligkeit an den Tag legte. Was aber sei die Folge, wenn Deutschland, das einzige Bollwerk gegen den Bolschewismus, in diesem Kriege unterliege? Die bolschewistische Ideologie durchdringe dann tief den europäischen Kontinent und lähme sowohl den Nationalismus wie die Einheit anderer Länder. Ganz Europa liege, wenn die Alliierten siegen, für die Sowjets offen da. Stalin wisse nur zu gut, daß ihm in dem Falle Frankreich und Spanien gehörten.

Signatur

0009

BEC

ur Salan
Dr. Samel

49

28. Mai 1948

Nr. vom

Feldmarschall Smuts unterlag

Überraschende Niederlage seiner Partei bei den südafrikanischen Wahlen

Kapstadt, 28. 5. In der südafrikanischen Union durchgeführte Parlamentswahlen endeten mit einem Mißerfolg der Unionspartei des Ministerpräsidenten Feldmarschall Smuts, die ihre bisherige absolute Mehrheit nicht mehr erringen konnte. Smuts, der in seinem Wahlkreis Standerton (Transvaal) kandidierte, wurde nicht wieder gewählt. Es steht bereits mit Gewißheit fest, daß der 74jährige Vorsitzende der Nationalisten, Daniel Malan, der Nachfolger Smuts' als Ministerpräsident Südafrikas werden wird.

(Nach ap-dpd-Reuter.

193427

0010

BEC

Die Welt (Hamburg)

Nr. 65 - vom 5. Juni 1949



Dr. Malan, der Nachfolger von Feldmarschall Smuts als Premierminister der Südafrikanischen Union

(AP.-Bild)

Dr. Malan reist nach London

Pretoria, 4. Juni

Südafrika werde seine guten Beziehungen zu Großbritannien und den anderen Commonwealth-Ländern gern aufrecht erhalten, falls seine Rechte als souveräner Staat nicht beeinträchtigt würden. Es sei sich seines Anteils an der Gemeinschaft der Nationen bewußt und befürworte daher keine Politik der Isolierung. Dies erklärte der neue Premierminister Südafrikas, Dr. Malan, in seiner ersten Rundfunkrede.

Der bisher empirefeindliche Dr. Malan wird zum ersten Male in seinem Leben demnächst Südafrika verlassen, um der Konferenz der Ministerpräsidenten des Empire in London beizuwohnen.

Der Premierminister, der am Donnerstag die Bildung seines Kabinetts bekanntgab, steht kurz nach seinem Regierungsantritt schon Schwierigkeiten gegenüber. Er sieht sich genötigt, das Vertrauen des englischen Kapitals wiederzugewinnen, um eine Verminderung des Kapitalzuflusses aus Großbritannien zu verhindern. Bisher trug dieser Kapitalzufluß zur Deckung der passiven Handelsbilanz Südafrikas bei.

Dem Kabinett Malan gehören außer dem Premierminister neun weitere Mitglieder der Nationalistenpartei und nur ein Mitglied der Afrikanerpartei an.

(AP.—dpd.—Reuter)

19342

0011

BEC

Dr. Daniel

The Manchester Guardian

31716

4. Juni 1948

Nr. vom

THE MALAN CABINET

11 Nationalists and One Afrikaner

PRETORIA, JUNE 3.

Dr. Daniel Malan, Premier of South Africa, announced the formation of his Cabinet to-day as follows:—

Dr. D. F. Malan, Prime Minister and Minister for External Affairs ;
Dr. E. G. Jansen, Native Affairs ;
N. C. Havenga, Finance ;
J. G. Styrdom, Lands ;
C. R. Swart, Justice ;
P. O. Sauer, Transport ;
A. J. Stals, Health, Education, and Social Welfare ;
E. W. Louw, Economic Development and Mines ;
Dr. T. E. Donges, Interior, and Posts and Telegraphs ;
S. P. le Roux, Agriculture and Forestry ;
F. C. Erasmus, Defence ;
B. J. Schoeman, Labour and Public Works.

All the new Ministers, except Mr. Havenga (Afrikaner), are Nationalists. The Minister of Agriculture and Forestry will be in charge of the Directorate of Food Supplies and Distribution, and the Minister of Social Welfare of the Directorate of Demobilisation. The Minister of Lands will administer the Irrigation Act, and the Minister of Defence will control aviation.

The new Cabinet will be sworn in to-morrow.

The state of parties after the elections was Nationalists 70, United party 65, Afrikaner party 9, and Labour 6. The Nationalist party was last in office in 1924-33. In 1933 a Coalition Government was formed including the Nationalists. In 1939 the Nationalists lost their Cabinet posts when the party wanted neutrality.—Reuter.

Hamburgisches
Welt-Wirtschafts-Archiv

19342

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Signatur

4. J. Malan,
BEC Gen. Janich

The Times (London)

51080

25.Mai.48

Nr. vom

DR. MALAN'S MEMBERSHIP OF BROEDERBOND

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

CAPETOWN, MAY 24

With the general election only two days off, political campaigning has now reached its climax. One new point in the electioneering is the disclosure—admitted by Dr. Malan—that he himself and the majority of the Nationalist candidates are members of a secret organization known as Broederbond (League of Brothers).

This organization was founded in 1918 but did not make much progress till early in the 1930s, when, after the fusion of the parties of General Smuts and Dr. Hertzog, it recruited many of the leading dissident Nationalists, including Dr. Malan. The first object of Broederbond is "an eternal and separate Afrikaner nation with its own language and culture" and "the Afrikaansization of the public service and education."

19342 0013 BEC

The Manchester Guardian

31709

31. Mai 1948

Nr. vom

THE SURPRISE OF SOUTH AFRICA

Three Explanations

DR. MALAN WILL GO CAUTIOUSLY

From our Correspondent

PRETORIA, MAY 30.

The final result of the South African elections shows a total of 79 members supporting the new Government—seventy Nationalists and nine Afrikaner—and a total of 74 in Opposition—65 United party, six Labour, and three native representatives. Allowing for the Speaker, the Government majority is only four. The result was a complete surprise to all sections, including the Nationalists. The essentials of the situation are:

1. The elimination of the small groups, such as the Dominion party and the Central Group;
2. The swing-over of rural Afrikaners districts to the Nationalists;
3. A change from hostility to fear on the Smuts-Hofmeyr progressive colour policy, which is too conservative for the United Nations and world opinion and too advanced for the mass of rural opinion in South Africa. This is the main cause of the United party's defeat.

This analysis is borne out by the fact that the only Ministers to lose their seats, Smuts and Van der Byl, represent rural Afrikaners constituencies.

THE VOTES

The figures of the actual voters show a majority of South Africans behind Smuts and Hofmeyr. The new Government is therefore elected by a minority of the population. The total of votes for the United party and Labour was 551,590, and for the Nationalists and the Afrikaner party 443,719. For the United party alone there were 524,230 votes, and for the Nationalists 401,834. The explanation of this phenomenon is that rural seats enjoy a preference of up to 30 per cent in the electoral quota. Nearly 80 per cent of the voters went to the poll, in some districts 90 per cent. An analysis by provinces shows:

Government:	Cape.	Natal.	Trans-vaal.	Orange F.S.
Nationalists	26 ..	1 ..	32 ..	11
Afrikaner	2 ..	2 ..	4 ..	1
	28	3	36	12
Opposition:				
United	27 ..	11 ..	26 ..	1
Labour		2 ..	4	
	27	13	30	1

The success of Mr. Havenga's Afrikaner party is the great surprise. It holds the balance of power and may be a moderating influence on the new Government. The disappearance of the Dominion party was not unexpected and there will be no tears at the funeral. If General Smuts does not re-enter politics it is probable that Hofmeyr will become leader of the Opposition, as the elements hostile to him were eliminated at the polls. There is some uncertainty, however.

NO GREAT CHANGES?

South Africa is still somewhat stunned by the unexpected development, but the opinion is beginning to form that although the election was most unfortunate, yet it may not be too disastrous in view of the new Government's small majority and the moderating influence of Mr. Havenga. The British public should not expect violent changes. South Africa will follow orthodox financial policies; it will foster the mining industries, and any radical change in Commonwealth relationships is most unlikely. The danger lies in a slowing down of the tempo of native education, reforms in colour policy, and in constitutional measures designed to ensure a permanent Nationalist majority such as the elimination of native representation in the Assembly, putting coloured voters on a separate roll with a limited total membership, increasing the preference of the rural constituencies.

Dr. Malan is an excellent constitutionalist, however, and in view of his small majority is not likely to press these points in the present Parliament. The effect on race relations is problematical. Dr. Malan is likely to abolish the Natives' Representative Council if, as is probable, it continues its strike. He will probably carry out a reasonable policy of the development of native reserves. In spite of theories, facts will force him to push on with native housing in urban areas.

Any danger of a Communist revival as a result of the elections will be counteracted by the certainty of strong anti-Communist action by the new Government. The Indian situation is unpredictable, but any major concessions are most unlikely. The Natal Indian Congress sent a telegram of congratulations to Dr. Malan, but it is not known whether this was the result of fear or of mere ineptitude.

There were many minor issues in the election—Government controls, lack of white bread, administrative procrastination, a widespread impression of muddle and lack of clarity on certain issues, but the real causes have been stated earlier. There is a general disposition among the electorate to give the new Government a chance in the best British tradition.

BRITISH SENTIMENT

It is probable but not certain that Dr. Malan will dissolve the Senate, in which he is in a minority. No pronouncement has been made yet on immigration, but it is probable that Dr. Malan will not try to check British immigration but will not encourage it. The new Government will try to conciliate British sentiment by a studied moderation. It is uncertain whether a new Government with a majority of five only can hold out for the full five-year period. To this extent the situation is fluid. Summing-up one can say that the results are a definite set-back to liberal race and colour policies in the Commonwealth and international relations, but not an irreparable disaster.

FEARS IN INDIA

From our Special Correspondent

DELHI, MAY 30.

The result of the South African elections has caused much comment here and most newspapers fear the worst of Dr. Malan's "apartheid" policy. Maltreatment of Indians in the Union and large-scale emigration is expected. Some of these anticipations are more pessimistic than the narrow majority of the Nationalist party should allow.

Some newspapers are again considering the advisability of staying within the Commonwealth. Many regard the association from a strictly businesslike viewpoint, but there are others who have been quick to realise the advantages of some form of association. India's future relations with the Commonwealth will be discussed at the next session of the Constituent Assembly and what happens to Indians in South Africa might well decide the issue.

The Times' & Manchester Guardian Service

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Sozialistische Presse-Korrespondenz

19342

(Hamburg)

0014

BEC

Nr. 48 vom 25. Juni 1948

Die Bedeutung von Malan

Der vor kurzem errungene Wahlsieg des südafrikanischen Nationalisten Malan über den gemäßigten General Smuts gibt Anlaß zu der folgenden Betrachtung über die Tragweite dieses Ereignisses.

Außenpolitische Angelegenheiten waren oft der Gegenstand scharfer Kontroversen in der Südafrikanischen Union. Während des letzten Krieges gab es heftige Debatten, ob sich die Südafrikanische Union an dem Krieg überhaupt beteiligen solle und sogar darüber, ob es wünschenswert sei, daß die Alliierten gewinnen. Der Gesichtswinkel aber, unter dem diese Dinge erörtert wurden, war immer ein ausgesprochen südafrikanischer. Niemals wurden die Hauptprobleme der Innenpolitik übersehen.

Es war die Rivalität zwischen Afrikanern (Buren, holländische Ansiedler in Südafrika, d. Übers.) und Engländern, die Dr. Malan im September 1942 zu dem Ausspruch bewegte: „Ich bin bereit, die deutsche Versicherung zu akzeptieren, daß Deutschland den Freiheitskampf des afrikanischen Volkes anerkennt und niemals die Absicht, haben wird, Südafrika unter seine Kontrolle zu bekommen.“ Und er dachte an das Problem der zahlreichen Negerbevölkerung dieses Kontinents, als er im Mai 1943 sagte: „Es wäre für Südafrika besser, wenn Deutschland den Krieg gewinnen würde, als daß Rußland ihn für Amerika und England gewinnt mit dem Ergebnis, daß sich der Kommunismus in Südafrika ausbreitet und alles zerstört, was einem christlichen Volke und der weißen Rasse heilig und teuer ist.“

Das Problem, das die jüngsten Wahlen beherrscht hat, ist das einer kleinen Minderheit von Weißen, die inmitten einer farbigen Bevölkerung leben, mit einem Kontinent im Hintergrund, der fast vollständig von farbigen Rassen bevölkert ist. General Smuts und seine Partei setzten sich dafür ein, daß die farbigen Völker allmählich in das poli-

tische Leben der Südafrikanischen Union einbezogen werden sollen, allerdings nur allmählich. Sein Gesetz, die Vertretung der Inder betreffend, gestattete zum Beispiel den 283 000 Indern in Südafrika nur, daß sie weiße Vertreter als ihre Vertrauensleute ins Parlament wählen können. Die Inder selber, die zum größten Teil in der Provinz Natal leben, haben dieses Angebot abgelehnt, und seitdem ihr Mutterland vollkommene Selbstregierung und den Status eines Dominions erlangt hat, ist es unwahrscheinlich, daß sie diese Haltung ändern werden. Es war aber gerade dieses Gesetz über die Vertretung der Inder, das den Gegnern des General Smuts eines der wirkungsvollsten Wahlparolen lieferte.

Seine Gegner — die Nationalisten und die Afrikaner-Parteien — haben zweifellos viele englischsprechende Südafrikaner für ihre Sache gewonnen dadurch, daß sie sich auf das Rasseproblem konzentriert haben. Die liberale Politik Hofmeyrs, des Vertreters von Smuts, würde dazu führen, daß die Weißen ihre Übermacht verlieren — das war der Schlachtruf. Er beschäftigte sich nicht so sehr mit der Frage der Überlegenheit der Afrikaner über die Engländer, obschon auch dies bei den Nationalisten eine wichtige Rolle spielt.

Die Wahl selber verlief ziemlich unentschieden. Dr. Malans Nationalisten haben keine klare Mehrheit und sind abhängig von der Afrikaner-Partei, die neun Sitze hat, um eine Majorität zu erzielen, die im günstigsten Falle fünf Stimmen beträgt. Nicht nur, daß der Führer der Afrikaner-Partei einen mäßigen Einfluß ausübt, wir müssen auch bedenken, daß fünf Sitze keine echte Mehrheit ergeben, da die Erkrankung eines Abgeordneten oder eine Zugverspätung die Abstimmung im Parlament völlig verändern könnte.

Man kann jedoch nicht mit Sicherheit annehmen, daß die nächste Wahl, die noch im Laufe dieses Jahres statt-

wenden!

finden könnte, die Stellung der Nationalisten schwächen wird. Es ist daher die Überlegung angebracht, welche Folgen ein entscheidender nationalistischer Sieg haben würde.

Dr. Malan selber ist kein Faschist. Als politischer Typ hat er Ähnlichkeit mit de Valera. Er möchte eine neue Republik gründen, eine Landessprache einführen, den Bauernstand fördern; er ist fromm und war früher ein protestantischer Pfarrer; er kann die Engländer nicht leiden und vor allem haßt er Sowjetrußland. Sein Alter, 74 Jahre, deutet schon an, daß er aus einem Zeitalter stammt, in dem die Polizeistaaten noch nicht so Modewaren wie heute.

In seinem direkten Umgang mit den Engländern erinnert er etwas an seine irischen Vorläufer. Es kann sein, daß einmal eine formelle Unabhängigkeitserklärung erfolgen wird, die aber in bezug auf die praktischen Dinge vage bleibt. Denn es ist nicht leicht, die Handelskanäle, die das Wirtschaftsleben eines Landes speisen, in völlig neue Bahnen zu leiten.

Seine Sozialpolitik wird einen wirtschaftlichen Fortschritt noch mehr hemmen, als das bei de Valera der Fall ist. Dr. Malan möchte das Negerproletariat der Städte und der Bergarbeiterdörfer wieder in die ländlichen Reservations zurückschicken. Ob dies ohne die Anwendung totalitärer Methoden möglich sein wird, ist äußerst zweifelhaft. Es ist dies sicher nicht eine Politik, die die ganze Gesellschaft, die weiße sowohl wie die schwarze, leistungsfähiger und wohlhabender machen kann. Der Zuwachs von Tausenden von Negern, die aus dem armen Land ihren Lebensunterhalt pressen wollen, würde den bereits weit fortgeschrittenen Prozeß der Bodenerosion, dem materiellen Hauptmangel des Landes, noch beschleunigen. Und wer wird in den Bergwerken arbeiten, wenn das die Neger nicht mehr tun? Es wird wenige Weiße geben, die von irgendwoher emigrieren werden, um Bergarbeiter zu werden, und keiner wird das tun, wenn er täglich 2 Schilling und 9 Pence dafür bekommt.

Außerdem braucht Südafrika Kapitalinvestitionen, wenn es sich entwickeln soll. Die Nationalisten würden britisches Kapital nicht begrüßen. Größere amerikanische Investitionen würden wahrscheinlich gefürchtet werden, und es würde übrigens auch schwierig sein, solche Investitionen ins Land zu bekommen, da eine nationalistische Rassepolitik zu einer allgemeinen Geschäftsschrumpfung führen müßte. Mit ihren eigenen Kapitalquellen können die Südafrikaner aber ihre Bergwerke und Fabriken nicht neu ausstatten oder neue errichten. Das bedeutet, daß ein Staat, der nach den Ideen von Malan und seinen Nationalisten aufgebaut wäre, wirtschaftlich sich nicht entwickeln könnte.

Die weitaus ernstesten Folgen würde ein wirklicher Sieg der Nationalisten jedoch durch seine mittelbare Auswirkung auf Afrika, Indien und Südostasien haben.

In Afrika befinden sich britische, französische, belgische und portugiesische Kolonien mit einer Eingeborenen-Bevölkerung, die auf hundert Millionen Menschen geschätzt

wird. Die Neger all dieser Kolonien entwickeln sich langsam zum selben Leistungsniveau wie das der amerikanischen Neger, deren Niveau ebenfalls ständig steigt. Ihre produktive Arbeit, und daher auch ihre Arbeitswilligkeit, sind in einer Welt, die von Lebensmittelknappheit bedroht ist, von wachsender Bedeutung. Alle diese Kolonien, und besonders die britischen, betrachten Selbstregierung der Eingeborenen, oder wenigstens einen wirtschaftlichen Fortschritt, als ihr selbstverständliches Ziel. Wenn der Weiße in Südafrika versucht, „seinen“ Neger dauernd auf dem gegenwärtigen niedrigen Niveau zu halten — und er wird im Laufe der Zeit dazu immer drastischere Methoden anwenden müssen —, wird das Verhältnis der Neger zu den Europäern auf dem ganzen Kontinent in einem Maß gestört werden, dessen Folgen gar nicht abzusehen sind.

In Indien hat die Behandlung der Inder in Südafrika schon seit langem böses Blut gemacht. Wenn ein nationalistisches Südafrika dieses Problem nicht lösen oder gar verschärfen würde, dann wird eine solche Abneigung zwischen diesen beiden Ländern entstehen, daß ein gemeinsames Verteidigungssystem des Indischen Ozeans z. B. unmöglich zustande kommen könnte.

Ganz Südostasien, ein Gebiet von ungeheurer wirtschaftlicher Bedeutung, wird den Weißen gegenüber feindlicher werden, wenn in Südafrika eine aktive Unterdrückungspolitik gegenüber der farbigen Majorität geübt wird. Die Tatsache, daß Australien den farbigen Völkern die Einwanderung verbietet, selbst nach Queensland, das fast menschenleer ist, da sein Klima für weiße Ansiedler zu heiß ist, bessert die Beziehungen nicht.

Es kann sein, daß Dr. Malan und seine Nachfolger, deren Haupt Sorge die Bekämpfung des Kommunismus bildet, Sowjetrußland, ohne es zu wollen, zu seinem größten Kräftezuwachs verhelfen werden. Das einzige Plus, das die Sowjetunion besitzt, ist die rassische Gleichberechtigung ihrer sehr gemischten Bevölkerung, sowohl in der Theorie als auch in der Praxis. Sollten die farbigen Völker der Welt sich nach und nach an Rußland als ihren Freund wenden, dann würde im globalen Maßstab die Machtverteilung sich so zuungunsten der Weißen verschieben, daß Atombomben und Loyalitätsversicherungen fast gleichmäßig unwirksame Gegenmittel darstellen werden.

Es wäre eine Ironie der Geschichte, die jedoch eintreten kann, daß ein bejahrter afrikanischer Gentleman, ein Doktor der Theologie, der das Ideal sauberer holländischer Häuslichkeit erstrebt und wünscht, daß die Neger ein einfaches Herz behalten und auf dem Dorf (in dem ihnen zugewiesenen Territorium) wohnen bleiben, und all dies in einer der entlegensten Ecken der Welt, eine Kettenwirkung auslöst in der Beziehung der Rassen zueinander, eine Kettenwirkung, die in den nächsten Jahren verhängnisvoll werden kann für „alles, was einem christlichen Volk und der weißen Rasse heilig und teuer ist“.

„The Observer“ (unabhängig), London, 30. Mai 1948

Malan
P Dr.

19342

0015 BEC

The Manchester Guardian

31 / 7 44 vom

10. Juli 1948

DR. MALAN DISSOLVES THE SENATE

Removing the Brake?

PRETORIA, JULY 9.

The South African Government to-day proclaimed the dissolution of the Senate, which was not due to be dissolved until next year and ordered new elections for July 29—a week before Parliament meets.

The Senate, in which General Smuts's United party has a majority, consists of 40 members. Eight are appointed by the Governor General and eight by each of the four Provincial Governments. Observers here believe it is possible that Dr. Malan's Government may gain a narrow majority in the election.

Under the South African Constitution the Senate has power to refer back any number of times to the Lower House legislation of which it disapproves. A Senate with a United party majority could, therefore, impose a serious brake on any programme which the Nationalist party seeks to introduce.—Reuter.

Hamburgisches
Welt-Wirtschafts-Archiv

Signatur.....

19342 10016 BEC

The Manchester Guardian

31 779 = 20. Aug. 1948

DR. MALAN'S INDIAN POLICY

Nationalist Attitude

The South African Government's decision to abolish the right of Indians to vote for and sit in the Union Parliament and the Natal Provincial Council is in accordance with the Nationalist party's policy outlined before the general election.

In a statement issued by Dr. Malan, the present Prime Minister, in March the party's attitude towards the Indians was defined as follows:—

"The party holds the view that the Indians are a foreign and outlandish element, which is unassimilable. They can never become part of the country, and must therefore be treated as an immigrant community.

"The party accepts as the basis of its policy the repatriation of as many Indians as possible. In view of the seriousness of the situation, South Africa must be willing to make great financial sacrifices for the achievement of this aim. No Indian immigrants will be allowed to enter the country.

"So long as there are still Indians in the country, a definite policy of segregation will be applied as far as possible between Europeans and Indians in every sphere, as well as between Indians and other indigenous non-European groups.

"The Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act of 1946 will be immediately revised, and

(a) No representation given to Indians in the legislative bodies of the country.

(b) Indians will be established in separate areas, and will not be allowed to reside or own fixed property in European areas.

(c) Europeans will not be allowed to reside or own fixed property in Indian areas.

(d) So far as possible, a policy of segregation will be applied with regard to the Indians and the indigenous races.

(e) Compensation will be paid for properties expropriated in European or Indian areas.

(f) Facilities for trading outside their own areas, specially in European areas, will be drastically curtailed.

(g) Indian traders in native areas or locations will gradually disappear.

(h) The inter-provincial movement of Indians must be effectively prevented. Family allowances for Indians must be abolished.

"The party will take drastic action against Indians who incite the non-European races against Europeans."

19342

0017

BECH Dr. Daniel

The Manchester Guardian

31776 = 17. Aug. 1948

Nr. vom

DR. MALAN ACCUSES GENERAL SMUTS

"Suppression of Facts"

CAPETOWN, AUGUST 16.

Dr. Daniel Malan, South Africa's Nationalist Prime Minister, to-day accused the former Government of General Smuts of sending two missions to Germany to "collect evidence incriminating leading members of the Nationalist party." He also accused General Smuts's Opposition of "continuously trying to bring the Government into discredit by describing its policy as aggressive and repressive."

Dr. Malan's attack came during a Budget debate in the Assembly after General Smuts had asked the Government to carry out the immigration policy sponsored by his Administration. The Prime Minister alleged that it was from documents in the Government's possession that it appeared the previous Government had sent the missions to Germany. The missions found no allegations of treason or subversive activities against the Nationalist party, but "important facts established by these missions exonerating the Nationalists from suspicion were not disclosed by the previous Government," said Dr. Malan. He reproached General Smuts' Opposition for general actions which were "harmful" to South Africa in the outside world, and charged it and their newspapers with presenting the Government overseas as Nazis, thus creating hostility towards the country.

In his statement to the Assembly, General Smuts had asked for some assurance that undertakings made by the previous Government concerning immigration would be carried out, and said his Government had adopted a policy of large-scale immigration to "secure our future and press forward. The Government did it for industrial purposes in the first instance," he said, "but they always had the idea at the back of their minds that it was a great service nationally for South Africa and to European society in South Africa."

Dr. Malan answered General Smuts's demand for an indication of his intentions regarding segregation as affecting native coloured peoples by announcing that the Government would take away representation in the Assembly of Natives but would give it to the coloured population, although the Natives would be compensated for anything of which they were deprived. In their reserves, he said, they would be given a greater voice in their own affairs and maintain their own national character. Steps would be taken to give adequate university training to both Natives and coloured people in separate institutions.—Reuter.

Hamburgisches
Welt-Wirtschafts-Archiv

Signatur

193420018

BEC

The Manchester Guardian

31768 -

7. Aug. 1948

AFRICAN QUESTION

Dr. Malan Waiting a Session

CAPETOWN, AUGUST 6.

The Governor General of South Africa, Mr. G. B. van Zyl, in a speech from the throne at the opening of the new Parliament to-day, said that the African question was receiving serious attention in all its aspects from Dr. Malan's Government. No radical legislation affecting Africans would be introduced during the present session, but it was expected that the legislation considered necessary would be submitted at the next.

A bill to control the manufacture and use of atomic energy and to control the mining and treatment of uranium, thorium, and other similar metals will be introduced this session. A bill will be submitted assuming sovereignty over the Prince Edward Islands—800 miles south-south-east of the Cape of Good Hope,—which South Africa took over in December.—Reuter.

19342 0019 BEC
The Times (London)

51090

Nr. vom

5 Juni 1948

DR. MALAN'S PLANS

NO POLICY OF ISOLATION

"GOOD RELATIONS" WITH BRITAIN

PRETORIA, June 4.—Dr. Malan, in his first broadcast as Prime Minister of the Union, declared this evening that South Africa would "gladly continue" her good relations with Britain and other Commonwealth countries if there was no prejudice to her status as a sovereign State.

"We fully acknowledge our partnership in the community of nations, and we therefore by no means stand for a policy of isolation," he said. "As far as our membership of the United Nations is concerned, we wish it to be clearly understood that we, like our predecessor in office, undertook membership on the clear understanding that there would be no interference from the outside in our domestic affairs or any breach of our sovereignty. We shall build on this foundation and utterly refuse to allow our destiny to be limited by any country, or Power, or organization except ourselves.

"We also freely acknowledge the particularly friendly relationship in which we stand with the United Kingdom and other lands of the British Commonwealth. Those good relations we shall, as far as we are concerned, gladly continue. However, we must emphasize that cooperation for common ends will be possible only if there is no prejudice to our status and conduct as a sovereign independent State and if there are no attempts at outside interference in our domestic affairs.

DANGER OF INTERFERENCE

"It will be acknowledged that, with the recent admission to the Commonwealth of new members with equal rights, especially in view of South Africa's experiences at Lake Success—the danger of this interference is by no means imaginary. The question must inevitably be put, therefore, whether the good cooperation which everybody desires could not be achieved better by independent contracts between the individual members of the Commonwealth than by discussions at general and all-embracing conferences."

Dr. Malan said that many English-speaking people had supported him at the general election. They had refused to mistrust Nationalist assurances and their pledged word on the fulfilment of equal rights. There was enough common ground between the two white races to eliminate totally the racial question from South African political life.

Unfortunately, cooperation had not yet gone so far that English and Afrikaans-speaking people could form a Government together. For the first time since Union, however, there was a completely bilingual Government.

The Government would protect the particular interests of non-Europeans to the best of its ability. "Apartheid (segregation) is not the caricature which so often has been made of it," he said. "Indeed, it means for the non-European the creation of a greater independence and feeling of self-respect as well as the provision of better opportunities for free development in accordance with their nature and abilities." For Europeans *apartheid* meant a new feeling of safety through the protection of their identity and their future. For both races it meant peaceful relations with each other and cooperation in the common interest.

—Reuter.

DISAPPOINTMENT ON THE RAND

ONLY TWO MINISTERS IN GOVERNMENT

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

JOHANNESBURG, JUNE 4

Dr. Malan's Cabinet was sworn in at Government House, Pretoria, by the Governor-General this morning.

There is surprise on the Rand that the Union's most populous area will have only one direct representative in the inner councils of the Government, and one who may not have a big say. As Minister of Labour, Mr. Schoeman, who is chairman of the Nationalist Party on the Rand, may not have an easy furrow to hoe. In the last Government the Rand was represented by four Ministers in key positions. Surprise has also been caused by the fact that the other Transvaal Minister, Mr. Strydom, has only been given the portfolio of Lands. Most Rand Nationalists regard Mr. Strydom, who is the leader of the party in the Transvaal, as a logical successor to Dr. Malan and expected that he would get a more important portfolio.

The *Star*, in a leading article, says that Dr. Malan can legitimately claim that in the interests of good government he chose his most suitable team. Nevertheless, his disregard of provincial susceptibilities will not pass unnoticed and may contain the seeds of future dissension. The article adds that nobody knows better than Mr. Havenga that he is the key man in the Cabinet. "Mr. Havenga will be able to exert an influence on policy out of proportion to his apparent strength in the coalition. Upon the use he chooses to make of this power much may depend."

Signatur: *Dr. Malan*

Datum: *Dr. Ganiad*

8. Sep. 1948

19342 0020 BEC

The Manchester Guardian

Nº 31795

**DR. MALAN NOT COMING
TO ENGLAND**

CAPETOWN, SEPTEMBER 7.

Dr. Malan, the Premier, told the South African Assembly to-day that duties would prevent his attending the London conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers next month. Mr. Eric Louw, Minister for Mines and Economic Affairs, would attend the conference if and when matters of interest to South Africa were under discussion.

Dr. Malan has explained that the Government's majority is very small and that it is already necessary for one Minister to attend the United Nations General Assembly meeting.—Reuter.

Signatur: *J. J. Malan*

Datum: 22. Sep. 1948

19342 0021

BEC

The Manchester Guardian

Nr. 31807 -

SEGREGATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

Malan's Policy Attacked

CAPETOWN, SEPTEMBER 21.

General Smuts declared in the South African Assembly to-day that the Government's race-segregation policy would create a united front of all non-Europeans in the country. "It is not the Communists who are making it; it is we who are making it," he added.

The ex-Premier demanded an assurance from the Nationalist Government that the existing representation of Bantus in Parliament should not be altered, was moving an amendment to the Government's Appropriations Bill (receiving its second reading), which provides expenditure to carry out the Budget proposals. This amendment was rejected by 62 votes to 57.

General Smuts accused the Government of "bad faith towards the people of South Africa," and said its segregation policy meant a fundamental change in the Constitution. He stated:

"If the people had realised that segregation meant tampering with the South Africa Act (the Act which established the Union as a Dominion in 1909) their attitude might have been different at the last election. The political rights of non-European peoples are so limited I should have thought it to be simply elementary political wisdom to leave the matter alone. I ask the House and the people of this country to be most careful in this matter."

Dr. Malan's Government has asked Parliament to repeal the provision for representation rights of Indians in the Assembly and is also seeking a change in the political rights of Bantus. It proposes to abolish the system whereby three representatives to the Assembly and four senators are elected by Bantus. It suggests, however, that the four senators appointed by the Government to guard the interests of the Bantus should remain.

In his reply for the Government the Premier, Dr. Malan, said he wanted to emphasise again that it was the Government's intention to abolish Bantu representation in the House of Assembly. As an alternative, the Government wanted to introduce and develop self-governing bodies for Bantus in their own areas as soon as possible and as far as possible.

If necessary the Government would decide "by referendum or some other means" whether the South Africa Act clause requiring a two-thirds majority of both Senate and Assembly for the legislation needed to exclude non-European representatives should stand. (The Nationalists hold only small majorities in both Houses.)

The Government's bill was passed by the Assembly.—Reuter.

Malan
Signatur: P. M.

Datum: 30. Sept. 1948

19342 1 0022

BEC

The Manchester Guardian

Nr. 31814 -

RACIAL EQUALITY "DANGEROUS"

Dr. Malan's View

CAPETOWN, SEPTEMBER 29.

Dr. Malan, the South African Premier, declared to-day that existing legislation in the Union for the representation of Indians was "dangerous." It would lead to the representation of Indians by Indians in Parliament and gradually there would be complete equality between European and non-European.

The Premier was replying to the second reading debate on his Asiatic Laws Amendment Bill, the purpose of which is to repeal part of an earlier Act giving Indians representation in the Assembly, Senate, and Natal Provincial Council. The Government, he declared, wanted to give Indians housing, education, and other facilities—"But we can only do it by keeping power in the hands of the European, by protecting ourselves on the basis of apartheid (segregation)."

The motion for the second reading was carried without a division and the bill was taken through its committee stage without amendments.—Reuter.

19342 0023

BEC

The Manchester Guardian

Nr. 31856 -

DR. MALAN ON FUTURE
OF SWAZILAND

CAPETOWN, NOVEMBER 17.

Dr. Malan, the South African Premier, said at the Nationalist party congress here to-day that it would be the "natural thing" for the British protectorates of Swaziland and Basutoland to be incorporated in the Union. His Government "would not neglect in due course" to make further approaches to Britain on this question.

General Smuts, the former Premier, speaking at a United party meeting to-day, said that he could not "sit still and keep quiet" when he saw his country "being run on the rocks." Five months ago the country had been handed over to the Nationalists in the most flourishing condition of its history. To-day it was in financial danger and an attitude of distrust, fear and hatred was being built among the people. A spirit was being fomented between white and black which would make life very much harder than it ever should be.—Reuter.

Signatur *J. Malan, Jr.*

Datum **30** Dez. 1948

19342 0024

BEC

The Times (London)

Nr. **51266**

**DR. MALAN ON "DARK
CLOUDS"**

CAPETOWN, Dec. 31.—Dr. Malan, the Prime Minister, in a New Year message, called for reform of the United Nations, which he said was becoming a "menace to liberty." "A new and better hope may arise through the discovery that the United Nations has been built on false foundations by placing the aggressor in a privileged and protected position and by unjustifiable interference in the domestic affairs of peaceful nations, thus becoming itself a menace to liberty," he said.

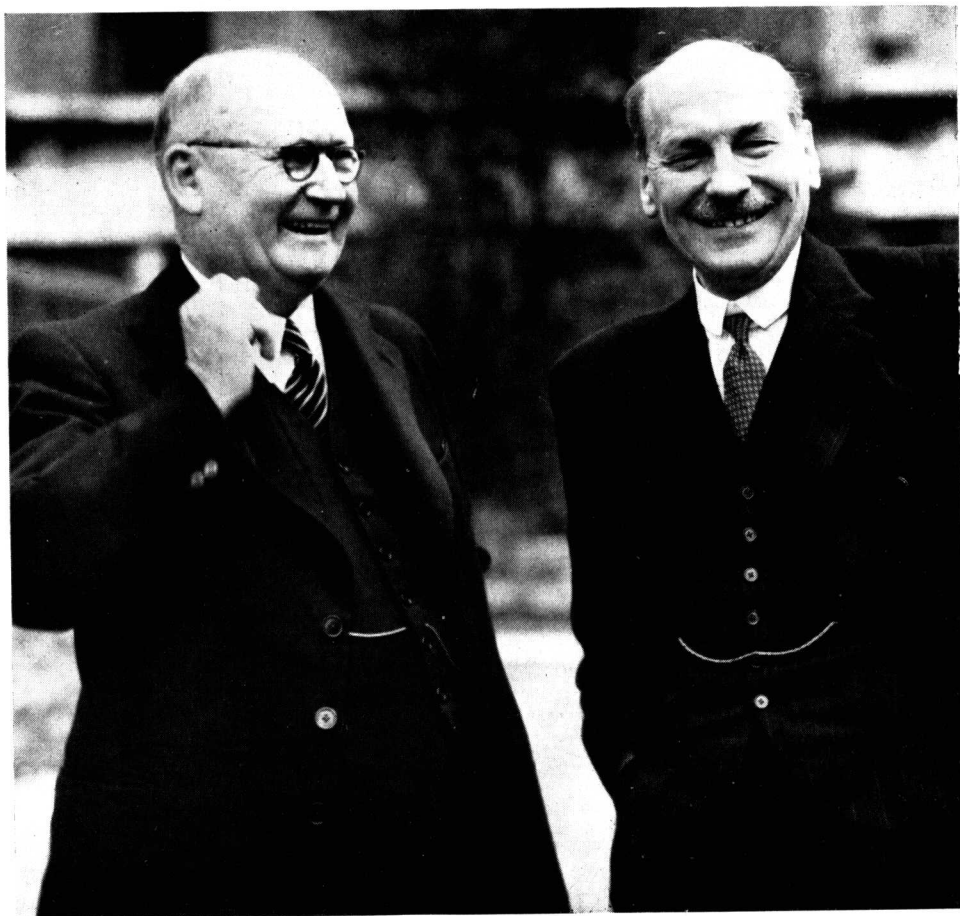
Dark clouds were gathering on the international horizon, and the gulf between conflicting ideologies was evidently unbridgeable. On both sides the old reliance on military power, now armed with weapons of destruction previously unknown in human history, was fast returning. Communism grew like a cancer in national life. South Africa had to do her part in military preparation in collaboration with the countries of Western Union and North America.—*Reuter.*

African World Annual

SOME AFRICAN EVENTS OF THE YEAR



Dr. D. F. Malan, Prime Minister of the Union, attended the conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers held in London last April to discuss India's future relations with the Commonwealth. In a broadcast just before his return to the Union Dr. Malan emphasised that South Africa had no intention of leaving the Commonwealth provided there was no infringement of her rights. Picture on right shows the South African and British Prime Ministers in jovial mood at a morning party given by Mr. and Mrs. Attlee at No. 10, Downing Street



Wenden



A group at Buckingham Palace when the Commonwealth Prime Ministers and their wives were entertained to luncheon by the King and Queen. Dr. and Mrs. Malan are on either side of Queen Mary, with the two Princesses and the King and Queen in the centre. The Duke of Edinburgh is on the extreme right, and behind Dr. Malan and Princess Elizabeth are the Duchesses of Gloucester and Kent and the Earl of Athlone

19342 0026 BEL

The Manchester Guardian

Nr. 31892 -

U.N. A "MENACE TO
LIBERTY"

Dr. Malan's View

CAPETOWN, DECEMBER 31.

The South African Premier, Dr. Malan, in a New Year message to-day called for reform of the United Nations Organisation, which was becoming a "menace to liberty." "A new and better hope may arise through the discovery that the United Nations has been built on false foundations by placing the aggressor in a privileged and protected position and by unjustifiable interference in the domestic affairs of peaceful nations, thus becoming itself a menace to liberty. The United Nations can and must be reformed."—Reuter.

19342 0027

BEC

The Manchester Guardian

Nr. 31896 -

DR. MALAN ASKED TO
BE FRANK

Details of Apartheid

PRETORIA, JANUARY 5.

The South African Native Representative Council to-day passed a resolution urging the Government to declare in full detail its policy towards the African population.

The council consists of six official, four nominated Bantu, and twelve elected Bantu members. One of its functions is to consider how proposed legislation would affect the native population. Professor Z. K. Matthews, leader of the elected councillors, said: "Our complaint is that we have been charged with the statutory duty of advising the Government on political matters and have found our advice ignored again and again." The resolution complained that the apartheid policy had not been referred to the council, and said the council could not continue its session until the Government had laid before it "full details of its native policy and its relative legislative programme, especially its own proposals to provide a so-called more effective connecting link between the Government and the native people."

Dr. Alfred Xuma, president of the African National Congress, declared to-day that it was obvious the Government wanted to exclude Africans completely from the country's political life by abolishing the council.—Reuter.

193427 0028 BEC

Wirtschafts Zeitung (Stuttgart)

Nr. 4

MALAN. Als Ende Mai 1948 Feldmarschall Smuts seinem nur um vier Jahre jüngeren Gegenspieler Dr. Daniel François Malan den Platz an der Spitze der südafrikanischen Regierung räumte, stürzten in Kapstadt wie in London die Börsenkurse. Von dem in der Tradition Ohm Krügers wurzelnden Führer der Nationalistischen Partei, der zudem seine Sympathien für Hitler offen gezeigt hatte, erwartete man das Schlimmste: Die Lösung Südafrikas aus dem Commonwealth, eine enge nationalistische Außenpolitik und Intoleranz gegenüber den Farbigen nach der Losung „Südafrika dem weißen Manne“. Bisher sind diese Befürchtungen nicht eingetroffen. Die wachsende kommunistische Welle, auch unter den Eingeborenen Afrikas, überschattete zunächst die antibritische und isolationistische Außenpolitik Malans. Diese Sinnesänderung hat aber auch wirtschaftliche Gründe. Das englische Kapital in der südafrikanischen Industrie, vor allem im Goldbergbau, kann nicht so leicht entbehrt werden. An der Rassenpolitik will Malan jedoch festhalten. Sie wird als ein Akt der Selbsterhaltung gegen die jahrelange Existenzgefährdung des burischen Volkes durch billige schwarze Arbeitskräfte verteidigt. Die kritische Haltung der UN will Malan eher mit einem Austritt aus den UN als mit einer Aenderung dieser Rassenpolitik beantworten. Die rassische Absonderung (Apartheid) hat nicht nur wirtschaftliche Folgen, sie kann auch die Verwirklichung des größeren „Südafrikas“ in Frage stellen. Ob das ehemalige Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika einen Teil der Union bilden wird, hängt zu einem nicht geringen Teil auch an dieser Frage.

19342 0029 BEC

The Manchester Guardian

Nr. 31909-

INDIAN COMPLAINT TO
DR. MALAN

Bantus' "Provocation"

CAPETOWN, JANUARY 20.

The Transvaal Indian Congress to-day urged Dr. Malan, the Union Prime Minister, to ban the South African Protection League, which advocates the removal of all Indians from the country, and to order the arrest of its leaders. A telegram sent by the Congress declared that evidence pointed to a premeditated movement against Indians.

Mr. R. E. Stevens, manager of the municipal Native Administration Department at Pietermaritzburg, alleged that Indians were deliberately provoking 1,000 Africans in local men's hostels. The Africans, he said, had expressed a desire not to fight or interfere with Indians but were being kept under control "with the greatest difficulty."—
Reuter.

19342 0030

BEC

Datum 25. Jan. 1949

The Manchester Guardian

Nr. 31912-

STATE CAN DO NO WRONG

Dr. Malan's Opinion

CAPETOWN, JANUARY 24.

Dr. Malan, the South African Prime Minister, announced to-day that the Government's legal advisers believed Parliament might, by a bare majority vote, remove coloured voters from joint voters' lists and abolish native representation. A memorandum containing the legal opinion was tabled in the Assembly this afternoon. After quoting its authorities it said:

"The contemplated legislation can be introduced and passed by Parliament in the ordinary way without first repealing or amending the entrenched sections of the South Africa Act, the existence of which would not affect validity of legislation so passed."

The "entrenched clauses" of the Constitution safeguarding European language rights and the franchise rights of African coloured voters in Cape Province provide that alterations may be made only by a two-thirds majority of both Houses.

In the memorandum Dr. Malan contended that insistence on the two-thirds majority for repeal of these clauses would be a denial of the Union Parliament's sovereignty. The sovereign part of the State, it said, was omnipotent and, since it was the source of all law, its acts could never be illegal or, in the strict sense, unconstitutional. "The Parliament of the Union has sovereign legislative powers," said the memorandum, "and may have regard to limitations imposed upon its legislative competence by the entrenched sections for as long only as it pleases."—Reuter.

Malan,
26. Jan. 1949

19342 0034 BEC

The Manchester Guardian

Nr. 31913-

DR. MALAN ON VALUE
OF COMMONWEALTH

CAPETOWN, JANUARY 25.

Dr. Malan, the South African Premier, replying to a question in the Assembly to-day, said that as long as South Africa's association with the Commonwealth nations continued to be in South Africa's interests "so long I hope will that association be maintained."—Reuter.

19342-0032 BEC

The Manchester Guardian

Nr. 31914-

NATIVE POLICY IN SOUTH AFRICA

Proposed Commission

CAPETOWN, JANUARY 26.

Dr. Malan, the South African Premier, proposed in the Assembly to-day that a commission of both Houses should be set up to consider the detailed application of the Government's policy of separation of Europeans and Africans. He suggested it should report within a year.

In reply to General Smuts's motion of no confidence on the Government's handling of racial and economic problems, Dr. Malan moved an amendment that: "the House expresses its confidence in the Government and expects they shall proceed further to carry into effect their policy of separation in accordance with the mandate from the people at the last election." He denied that the compromise reached at the time of the formation of the Union was a sort of holy contract between Europeans and non-Europeans. The European race acted as a guardian deciding what it thought would be best for non-Europeans.—Reuter and British United Press.

Übersee-Rundschau (Hamburg)

Nr. 2

DAS PROFIL:

Daniel François Malan

Die Eröffnung der neuen Sitzungsperiode des südafrikanischen Parlamentes begann mit einer Überraschung. Der Premierminister Dr. Malan erklärte, die Frage der Eingeborenen-Politik würde einem parlamentarischen Ausschuß übertragen, welcher die Anwendbarkeit des Grundsatzes der „apartheid“ zu beraten und dem Parlament bis zum 31. Januar 1950 zu berichten hätte. Damit hat Malan auf die von den extremen Nationalisten geforderte Abstimmung über die Aufhebung der Wahlrechte der Eingeborenen verzichtet und sich als ein Mann erwiesen, der Kompromisse machen kann, wenn es die politischen Verhältnisse erfordern. Ob er unter Druck Havengas handelte, der diese Abstimmung schon vor Wochen verurteilte, oder aus eigener Erkenntnis der Sachlage, bleibt letzten Endes gleichgültig. Tatsache ist, daß Dr. Malan wie ein Staatsmann gehandelt hat, zu dem das in der Weltöffentlichkeit verbreitete Bild eines engstirnigen Parteidogmatikers und fanatisch verbohrtten Nationalisten nicht mehr passen will. Die britische Presse hat das sehr schnell begriffen, sie schreibt von einem „turn for the better“ — der Wendung zum Besseren — und die Londoner Wochenschrift „South Africa“ schloß ihren Kommentar zu der neuen Parlaments-Session mit den Worten: der Weg, den Dr. Malan jetzt vorschlägt, kann Südafrika zufriedenstellen!

Es ist übrigens nicht die erste Überraschung, die Malan der Welt und dem British Commonwealth geboten hat. Man erinnert sich noch sehr genau der Bestürzung, als in London am 28. und 29. Mai 1948 bekannt wurde, die Nationalisten hätten die Wahlen gewonnen und Smuts sei zurückgetreten. In Rhodesien verbreiteten überhitzte Gemüter sogar Meldungen von einem Vormarsch blutdürstiger Burenkommandos auf Salisbury, und es waren nicht so wenige, die an diese Mär und Erzählungen von Konzentrationslagern glaubten. Damals überraschte Malan durch seine Mäßigung und seine außenpolitische Erklärung, Südafrika werde die Verbindung zum Commonwealth nicht lösen. Von dem „Republikaner“ Malan hatten die meisten Briten etwas Gegenteiliges erwartet. Übrigens hat der südafrikanische Premierminister jetzt diese Haltung erneut bestätigt, wenn er auf eine Anfrage im House of Assembly antwortete „solange die Verbindung mit dem Commonwealth of Nations in Südafrikas Interesse liegt, so lange — hoffe ich — wird diese Verbindung nicht gelöst werden.“

Dr. Daniel François Malan ist in den vergangenen Monaten der Welt in einer Weise bekannt gemacht worden, die man in vielen Fällen als ungerecht, in den meisten wohl als subjektiv gefärbt bezeichnen darf. Gewiß hat der jetzige Premier Südafrikas, der vierte seit Gründung der Union und der erste „Nicht-General“, wenig mit seinen Vorgängern gemeinsam. Er gleicht weder dem 1919 verstorbenen Louis Botha, noch seinem alten Spielgefährten und Schulkameraden Smuts, der als Nachfolger Bothas die Regierung führte und wiederum von 1939 bis 1948 an der Spitze des Kabinetts stand. Auch von General Hertzog, seinem langjährigen Parteifreund, mit dem er 1934 zerfiel, als Hertzog die Fusion mit Smuts einging, weicht Malan in Wesen und Haltung ab. Hertzog war stark von Gefühlsmomenten abhängig und ließ sich häufig aus der Stimmung heraus zu Äußerungen verleiten, die er als verantwortlicher Staatsmann kaum vertreten konnte. Wurde er dann auf seine Worte festgenagelt, so neigte er dazu, zögernd auszuweichen. Ganz anders Malan, der vor 40 Jahren die Kanzel mit der Redaktionsstube vertauschte, um den Geist des Apostels Paulus vermittelt seiner Zeitung „Die Burger“ in das Volk hineinzutragen. Man sagt ihm eine strenge Selbstdisziplin nach; in seinen Reden — Malan ist ein guter Redner — spricht er klar und deutlich, weicht nicht vom Thema ab und redet nicht um eine Sache herum. Typ des strengen Calvinisten, wie ihn unsere Zeit kaum noch kennt, fehlt ihm die Wärme eines Hertzogs und der feine weltmännisch überlegene Humor eines Smuts. Er ist scharf gegen seine Widersacher — übrigens scheint Smuts gegenwärtig der schärfere zu sein — streng gegenüber seinen Mitarbeitern, aber auch rücksichtslos gegenüber sich selbst. Wohl neigt er zu jener

Selbstgerechtigkeit, wie sie dem Katholiken oder Protestanten am strenggläubigen Calvinisten häufig auffällt, ihn aber auf eine Linie mit selbstgefälligen Diktatoren-Erscheinungen zu bringen, kann nur in bewußter Verkennung seiner Persönlichkeit geschehen.

Malan ist ein religiöser Intellektueller, der alle Erscheinungen des Lebens, auch die Politik, vom Christentum her wertet und dabei ebenso fest wie einseitig auf dem Boden der Paulinischen Lehre steht. Er gilt als ein streng gerechter Mann; während seiner Tätigkeit als Innenminister im ersten Kabinett Hertzog war er zweifellos der Exponent des konsequenten und vielleicht auch übersteigerten Nationalismus, aber es gab innerhalb seines Ministeriums keinen Beamten englischer Abstammung, der sich über irgendeine ungerechte Handlung seines Chefs beschweren konnte. Der Vorwurf der Diskriminierung ist von Beamten und Angestellten englischer Volkszugehörigkeit häufiger gegen bürische Minister erhoben worden, niemals aber gegen Malan. Seine Objektivität, sein ungeheurer Arbeitseifer und seine administrativen Fähigkeiten wurden auch von denen anerkannt, die ihm auf seinen politischen Wegen nicht folgen konnten.

Der heute 75jährige Malan hat Format und seine Gegner wären dumm, wollten sie es ihm absprechen. Es wäre verfehlt, Malans Format als Politiker und Mensch gegen das Format eines Smuts abwägen zu wollen. Die beiden Repräsentanten des Südafrikanertums kommen zwar aus der gleichen Sphäre — ihre Väter waren gute Farmnachbarn und sie selbst haben die gleiche Schule besucht und ihre ersten Semester an der gleichen Universität studiert — aber ihr Lebensweg hat sie in ganz verschiedene geistige Sphären geführt. Smuts ging als Student nach Cambridge, trat dort in Berührung mit der humanistischen Welt und empfing seine ersten starken Eindrücke von der Größe und Vielgestaltigkeit des British Empire. Malan suchte die Universität Utrecht auf, wo er seine theologisch-dogmatische Ausrichtung erhielt. Kann man Smuts als Staatsmann, Philosoph und Menschen als den besten Vertreter des christlichen Humanismus bezeichnen, der sich einem Menschheitsideal verbunden fühlt und deshalb auch nach dem verbindenden unter den Staaten und Völkern sucht, so ist Malan der Verfechter eines orthodoxen Calvinismus, der das, was die Menschen nach Hautfarbe Volks- und Kulturzugehörigkeit trennt, als Erscheinungen einer gottgewollten Ordnung ansieht, die der Mensch nicht willkürlich auflösen soll. Verkörpert Smuts den „Weltmann“ in einer von den Lebenden nicht erreichten Form, so ist Malan Prediger und Politiker der engeren Ordnung. Sein vielfach mißdeuteter und verkannter Nationalismus hat andere Wurzeln als der moderne, durch die Französische Revolution eingeleitete europäische Nationalismus. Läßt sich von Smuts sagen, er hat sich über das Südafrikanertum hinausentwickelt, so muß man Malan zubilligen, für das Südafrikanertum und seine Entfaltung einen Lebenskampf geführt zu haben, dem objektive Historiker die sittliche Größe nicht absprechen können. Gewiß dürfte bei Malan die alt-testamentarische Vorstellung vom „auserwählten Volk“, wie sie in der Geschichte des Burentums lebendig war, noch nicht ganz erloschen sein, sicher ist aber wohl, daß sein Appell an die britischen Volkskreise, aufzugehen in einem südafrikanischen Nationalbewußtsein, ehrlich gemeint ist. Wer in Malan nur den reaktionären Unterdrücker der Eingeborenen sieht, macht sich das Urteil zu leicht und vergißt, daß der tolerante Smuts in diesen Fragen der südafrikanischen Politik weniger tolerant ist, als die Menschheit allgemein glaubt. Zunächst scheint Malan für ein Jahr die schwere Klippe der Eingeborenenpolitik umschiffen zu haben, aber seiner Regierung stehen noch andere, schwere Belastungsproben bevor. Ob es ein „come back“ Smuts' geben wird, vermag niemand zu sagen. Vielleicht wird Daniel François Malan der letzte Premier aus Südafrikas älterer Generation streitbarer Politiker sein, die seit mehr als 40 Jahren ununterbrochen in der vordersten Linie des politischen Kampfes gestanden haben.

19342 0034 BEC

The Times (London)

Nr. 51308 -

DR. MALAN TAKEN ILL

SPEECH INTERRUPTED

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

CAPETOWN, FEB. 16

Dr. Malan, the Prime Minister, was taken ill suddenly while introducing the second reading of the South-West Africa Affairs Amendment Bill. He seemed to lose the thread of his discourse, paged through his notes, and sat down. General Smuts, who appeared deeply concerned, went to him, and after a short while Dr. Malan left the Chamber. He resumed his place in the House later, with an apology for having caused an adjournment of the debate. His indisposition, he said, had been "of an entirely passing nature."

Before breaking down Dr. Malan said that this Bill was the result of negotiations with both political parties in the territory, which unanimously approved its proposals. The Bill gave the territory not only six members of Parliament and four senators but wider domestic powers. In a sense it made the territory co-mandatory with the Union over its own affairs. Dr. Malan then began to outline the territory's constitutional history, but was interrupted by his illness.

12. März 1949

19342

0035

BEC

The Financial Times (London)

No 18675

DR. MALAN'S PROBLEM

The results of the South African Provincial Elections have left the political situation in the Union in much the same indecisive state as before. Although local in scope, these elections were fought on national grounds, the main issue being the Government's native segregation policy. On this question, Dr. Malan was seeking a popular mandate that, in his view, would justify overriding the constitutional clauses requiring a two-thirds majority of both Houses on such matters as the political rights of non-Africans.

Dr. Malan believes he has obtained his mandate, although he has done little more than maintain his position since the General Election last May, when he won a majority only by alliance with Mr. Havenga's Afrikaner Party—which has deliberately withheld from the local elections.

What is Mr. Havenga disposed to do? He is not wholly and irrevocably within the Nationalist camp. He has declared himself against the idea that legal quibbles should be made an excuse for ignoring the spirit of the "entrenched clauses." This does not seem to offer much scope for Dr. Malan, while he depends on his present support in Parliament. Yet the local voting can hardly have inspired him to plump for a quick General Election in the hope of obtaining an absolute Nationalist majority.

Beyond all question, Dr. Malan would best serve South Africa by shelving his native aims and concentrating on the solution of the Union's pressing economic and financial problems. The situation needs strong measures that will only be retarded by a bitter controversy on the colour question.

19342

0036

BEC

The Manchester Guardian

No 31952

DR. MALAN'S CLAIM

"S. Africa's Verdict on Apartheid Confirmed"

CAPETOWN, MARCH 11.

The South African Premier, Dr. Malan, whose Nationalist party won a majority of seats in this week's voting for the provincial councils, to-day declared that his Government was determined to adhere to its policy of Apartheid (racial segregation). This was the main issue of the elections.

In thanking Nationalist party supporters, the Premier said the results "confirmed the mandate of the people," given in the general election in May last year. Dr. Malan also said: "Taking everything into account, I regard the result as highly satisfactory. We can rightly assume that the United party (the Opposition party led by the ex-Premier, General Smuts) suffered a fresh defeat and that the verdict of May 5 has been confirmed." He added that white civilisation in South Africa could only be saved by Apartheid, but time was short. The final figures were:

Nationalists: 86 seats, 400,875 votes.
United party: 78 seats, 393,461 votes.
Independents: Three seats, 20,514 votes.
Labour: Three seats, 19,719 votes.

The Nationalists now control two of the four provincial councils—Transvaal and the Orange Free State. The United party has a majority in the Cape Province and in Natal. The state of the parties in the four provincial councils is:

Transvaal: Nationalists, 34; United party, 27; Independent, 2; Labour, 2; one seat vacant.

Cape Province: United party, 28; Nationalists, 26; Labour, 1.

Orange Free State: Nationalists, 24; United party, 1.

Natal: United party, 22; Nationalists, 2; Independent, 1.

—Reuter.

19342 0037 BEC

The Manchester Guardian

M31961

**DR. MALAN GETS AN
EXTRA VOTE**

Majority in the Senate

CAPETOWN, MARCH 22.

In Capetown to-day the United Party expelled Senator M. J. Van H. Brink from the party caucus because of his refusal to support the party's opposition to some of the racial policies of Dr. Malan, the premier and leader of the Nationalist party.

As a result, Dr. Malan can now get a majority of one vote in the Senate, will be able to secure the passage through the Senate of bills to remove representatives of the natives from the Assembly, and remove coloured voters from the common roll. He will also be able to get the South-west Africa Bill, which will have important repercussions, through Parliament.

Until to-day the United party Opposition, led by General Smuts, had a majority of one in the Senate and was thus in a position to block the more controversial legislation brought forward by Dr. Malan. Now, by using the casting vote of the President of the Senate, the Government will be able to get its bills through.—British United Press.

Signature

Datum

24. März 1949

19342 0038 BEC

The Times (London)

Nr. 51338 -

DR. MALAN COMING TO LONDON

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT
CAPETOWN, MARCH 23

Dr. Malan, the Prime Minister, told the House of Assembly to-day that he proposed to attend a meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers in London on or about April 21. He added that since the agenda would no doubt be announced in a joint statement, it would be improper for him to give further information now.

Our Colombo Correspondent telegraphs:—
The Prime Minister of Ceylon, Mr. Senanayake, is expected to leave Colombo by air on April 16 to attend the conference of Prime Ministers in London, where he will remain for a fortnight.

19342 0039 BEC
The Manchester Guardian
N31976

"PACT COUNTRIES NEED S. AFRICA"

Dr. Malan's Policy

CAPETOWN, APRIL 8.

Dr. Malan, the South African Prime Minister, in a speech in the Senate here to-day, said that the time had come for an alliance covering the continent of Africa. The Atlantic Pact nations would need South Africa and South Africa would need the Atlantic Pact.

The Premier said the weakest point in the defence system of the Western Powers was the Middle East. There the Russian bases were the strongest and the bases of other Powers were "far away." The Suez Canal could be destroyed and the Mediterranean overrun. South Africa would, therefore, be essential to the Western Powers for the maintenance of their lines of communication. This was a strong argument for the creation of an alliance between the Union of South Africa and other Powers with possessions in Africa.

At the moment there might be a good opportunity to seek agreement with European countries which had possessions in Africa on a general African policy, to be controlled and decided on jointly between those territories and the Union.

OVERFLOW AREA

Dr. Malan said that if Africa were to become an overflow area for the surplus population of Asia, as was happening in part of the continent to the north, this would have a profound effect on South Africa. If the Bantus were to be militarised there was no doubt this would be a serious danger to South Africa. These were all important problems on which the Union and European Powers with possessions in Africa should agree. An agreement on these questions was as important as agreement on defence.

If war should break out in Europe, South Africa's sympathies would be on the side of the Western Powers. South Africa would not be neutral. A war of anti-Communist countries against Communist countries would put South Africa in danger even greater than that of other lands, because the Communists had made propaganda for a long time in South Africa.

If the security of her own people were ensured South Africa would give her help first to ensure the security of the territories of Africa to the North. Whether she could send her forces further afield must be left to the circumstances and experiences of the time.—
Reuter.

16. April 1949

19342

0040

BEC

The Economist (London)

Nr. 5512 - -

Two Voices from South Africa

Dr Malan has almost succeeded—with the unsolicited aid of Mr Molotov—in achieving a bi-partisan foreign policy for South Africa. In a statement to the Senate on April 8th, he made it clear that the Nationalists have abandoned their former belief in isolation and that South Africa should be regarded as firmly and actively on the side of the West. Indeed, he even advocated rebuilding the strength of Germany. He said that South Africa should seek agreement with the European Powers which have colonies in Africa, in order to draw up a general African policy and a defensive alliance. He envisaged the possibility of Africa's becoming an overflow area for the surplus populations of Asia, and he was anxious to prevent this from happening. He also showed a desire that South Africa should be linked in some way with the Atlantic Pact, because of the common defensive interests of its signatories in the Middle East and on the sea route round the Cape.

On all these points Dr Malan can be sure of the agreement of the Opposition. He has put into concise and definite terms what most South Africans think the foreign policy of their country should be. But he made one further point which will be endorsed only by some of them. He said South Africa would remain within the Commonwealth, provided that it could become a republic if it wished to do so. Two days later Field Marshal Smuts retorted with this declaration:

There is no middle course between the Crown and a republic, between in and out of the Commonwealth. You are either in or out, and if you choose to be out of it, you are out entirely. The desire to be a republic freed from allegiance to the Crown is one of the most firmly rooted motives of the Nationalist party; it is also a particularly controversial subject in South African politics. The details of Britain's negotiations with Eire were fully publicised in the Afrikaans press and there is undoubtedly a strong desire among Nationalists to follow the same course.

It is probable that Dr Malan's clear statement of South Africa's foreign policy was intended to show how closely South Africa was linked with the western powers by strategic and economic interests, and how, therefore, the form of the link with the Commonwealth was comparatively unimportant. Field Marshal Smuts's equally clear statement on the importance of the formal relationship will not be welcomed by the Nationalists, for it has

for the time being spoilt their hope of presenting a united front to the world, at least on foreign affairs.

★ ★ ★

19342 0041 BEC
The Times (London)
N:51360

**DR. MALAN ON SOUTH
AFRICA'S NEED**

Dr. D. F. Malan, Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa, who arrived in London yesterday to attend the Commonwealth Conference, said that Africa needed economic development through outside assistance, but more than anything else protection and guidance. This must come from the western democracies having interests in Africa. If guided along the right lines Africa might contribute largely to Europe's salvation. "Otherwise she may in the long run prove to be Europe's undoing and, not the least, also South Africa's."

So far as the conference was concerned, the subject to be discussed was admittedly intricate and delicate. The same spirit which had so far safely carried that inner circle of independent sister nations through a changing world would, no doubt, prevail.

19342 0042 BEC

22. April 1949

The Times (London)
N^o 51362

FORMER EDITOR

DR. DANIEL MALAN is 74 and the oldest Prime Minister taking part in the conference. He succeeded General Smuts as Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa after the General Election of last year. Educated at Victoria College, Stellenbosch, and at the University of Utrecht, he took a doctorate in divinity. He left the pulpit to become editor of the newspaper *Die Burger* and entered the Union Parliament in 1917. From 1924 to 1933 he was Minister of the Interior in General Hertzog's Cabinet, and eventually became leader of the Nationalist Party and the main political rival of General Smuts.

19342

0043

BEC

Signatur

P Malan
Dr. Arnold Franzen

The Manchester-Guardian

Datum 26. April 1949

N31989

Täg DR. MALAN GOING TO in)
GERMANY

Dr. Malan, the South African Prime Minister, is to visit Germany at the end of this week. In accordance with an announcement made before he left South Africa, he will meet the South African aircrews taking part in the Berlin airlift. He also hopes to visit Holland and Switzerland.

The date of his departure depends on the progress of the Commonwealth talks, but it is expected that he and Mrs. Malan, with other members of the South African party, will leave London on Thursday in a South African Airways Skymaster.

19342

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Die Zeit (Hamburg)

Nr 17



Dr. Francois Stephanus Malan. Wenige Tage vor seiner Abreise zur Commonwealth-Konferenz in London gab der Ministerpräsident der Südafrikanischen Union vor dem Senat eine bedeutsame Erklärung ab: Die nationalistische Regierung will in Zukunft aus jeder Isolation heraus aktiv an die Seite des Westens treten. Über die Frage Republik oder Dominion hingegen konnte bisher auch die Konferenz in Downing-Street Nr. 10 noch keine Klarheit bringen.

Aufnahme ap

Malan
P. D. Smell'g.
Signatur: _____
Datum: 29. April 1949

19342 0045 BEC

The Times London
N:51368

DR. MALAN'S BROADCAST

Dr. Malan, the South African Prime Minister, in a broadcast yesterday, said that, with an ideological war being waged on an almost global scale, the sympathies of South Africa lay with the west. "Within the framework of friendly nations with whom we desire to cooperate," he continued, "there is, however, an inner circle with whom we have special ties—the members of the Commonwealth. . . . So long as there is no infringement of her rights—even her right to become a republic—South Africa has no intention of leaving the Commonwealth."

In conclusion Dr. Malan again laid stress on the great importance of the continent of Africa. It was the duty of the west, he said, to see that the dependent territories of that vast continent were made secure for western European civilization. The time had arrived for the serious consideration of an African Charter; and it followed automatically that this was a matter in which the Union of South Africa had a vital interest.

Signatur: *P. Malan*

Datum: *Dr. Arnold Fr.*
29. April 1949

19342 0046 BEC

The Times (London)

Nr 51368

DR. MALAN IN HOLLAND

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

THE HAGUE, APRIL 28

Dr. Malan, Prime Minister of South Africa, and Mrs. Malan arrived here to-day and had luncheon with the Netherlands Prime Minister, Dr. Drees. This afternoon Dr. Malan was received by Queen Juliana at the Palace of Soestdyk. Afterwards he visited the University of Utrecht, where he was a student. To-night he was entertained at dinner by Dr. Stikker, the Minister for Foreign Affairs. He leaves to-morrow for Berlin.

19342 0047 BEC

The Manchester Guardian

Nr. 32065

IN PRAISE OF THE COMMONWEALTH

Dr. Malan's Report

CAPETOWN, MAY 11.

Dr. Malan, the Premier, addressing the Assembly to-day, said it had always been his view that South Africa's greatest chance of unity would be as a republic, but that there were more urgent matters to be attended to at the moment. In any event South Africa should never leave the Commonwealth.

Speaking of the Indian problem, he said that if India had been told to leave the Commonwealth other members would have lost her goodwill. That would have meant not only a commercial loss but the loss of an anti-Communist friend and consequent chance of giving a foothold to Communism. This would have been a severe setback in a world already faced with great danger.

In addition, it was desirable that the outside world should not get the impression that the Commonwealth was disintegrating and was no longer a mighty factor if there were another world war. One fact which was shown by the conference was the cohesion among members of the Commonwealth, which was probably not expected by the outside world. It had, in fact, surprised some of the members themselves.

The main reason for the spirit of co-operation shown at the conference was probably the Commonwealth's adaptability in changing world circumstances, Dr. Malan added. The Commonwealth was not an organisation but a living organism that only continued through its capacity for adaptation.

General Smuts said that Dr. Malan's statement showed no revolutionary departure from the Statute of Westminster, except for the question of India. However, India's new status weakened the Commonwealth position because it might create a precedent for others.

Mr. N. C. Havenga, the Minister of Finance and leader of the Afrikaner party, said that the question of a republic should be shelved. Much more vital issues faced the country and a republic would not give South Africa any more freedom.—British United Press.

Signatur

Datum 13. Mai 1949

19342 0048 BEC

The Times (London)

Nr. 51380-

DR. MALAN ON S. AFRICAN PROTECTORATES

QUESTION OF TRANSFER

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

CAPETOWN, MAY 12

Dr. Malan, the Prime Minister, re-entering to-day the debate on his statement on the London conference, deplored the fact that the general issue of republicanism had been raised. Republicanism, he said, was not at present contemplated by the Government, which had given explicit assurances that it would not make any republican moves during the life of the present Parliament, which was elected on the colour issues only.

While in London, he continued, he had informally discussed with British Ministers the need for collaboration between all the Powers interested in Africa to preserve Africa as a western and Christian continent, with the rights of the natives in mind—since, he said, Africa as a whole belonged to the Africans—against the threats of Communism and the influx of Asiatics.

He had also informally discussed in London the future of the three British protectorates in southern Africa (Bechuanaland, Basutoland, and Swaziland). He had explained that at the time of union it had been clearly indicated that these protectorates would in future be incorporated in the Union, and had pointed out that 40 years has passed with no progress in this matter. There was provision in the schedule of the Act of Union for the protection of the rights of natives in the protectorates. Parliament could petition the Privy Council for the transference of the protectorates to the Union, but "if we can help it we do not want to send such a petition against the will of the British Government, which would be put into the difficult position of having to refuse." He would see later whether further progress could be made in the matter.

19342 0049 BEC

The Manchester Guardian

Nr. 32010 -

DEFEAT FOR MALAN GOVERNMENT

Vote in Committee

CAPETOWN, MAY 19.

The South African Nationalist Government, led by Dr. Malan, was defeated by 57 votes to 53 in committee to-day, when a procedural motion to reduce a Minister's salary—that of the Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. E. G. Jansen—was passed for the first time in the history of the Union.

Mrs. Margaret Ballinger, one of three members representing Africans in the House of Assembly, yesterday moved, as an amendment on the Native Affairs vote, that the Minister's salary should be cut by £2,000. When the division on the amendment was called this afternoon, with the House sitting in committee of supply, the Government was caught unawares.

Normally the Government has a majority of four but nine members of the Government were attending a Nationalist party meeting in another part of the House. Division bells could not be heard in this office and the nine members continued their discussion in ignorance of the Government's predicament.

The missing members returned in time to enable the adoption of a motion by Mr. Havenga, the Finance Minister, asking that progress should be reported in order to enable the matter to be raised again to-morrow. The Government is expected to-morrow to seek discussion of a motion to reconsider to-day's decision.—Reuter.

BY-ELECTION RESULTS

JOHANNESBURG, MAY 19.

General Smuts's United party has lost one seat to the Nationalist (Government) party, and retained one other seat, in two by-elections, the results of which were declared to-day. Dr. Malan's Nationalist party now has a working majority of five in the House of Assembly. In the Senate it has a majority of one.—Reuter.

19342 0050

BEC

The Manchester Guardian

Nr. 32035-

DR. MALAN APPLIES THE "GUILLOTINE"

Citizenship Bill Debate

CAPETOWN, JUNE 17.

The South African Assembly to-night carried by 76 votes to 62 a motion put forward by the Prime Minister, Dr. Malan, applying the guillotine to the Citizenship Bill. The House then adjourned.

Throughout the day the Assembly had debated the motion restricting the time to be taken on the remaining stages of the bill to 20 hours, of which 14 would be devoted to the committee stage. Opposition members had objected on the grounds that Mr. N. C. Havenga, Leader of the House had promised that they could have all the time they wanted for discussion of the Bill.

The Bill, abolishing the status of British subjects, passed its second reading on Wednesday night after a debate lasting 48 hours—the longest in the history of the South African Parliament.

The Minister of the Interior, Dr. T. E. Donges, is introducing a number of amendments to the bill, the most important of which will exempt persons from loss of citizenship by residence outside the Union. The exemption does not apply to persons who acquired Union nationality through naturalisation as British subjects. The bill, while abolishing the status of British subjects, will also impose on British immigrants a five-year waiting period for full Union citizenship, instead of the present two years. The Opposition has prepared between fifty and sixty amendments to the bill.—Reuter.

~~Hinweis~~

19342

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Le Monde Paris

Nº 1437 =

UNION SUD-AFRICAINE

Le programme de M. Malan

Le premier ministre nationaliste d'Afrique du Sud, M. Daniel Malan, a annoncé à l'occasion du congrès du parti nationaliste du Transvaal que celui-ci était décidé à renforcer les mesures de ségrégation raciale. « Pour protéger la race européenne, a-t-il ajouté, chaque citoyen sera muni d'une carte d'identité portant la mention : Européen, indigène de couleur, ou Indien. »

Le gouvernement, qui a supprimé la représentation des Indiens au Parlement, a dit encore M. Malan, est décidé à supprimer le vote direct des gens de couleur dans la province du Cap.

Enfin les nationalistes sont décidés à lutter contre le communisme à l'intérieur du pays et à faire tout leur possible pour maintenir les contacts avec toutes les nations anticomunistes du monde.

19342

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Signatur

Datum 18. Okt. 1949

The Manchester Guardian

Nr. 32139 -

URGENT PROBLEM
FOR AFRICA

Research Co-ordination

JOHANNESBURG, OCTOBER 17.

Dr. Malan, the South African Prime Minister, said here to-day that scientific problems facing the African countries were of particular urgency because Africa was "the last remaining large space to which the world could look for food and raw materials which it sorely needed." He was opening the African Regional Scientific Conference attended by more than a hundred delegates from British, French, Belgian, and Portuguese territories, and from the Union.

The conference will spend a fortnight discussing the co-ordination of research of common interest to Governments and organisations concerned in African regional scientific development.

Dr. Malan said the Union Government, which called the conference, hoped the delegates would be able to further the proposal—supported in 1946 by the British Commonwealth conference—for the formation of a permanent consultative and advisory body on scientific research in Africa.

Sir Ben Lockspeiser, secretary to the British Committee for Scientific and Industrial Research, heads the British delegation.—Reuter.

27. Okt. 1949

193421

0053

BEC

The Manchester Guardian

Nr. 32147 -

DR. MALAN WANTS ALL SOUTH AFRICA

Protectorates as Well

BLOEMFONTEIN, OCTOBER 26.

Dr. Malan, South Africa's Prime Minister, told a Nationalist party congress here to-day he was "waiting for an appropriate moment to make representations to the British authorities for the incorporation into the Union of British protectorates" in South Africa (Bechuanaland, Basutoland, and Swaziland).

It was unheard of that in a sovereign independent country there should be territories subordinated to a foreign country, he said. "South Africa is getting impatient. The last step, if everything else fails, will be that Parliament will send a petition to the Privy Council. It will be difficult to refuse a petition by Parliament."

Regarding Ruth Khama, white wife of Seretse Khama, chief-designate of the Bamangwato tribe of Bechuanaland, Dr. Malan said he had taken every possible precaution to prevent the entry into the Union of both Seretse Khama and his wife. He had telegraphed the British authorities, pointing out the dangerous precedent being created, and added he was glad to see that the Rhodesian Government also was opposed to the marriage.—Reuter and British United Press.

28. Okt. 1949

19342 0054 BEC

The Manchester Guardian

Nr. 32148

DR. MALAN'S SPEECH

Government Awaiting Official Text

Mr. P. Gordon Walker (Under Secretary for Commonwealth Relations) told Mr. C. W. Dumbleton (Lab.—St. Albans) in the House of Commons yesterday that no representations had been received from the South African Government regarding the possible incorporation of the High Commission territories into the Union.

Mr. Dumbleton called his attention to reports of a speech by the Prime Minister of South Africa and asked for an assurance that the British Government would resist strongly any pressure to incorporate these territories.

Mr. Gordon Walker said he had seen the reports, but the official text of the speech had not yet been received. The speech from the newspaper reports appeared to suggest that future representations would be made. So far as the attitude of the British Government was concerned our policy had been made clear on November 25, 1948, in a reply to a question in the Commons.

Mr. H. Wilson Harris (Ind.—Cambridge University) asked: "Have you observed that Dr. Malan said it was intolerable that these territories should remain subordinated to a 'foreign country'? Does H.M. Government equate its relations with the Dominions with those existing with foreign countries?"

Mr. Gordon Walker said it would be better to wait for the official text of the speech. It might have been in Afrikaans, and very often translations from one language to another lead to misunderstandings.

19342

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BEC

The Manchester Guardian

32186 -

DR. MALAN "SOWING SEEDS OF DOOM"

—Lady V. Bonham Carter
Liberals and S. Africa

From our London Staff

FLEET STREET, SUNDAY.

Lady Violet Bonham-Carter moved a resolution on South Africa at the Liberal Council meeting in London yesterday. It was carried unanimously. The resolution was:

"That this council views with deep regret the policy of racial discrimination in South Africa and places on record its conviction that so long as such policy continues his Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom should on no account accede to any request put forward by the South African Government for the transfer to South African rule of the High Commission territories of Basutoland, Swaziland, and Bechuanaland."

Lady Violet said that Liberals should have a special interest in South Africa. It was the gift of Liberalism to the Commonwealth, for South Africa was won and held for the Commonwealth by a Liberal Government. At the Nationalist party's annual congress in Johannesburg two months ago there had been clamant demands for new "cheap black labour" as well as for "privately built gaols." We also knew that measures had been taken restricting the right of Indians to trade and to own property.

Such measures as these were an invitation to Communism, Lady Violet said, but quite apart from Communism, quite apart from human rights to which we were all solemnly pledged by the Charter of the United Nations (the words of which were drafted by Field Marshal Smuts himself), and quite apart from ethical considerations, Dr. Malan was sowing the seeds of doom in a country where there were 2,000,000 whites and 9,000,000 members of other races.

A minority might be suppressed for a time (not without guilt but with impunity), said Lady Violet, "but can one indefinitely suppress and oppress a vast majority?" Against such a background we must consider the demand, not yet a formal one, for the transfer of the three territories to South African rule. They were among the few British ruled colonial areas which joined us freely of their own accord and not as a result of conquest, Lady Violet said. In each case the British protectorate had been established to protect the people from the threat of losing their lands and liberties to the South African Dutch.

19342 0056 BEC

The Manchester Guardian

Nº 32195-

RHODESIA AND PROTECTORATES

Dr. Malan's Strictures

CAPETOWN, DECEMBER 21.

Dr. Daniel Malan, the South African Prime Minister, said "in all politeness" here to-day that South Africa's interest in the Bechuanaland Protectorate was covered by an agreement between the Union and the United Kingdom in 1909. He was commenting on the report of a speech made by the Southern Rhodesian Minister for Internal Affairs and Justice, Mr. T. H. W. Beadle.

Mr. Beadle was reported to have said that Southern Rhodesia's view-point concerning the territory would be taken into consideration—with the approval of the British Minister for Commonwealth Relations—in the event of any change in status. Dr. Malan's statement said:

"My attention has been drawn to an official statement made by Mr. Beadle which has just been published. This statement said that in any possible change in status of the Bechuanaland Protectorate Southern Rhodesia's view-point concerning the territory will be taken fully into consideration. According to the report, this announcement was made after consultation with, and the approval of, the British Minister for Commonwealth Relations, Mr. Noel-Baker.

"If this statement means, as the subsequent report seemingly indicates, that Southern Rhodesia is claiming copartnership in future disposal of the protectorate, and apparently even in possible annexation of part thereof, I should like to point out in all politeness that, according to the solemn agreement entered into between Britain and the Union in 1909, and as described in the South Africa Act, disposal of protectorates is a matter exclusively and solely between these two above-named countries, in fact, in such degree that even conditions of transfer to the Union were specifically laid down therein.

"In the circumstances it must definitely be regarded as surprising that such a statement could have been issued jointly by the two mentioned Ministers of Rhodesia and Britain without any prior consultation with, or even notice to, the Government of the Union.

"This, to my way of thinking, is not consistent with that good faith nor that good friendship which has until now always existed between these three States, and which it is assuredly in the interests of all three to carry on still further and unabated."—Reuter.

19342

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The Manchester Guardian

N^o 32198 -

WILL DR. MALAN RETIRE?

Possible Successors

From our South African
Correspondent

CAPETOWN, DECEMBER.

It has been suggested unofficially in the South African press that Dr. Malan contemplates retiring from office as Prime Minister and not meeting the new Parliament. From certain points of view this news occasions no surprise. Success has come to Dr. Malan too late in life for him to enjoy or profit by it to the full. His health is poor and he does not carry his years with the jauntiness of his great opponent, General Smuts. Once or twice since his accession to office—once in the House of Assembly itself—he has experienced temporary “black-outs.” His ministry has been responsible for exceptionally controversial measures and he has had to face an excessive amount of anxiety and hard work.

On the other hand, the political situation is such that he would be wise to continue in office longer. There are divergent sections in his ministry which it has not been altogether easy to hold together, and the choice of his successor would not be easy. Four possibilities suggest themselves.

The first possibility is Mr. J. G. Strydom, Minister of Lands. Mr. Strydom is leader of the Transvaal Nationalist party, the biggest Provincial Nationalist group. He is also the ideal of all forthright extremists, including many of the younger men in the party. There is no nonsense about Mr. Strydom. He is brutally straightforward and has been unequivocally for a republic, outside the Commonwealth for preference, and he has the gift of arousing enthusiasm. Any hope of getting English-speaking support for the Nationalist party must, however, be written off if Mr. Strydom becomes Prime Minister, and it is doubtful whether he will be able to retain the support of the Afrikaner party or even that of some of the more moderate members of the Nationalist party itself.

DR. DONGES

An alternative choice is that of Dr. T. E. Donges, Minister of the Interior. Dr. Donges, as a prominent member of the Cape Nationalist party, is, of course, far closer to Dr. Malan than Mr. Strydom has been. He is a diplomatist, suave, polished, plausible, with the gift of persuasion in a high degree. He would get a certain amount of English-speaking support, and he might get the support of his own extremist members if they were forced to it.

It is, however, unlikely that the Nationalist party will want to choose directly between these two outstanding protagonists of differing points of view. One looks round for a tertium quid. The most obvious choice from certain points of view would be Dr. E. G. Jansen, Minister for Native Affairs. Dr. Jansen is the only other Nationalist in the Cabinet who has had previous Cabinet experience. He is neutral in temperament and outlook—in fact, his most successful years were spent in the Speaker's chair. He has, however, the defects of his qualities. His leadership is not inspiring, nor has he warmth of personality. The party would probably only accept him as a stop-gap.

MR. HAVENGA'S POSITION

There is yet one more possibility and that is if the Nationalist party agreed to accept the leadership of Mr. N. C. Havenga. As Mr. Havenga's followers form less than 10 per cent of the Government coalition, it would be almost unprecedented for this small minority group to enjoy the Premiership. It is possible, however, that the glittering prize might induce Mr. Havenga and his Afrikaner party to throw in their lot with the Nationalists. Mr. Havenga, though very far from being a mere careerist, is ambitious and undoubtedly likes to think of himself as a moderating factor in South African politics; the man to whom the Union will turn in any case of stalemate. It does not seem likely that the Nationalists would like him to become their Prime Minister entirely on his own terms.

From the point of view of the United party, the impending changes would seem to be favourable. The choice of either Mr. Strydom or Dr. Donges would disappoint considerable sections of the Nationalist party and weaken its unity. The choice of Dr. Jansen would mean the substitution of a weak and colourless leadership for one which has been pretty strong and at times even ruthless. The absorption of the Afrikaner party into the Nationalist party would at least clear the air and end all those efforts at coalition with Mr. Havenga which certain elements in the United party have tried to foster. Mr. Havenga might, of course, appeal for a general National Government and attract a few of the United party members by this attitude, but he could only do so at the expense of thoroughly antagonising Mr. Strydom's group.

It will be seen that party politics in South Africa are in an exceptionally fluid condition and the session of 1950 seems to be more than ordinarily unpredictable.

g. J. Malan,
Mr. Brookes
19. Jan. 1950

19342 0058 BEC

The Manchester Guardian

No 32217

S. AFRICAN LIBERAL SENATOR ATTACKS DR. MALAN'S RACIAL POLICIES

Opposition Urged to "Herrenvolk Doctrines"

Addressing a meeting of the South African Institute of Race Relations, a scientific body, at Capetown last night, Senator Brookes, a leading South African Liberal spokesman and White representative of the Native population in the Upper House, called on all opponents of the Government's policy of racial segregation to sign a "declaration of unconquerability," pledging themselves to "accept any suffering in fighting to preserve the elements of democracy and freedom."

Senator Brookes warned the white population that the Nationalist Government was threatening its freedoms equally with those of Africans, Indians, and other coloured people, and predicted that only a few months might separate South Africa from becoming a semi-totalitarian State.

He asked for the greatest opposition to what he called the "Herrenvolk doctrine" of Dr. Malan, and for the utmost resistance "in the spirit of Gandhi" to the Government's repressive colour

policies. His demand was made less than 48 hours before the Union Parliament was due to open a session expected to produce bitter struggles on racial issues.

Senator Brookes also charged Dr. Malan and his followers with trying to entrench their powers for ever by "manipulating the laws of the franchise."

"COLOURED" BLONDES

In an earlier speech Senator Brookes had predicted a new Indian passive resistance campaign in South Africa in answer to the national registration scheme. The Government's proposals for identity cards giving the racial origin of all inhabitants are expected to be one of the most controversial measures of the coming Parliamentary session.

Calling for opposition to the whole scheme, Mr. Brookes predicted that by applying it to half-castes as well it would, in less than a century, cause many "blue-eyed blondes" to be classed as coloured while "dark-eyed olive-skinned persons with black crinkly hair" would be "Europeans."—Reuter.

28. Jan. 1950

19342 0059 BEC

The Manchester Guardian

No 32225

Caution

Dr. Malan is a cautious man. He is ~~intransigent~~, but he is not to be hurried. He told the South African Parliament yesterday that the policy of racial segregation is so comprehensive that it will "require the five years which the country has given us." He means, no doubt, to reassure Nationalist zealots who may well be complaining of the meagre practical results of the policy to date; but perhaps he also foresees, as the zealots do not, the serious effects on the South African economy of the rigid controls over non-European labour which the party programme calls for. This is not the only field in which Dr. Malan is moving slowly. Only last October he was assuring the Nationalist Party Congress with some emphasis that he was going to demand the transfer of the High Commission Territories from British to South African rule, and his followers must have been wondering when something was going to be done about it. Now Dr. Malan has told Parliament that no representations have been made on this subject to the British Government, and added in effect that, if and when such representations are made, the South African Parliament will not necessarily be consulted in advance. It is much too soon to begin to hope that Dr. Malan has thought the better of the idea. But he is clearly proceeding very cautiously, as if anxious not to embark on an attack from which he might find it impossible to retreat with dignity if it failed. Perhaps something happened at Colombo to enhance his caution. If by any chance he is awaiting the result of the British general election before he moves, in the hope that the Conservatives might prove more accommodating than Labour, it would be well to remember that on this issue there is no divergence of opinion between the main parties here.

*g. J. Malan
Dr. J. J. van Rensburg*

31. Jan. 1950

19342 0060 BEC

The Manchester Guardian

No 32227

DR. MALAN WINS BY SEVEN VOTES

CAPETOWN, JANUARY 30.

A vote of "no confidence" in Dr. Malan's Nationalist Government, proposed by the Opposition leader, General Smuts, was defeated to-night by 78 to 71. The Prime Minister's amendment expressing full confidence in the Government was carried by a similar majority.

General Smuts tabled the motion six days ago, accusing the Government of carrying out a "fraudulent policy" and not enforcing the "apartheid" (segregation) policy to which it is pledged.—
Reuter.

19342

0061

BEC

Malan

P. Dr.

Die Welt (Hamburg)

20. Feb. 1950

Nº 43

Malan spricht von Republik

Paarl Cape Province, 19. Februar

Der nationalistische Ministerpräsident von Südafrika, Dr. Malan, erklärte auf einer öffentlichen Versammlung: „Der Tag wird bald kommen, an dem Südafrika eine Republik mit einem gewählten Präsidenten werden wird. Es ist nur noch ein Schritt bis dahin.“ Südafrika ist Dominion im britischen Commonwealth.

(Reuter)

19342

BEC

Malan,
Dr
15. April 1950

Frankfurter Allgemeine

No 88

Malan

an Der heute sechundsiebzijährige frühere Theologe, der seit zwei Jahren das große und reiche Land Südafrika regiert, hat in dieser Zeit Großbritannien manchen Kummer bereitet. Zwar hat er die Loslösung seines Landes aus dem Verband des britischen Weltreiches nicht mehr offen gefordert. Diese Losung, die ihm als Oppositionsführer ziemlich geläufig war, ist aus dem Munde des Ministerpräsidenten nicht mehr zu hören gewesen. Vielleicht hat er seine Meinung in dieser Frage geändert, vielleicht hält er aber auch nur seine Stellung für eine so weitgehende Forderung für zu schwach. Er wird nie vergessen, daß seine Partei bei den Wahlen keineswegs die Hälfte aller Stimmen erreicht hatte und daß er nur dank den Besonderheiten des Mehrheitswahlrechtes die Regierung bilden konnte. Wie dem auch immer sei, von einer Angleichung seiner Politik an britische Wünsche hat in den zwei Jahren nicht die Rede sein können. Und gestern

hat er Formulierungen gefunden, die einiges Aufsehen erregen.

Malan, aber auch seine Vorgänger, waren seit langem bemüht, drei britische Protektorate dem südafrikanischen Staate anzugliedern. Jetzt hat sich, verständlich genug, Großbritannien wieder geweigert, dieser Forderung stattzugeben. Malan, aber auch der südrhodesische Premierminister, haben darauf die immerhin ungewöhnliche Antwort gefunden, angesichts einer solchen Haltung werde sich „Südafrika immer weiter von England entfernen“. In London wird man aus diesen Worten eine Drohung herauslesen. Aus ihr könnte man entnehmen, daß das ganze Werk der großen britischen Staatsmänner, das sie nach dem Burenkrieg zur Versöhnung von Eroberern und Besiegten geschaffen haben, in Gefahr ist.

Radikale Schritte wird Malan kaum tun. Aber er wird der Londoner Politik weiter unbequem bleiben — wenn ihn nicht eine Neuwahl bald wieder in die Minderheit versetzt.

Malan
Dr. David

19342 0063 BEC

15. Apr. 1950

The Manchester Guardian
N° 32290

WHITE SETTLERS'
GRIEVANCES

Approach to Dr. Malan

CAPETOWN, APRIL 14.

The South African Prime Minister, Dr. Malan, said to-day that white settlers with what he called grievances about British policy in Africa had asked his Government if it would receive a deputation to discuss questions of policy. The answer had been (said the Premier) that South Africa could not interfere with the affairs of Britain, and she herself did not want interference in her affairs from Britain or any other country.

He had stated, however, that he was prepared to receive a deputation and to discuss the matter, about which representations had also been made to Southern Rhodesia; but he would do this only with the acquiescence of Britain.

Dr. Malan, who was making a statement of policy towards neighbouring territories, said a prominent feature of Africa to-day was the "clash of interests" and the conflict between white settlers and the policies followed by Britain, France, and other countries with colonial territories. White settlers in Kenya and Tanganyika particularly were uncertain about their future.

The settlers were looking to South Africa for moral support. Dr. Malan added, but this was no recent development. As Minister of the Interior in the 1920's he had received deputations from them to discuss the Indian question.—Reuter.

Dr. Malan,
Dr. David

19342

BEC

- 2. Mai 1950

The Manchester Guardian

No 32304

"CHANGE IN THE KING'S TITLE"

Dr. Malan's Forecast

CAPETOWN, MAY 1.

The South African Prime Minister, Dr. Malan, said in the Senate to-day that great changes in the structure of the Commonwealth left "no doubt that there would be a change in the present title of King George." Canada was particularly dissatisfied with her present position, he said, and it was probable that if any change were made Canada's lead would be followed by South Africa.

India's decision to become a republic—after which King George dropped the title "Emperor of India"—meant that "if South Africa wanted to become a republic then we could become that without isolation and without revolution." The King was no longer the link between the sovereign countries of the Commonwealth.

Dr. Malan, who was reviewing South Africa's external relations, said he was waiting for a more stable Government in London before approaching Britain on the transfer of her African protectorates to the Union. There could be a change of Government in Britain "at any time," and he had adopted a waiting attitude because he did not wish the protectorates question to become a bone of domestic political contention.

Dr. Malan announced also that South Africa, which abstained in 1946 from the United Nations vote to break diplomatic relations with Spain, was considering having its representative in Lisbon present credentials to the Franco Government. In his opinion, said Dr. Malan, the United Nations organisation was not fulfilling the purposes for which it was formed, and was bringing itself more and more into discredit. South Africa would remain a member of the United Nations, however. On the Dominion's claims to incorporate South-west Africa, Dr. Malan said that if the Hague Court decided in favour of South Africa it would put an end to disputes over the issue in the United Nations.

Reuter.

19342

BEC

2. Mai 1950

The Manchester Guardian

Towards a Republic

Dr. Malan's statement yesterday on the republican question showed his usual caution. He pleaded, quite reasonably, the precedent of India as showing that a republic could remain within the Commonwealth and, more unexpectedly, hinted that Canada would soon provide a second precedent which South Africa could securely follow. But Dr. Malan's caution is more tactical than strategic. He has in fact already committed himself, and friends of the Commonwealth in South Africa cannot complain that they have been left unenlightened. He has stated quite clearly that republicanism is still the Nationalist ideal, to be attained step by step, and that the next step should be the election of the Governor General instead of his nomination by the Crown. It has been pertinently remarked that if this took place to-day and the election was by popular vote a supporter of Field Marshal Smuts would be elected. This indicates the weakness of Dr. Malan's position. He was asked if he would take the will of the people by referendum. He was significantly evasive in his reply. The will of the electors expressed by referendum would almost certainly be against him. Parliament, weighted as it is in favour of the rural constituencies, might conceivably be with him. Even this is thought less likely than it was a year ago. The Nationalists are believed to be losing the floating vote rapidly, and some members would hesitate to press an issue which would lose them any appreciable popular support. Hence

perhaps Dr. Malan's readiness to await a lead from Canada.

A similar evasiveness has been noticed in the utterances of Nationalist politicians on the practical application of colour policies. A conference called not long since by the Dutch Reformed Church at Bloemfontein arrived at a series of conclusions which support the thoroughgoing doctrine of "apartheid" envisaged by the theorists of Stellenbosch—such as the division of the country, the creation of a separate "Bantustan," and the removal of native labour from the European part of the country. Dr. Malan has publicly declared these conclusions to be impracticable. But he uses them to justify policies which could only be justified as stepping stones to the ideal which he says cannot be realised. The Bloemfontein conference favoured the elimination of native labour from all European industry, including farming; some strict Nationalists would go so far as to exclude Africans even from domestic employment in European households. But both these examples of "apartheid," which are logical enough on the Nationalists' principles, have been explicitly disavowed by Dr. Jansen, the Minister of Native Affairs. But the ambiguity and caution which is sometimes found in the words of the Nationalist leaders vanishes from their acts. The contentious Bills brought forward this session—the Group Area Bill, the Passports Bill, the Population Registration Bill, the Native Workers Bill—form a clear and consistent pattern. It would be misleading and unfair to call this pattern Nazism. It has not the brutality, the forthrightness, the complete contempt for human rights which marked the Nazi regime. But in its less brutal and forthright way it tends to embody much of the philosophy which underlay Nazi theory, and to oppose all the ideals to which the terms "Liberal" or "democratic" can be applied. Indeed, the Nationalist party uses "Liberal" only as a term of reproach.

19342 0067 BEC

The Manchester Guardian

17. Mai 1950

N^o. 32317 -

DR. MALAN "HAS PUT BACK THE CLOCK"

Liberals' Protest

From our London Staff

Some 700 people—about a score of them coloured—gathered in the Central Hall, Westminster, last night for a demonstration arranged by the Liberal party "to protest against any suggestion that the South African protectorates of Basutoland, Swaziland and Bechuanaland should be handed back to South African rule, so long as the policy of racial discrimination continues."

Sir Andrew McFadyen, the chairman, opened the meeting by reading a message from the Rev. Michael Scott, in which he said that Britain's action in this matter was being watched by many millions of African people.

Lady Violet Bonham Carter, vice-president of the Liberal party, said they were about to be asked to betray their solemn obligation to the peoples of those territories and to hand them over to what was virtually slave status. These demands should be firmly resisted by all parties here, because to yield would be a breach of faith, it would be a betrayal of those human rights to which we are solemnly pledged under the Charter of the United Nations, and by yielding we should violate the spirit of the Commonwealth, destroy its meaning, and endanger its survival.

Although in the past it used to be a common race which bound the Commonwealth together, to-day it was a common faith and outlook which united us—a faith in the fundamental rights of man, in his right to citizenship in the fullest sense whatever his race or colour. This common faith and outlook and tradition were challenged and outraged to-day by the present regime in South Africa. Dr. Malan had reversed the engines of progress and put back the clock.

SOWING SEEDS OF DOOM

"Successive British Governments have pledged their solemn word that the people of these territories should be consulted before the British Government decided about transfer," said Lady Violet. "And I would like to ask for our Government's assurance not merely that the people should be consulted but that their consent should be obtained." Dr. Malan was surely sowing the seeds of doom in a country in which there were two and a half million whites and nine million natives of other races. It might be possible for a time to suppress and oppress a small minority, not without guilt but with impunity. But could one indefinitely suppress and oppress a vast majority?

Mr. Learie Constantine then spoke as a representative of the coloured peoples in this country. In any part of the world dominated by white Governments the coloured man was subjected to discrimination such as the white man fought Hitler to avoid, he said. The English had gone into the colonies for their own material gain. To-day by subtle methods of education coupled with religious instruction they had brought the coloured peoples into the society of Western culture and they could not now retreat. They must either accept the coloured peoples as individuals with human rights and feelings or they must make good propaganda for the Communists. There was applause when Mr. Constantine said he would not believe himself or his family inferior because they had black skin.

SAFEGUARDS THREATENED

The next speaker, Mr. Dingle Foot, said there was no vestige of truth in any suggestion that South Africa had a claim on the High Commission territory. When the relevant Act was passed in 1909 it was made clear that our right to transfer or not remained unimpaired. We were under no obligation to consent to the transfer of the territory and if it was made all the safeguards provided by the British Government 40 years ago could be abrogated by a simple majority of the South African Parliament. The safeguards would remain only so long as Dr. Malan chose. The Liberals were not seeking to make a party issue of the matter in this country. They wanted to be sure that the British people were made aware of what was being proposed and of the magnitude of the issues involved.

The meeting unanimously passed a resolution viewing with regret the policy of racial discrimination in South Africa. It placed on record its conviction that while such a policy continued the Government should on no account accede to any request by the South African Government for the transfer of the territories to South African rule.

19342 OUGR BEC
The Manchester Guardian

№ 3 2 4 0 9

**DR. MALAN CARRIES
S.-W. AFRICA**

Six New Seats

WINDHOEK (S.W. AFRICA),
AUGUST 31.

The Nationalist party, led by Dr. Malan, the Union Premier, to-day won all six of South-west Africa's first seats in the South African Parliament. Of the 15 results so far announced in the election of 18 members of the Legislative Assembly, the Nationalists have won 13 and General Smuts's United party two.

The Government will now have a majority of twelve in the Union House of Assembly (Lower House) and will be able to elect another two senators for South-West Africa, giving it a majority of five in the Senate. It has a majority in the South-West African Legislative Assembly.

The "Cape Argus" to-night said in a leading article entitled "Sieg Heil":

"It seems clear that the Nationalists have successfully placed the destinies of the union in the hands of the Germans. History will remember that the only way to circumvent the opposition of the majority of South African voters to the Nationalist plan for taking away the rights of the coloured people was by calling in the Germans of South-west Africa and that they, true to the undying passion of their race for depriving other people of their rights, gave full support

"The election results make a decisive change in the political situation in the Union in many ways. The most obvious effect is to give the Government an increased majority, thus making superfluous the support they have hitherto received from the Afrikaner party."

—Reuter and Associated Press.

19342 BEC

The Manchester Guardian

No 32417

DR. MALAN'S POLICY IN S.W. AFRICA

Condemned by Liberals

A resolution urging the Government to deprecate strongly at the United Nations General Assembly the action of the South African Government in proposing to annex the mandated territory of South-west Africa was passed by the Liberal Party Council at its quarterly meeting in London on Saturday.

Moving the resolution, Mr. Dingle Foot, a vice-president of the Liberal party, said: "Dr. Malan is building up a Fascist State. His attitude towards the African native peoples is not very different from that of Hitler towards the Jews. We cannot restrain or overrule the South African Government, but at least we need not give the impression that we approve what they do."

Another resolution urged the Government "to press for the representation in the United Nations of that Chinese Government which the British Government now recognises, and urge that the action taken by the American Government with regard to Formosa should be submitted to the United Nations for its approval or modification."

19342

BEC

Hamburger Freie Presse

Nr 213

Späte Einsicht . . .

Pretoria, 12. September (dpa)

Der südafrikanische Ministerpräsident Dr. Malan erklärte in Pretoria, Deutschland sei „ein Wall gegen den Kommunismus“ gewesen. Aber nach dem Ende des zweiten Weltkrieges sei Deutschland von beiden Seiten ausgeplündert worden. Es sei sehr zu begrüßen, daß die Westmächte nun eine neue Haltung gegenüber Deutschland eingenommen hätten.