

# CONTACT

SOUTH AFRICA'S NON-RACIAL REVIEW

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**SPECIAL**

## 10 PAGE SUMMARY OF DEVLIN REPORT



**DR. HASTINGS BANDA** (Photo by Jane Bown, courtesy of the Observer)

# CONTACT

## COMMENT ON THE DEVLIN REPORT

WHY TEN PAGES OF THIS ISSUE CARRY THE REPORT

The "Report of the Nyasaland Commission of Enquiry" — the Devlin Report—is a document of unique importance to the whole of Southern Africa. Its importance lies in this: It is an act-by-act account of how, in six short months, one man, Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda, irreversibly transformed a country, Nyasaland. He transformed it by using, and by being used by, a small group of extremist leaders of the Nyasaland African Congress. What he did has shortened by years the Nyasa people's wait for freedom and dignity.

It is necessary for all freedom-lovers, and for all who care for the future of Southern Africa, to know what is in this Report. For this reason we have made this issue a "Devlin issue".

We have had to do without some of our most important regular features, and hope that our readers will agree that it was worth it. To fit it all in we have increased our pages from 12 to 16.

Our summary of the Report is in the Report's own words. It runs to some 20,000 words, about a quarter of the length of the whole. In preparing and illustrating it we have received much help from the London *Observer*, to the editor and staff of which we wish to express our thanks. True to the *Observer's* tradition of reflecting the African scene with understanding, a recent issue carried almost as high a proportion of "Devlin" news as does this issue of *Contact*.

### BACKGROUND TO THE REPORT

In 1953 Nyasaland and the two Rhodesias were brought together in a loose Federation. The white inhabitants of the Rhodesias hold nearly all the power in the Federal government. The Nyasas were almost unanimously against Federation, yet it was forced on them by the British Government.

In Nyasaland the Africans opposed Federation from 1953 to 1958. Their resistance grew rapidly after Dr. Banda returned home, after many years absence, in 1958, and this resistance culminated in scattered outbreaks of violence.

On 3 March the Nyasaland government declared a state of emergency, and arrested Dr. Banda and some 280 other members of the Nyasaland African Congress. On 18 March the Nyasaland Government issued a "white paper", a booklet in which it was alleged that the Nyasaland African Congress had planned a "massacre plot" to kill the Governor, members of the government, and white people in Nyasaland. There was much criticism of the Government in England and elsewhere, and on 16 April the British Government appointed a Commission of enquiry, under the chairmanship of Judge Devlin (Sir Patrick Devlin), to enquire "into the recent disturbances in Nyasaland and the events leading up to them and to report thereon." (See picture on page 16 of the members of the Commission.)

Late in July the Commission presented its report to the British Parliament. To the amazement of the world the report found that there was no massacre plot, that those who had maintained their faith in Dr. Banda had not been wrong, and that the Nyasaland Government had used illegal force in arresting the Congressmen. It further found that Nyasaland is — no doubt temporarily — "a police state, where it is not safe for anyone to express approval of the policies of the Congress party, to which before 3 March, 1959, the vast majority of politically-minded Africans belonged".

It also found that the Nyasas had never ceased to oppose Federation, and that their opposition was all but unanimous. The Report implied that in these circumstances a clash between Dr. Banda and the Nyasa people on the one hand, and the forces of the Federation on the other, was almost inevitable.

It found, too, that in dealing with the crisis both the British and Nyasaland Governments had been dishonest. Pointing out that for some time after the information of the "massacre plot" had been received the Nyasaland Government did not appear to have taken it seriously, it also says that "when the time came to prepare the justification for government policy the murder plot began to play a larger part". It also shows how the Nyasaland Government falsified unfairly a letter written by Dr. Banda.

No less was the dishonesty of the British Government. The Colonial Secretary, Mr. Lennox Boyd, speaking on 3 March, said that he had clear information that a massacre was being planned. The Report's words were "We have not found any detailed plan for massacre and assassination."

Mr. Lennox Boyd, on the same day, said: "It soon became quite clear that (Dr. Banda) was determined to reject any constitutional proposals which did not meet the maximum demands of the Nyasaland Congress." The Report showed that the Government had alleged that Dr. Banda made it 'clear in his talks with government officials that he was not prepared to compromise. This latest statement is not true. We have already given instances which

(Continued on page 7)



SIR ROY WELENSKY: "We'll always be partners, partner! Put it there, partner! Shake partner! Partner . . . Where are you, partner?"

## FAIR COMMENT

by Patrick Duncan

I WELCOME the forthright stand (reported on another page) taken by the ICFTU on the Federation, on South Africa, Algeria, and Tibet. By courageously condemning imperialism and the suppression of liberty wherever it may be found, whether in the Western world or in the communist orbit, the ICFTU has shown itself worthy of the trust of the common people everywhere.

It is interesting that many trade unions inside South Africa have made it impossible for the ICFTU to assist them. All the unions in SACTU, for instance, are affiliated, through SACTU, with the Communist-dominated WFTU (World Federation of Trade Unions). The WFTU, although it opposes imperialism in places like Algeria, is silent about imperialism in places like Tibet—i.e. when the imperialists are also communists. In this way the WFTU loses much of its moral authority, and is not in such a good position to defend South African trade unionists as is the ICFTU.

ICFTU represents nearly sixty million workers in 90 countries. Its strongest members are the American AFL-CIO and the TUC in Britain.

It is a pity for politics to get in the way of legitimate trade union activities, and for the very existence of trade unions here to be endangered because of the way that some people are trying to use them for their own ends in world affairs.

ONE of the big concerns now feeling the ANC boycott is controlled by a keen member of the Nationalist Party. He was complaining to a friend the other day that his business was hard hit.

The friend enquired whether he was not prepared to make concessions to try to avoid such a boycott. He said that he could make no suggestions about the Africans, but that as a Cape Nationalist he would like to see the Coloured people integrated with the whites, and accepted as fully equal. The difficulty was the Transvaal Nationalists, who would not agree.

More and more Cape Nationalists are talking like him. Perhaps they have realised what a shot in the arm this would give the Afrikaans language, the Nationalist party, and "western christendom".

A PARTHEID=greed. *Contact* made this revolutionary discovery some months ago. Confirming evidence pours in. The latest is that the Karoo Kleurling Hotel in Beaufort West (owned by "Coloureds" only; approved by the Government) may have to go out of business. The reason is that they cannot get a licence to sell liquor "to take away". South African hotels make their biggest profits from "off sales".

When the Karoo Kleurling Hotel applied they were told: "The Beaufort West quota is full".

A prize is offered to the reader who first guesses correctly the "race" of the other licence holders.

THE June/July issue of *The Black Sash* is a special issue on passes. It is a very fine effort, and any one interested in having, in one small compass, everything necessary on the pass system, should get a copy of this magazine (47a Main Road, Claremont, Cape, 6d.).

Advocate Clive van Ryneveld writes on "What the Law says". Nancy Dick speaks of the cost to South Africa of the whole system. Dr. D. L. Smit, M.P., Mr. Donald Molteno, Archbishop McCann, and Mrs. Hashe are quoted on "What the Public thinks".

Lewis Nkosi says "I am a reference book", and details are given of the fight put up by the Black Sash to resist the more crying evils of the system. The whole is most readable, and a useful source of information.

THE Department of the Interior is really carrying its passport witchhunt to ridiculous lengths. Eddie Roux, a distinguished scientist and botanist, asked for one to allow him to attend a botanical conference on Inhaca island, near Lourenco Marques. But it was refused.

More than twenty years ago Eddie left the Communist Party. He left it because he could not stomach the arbitrary and changing Moscow line. Yet this old history is still raked up to prevent him from doing some honest scientific work just a few miles outside the Union.

I am sure that this victimisation has shocked the general public as well as Eddie's friends and fellow-members in the Liberal Party.

OUR ROVING CORRESPONDENT IN THE TRANSKEI HEARS . . .

# PEOPLE TALK, SING AGAINST VERWOERD

From a *Contact* Correspondent

**T**HERE is an air of tension in the Transkei to-day as the people's opposition to the Government's Bantustan policy mounts. The principal opposition lies among the Bomvana and Pondo people. Observers in the Transkei expect very serious trouble to break out soon.

Although the people are united in opposition, there is confusion among the chiefs, some thinking that they will be able to gain real independence if they accept Bantustan.

I travelled down to the territory by train. Between Bloemfontein and Queenstown I talked with six men returning home from the Free State mines. They were returning because their families had telegraphed to them to come urgently to help save something from the forced culling of their stock by the Government. None of these families was being allowed to keep more than four head of cattle, 10 goats and 15 sheep. Some of them had worked for years to buy stock—and they were bitter about this reduction in their savings.

I left them at Queenstown, and took a train bound for Qamata. In the train I was joined by many tribalised men. Most of the talk in the train was on Bantu Authorities. All criticised: some said the chiefs had become tools of the Government; others said that the system had been forced on the people, and that it was not in accordance with Xhosa tradition and culture. Chiefs who had accepted the system were felt not to have applied their minds to the question. All expected the scheme to fail.

Everywhere I went I heard the cry "asimfuni umasizipathe" (we do not like Bantustan), in big and small villages, in buses, and in social gatherings.

In certain areas I heard these two songs sung by children: "sidiniwe ngu Velevutha" (tired of Verwoerd), and "umatanzima no Sabatha basithengisile isizwe" (Matanzima and Sabatha (two stooges) have sold the nation.)

Anti-whiteism is affecting religion, which is felt to be a white

## Why This Report Is Important

**R**ECENTLY the Institute of Race Relations gave prominence to a report from Umtata, the gist of which was that public opinion among both chiefs and people was veering round to support Dr. Verwoerd's Bantustan policy, on the grounds that by doing so they could gain real independence.

This report was used by Nationalist papers in an attempt to discredit Mr. Walter Stanford M.P. (Lib. Nat. Rep., Transkei) who, in the Bantustan debate, had reported "intimidation of those who do not support Bantu Authorities", but deep-seated unrest and opposition to the Bunga and to the Government.

One of our correspondents has just been to the Transkei. While there he made a point of talking politics to everyone — chiefs and people — that he met.

Our correspondent's findings confirm the picture given by Mr. Stanford. As many of those interviewed accepted him as one of the local people, and did not know that he was writing a report, we feel that this article is an accurate picture of how the people in the Transkei are thinking, talking, and singing.

man's religion. Also church dues which are heavy are in many places felt to be an additional tax. There is no free religion in the Transkei, and those who cannot pay decide to do without religion.

Serious trouble could begin when the Bantu Authorities start

to levy the many taxes that they are entitled to levy. Some two months ago a gang made many night raids on isolated trading stores. As a result the white traders in the Transkei are living in fear. Several have already left the country, and others are planning to leave in the near future.

There is little freedom of speech, and chiefs are fining heavily those who criticise or oppose them. A common fine for criticism is one head of cattle, and failure to pay sometimes leads to expulsion from a village.

To summarise: In the Transkei I found unrest, and growing conflict. The conflict is "People vs. Chiefs and Government".

## Details given in Parliament by Mr. Stanford

- At a meeting in May the people were told to salute Government stooge Chief Kaizer Matanzima as Paramount Chief. They refused and laughed at him although he threatened them with a shotgun.
- Shortly afterwards 11 houses of opponents of Bantu Authorities in his area were burnt down. No arrests have been made.
- Early this year a Government stooge chief was murdered at Cafutwini.
- In March, at Mevana, the Bantu Authority chairman was assaulted, and his brother shot dead. No arrests could be made.
- Government Stooge Soshankana (who asked to be allowed to carry arms) tried to hold a meeting at Ngabara: the people drove him away with cries of "voetsak".
- Other concrete examples of political killing and assault can be found in Hansard of 19 May.

CARTOON EXPOSED BY CONTACT

## ROW IN PUBLIC SERVICE ASSOCIATION

From *Contact* Correspondent

**JOHANNESBURG:** A policeman from South West Africa was the "artist" who produced the cartoon strip which appeared in the *Public Servant*, official organ of the Public Servants Association of South Africa.

The strip, which was reproduced on the front page of *Contact*, shows how a white farmer catches an African worker in a man-trap.

Captions to the strip use the word kaffir. In the last of six sketches, a farmer leaps over a barbed-wire fence with a sjambok in his hand and screams to the African (who lies on the earth with his arm in the trap): "O! You black skin. Brrr. Bushman. To-day you die (vrek)."

From a reliable source, I obtained the background story to the strip.

As a result of *Contact*'s story, the president of the Public Servants Association, Dr. J. G. Louw, has made a full investigation into how the cartoon appeared.

One high Public Service official (who serves on the Association and has much to do with the publication of the magazine) told me: "We realise that the strip could have serious political repercussions. But I assure you that it was intended only to amuse the children."

"We never dreamed when it was selected that it would offend anyone."

I understand that steps have been taken to see that such an offensive cartoon strip will never again appear in the *Public Servant*.

"LOCATIONS IN SKY" TO BE APPLIED TO WOMEN

## 6,000 WOMEN FACE EVICTION ON RAND

**JOHANNESBURG:** The Sky Locations Act has already been the root cause of much suffering and unrest—even rioting—in the African areas to the south-west of Johannesburg. So far, it has been applied only to African men, but within the next few weeks it will—for the first time—be applied to African women. Trouble is expected.

As usual, the Johannesburg City Council will be required to do the Government's work. The council has agreed to remove the women (some 6,000 are involved); but a row is brewing over how this move should be made.

The council still remembers the report of the Centlivres Commission of Inquiry into the Dube Riots, although it has not had the courage to act on this report because it fears a clash with the Government and its "watchdog" committee.

Briefly, the report pointed to the poor conditions under which the Sky Locations men were forced to exist at Dube; to-day there is reason to fear that if women are forced into cheap, badly-serviced hostels like Dube, another Dube riot may occur.

And nobody—neither the Government nor the city council seems willing to-day to provide proper accommodation for the women.

The United Party has been far from honest about the Sky Locations Act and its application to Johannesburg. It strenuously opposed the Act in Parliament, but willingly administered it in Johannesburg. Its performance in applying this difficult Act to Johannesburg's African women will be closely watched.

Fortunately (for the city council) it has a powerful ally in the *Star*, which, in a series of news stories, has built up a case for the women to be removed from "posh" areas like Killarney. The *Star* has found that many of the African women are shebeen queens and inciters of the men in the suburbs. Its coverage of the problem has, so far, not explained the reasons why this is so.

VICTOR OF DUTCH OPEN RETURNS

## 2000 acclaim "Papwa"

**DURBAN:** Two thousand cheering Indians assembled at Louis Botha Airport to welcome back from overseas Mr. Sewsunker ("Papwa") Sewgolum, former caddy at Beachwood Golf Club and now Dutch open golf champion.

Among the first to congratulate the Indian champion on his arrival were Mr. Graham Wulff and two other directors of the company which sponsored his trip to Europe. Flowers were presented by Beachwood colleagues and by officials of the Indian Golfers' Association.

Mr. Sewgolum said that he would be glad to meet Gary

Player in an exhibition match, as had been suggested. He would also like to become a professional.

When he arrived at his home—a small tin shack at Rosehill—more people were waiting to greet him.

"Papwa's unorthodox over-hand grip has aroused intense interest among golfers overseas.

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## "ALL-WHITE ALL BLACKS"

THERE AIN'T GONNA  
BE NO TOUR

THE 1960 all-white "All Black" tour is now in real danger. The mass meeting in Wellington last week represented all groups except Parliament.

The pressure in New Zealand has been put on by good team work between anti-apartheiders in South Africa as well as in New Zealand, and this pressure will intensify unless the New Zealand Rugby Union bows to the storm. It is probable that intra-commonwealth pressure will now be brought on to the New Zealand government, which has always been proud of its reputation for non-racialism and fairness, particularly among the eastern nations.

Contact correctly predicted that the West Indies tour would be off, when the rest of the press treated it as "on". We stuck out our necks then. We do so again, and say, of New Zealand, that unless the Maoris come along too, "there aint gonna be no tour".

Our reasons for saying this? The following organisations in New Zealand have already protested against a segregated All Black team:

MAORI TRIBAL COM-

MITTEES: Ruakawa; West Coast S.I.; Christchurch; Wellington; Auckland; Whangarei; Maori Women's Welfare League; Tribes of Western Bay of Plenty;

CHURCHES: The Presbyterian Church; The Methodist Church; The Society of Friends; The Baptist Union; The following Anglican diocesan synods: Christchurch; Waiapu; Waikato; Wellington; Dunedin; The Unitarians; Heads of Churches: Roman Catholic; Congregational Union; Assoc. Churches of Christ; Greek Orthodox; Christchurch Branch National Council of Churches; N.C.C. Conference; Presbyterian Bible Class Union; Clergy of Christchurch Archdeaconry.

TRADE UNIONS, eighteen in all have protested, including: Auckland F.O.L. Council; Dunedin Labour Representation Committee; N.Z. Workers Union (17,000 members); Christchurch branch N.Z. Tramways Union; Amalgamated Soc. of Railway Servants; Otago Trades Council (18,000 members); Otago Boiler-

makers and Shipbuilders' Union; Canterbury General and Builders' Labourers' Union; Auckland Labourers' Union; Wellington Amalgamated Watersiders Union.

CIVIC BODIES: Mangonui County Council.

MISCELLANEOUS: Canterbury Council of Civil Liberties; Wellington Citizens' All Black Tour Association; Auckland Citizens' All Black Tour Assn; Public Service Association.

RUGBY CLUBS: Galatea Sub-Union; Mangonui Rugby Sub-Union; North Auckland Rugby Union.

UNIVERSITIES: Students' Assoc. Victoria Univ; Students' Assoc. Otago Univ; Students' Assoc. Univ. Canterbury; Students' Assoc. Canterbury Agric. Coll; Maori Students of Universities and Agric. Colls; N.Z. Student Christian Movt; Social Questions Council. University of Canterbury. Staff Univ. of Canterbury; Staff of Christchurch Teachers' Coll.

The only body to come out openly on the side of apartheid and the N.Z. Rugby Union was the League of Empire Loyalists, the super-blimp organisation of race haters that is trying to make Britain race conscious.

Public opinion in New Zealand is thus overwhelmingly against any concessions to apartheid. But there are yet greater pressures to come. New Zealand has always enjoyed a reputation for racial equality, and for good relations between white and non-white internally and externally. Her good relations with the far eastern nations is largely built on this reputation.

It is highly probable that certain Commonwealth nations will make known to the New Zealand government their disappointment with even a partial acceptance of apartheid. In this event, Mr. Nash, the Labour Prime Minister, would probably bow to the storm, and advise the Rugby Union to choose at least one Maori, or refuse the South African invitation.

How Far Does  
Sixpence Go

A READER tells us that when he gets his copy of Contact, he binds it carefully along the spine, reads it, and glues a list of seventeen names on the front cover. He then passes it to seventeen of his friends, who all eagerly await it. Then, when they have read it he posts it to England to his Abbey. There the Senior Common Room have it, and they pass it to the Junior Common Room. If everyone did this we would have a readership in South Africa and the Federation of over 153,000, plus several hundred overseas readers.

## ALSO

A reader writes: "I want to embark upon a 'sell Contact' campaign here in Northern ..... I would require to start off with 300-500 copies of Contact.

I think I will enlist the support of one or two other Liberal Party members and we will endeavour to cover the whole of Northern ....."

So, whether you can sell three or three hundred, let us know, please.

Each new reader can become a new recruit to non-racial South Africa.

greatest statesman in this country to-day, and I pray that he will soon become Prime Minister.

V. G. DAVIES  
Camps Bay, C.P.  
\*

SIR. From the first word to the last in the bible, there is no mention of the colour of any living soul. No one must add or take out of the bible any words, or give them some different meaning, for there is no such thing as black or white or any other colour where man is concerned.

Thus on this earth we shall mix as brethren and colour be non-existent to all true Christians

F. C. MOLL  
Cape Town  
\*

SIR. Last week I visited the Zones and the first thing I noticed was potato peel. I asked the reason why people were still eating potatoes in spite of the boycott on the part of the Africans. They replied that the man who had sold them said he had to do so because he needed the money. He said that the organisers of the boycott had farms or motorcars or money in the bank and he wanted money too.

I explained that many of our fathers or brothers had been killed on the farms while digging for potatoes to make money for the farmers and that the only way to stop this cheap labour was to comply with the boycott and let the potatoes rot.

Let us plan to send people from house to house explaining the reasons for the boycott and unite to make it a success.

JUSTICE JONGWANA,  
Langa, Cape Province

Would "Worried African" please send us his name and address. They will not be published, but we need them as a measure of good faith.—Editor.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

SIR, As a fervid admirer of the English language, that great heritage of the free peoples of the world, I must express my greatest disgust at the sub-adolescent concoction of pseudo-yankee-gangsterese that constituted the alleged review, strangely headed "The Right Tone," above the signature "Jack Cope" (Contact 8/8/59).

I confess I have never met Jack Cope. Conceivably the loss is mine. He may at times be comparatively intelligent, though it will hardly be claimed that his review offers any evidence in support of this theory.

WALTER ROSE  
Newlands, C.P.

[Mr. Cope writes: Say, does this gassy monk bug you, kiddoes? Durndest bit of clean American prose don't dig him. Am I triste, but triste!]

GREATEST  
STATESMAN

SIR, I refer Mr. Peter Brown to Sir De Villiers Graaff's opening speech to the United Party national congress at Bloemfontein as reported in the Cape Times dated August 12th.

What Mr. Brown interprets as White supremacy is in reality a policy of White leadership; a very different thing.

In my opinion Sir De Villiers is proving himself to be the

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## WORLD TRADE UNION MEETING

I.C.F.T.U Hammers  
Apartheid Aggression

AT its July meeting in Berlin the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, the principal world trade union body, passed several resolutions of the greatest importance.

On South Africa the Executive Board, after considering the report submitted to it by an I.C.F.T.U. mission which visited South Africa in April and May this year declared "that the apartheid policy of the South African Government is a flagrant violation of human rights . . ." expressed "its abhorrence at such barbarous practices as flogging and farm prison camps for Africans" . . . authorised "the General Secretary to inform the International Labour Organisation Committee on Forced Labour of the forced labour practices in South Africa" . . . condemned "the lack of trade union rights for Africans" . . . protested "against the recent amendments to the Industrial Conciliation Act which give the Minister of Labour unlimited power to enforce job reservations in any manner he chooses . . ."

On Algeria the Executive Board appealed most urgently to the

French Government to embark on negotiations, with a view to achieving a peaceful solution of the Algerian problem, based upon the principle of self-determination which has been recognised elsewhere by France.

On Nyasaland and Uganda the Executive Board demanded that the state of emergency in Nyasaland and Uganda be lifted forthwith and that the emergency legislation in Southern Rhodesia be repealed.

On Tibet, the Executive Board, after having learned from the Secretary of the I.C.F.T.U. Asian Regional Organisation and from Asian Board members about the deep indignation which the crushing of the uprising of the Tibetan people aroused in Asia and the Far East and of the need to assist the Tibetan refugees in India, expressed its abhorrence at the brutal suppression by Communist China of the Tibetan people's freedom fight.

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## FIRST NON-RACIAL PARTY IN KENYA

## Mboya Stands Aside

From a *Contact* Correspondent

NAIROBI: The first major split in the ranks of the 14 African elected members of Kenya Legislative Council has resulted from the formation of the non-racial country-wide Kenya National Party—the country's first.

The K.N.P. started off with a creditable victory by its sponsors over the Government. During a debate on a motion put forward by an African elected member, Mr. M. Muliro, which sought an end to the Emergency to permit the formation of such parties, the Government was forced to give way, though it refused to end the Emergency on the ground that there was still a security risk.

During the debate, the European Minister without Portfolio, Mr. Norman Harris, revealed that the authorities had uncovered another secret body, *Kiama Kia Thayu*. "Brotherhood of Peace," which had to be watched.

The Government did agree, however, to the formation of non-racial, country-wide political organisations.

The formation of the K.N.P., whose sponsors were members of the Constituency Elected Members' Organisation, which comprises African, Asian and one European (Mr. S. V. Cooke) elected members, was announced the next day.

But the obvious attraction that it had for the masses of all communities was scaled down considerably by the fact that four African elected members, Mr. Tom Mboya, Mr. Oginga Odinga, Chairman of the African Elected Members Organisation, Dr. J. G. Kiano, the Kikuyu member, and Mr. Oguda, had refused to sign the policy statement.

Giving reasons why the four dissidents had held back, Mr. Odinga said that the decision to publish the statement was "rash".

He claimed that C.E.M.O. had agreed that no policy statement was to be issued before agreement was reached on more vital constitutional issues. "I feel strongly", he said, "and I know I am not alone, that mere reiteration of general principles and ideas will be a vague and useless endeavour unless agreement is reached on the immediate interpretation of these ideas into practical steps, without which our alliance is bound to appear as a mockery".

Mr. Odinga went further and alleged that some Indian and

Muslim members had "wavered strongly" in reaching a decision on the constitutional problem. Not satisfied with that, he went so far as to allege that these Asian members "instead of facing the issues squarely, had evaded the very important decision required of them and had used C.E.M.O. as a weapon to disrupt the unity of the African members."

The split has offered a chance to political opponents of the new party to exploit the situation and Mr. Blundell's New Kenya Group is expected to emerge soon as a political party.

Mr. Mboya and the others are still holding off. They may or may not throw in their lot with the majority. If they do, they have everything to gain because the K.N.P., with the backing of all the elected representatives of the people of Kenya except the Arabs and the Europeans (save for Mr. Cooke), is assured of a great measure of support from Africans, Asians and even some Europeans. If they do not, they may decide to form their own parties, which under the terms of the Government's concession *must be really non-racial*.

Mr. Mboya has his Nairobi People's Convention Party, which he can easily enlarge, but it is very unlikely that it will attract any other than African support. For that reason it will be dubbed a racial body and will therefore be illegal.

His demands too, do not appeal to the Whites and Asians for they include universal suffrage, non-segregation in the White and Asian schools, the opening up of the White Highlands, at present reserved for White farming only, disbandment of the Kenya Regiment which is entirely White, or admission of Africans into its commissioned and other ranks. He also demands the release from banishment of Jomo Kenyatta, gaoled for seven years in connection with the Mau Mau uprising, but who was released recently and ordered to live in the desolate Northern Province where contact with the outside world is practically impossible as he is kept under strict surveillance by the authorities.

## THE LITTLE MINISTER



Andrew Nyerere (middle) the eldest son of Julius Nyerere, President of TANU (Tanganyika African National Union), the biggest movement in East Africa. 10,000 people (TANU has a total paid-up membership of over 200,000) gathered to celebrate the fifth birthday of the Union. The meeting was representative of all three "races" living in Tanganyika.

## AFTER DEVLIN...

## HOW NYASALAND IS REACTING

From a *Contact* Correspondent

SALISBURY: I have recently returned from a tour round troubled Nyasaland, and have carefully assessed reactions there to the Report. Shortly before it came out, excited rumours went round the country that it would destroy the myth of the "massacre plot".

Africans literally prayed that the rumours would be true and many Europeans were uneasy.

The reaction of the Europeans has been to criticise those sections of the report not favourable to them and to accept as correct only those paragraphs that criticise the Congress. Africans by and large have accepted the report in its entirety. In Nyasaland they were very careful not to show strangers their feelings but once one was accepted as a friend, they showed how happy they were that the Commission had "washed the name of Dr. Banda and had told the world that Nyasaland is a police state."

The House of Commons debate was a bitter disappointment to many Nyasas. Somehow they had hoped that the Opposition would carry the day. The Devlin Commission findings had injected a new faith in British justice and sense of fair play. The result of the debate quickly removed this and left in its place bitterness and frustration. The campaign which was organized by Europeans to give the Governor of Nyasaland a hero's welcome was quietly resented by many Africans and their leaders had to remind them that they had been free to stage such a welcome for Dr. Banda and therefore should let others do what they like.

The Africans are passive enough — still carefully watched as they are by troops and police — but in the four months since the Congress was proscribed and Dr. Banda and his keenest supporters arrested, there has been no regrouping of political forces such as might grow into a fairly representative body with which the Government can negotiate.

## Useless gesture

The proposal to appoint two more Africans to the Legislative Council is acknowledged privately, even by Government servants, to be a useless gesture. Sir Roy Welensky, the Federal Prime Minister, reassured the whites in Parliament recently that this would not really change the position, as two white officials were to be appointed to balance the increase in the number of Africans. The addition of two Africans to the Legislative Council will mean that Africans will now have a majority of unofficial members. But white officialdom has been so equated with white settlerdom in African minds since the Government apparently yielded to settler demands for action, that the two new official members are certain to be regarded as the representatives of white interests.

Another reason why Africans are not impressed by these constitutional proposals is that they suspect that this interim change may be used as an excuse to postpone more permanent and far-reaching changes until after the 1960 review—by which time they fear Sir Roy Welensky may have managed to acquire a say in territorial constitutional reform. They have long accused Welensky and his supporters of exerting pressure to delay constitutional reform for Nyasaland until after 1960. And it is known that one of Welensky's plans for 1960 is to get power of approval for territorial changes transferred from the Colonial Secretary to the Governor-General of the Federation, and thus, in effect, into the hands of the Federal Ministers who

advise him.

This automatic suspicion of the British Government's motives is a new feature of the Nyasaland situation in recent years, and has become increasingly acute in recent months. The seeds were sown when Britain embarked on the Federation experiment in 1953 without the consent of the Africans concerned. Since then there have been many less important incidents which have shaken the faith of the Nyasaland Africans. But the factor which has done most to destroy the Africans' faith in the British Government has been its attitude over the Devlin report.

Africans here who welcomed the appointment of the Commission as an instrument of the British justice they have been taught to respect, have been shocked by the Government's selective acceptance of it. People in close touch with African opinion, some of them in the Government, are convinced that the mass of Africans would have accepted the Devlin Commission's finding that certain members of Congress were guilty at least of considering violence and therefore should continue to be detained. But they cannot understand why, in light of the Commission's finding that Dr. Banda and many others were innocent of any such intention, they should not now be released.

Thus, while all seems quiet on the surface in Nyasaland, there is an undercurrent of resentment and frustration which only needs one untoward incident like an accident involving an African pedestrian and a European motorist, in the presence of many Africans, to bring it to the surface with a series of clashes between black and white.

## Kennedy calls for new U.S. Thinking on Africa

NEW YORK: In an address before the American Society of African Culture, Senator John F. Kennedy, of Massachusetts, called for a new U.S. policy in Africa. Noting the tremendous economic, political, social and religious changes developing in Africa, Senator Kennedy called for "a realistic policy, for in the light of such fantastic variety and revolutionary process it is a mistake for the United States to fix its image of Africa in any single mould." Senator Kennedy asserted: "We can no longer think of Africa in terms of Europe." The possible 1960 presidential candidate suggested an economic development fund as a first step in the right direction. Senator Kennedy, as chairman of the Senate sub-committee on African Affairs, plans to visit Africa this year.



## SAM SLY'S CORNER

FORTNIGHTLY NOTES ON BOOKS AND THE PRESS



Under the stark headlines **WHITES IN HOUSES VACATED BY NATIVES** the editor of *Bantoe/Bantu* (August) frowns sadly at the "many Bantu who labour under the erroneous impression that all the whites are well to do and that there are (sic) none who suffer on account of poverty". As an "authentic example of white people who live under deplorable conditions" he quotes a press description of the Eastlyne-Riverside slum near Pretoria. This "Stop moaning. You're not the only ones" line has novelty to recommend it, if nothing else. But I doubt if we shall see S.A. Information Service hand-outs carrying the proud boast that some whites are as poor as the blacks. I doubt even if Piet Meiring and his lieutenants attached to our chanceries in Europe will discuss this new line at their conference in Bonn, though they must have to chew over some strange ideas to sell the unbelievers about the wonder of *apartheid*, the bottom of the barrel having been scraped long, long

### Gestapo hand-out

Perhaps I bore you by harping on *Bantoe/Bantu*, but it is an interesting magazine that repays careful study. It is put out by a very big *baas* indeed called, to give him his chosen title, Nkosi uC. W. Prinsloo. He is head of Information in the B.A.D. Department, his section being unaffectionately known as "the Gestapo" among the growing body of B.A.D. and Bantu Education officials who (begging your pardon) can be said to hate his guts. His *Bantoe/Bantu* reveals what is going on in the minds of Prinsloo and his bosses more clearly than their utterances for the white press or public do. This August number features housing, the *Wonder van Afrikaans* (or *Seburu* or *Xibunu*), and the Transkeian Territorial Authority. It is sad to think how Afrikaans may suffer by the current attempt to bludgeon it into African schools and everyday life. But for a few who acquire proficiency in it to curry favour with authority, every African knows

that in Afrikaans he is getting an article of inferior usefulness. A man from Ovamboland I was talking to last week apologized for his halting English: to his regret he had been taught in Afrikaans at school at Walvis Bay. Multiply by many thousands and you get mass resentment that can do the language harm. On all, especially Mr. S. M. Tshenye of Stoffberg and Mr. H. J. Tshungu, who exalt the wonder of Afrikaans to the detriment of English as a second language for Bantu-speaking Africans, I would impress Mr. Nehru's words, spoken in Delhi on 7th August:

*"English should continue to be an associated language alongside Indian languages for an indefinite period or else we are taking a serious risk of closing a major window on the modern world."*

### Timely hint for a front

We couldn't fit the rest of Nadine Gordimer's address into this issue, so it must follow. She thought her next story collection *Friday's Footprint* would be in the bookshops before Christmas, but she has missed the market again: the printers' strike in England has put her book forward until the autumn. Jack Cope's *Road to Ysterberg* has also been hit like this. But Joy Packer got a timely hint, reports *South Africa*, and beat her publishers' deadline "with the pleasant result that 50,000 copies of *The High Roof* were printed before the stoppage". *South Africa* reveals that Lady Packer does not write her own books. She is a "front" for a bunch of unlikely characters with romantic names like Bok McKierie, Kirsten de Vries, Lily Laguna. She said: "I sat back and let my characters write the story for me. It was as if they were saying, 'Up to now you have been making us do things we didn't want to do—now, if you don't mind we'll do and say just what we please for a change'. After that everything went swimmingly . . ." Certainly nobody but Joy Packer's characters could have written those books.

### Debantufication

Verwoerdism commands that the African section of our population be known as Bantu, which makes them sound tribal and quaint, and like a genus in the animal kingdom slightly different from the primates. Spacious and well-protected reserves are provided for our colourful wild-life, both animal and Bantu. The word is also designed to cut them off spiritually from the people of the rest of Africa. But Bantu is an English word and Bantoe an Afrikaans one (denoting a group of languages). In these African languages, government translators use words that have even better than the opposite effect. In Tswana, S. Sotho, Venda etc., words like batho ba Bantsbo, Batso, Vantima, Babaso — all meaning Black people—are used for Bantu. All of these are applicable equally to the humblest Transvaal farm labourer, Nkrumah, Paul Robeson, and Leary Constantine. Their meaning is wider even than African, since it includes all Black people. Why doesn't Verwoerd make the best of it and call them Africans, so that at least they won't feel themselves allied with all their fellow-blacks, if that is what he is trying to avoid? Some day not too distant, we shall all be called African men and women, and Native, Naturel, European, Blanke, Bantu, Bantoe, will, with Verwoerd and "Oom Daan" Nel, be a bad dream.

## ROAD REPORTS

**PAGANS AND POLITICIANS.** By Michael Crowder (Hutchinson) 25s.

**WHITE PICCANINNY.** By J. M. Fievet (Jarrolds) 21s.

To meet the pagans and the politicians of West Africa and to share some of their "excitement of revolution", Michael Crowder travelled by bus, lorry, river boat and any other available transport from Portuguese Guinea to Dakar, along the River Niger to Nigeria, and on to Ghana, Liberia and Sierra Leone. He gives a view of emergent Africa through the eyes of a young Oxford graduate who often lived with the people he visited; joined them in discussion and argument; and, with them, looks from their shadowy past into a hopeful future.

He also examines the effects of British indirect rule and of the French policy of assimilation. Both these systems may leave lasting influences in independent West African territories, but assimilation seems to him the best preparation for governing a modern state.

With the jogging pace of a "mammy bus" along a West African dirt road, Mr. Crowder takes his readers from the modern



city of Dakar to squalid Lagos; from the cool wisdom of a Moslem intellectual to the heat of a Kumasi election. And, although his characters leave only fleeting impressions in the bus of his narrative, they are stimulating company and one hopes to meet them again.

The same cannot be said of the pagans described by Madame Fievet in *White Piccaninny*. In search of the really primitive, the author, her artist husband and a baby son born during their travels in the bush of Northern Nigeria, found some of West Africa's most backward tribes in the border area south of Lake Chad.

These people may fascinate the artist and intrigue the anthropologist, but Madame Fievet writes with little apparent enthusiasm of the months she spent among them. Most of her book is devoted to an account of a white mother's hardships in black Africa; and, for those who like road reports, she offers at least two chapters on tough motor trips from Lagos to Kano.

PETER HUJL

## FUNNYMAN'S REPORT

**ANY OLD PLACE WITH YOU.** By William K. Zinsser (Hammond & Hammond) 15s. 6d.

Mr. and Mrs. Zinsser marry in Chapter One, and honeymoon to Africa for half the book, the jokes getting less contrived after they land at Leopoldville. A journalist couple, they cross through Kenya to Zanzibar, thence to Cairo, rejoicing only when they are almost irretrievably off the beaten track. One could have done with far less mock fear in their self-sought hazards, and fewer cute duologues between the newlyweds, but Mr. Zinsser's turns of phrase are often funny, even

during a determinedly humorous passage.

The rest of the book covers a journey in the Far East. The beauties of antiquity are conveyed with real insight, but the funnyman keeps breaking through. His fellow-countrymen's tourist habits take up too much space. They are so easy to caricature—the most diffident of talkers will "take off" American tourists with no encouragement and usually no accuracy—and though the author's words are better than caricature, there is unwelcome mockery in them.

This is a travel-loving book, illustrated with apt line drawings.

GILLIAN VIGNE

## SALUTE AND AFTERTASTE

**NEHRU.** By Michael Brecher (Oxford University Press) 48s. 6d.

THIS is a salute to a massive biography, instead of a space-barred critical analysis. Saluting over, it must be said that Mr. Brecher's description of the Lutyens Secretariat at Delhi, "impressive but dull"—a phrase which, in spite of its contradiction, is curiously meaningful—is incomparably apt for the book itself. The "life" as narrated hour by hour is very close to the Frank Moraes biography but not so brightly written. A further after-taste is of the awe-ful North American reverence with which Mr. Brecher approaches his great task, an awe which seems sometimes intended to convey the superior sensibility and moral quality of the contemporary North American. (Alas! he retells the old story about the Imperialists being a Bad Lot.)

C. D.

### NEXT ISSUE

NADINE GORDIMER  
The Novel & The Nation II

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# THE DEVLIN REPORT

EXTRACTS FROM THE REPORT PRESENTED TO THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT

## Comment

(Continued from page 2)

show that Dr. Banda was willing to compromise on details of constitutional reform."

And on the same day Mr. Lennox Boyd said: "It was a ridiculous suggestion that the Federal Government said that (Lord Perth, Minister of State) should not go. That was utterly without foundation." The Report's words were: "On 25 February Sir Roy Welensky asked the Governor . . . to give serious consideration to deferring Lord Perth's projected visit."

On the other side the Report found that, as things stood on 3 March, the Nyasaland Government had no choice but to declare the Emergency. "It had to act or to abdicate". And it found that although there was no massacre plot, the Nyasaland African Congress had, to a certain extent, gone over to violence.

This strong and fearless commission was in line with the best tradition of Anglo-Saxon statecraft in which all, including the ruler, are under the law. This should be remembered together with the hard things said in the Report about British misrule and mistakes.

### THE EFFECTS OF THE REPORT

On 22 July Mr. Macmillan, the British Prime Minister, speaking in the Commons, gave the peoples of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland an assurance that responsibility for them would not be transferred from the British to the Federal Government "in the short run or the long run". Meanwhile the two protectorates would move "as soon as possible and as rapidly as possible towards self-government".

That this self-government is not going to mean a settler government was made more explicit by Lord Home in the Lords, when he said "As power is transferred from the British Government in respect of the Northern Territories it will be transferred not to the Federal Government but to the Governments of the Northern Territories which would become more and more representative of Africans until they had an African majority."

How different this is from six months ago, when Lord Malvern and Sir Roy Welensky were crudely threatening the British Parliament with "Boston tea parties", and using the words "Labour Party" as a swear word! This is a measure of the change that the Report has brought about.

Before the Report appeared it seemed inevitable that white settler control would rapidly spread to Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. This prospect is now out, and notice has been served that, at least to the north of the Zambesi, white domination is finished.

The British Government has chosen to accept parts of the Report, and to reject other parts. It has not expressed regret for anything that has been done. Mr. Lennox Boyd has not resigned, nor has the Labour Party made much impression on the Conservatives either in or out of Parliament.

On the surface it seems that Mr. Macmillan has ridden out the storm.

### WHAT OF THE FUTURE?

But the problem of Nyasaland remains, and there are only two choices. They are the choices that Dr. Nkrumah in his time gave the British: to rule either by consent or by machine-guns. Britain cannot rule Nyasaland by machine-guns. British and African and world opinion simply will not allow it. To rule by consent it is necessary to get political life going again in Nyasaland. But without Dr. Banda it is not going to be possible to do this.

If Dr. Banda and the other detainees remain in prison it is likely, we are informed, that the last three Africans in the Legislative Council will resign.

Dr. Banda must be released. He must be released because the Report has cleared his name. And he must be released because the Nyasas have enthroned him in their hearts and because they will accept no other ruler as legitimate.

Sir Roy Welensky may hold the key to Dr. Banda's prison-cell. But Dr. Banda holds the key to Nyasaland.

Commenting unfavourably on the Devlin Commission, the Bloemfontein Nationalist paper *Die Volksblad* said that the members of the Commission were not experts on the Native.

## Summary

THE DEVLIN REPORT, which has exonerated Dr. Banda, and found that Nyasaland is still "a Police State", and condemned the illegal use of violence by the Government forces during the emergency, begins with a statement that it started its enquiry on 11th April (i.e. just over a month after the emergency was declared). It heard 455 individual witnesses and about 1,300 witnesses in groups. It thanks the Government of Nyasaland for its co-operation in making available to the Commission every piece of information for which it asked, and in guaranteeing that no information which was given to the Commission would be used for victimising anyone.

There is a short description of the country, showing how its great lake fits into the general lie of the land. The population is stated to be around 2,740,000, all African except for 8,700 whites and 11,400 Asians.

The beginnings of the Nyasaland African Congress are next sketched. It was formed, says the Report, "in 1944 as a convention of a number of African associations concerned with African welfare and advancement. It now has branches not only in Nyasaland but also in the Rhodesias, where . . . many Nyasas go to work."

The Report continues:

In 1949 the question of federating the three territories, Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia, and Nyasaland began to be discussed, and Dr. Banda, who was then living in London, played a leading part in opposing federation.

Dr. Banda was interviewed by the Commission. He is a man of about 53 years of age. "On first impression what strikes one about him is his charm rather than his force of personality. He is the most distinguished of Nyasas and has had a remarkable career . . .

"He started his education at a missionary school in Nyasaland, then got to school in South Africa and after that in the United States. At the University of Chicago he obtained a degree in history and political science. Then he took up medicine, obtained a medical degree in the United States and went to Edinburgh to finish his training. In Edinburgh he became an elder of the Church of Scotland. At the end of 1937 he went to Liverpool and practised medicine, first there and then in Tynemouth and then in London from 1945 to 1953.

"Thus he spent almost the whole of his life away from Nyasaland . . . but he never lost interest in Nyasaland."

The Report then describes how the idea of federation grew, and how Dr. Banda consistently opposed it.

The Report says that "the Government of the United Kingdom was convinced that Federation was needed, though it recognised that African opinion in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland was opposed to it. The new (federal) constitution was brought into force . . . 1st August 1953."

The Nyasaland African Congress led the opposition to Federation inside Nyasaland. Congress opposition led up to certain disturbances, as a result of which

eleven people were killed and 72 injured. "In January 1954 Congress acknowledged defeat. At its annual conference it passed a resolution abandoning the campaign . . . Support for Congress dwindled and its fortunes were at a low ebb."

Later Britain gave five seats in the Legislative Council to the Africans, and elections for these seats were held in March 1956.

The Congress Party won all five seats. The two Congress candidates with the largest majorities were Mr. Chiume and Mr. Chipembere. "These two were new to politics and both are young and able men. Mr. Chipembere is now 28 . . . Mr. Chiume is now 29 . . . These two young men were extremist in their views and belonged to the left wing of Congress . . . The Congress Party was immensely heartened by its great success in the elections. In Nyasaland people began to think that it might mean the end of Federation."

### Letters Urge Return

The Report then turns once again to Dr. Banda. "In August 1953 Dr. Banda had left London to settle in Ghana." He wished to give Federation a chance. If he had stayed in London he would inevitably have been the centre of opposition to it.

By 1956 he began to get letters from many people telling him that Federation was not succeeding, and "urging him to return and take up the struggle."

"By far the most urgent of these came from Mr. Chipembere who was in close correspondence with him from November 1956 onwards." Mr. Chipembere and Mr. Chiume were dissatisfied with the then leadership of Congress, and wished Dr. Banda to return to take it over. "What was needed was a kind of saviour: although it is wrong to be led by a single man placed in a powerful position, still 'human nature is such that it needs a kind of hero to be hero-worshipped if a political struggle is to succeed.'

"Mr. Chiume and he were too young, he thought, to fill the vacuum. What was needed was a man of about fifty or sixty; an intellectual, with a character combining nationalism with honesty, self-denial and a spirit of co-operativeness. Mr. Chipembere said quite frankly that Dr. Banda's reputation would have to be built up. He told him that he was known as a name, as an African highly educated doctor in London of Nyasa birth, . . . but that little was known about him among the masses. He must not be frightened if he was heralded as the political messiah. Publicity of this sort could be used with advantage; it would cause great excitement and should precipitate almost a revolution in political thought."

Dr. Banda decided to accept, and preparations went forward for him to return in the middle of 1958.

Before leaving London he, Mr. Chipembere, and two others were received by the Colonial Secretary as a delegation. Dr. Banda told the Colonial Secretary that he was anxious for more power in the legislature to be given to Africans.

"Mr. Chipembere then returned to Nyasaland and it was arranged that Dr. Banda should follow in due course."

The Report then examines the situation in Nyasaland and the case against Dr. Banda and the Congress. It shows how the whole difference between Dr. Banda and the Government narrowed down to this one great issue of Federation.

### All Oppose Federation

The Report finds that the opposition to Federation is almost unanimous. "It was generally acknowledged that the opposition to Federation was there, that it was deeply rooted and almost universally held. We found it to be so.

"Even amongst the chiefs, many of whom are loyal to the Government and dislike Congress methods, we have not heard of a single one who is in favour of Federation. Witness after witness

(Continued on page 8)

(Continued from page 7)

## THE DEVLIN REPORT

# BANDA IS ELECTED PRESIDENT-GENERAL

(Continued from column 1)

appeared before us for the sole purpose of stating that the cause of all the troubles we were investigating was Federation . . .

"On this issue there is a deep and bitter division of opinion separating the Government from the people. It has unfortunately contributed very largely to a cleavage between the Government and the Church of Scotland missions. The Church of Central Africa Presbyterian preaches and practises complete equality between the races and many Africans are therefore high in its councils. . . Many of its ministers are also active members of Congress. On this issue it feels that it is with the people and against the Government."

The Report shows how the Government will not go back on Federation. The Congress on its side will not budge either. It is this clash that has produced the present collision.

At this stage we continue in the actual words of the Report, with some omissions through lack of space.

## ARRIVAL OF DR. BANDA

After the Colonial Secretary had received in London on 13th June, 1958, the Congress delegation, Mr. Chipembere returned to Nyasaland, leaving Dr. Banda to follow in due course. When Mr. Chipembere got back he found great anxiety on the part of Congress to see Dr. Banda and hear what he had to say about the constitutional position, so he telegraphed Dr. Banda asking him to come on 29th June. Dr. Banda never answered this telegram and in fact on 29th June he was addressing a meeting in London.

Nevertheless on that day a crowd of more than 2,500 Africans, including all the Congress notabilities, assembled at Chilika airport to welcome him. Placards were distributed describing Dr. Banda as the leader of self-government and the President-General designate of Congress.

When the aeroplane arrived without Dr. Banda, the crowd got out of control and many of them rushed on to the tarmac. It was said that there was a plot to kill Dr. Banda; and it was rumoured that the Government had withheld a telegram announcing the postponement of his return.

At the insistence of the crowd Mr. Chipembere was allowed to search the aeroplane and there were threats to burn it. Congress leaders calmed the crowd and it eventually dispersed on their promise to telephone to London. This incident illustrates the sort of difficulties that were in store for the police. On this occasion they did not attempt to restrain the crowd by force; and Congress leaders thereafter used it to point out the advantages of being allowed to handle the crowd themselves.

When Dr. Banda eventually arrived on 6th July, there was a similar crowd but the proceedings were orderly. Dr. Banda gave an interview to the press and later in the day he made a speech at Soche. He said that his mission was to work towards self-government by

negotiation. He emphasised that the weapon to be used was not the spear but negotiation and stressed the necessity for maintaining the tie between the British and the African peoples.

In the course of the next few days he paid a series of courtesy calls on government officials. The attitude of the Government was not at all hostile to Dr. Banda and indeed his presence was at first welcomed; the Government was, and showed itself to be, genuinely anxious to work with him if that proved to be possible. The Governor in particular felt that with someone like Dr. Banda with his maturity and his intellect there might be a chance of arriving at a compromise on the constitutional proposals; he never quite lost hope that Dr. Banda might be persuaded to compromise.

## Nothing Against Governor

The Governor himself made an excellent impression on Dr. Banda when he met him and one which has not been effaced. Dr. Banda declines to believe that the Governor was himself the author of the White Paper and wished us to assure the Governor that even now he has nothing against him.

On 1st August, 1958, Congress held its annual general meeting at Nkata Bay. Dr. Banda was of course elected President-General and on his own terms. His terms were that there should be a new constitution which among other things gave him the sole power to appoint the other officers of Congress and the members of the executive committee. His choices represented a victory for the left wing which had been responsible for securing his return. Mr. Chipembere became treasurer and Mr. Chiume publicity secretary; Mr. Chisiza was brought back from England, where he had gone to begin a university course, in order to fill the office of Secretary-General.

Dr. Banda accepts the comment in paragraph 14 of the White Paper that "in choosing his colleagues, he ignored the older, more experienced and more moderate leaders and took on the younger more volatile and extreme people." Dr. Banda's attitude was that, while he found it necessary from time to time to curb the excesses of youth he was in general agreement with the attitude and feelings of the young and preferred them as colleagues to the older men whom he thought of as failures.

We have no doubt that the real power on the executive committee was concentrated in the hands of Mr. Chipembere, Mr. Chiume and Mr. Chisiza.

These proceedings certainly gave strength and encouragement to the extremist elements in Con-

gress. Dr. Banda's inclination towards them became particularly noticeable in one respect. The extremists had always avoided any form of social contact with Europeans. We do not think that this necessarily means that they had any personal dislike of or hatred for Europeans, though it is quite possible that Mr. Chipembere had; in any party the left wing is apt to suspect, or believe that its supporters would suspect, social favours; at the meeting with the Governor on 21st November, 1957, Mr. Chipembere had made a point that he did not want social equality before political equality was granted. Dr. Banda would not have thought for a minute that any European was capable of influencing him by social favours, but he may well have thought it desirable that in this respect he should conform with the others; at any rate after this time he was careful to see that he had nothing more than formal contact with Europeans.

Dr. Banda was the undisputed leader of Congress. Naturally he was looked up to as the greatest of Nyasaland's sons and as one whose gifts made him the equal of the European. But over and above that there had already been created for him a mystique which raised him far above the level of the ordinary leader in the minds of Africans.

## Mystique of 'Saviour'

You have seen how plans had been made to present him to Nyasaland as a messiah. We do not doubt that these had been effectively carried out and the theme was constantly repeated; even in the Legislative Council on 4th December, 1958, Mr. Chipembere referred to him as "our Mahatma," "our Messiah," "our Saviour." Dr. Banda had come to be regarded as one who would deliver Nyasaland from bondage.

At all his meetings there were enormous crowds and immense enthusiasm. He spoke in English—he could not speak in Chinyanja—and everything he said had to be interpreted. That did not diminish the impact of his oratory; his speeches were moderate in content but highly emotional in the way in which they were delivered. We have listened to the recordings of some of them and they are the speeches of a demagogue. As he wrote in a letter to a friend, he found himself with an unexpected gift of mob oratory; he obviously enjoyed the sensation of power over the crowd.

In addition to inspiration he gave to Congress after a period of squabbling a united leadership. He brought with him some new ideas which enlarged the appeal of Congress—a women's league and a youth league. But he never con-

cerned himself with detailed administration and as time went on he gave less and less time to the party. He had chosen as his lieutenants young vigorous men, whom he considered to be capable administrators, and he gave them a free hand. There was a great increase in Congress membership. In the Northern Province alone the special branch of the police reckoned that, in the six months ending January, 1959, the number of Congress branches had increased from 37 to 63 and that the active membership, apart from sympathisers, was then about 5,000.

## Complaints to make

On 24th October a meeting took place at Zomba between Dr. Banda and Mr. Ingham, the Secretary for African Affairs. Mr. Ingham had been pressing for this for some time; the statement in paragraph 13 of the White Paper that "it was

made abundantly clear to him (Dr. Banda) that the Government was anxious to discuss all matters he wished in an endeavour to reach satisfactory conclusions" is well justified. When after his arrival in Nyasaland Dr. Banda called on Mr. Ingham, Mr. Ingham asked him if he wanted to discuss anything and Dr. Banda said that he must go about the country first.

In October Mr. Ingham took the initiative again and asked Dr. Banda to come and have a talk on common problems. Dr. Banda replied that he would rather have a round table conference with all senior officials because as the result of his tour he had some complaint to make against every department. Mr. Ingham said that he would ask Mr. Youens (then acting Chief Secretary) to arrange this but that he would first like to see Dr. Banda alone. It was in this way that the meeting of 24th October was arranged.

Dr. Banda had not responded to an invitation to lunch and, when pressed, he declined it. But the discussion was extremely amicable and he put forward his various complaints without any trace of bitterness. The first of them was of the "political injustice" of the representation of the African people by only five members in the legislature and none in the Executive Council.

Dr. Banda said that his study of British colonial policy showed that notwithstanding the declared ultimate aim of self-government for the people of a colonial territory, the bogey of immaturity or the desire to uphold the vested interest

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of the European always prevailed until some great pressure was put on the British Government.

He conceived his task as being that of organising the people of Nyasaland behind him to bring about the degree of pressure required to right the basic wrong regarding political rights. He said that bloodshed did not form part of his programme. Mr. Ingham pointed out that, notwithstanding the desire of a leader like himself to avoid bloodshed, a mass movement such as he was endeavouring to organise was liable to get out of hand. Dr. Banda said that the Nyasaland people were basically peace-loving and that that was most unlikely.

## The Clock Tower Incident

Mr. Ingham did not deny the possibility of giving the African a further measure of political power but said that the Government was not prepared to give the measure demanded by Dr. Banda and Congress. Dr. Banda said that of course he had to demand complete political power; he could not get a following by putting forward a carefully phased plan. He then went on to make a specific complaint about the enforcement of the agricultural rules and the Government's attitude towards chiefs. On the latter point he said that it was iniquitous of the Government to require of the chiefs that they should not participate in Congress activities because this was to insulate the natural leaders of the people from national feeling.

There comes next an incident which, because it was the first of its kind, has been given an importance which in retrospect appears to be rather exaggerated. In the afternoon of 26th October Dr. Banda addressed a meeting in the Blantyre market square. There was a crowd of nearly 3,000. Police were there in force, two parties of 20 men each as well as two platoons of P.M.F. (Police Mobile Force) standing by. The meeting was orderly and Dr. Banda left about 4.30 p.m. The crowd began to disperse and a large number, about a thousand, waited for buses at a point known as the Clock Tower.

They stayed there for some considerable time because it was Sunday and no special transport arrangements had been made. A number of motorists collected to see what was happening. The crowd was on the whole good-natured; but there was some jeering at Europeans and Asians, and during a period of about ten minutes just before 5.0 p.m. stones were thrown at cars. There were about a dozen of these incidents and two women were slightly injured. Unfortunately none of the stone throwers was identified; they all disappeared in the crowd and no arrests could be made.

## 'Like a Black Tidal Wave'

We are satisfied that the offences were committed by hooligans — there is a considerable young hooligan element in Blantyre, due partly to unemployment—and that they had no political character, except that they were probably committed by youths who had attended the meeting and may have been excited in consequence.

This affair created a great stir and the police were severely criticised for inaction. *The Nyasaland Times* reported the incident in lurid language. It referred



Nyasaland Congressmen at Nkata Bay dancing to the music of their gourd instruments. Their dance is the "pick-up," named after the police vans in South Africa where these men all once worked as migrants.

## THE DEVLIN REPORT

# 'A DREADFUL AFTERNOON'

(Continued from column 1)

to "mob law," to "two hours of threatening violence when no European or Asian was safe to walk the streets or drive past in a car," and to Africans "stretching across the road like a black tidal wave." An editorial described the incident as "a raw display of racial hatred without parallel in this country," and demanded to know why the Riot Act had not been read and why the P.M.F. was not allowed to break up the ugly mob; it demanded also that the Government should tell the public whether it would continue to permit violence to be used as a political weapon.

Dr. Banda in a Press interview said that he was sorry about the incident but denied that it had been organised by Congress. The Government, which considered the Press comment to be irresponsible, issued a statement of the facts which again was severely criticised in another editorial. The paper demanded to know why no arrests had been made and said that the public was entitled to know exactly what security measures were being taken to prevent "this dreadful afternoon" happening again. "If women, of any race, cannot travel around Nyasaland without harm, then we will descend to savagery. The despicable act of injuring those women deserved swift retaliation, without second thought."

We think that the police, and the Government as well, took these criticisms too much to heart. The task of the police was not at all an easy one. The African constable is not used to handling large crowds in towns. The police officer, who has to take the decision when to intervene, rarely has a sufficient force present to control a large crowd if it really gets excited. He has to make up his mind exactly when he should try to nip trouble in the bud. We think that on the next few occasions at Zomba the police, out of jumpiness, were too quick off the

mark.

On the 30th October Dr. Banda went to Zomba to have his first meeting with the Governor. There was a very cordial discussion on constitutional reform. Dr. Banda said that he stood by the Congress proposals, except that he was prepared to modify them by conceding three officials as *ex officio* members of the legislature and of the Executive Council. He gave the Governor the impression that he might be prepared to agree on some modification of universal suffrage. He was willing to have discussions with European politicians and said that he had been waiting to be approached. He told the Governor, as he had previously told Mr. Ingham, that he was not anti-European, that when self-government came Europeans could continue as they were and that indeed he would try to recruit more Europeans for the Civil Service. The Governor said that he would suggest to European politicians that they should meet him.

## Two Stoning Incidents

Dr. Banda left Government House in his Land-Rover and on his way back the car was surrounded by a crowd of about three or four hundred people who had turned out to see him. They blocked the road and the car moved forward slowly with people hanging on to it and others "dancing and cavorting about," to use the words in the police report, in front of it. The police pulled people away from the Land-Rover, cleared the road in front and told the driver to move on faster. They arrested two men who refused to get away from the vehicle and to leave the scene when told to do so.

On 21st November there was a meeting in Zomba between Dr. Banda and Mr. Youens in which

they had a very amiable discussion over a cup of tea. Dr. Banda spoke of his admiration for the Governor and of his desire to establish friendly relations with him and his advisers, and Mr. Youens said they all shared that desire. The usual questions were discussed, the first of them being the position of the chiefs. Some of them had been asked to sign letters in which they acknowledged that it was their duty to assist the Government and not to take part in opposition to government policies.

After some discussion Dr. Banda said that he was prepared to accept the desirability of keeping chiefs out of politics but that the Government must be consistent; District Commissioners should not tell chiefs that they should refuse permission for one particular party to hold meetings in their area. Mr. Youens said that he did not think that had been done (in this we think he was wrong) but that he would investigate the point.

The talk about meetings led Mr. Youens to refer to the stoning incidents after Dr. Banda's meetings; he was not suggesting, he said, that Dr. Banda instigated them but "they did appear to follow him around". In point of fact there had been only two stoning incidents, one at the Clock Tower and another on 12th October in the Lilongwe district when crowds dispersing after a meeting had thrown stones at cars belonging to Asians without causing injury. Dr. Banda vigorously denied that these incidents were any part of his plan: he said the police were to some extent to blame because they insisted on aggressive demonstrations of their power whenever they appeared on the scene; they should behave more like the 'London Bobbie'.

In December the Legislative Council met and, on 2nd December, Mr. Youens introduced a bill to increase the powers of the police in dealing with crowds. He

said that it was necessary because of "certain deplorable and shameful incidents over the past few weeks."

We have had evidence from European sources that, beginning about this period, there was a feeling of tension which went on increasing until the emergency was declared. We have no doubt that Dr. Banda's arrival, his speeches and the position which had been accorded to him, had stirred up immense enthusiasm among Africans and also great expectations.

We think that they were beginning to believe that self-government was imminent and to act accordingly. Putting it one way, they were beginning to show much more independence and less respect; putting it another way, they were behaving insolently. Europeans were beginning to be alarmed and to feel that the situation was getting out of hand.

Large and demonstrative meetings and concerted acts of hooliganism were new phenomena. The African members of the Legislative Council did not take the opportunity of the motion of 4th December, to denounce hooliganism and lawlessness. Dr. Banda may have condemned it privately, but he did not accept Mr. Youens' suggestion to make it plain to all his followers what he thought about it. It was felt on both sides that something must happen soon.

## SHOWING THE EUROPEANS

On 1st December Dr. Banda left Nyasaland to attend the All-African Peoples' Conference at Accra. By this time he had covered the whole country and spoken at many meetings to large crowds. He had been greeted with great demonstrations. We shall take as an example of these one which followed a meeting at Mzimba at the end of August and give what is substantially Dr. Banda's own account of it.

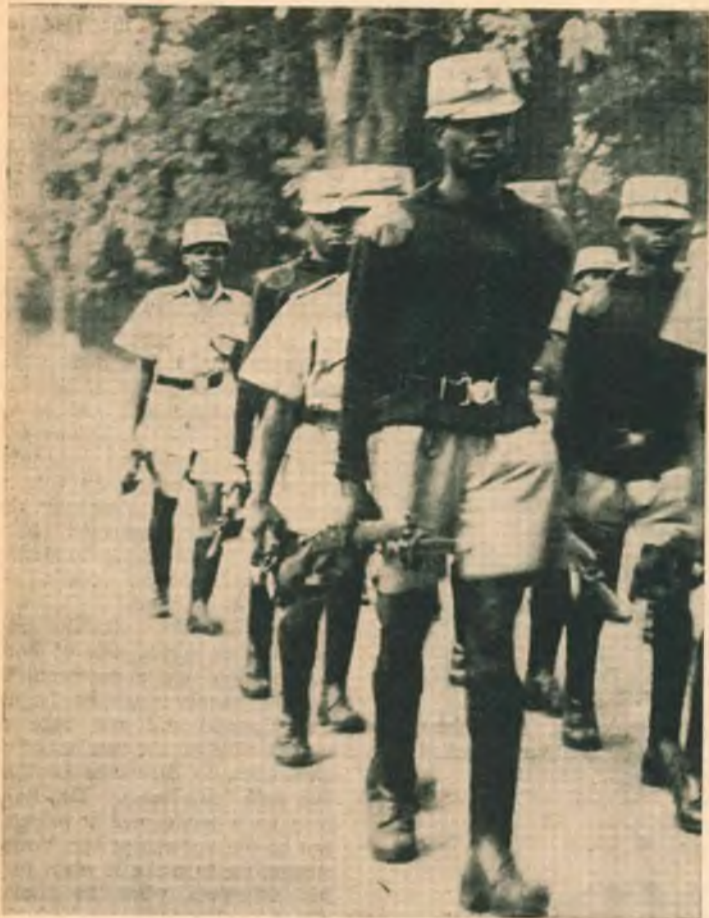
After the meeting his car was pushed a mile and a half or two miles mostly by women who were singing all the time. Traffic was at a standstill on the main road. The people pushing the car deliberately chose a route which went past the European club, the golf course and the police station. "to show the Europeans that at least on that Sunday, they were in control of Mzimba. . . . I felt sorry for a veterinary surgeon and his wife who met my car coming from the other direction. The women ordered him to stop and the poor fellow meekly obeyed."

At the golf course there was a group of five Europeans watching the procession in amazement and two African women went up to them and made grossly insulting gestures before Dr. Banda could intervene. As they passed the police station men and women were threatening to pull down the Union Jack and Dr. Banda gave orders forbidding it. Dr. Banda did not permit violence in his presence but there is no doubt at all that, apart from that, he relished this sort of thing very much. He liked it too when District Commissioners and police inspectors were made to appear at a disadvantage beside himself—not, we think out of nastiness to them but because it would make them realise what in him they had to reckon with. It showed the Government the popular forces which he had behind

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# EXTREMISTS CHOOSE VIOLENCE

(Continued from column 2)



A Nyasaland Police patrol during the Emergency.

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him.

Dr. Banda's speeches up to the end of November were all very much the same in content. The main theme was always anti-Federation.

Before then, although the special branch of the police were present at all his meetings and made notes of what he said, only summaries now exist. Dr. Banda has complained with much justification of the way in which his speeches during this period are summarised in the White Paper

## Lawbreaking Not Encouraged

There was nothing in Dr. Banda's speeches designed to encourage lawbreaking and disregard for authority. We may add, too, that he never spoke at a meeting for which permission had not been granted; and that he was scrupulous in his observance of the conditions in the permit.

[The Commission here analyses parts of the Governor's White Paper of March, 1959, and continues:]

In paragraph 13 of the White Paper it is said (correctly, as we have already found) that the Government made it clear to Dr. Banda that they were anxious to discuss all matters in an endeavour to reach satisfactory conclusions. The White Paper goes on to say in paragraph 14 that Dr. Banda made it equally clear in his talks with Government officials that he was not prepared to compromise.

## A White Paper Omission

This last statement is not true. We have already given instances which show that Dr. Banda was willing to compromise on details of constitutional reform; and there are others which come later in the narrative. We do not think that

this statement in paragraph 14 can have been well considered, since the Governor made it clear to us that to the very end he continued to hope that talks on constitutional reform would be fruitful.

Paragraph 16 of the White Paper sets out a passage from a letter written by Dr. Banda to a Congress leader. The passage is not correctly quoted. We set out below the passage as quoted in the White Paper followed by the correct text. The passage as quoted is:—

"You have heard about the riots. I have set Blantyre and Zomba on fire. I hope soon to set the whole of Nyasaland on fire." The correct text is:—

"You have heard of the so-called riots. Well things are hot here. I have the whole of Blantyre and Zomba on fire. Very soon, I hope to have the whole of Nyasaland on fire."

The most important of these differences is the omission in the White Paper version of the word "so-called." Without that word the text gives the impression that Dr. Banda approved of rioting; the inclusion of the word shows that he was refusing to treat the disturbances as riots at all.

## Report from an Informer

The Government first knew of the letter through a report from an informer who had seen it; and this report contained the version of the relevant paragraph which is set out in the White Paper. Later, before the White Paper was written, the Government obtained the original of the letter. The two things, the letter and the report, were compared and the difference between them was not observed. When the White Paper was prepared the original letter could not be found—it had been temporarily mislaid—and so the text was taken from the report.

The White Paper does not give the date of the letter. It is 1st November, 1958. What had

happened by that time in Blantyre and Zomba were the stoning of cars in the Clock Tower incident and the "dancing and cavorting" when on 30th October Dr. Banda left Government House; neither of these incidents could be described as riots in any sense of the word. The expression "on fire" is one which is repeatedly used by Dr. Banda in his speeches and letters and clearly means no more than that he has kindled great enthusiasm. We attach no significance at all to this letter.

We have exposed some deficiencies in the White Paper and it is therefore right that we should remind you that it was prepared in very difficult circumstances. All those concerned in the administration of Nyasaland had during the previous fortnight been through a time of great strain and emergency operations were still continuing. The despatch was urgently called for and much that we have dealt with fully had of necessity to be abbreviated.

[A Section headed 'Police and Military' is here omitted.]

The Accra Conference was held from 5th to 13th December, 1958. That part of its conclusions which may be relevant to the situation in Nyasaland is set out in the White Paper paragraph 20 and is as follows:—

"That the All-African People's Conference in Accra declares its full support of all fighters for freedom in Africa, to all those who resort to peaceful means of non-violence and civil disobedience as well as to all those who are compelled to retaliate against violence to attain national independence and freedom for the people. Where such retaliation becomes necessary, the Conference condemns all legislations which consider those who fight for their independence and freedom as ordinary criminals."

## Dr. Banda's TV Interview

This resolution represented a compromise. Some delegations wished for a much less qualified statement of the circumstances in which violence should be used. It is not suggested that Dr. Banda belonged to this group and there is no evidence that he himself advocated at the conference the use of violence in any circumstances.

On 22nd December Dr. Banda returned to Nyasaland, after a short stay in Salisbury during which he addressed a meeting. The public were not allowed to gather at the airport to meet him or to line the streets; the police pointed out that permission had been given for a public meeting on 28th December at which Dr. Banda could be suitably welcomed.

On 23rd December Dr. Banda gave an interview on television which is noteworthy in two respects. First, on his attitude to violence. When he said he would fight Federation, he was asked, did

he mean with violence? He replied: "I mean not with violence but one can't exclude that if we are not allowed to get out of it." Secondly, he proclaimed his readiness to go to gaol in such terms as almost to invite arrest. Constantly thereafter he dwelt on this theme, both in public and in private, saying that he was ready to die, to go to prison, to the Seychelles, to St. Helena, or anywhere, that he would fight Federation from prison or the grave.

## Six References to Gaol

On 2nd January Dr. Banda had a long talk with Mr. Youens on constitutional reform. Outspoken but amiable, Mr. Youens reported; and he counted six references by Dr. Banda to the likelihood of his imprisonment. On the constitutional question Dr. Banda remained firm on the need for an African majority in the Legislative Council. But he did not regard that, he said, as the same thing as immediate self-government because he envisaged that the Governor would have the power to veto any legislation.

January 20th, was the date fixed for Dr. Banda to go again to Zomba to discuss constitutional reform with the Governor and Mr. Dixon (a European leader). Before Dr. Banda arrived a group of about 40 women "started to gather in an organised manner," to quote the police report. They were ordered three times to disperse but refused, saying that they were going to the Secretariat to see Dr. Banda arrive. The police pointed out that permission had been given for a meeting in Zomba later in the afternoon at which they could see Dr. Banda. 36 of them were arrested and taken to police headquarters. All but four were later released without being charged; and the four who were later tried for unlawful assembly were all acquitted.

The discussion with the Governor and Mr. Dixon on constitutional reform took place on the basis of the Congress proposals. The meeting "talked itself out" without reaching any conclusion. At the end of it the Governor's own conclusion was that Dr. Banda could not be negotiated with except by conceding an African majority in the legislature; and that in the Governor's view was "a negation of negotiation."

At the public meeting which followed, Dr. Banda began his speech with a reference to the talks which he had just had. "I know you are anxious to know what was being discussed and what was decided but you must be patient, you must be very patient. There was no question of reaching any agreement on the problem." The meeting, he said, was in the nature of an exploration.

He described Congress proposals

as being an African majority in the Legislative Council and the Executive Council. They must have a majority in the Legislative Council because that was where the laws were made. At present there were stupid laws, such as the agricultural rules; he believed in good agricultural methods but not in sending people to prison. Another example of a bad law was a law that permitted 50 women, who were only waving to him in the streets as he passed, to be arrested. No one arrested women in the streets of London for waving to the Royal Family or to Churchill. This sort of thing, he said, might make them angry with the police, but the people to blame were not the police, but the people were not the police, but those who made the laws.

## First Stirring of Violence

His speech was followed by an intemperate and in parts extremely offensive speech by Mr. Chipembere. He was afterwards rebuked by Dr. Banda for the offensive parts; and he told us in his evidence that he regretted them but that he had been made extremely angry on hearing about the arrest of the women. His speech, which was short, was entirely devoted to this incident and at the end of it he said:— "If we are men not women we must see that the women are released now, this very instant. Your Kamuzu, your leaders and I shall see that these women will be released. You too must see that these women are released from police custody today, this very instant."

In consequence of this a crowd of 400 or 500 rushed to the police station. They were shouting and waving sticks. The police drew a cordon in front of the station and were heavily stoned. No physical injury was caused but some damage to the surrounding property. The District Commissioner arrived and read the Riot Act; and then the Police Mobile Force went into action and dispersed the crowd with tear smoke and batons.

The riot on 20th January was the first occasion on which Congress leaders deliberately stirred up violence. It was not premeditated and there is no evidence that it fitted in with any plan. Between this riot and those that followed there was a very important meeting of Congress with which we must now deal.

## THINKING OF ALTERNATIVES

WE have said already that by the middle of 1958 the Congress leaders were suffering from a feeling of frustration. Their continued protests against Federation were falling on deaf ears and the Government had made it pretty clear that they were not likely to

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## THE DEVLIN REPORT

# NON - CO-OPERATION, STRIKES AND BOYCOTTS

(Continued from page 10)

make much headway with their demand for an African majority. Naturally they must have been considering what alternatives there were to negotiation.

You will remember that, before the disturbances in 1953, Congress had passed a resolution in favour of non-co-operation and passive resistance. After the failure of its campaign passive resistance had been abandoned but it had been discussed again from time to time at Congress meetings. In particular it was being discussed during 1958 by those who mattered in Congress both before and after Dr. Banda's return in July. No formal resolution was offered in the executive committee but discussions showed that all the members were in favour of some form of non-co-operation if by negotiation Congress could not obtain the African majority in the Legislative Council which they felt was necessary before the 1960 review.

Dr. Banda himself spoke of a movement of non-co-operation which would paralyse the Government. Economic sanctions was another term which was used; and in particular Mr. Chaluluka—you will see in the course of the next few paragraphs why we single out his name—had spoken strongly in favour of it.

## Strikes and Boycotts

Non-co-operation is a rather nebulous term but we were told clearly enough what it was intended to embrace. It meant first of all that there would be no co-operation in the machinery of government, that is, no participation in elections for the Legislative Council if the new proposals were unsatisfactory, and no African membership of district councils. It covered strikes and boycotting of European and Indian stores, refusing to buy goods there or to sell goods to Europeans and Indians. It included non-payment of taxes. Apart from non-payment of taxes, it did not extend to any other breach of the law; in particular, we were told clearly, it did not extend to holding meetings without permission. It did not of course extend to any form of sabotage or damage to property or to any form of physical injury.

In theory it is perfectly easy to draw a line between violence and non-violence; it is not so easy to draw the line in action. What is to happen, for example, if the Government seizes and distrains goods for non-payment of taxes or if it arrests and imprisons defaulters? Non-co-operation presumably requires that government action of this sort should be meekly accepted. The debate at Accra and the form of resolution which was eventually agreed upon illustrates the difficulty of finding a satisfactory formula about this. The test comes at the time of

arrest: will the non-co-operator accept it and go to prison or will he resist? Herein presumably lies the difference between active and passive resistance and you will find that when the subsequent disturbances began there were persons in both categories.

The Governor had said that by early in 1959 he expected to announce the new constitutional proposals. By the beginning of 1959 therefore it was plain that Congress must anticipate that its demands would probably be rejected and must come to some decision about its future course of action. We do not think that it is a pure coincidence that, at the beginning of January on his return from Accra, Dr. Banda began to talk so insistently about the prospect of his arrest. The dynamic approach which he had made could not be allowed to peter out; and if he was going to follow the way of Gandhi the sooner the matter was brought to a head by his arrest the better.

But to the younger men, like Mr. Chipembere and Mr. Chisiza, there must have been the counter-attraction of violent policies which might well appear to them to have brought in other countries much quicker results than Gandhi's methods. We are satisfied (the grounds for our conclusion will appear as we go on with the narrative) that by the beginning of 1959 the extremists had made up their minds that they would get Congress to adopt a policy of violence.

## 'Practically Given Up Hope'

It has been suggested to us that one of the factors driving them to extremes (whether the extremes were violent or non-violent) was the Government's delay in announcing its proposals for constitutional reform. The truth, we think, is that the Congress leaders, certainly the extremists, had practically given up hope that anything satisfactory to them would come out of any more constitutional talks; if they had believed that it would, we cannot think that just before the talks were coming to maturity, they would have abandoned the way of peaceful negotiation.

At the beginning of January Mr. Chisiza approached Dr. Banda with the suggestion that an emergency conference consisting of delegates from each branch, the chairman and secretary if available, should be called in Blantyre. Dr. Banda agreed with the proposal for the conference and accordingly notices were sent out summoning the delegates for Saturday and Sunday, 24th and 25th January. It was not intended that Dr. Banda himself should take any part in the conference except that on the Saturday afternoon he would make a speech to the delegates and obtain a vote of confidence. This was in accordance

with his usual policy.

It is convenient at this point to say something more about the relationship between Dr. Banda and his three lieutenants. Dr. Banda is not one of those leaders to whom the cause is everything and nothing else matters at all. He had come to Nyasaland after much hesitation and largely as a matter of duty. In the first three or four months he had done some very hard work touring the country. After that at the beginning of November he settled down to start a medical practice. His house and surgery were at Limbe but they were some distance apart, and his work at the surgery kept him very busy; after November, he found time for speechmaking only at week-ends.

## Susceptible to Flattery

Moreover, he had little inclination for detailed work and he rarely, if ever, presided at business meetings, even those of his Cabinet, as they called it. It may be, though he did not tell us so, that his inability to speak in the vernacular partly accounted for his abstinence at any rate from the general meetings. Inevitably the control of Congress passed into the hands of those who were willing to do the detailed work.

To some extent this is what Dr. Banda wanted; we think that he was quite genuine in his view that he believed in the young and wanted them to be trained for the future. No doubt he thought they would refer to him everything that mattered and to all appearances they did so. Dr. Banda's reception in Nyasaland and the reverence and adulation with which he was treated everywhere he went was enough to turn the head of even the most modest man and Dr. Banda is not that; it would not have crossed his mind that even his unexpressed wish was not law.

But in fact his three lieutenants were all men with minds and ambitions of their own. There is evidence that when he treated them in public as subordinates, they did not like it. In all probability they saw no necessity to tell Dr. Banda everything that was going on; they probably only consulted him when they wanted, for some specific purpose, to invoke his authority and before they did so they probably made sure that the decision would be the one they wanted; for Dr. Banda is a man who is susceptible to flattery.

On 22nd January there was a meeting of the executive committee in the house of Mr. Makata, who, in the absence of Dr. Banda, was to take the chair at the conference. In the evening of 23rd January Dr. Banda received at his house the delegates who had already arrived for the meeting the next day. After that there was another meeting of the executive

committee at Dr. Banda's house. Dr. Banda was not present at either of these meetings when the agenda for the conference was discussed.

## The Man Who Faltered

We were told that in addition to questions of finance and organisation the discussion turned on what answer the committee should give if they were asked what was to happen in the event of the Government's constitutional proposals being unsatisfactory. We were told that there was also discussion about what should be done if Dr. Banda was arrested and that what was decided upon in either contingency was non-co-operation.

Mr. Chipembere wrote to Mr. Chieme about these meetings and in particular about the part played in them by Mr. Chaluluka. "He misbehaved at the most crucial moment. As soon as we began discussions on the secret items to be presented to Conference, Bwana Chaluluka began to falter. His participation in the discussions became scantier and scantier, and his expressions of opinion more and more non-committal. He then decided to absent himself from the final meeting of the Central Body" (i.e. the executive committee or Cabinet) "and ended by staying away from the first half of the Secret Session of the conference." Now there was nothing about non-co-operation that would have upset Mr. Chaluluka. As we have said, it had already been generally agreed upon and, so Mr. Chieme told us, Mr. Chaluluka had been a strong supporter of it. We are satisfied that something more potent than non-co-operation would be needed to make Mr. Chaluluka falter and misbehave.

## What Went On at Limbe?

The proceedings on the Saturday and Sunday fall into three parts. There was first on the Saturday morning a meeting at the Mikeka Hotel at Limbe at which routine matters of organisation were discussed. Then in the afternoon there was the meeting addressed by Dr. Banda at Ndirande. Then on Sunday there was a meeting in the open at a place in the bush a little way out of Limbe.

This meeting began in the morning and went on until it started raining in the afternoon. The proceedings at the first and third meetings were secret but that does not necessarily mean that there was anything sinister about them; they were private meetings of officials in which organisation and policy were being discussed; great care was taken to see that no unauthorised person was present.

There was nothing secret about the place of the meetings and the fact that the third meeting was in the bush is no evidence of a conspiracy. The fact that an emergency conference of delegates was being held on the Saturday and Sunday was well known to the police; they had been asked for and had eventually refused permission (there was a controversy about the timing and terms of the application which we need not go into) for the meeting on Saturday afternoon to be public. Congress had failed to secure (they

attributed their failure to the ill-will of the police) the hall they wanted for the private meetings on Saturday morning and Sunday. They had met on Saturday morning in a room in a hotel which we have seen and which was obviously far too small and so on Sunday as they wanted more space, they chose a place in the open. They went there, about 200 of them, in cars and lorries, in a body and without concealment.

After the customary prayer the meeting in the bush on Sunday began with a resumption of the discussion on matters of finance and organisation which had been left unfinished on the Saturday morning. As to what was discussed and decided after that there is an acute conflict of evidence. It is common ground that the possibility of the Government's constitutional proposals being unsatisfactory and the possibility of Dr. Banda's arrest were both considered and that there was discussion about what should be done in either of these events; one set of witnesses said that what was decided was that there should be non-co-operation but that violence was not even mentioned; another set said that every form of violence was discussed from sabotage to murder. Most of the evidence on either side is of doubtful value; at a later stage in this report we shall attempt to analyse it. There does not emerge from it, or from so much of it as is at all acceptable, any full and coherent account of what was discussed and decided.

## Four General Decisions

On many topics it is probable that no clear line was drawn between discussion and decision. It is not suggested by anyone that any resolutions were put to the meeting. In the end we have thought it safe to conclude that general decisions were taken on four matters. First, it was clearly decided that Mr. Y. K. Chisiza (the brother of Mr. D. K. Chisiza, the Secretary-General) should be appointed as private secretary and as a sort of bodyguard to Dr. Banda. This followed upon talk that Dr. Banda's life had been threatened, which may well have been introduced so as to lead up to proposals for a black list and for violence generally. Secondly, it was decided that the Secretary-General was to keep a black list of "stooges and quislings" headed by Mr. Chirwa and that branches were to write up and propose additional names. The black list was for Africans, not Europeans, and was to consist very largely of chiefs who refused permission for meetings.

We do not think it was at all clearly decided what was to be done with people on the black list; suggestions varied from deportation when self-government came to killing. Thirdly, approval was given to a policy of sabotage—cutting of telephone wires, blocking of roads, destruction of bridges and the like—and of defiance, such as holding meetings without asking permission. Fourthly, there was general approval of a policy of resisting with violence attempts to enforce unpopular laws, and attempts to arrest those who broke them; most of the disturbances which we shall have to consider

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## THE DEVLIN REPORT

# BLACKLIST OF STOOGES AND QUISLINGS

(Continued from column 1)

in fact arose in this way. These policies were not to be to the exclusion of non-violent methods but rather as an extension of them: non-cooperation, boycotts and strikes were all generally approved of as well. The alternative of submission to arrest was not ruled out and there was discussion about engaging counsel from Britain to represent Dr. Banda or other leaders who might be arrested.

We do not doubt that there was also a great deal of talk about beating and killing without any dividing line being drawn. Many men talk violently in order "to show spirit," as one witness put it. If murder was talked of, as it may well have been, certainly no clear decision was taken about the circumstances in which it was to be committed; and you will hear that although after 3rd March opportunities presented themselves in which both Africans and Europeans might have been killed, no murder was ever committed.

## Violence Not Excluded

We have a document, which we reproduce in Appendix II to this Report, which we think gives as good an impression as can be got of what went on at this meeting. The document consists of notes of items which were either discussed or decided upon and it was probably prepared some time after the meeting, since delegates were warned against taking notes at the time. The notes reflect the confused impression of the whole which probably most delegates took away with them. There is an item:—"Hit Europeans or cut throat"; but there is also an item that if a person is arrested because of Congress the case must be taken to "senior Europeans," which presumably means the High Court or such of them whose throats had not been cut. There is an item about what is to be done if Dr. Banda is arrested; and also a note that African police should not wear puttees. The meeting was conducted in Chinyanja with interpretations into Tumbuka and it is very likely that at times several people were speaking and that there was discussion among groups.

We have tried to make what we think the effect of it was as intelligible as we can; but because we have tried to summarise it in four points, it must not be thought that anything at the meeting was neatly tabulated. Perhaps the effect of it all can best be summed up by saying that there was to be an all-out campaign to defy the Government, violence not excluded. When would the violence begin, how far would it go and what form exactly would it take? The only answer is that it would depend on what happened. If it started in some places and was not checked, it would certainly have spread and might have gone very far; that was the real danger in the situation.

## Baton Charge and Arrests

The meeting of the delegates naturally caused a good deal of excitement and interest in Blantyre and Limbe. On the Saturday evening a crowd assembled and groups of youths behaved boisterously jumping out into the road

and interfering with traffic; they were dispersed without incident. On the Sunday afternoon a larger crowd of about two or three hundred assembled outside the Ndirande Welfare Hall where it may be they thought that the delegates were meeting. Small stones and gravel were thrown at passing cars. Two platoons of P.M.F. were called out and the crowd was ordered to disperse. It did not do so until it was dispersed by a baton charge, 21 arrests being made.

No report was ever made to Dr. Banda of what was discussed or decided at the conference. We were told that all the decisions were subject to his approval and could not be effective without it. One would have supposed that decisions to adopt non-cooperation and to expel Mr. Chaluluka would be sufficiently important to make it desirable to seek Dr. Banda's approval at the earliest opportunity. As to that, we were told that it had been decided that members of the committee should not discuss these matters with Dr. Banda individually but that it must be done at a meeting of the committee as a whole. We were given no reason why the committee should not see Dr. Banda that evening or the next morning except that there was a dance for the delegates in the evening.

## Likelihood of Rumours

After that, we were told that the engagements of various members made it impossible for the committee to meet again for another six weeks; before the six weeks had elapsed the emergency was declared. We were therefore invited to believe that between 25th January and 3rd March neither Mr. Chipembere nor any other member of the committee mentioned to Dr. Banda the decisions taken although there was nothing in them that they wished to conceal. We found this all the more surprising since between 25th January and 3rd March meetings of branch committees were taking place all over the country at which the delegates were reporting what had gone on at the emergency conference. Here again we do not think that the evidence is sufficiently reliable to enable us to give an accurate account of what went on at any one of these meetings. We have seen a letter dated 3rd February from the secretary of a branch to his chairman. "Things are getting hotter every day. The results of the last conference was done in the most secret manner that even the delegates find it very difficult to explain they were not allowed to take notes; anyone taking notes was beaten."

We think it likely that there was a great deal of confusion in the reporting and that many different versions were current. It seems clear that at many of the meetings there was opposition to the new

policy but we have no report of any meeting at which it was rejected. One very important meeting was held on 22nd February at Ndirande of the southern provincial committee of the Congress, of which there were about 70 members. Mr. Chipembere was there in order to ensure that the provincial chairman was replaced by a nominee of his own. At this meeting there was considerable opposition to the use of violence. No vote was taken, but there were thought to be more in favour of violence than against it.

Notwithstanding the efforts that were made by Congress leaders to keep their plan strictly secret, it is likely that rumours were spreading among Africans that something was afoot. It is also likely that rumour concentrated on the more dramatic parts of the discussion and that the killing of Europeans was talked about. Several European witnesses testified to their increased feeling of tension by the beginning of February. We have been told also of sinister enquiries being made about the habits of Europeans; with all the talk that there had been on 25th January it is certainly conceivable that some Africans were thinking about murder. But in most cases we think that it was the feeling of tension itself which caused a sinister construction to be put on innocent enquiries.

Among the Europeans there was a growing feeling that something must be done and there was talk of a showdown. Dr. Banda refers to that in his letter of 21st February to the Governor. We doubt whether this had much effect on the Government. We think that by this time some such talk was to be expected and it does not lead us to think that Europeans were not fundamentally on the defensive. It is not unnatural that they should react in that way whenever there is any real suspicion that the African may resort to violence; they are a tiny minority in the country and their safety depends on their striking first, for if the African population once got out of control, there is not in the country any force that could contain it.

[Here the Commission describes a series of disturbances throughout the Protectorate between February 8th and 27th.]

During this period the leaders of Congress had been variously employed. On the day after the emergency conference, 26th January, Mr. D. K. Chisiza left for Northern Rhodesia, his object being to visit the branches of Congress there so as to develop Northern Rhodesia as a source of income which might replace Southern Rhodesia. He also wanted to arrange for a "summit conference" of all the Congresses in Rhodesia and Nyasaland. He returned to Blantyre on 7th February and was at headquarters for a fortnight and then set out again for Northern Rhodesia, this time in company with his brother. He

went through Ncheu, Lilongwe and Fort Manning and you will have observed that in all these places there were disturbances within the next few days; it is possible, though it has not been sufficiently proved, that this was not a coincidence. The Chisizas took with them a film of Congress activities to use as propaganda and also a recording of a speech made by Mr. Chipembere for the same purpose. The recording was made at Blantyre on 19th February when the disturbances at Karonga and elsewhere were already in the news. We quote the following passages from it:—

"We are no longer playing as we used to do in the days of the rotten Manoah Chirwa and in the days of the rotten T. D. T. Banda and their filth-ridden hearts. We are now doing serious business. We mean to die for this country or win liberation . . . The masses of Nyasaland have been called to action by the great Kamuzu. His honesty and his courage have impressed them and they have responded wholeheartedly. So much so, that from Port Herald to Karonga you find everybody in a state of mental revolt against the imperialists. In far away Mlanje among peasants, people are struggling for liberty and defying the authority of the District Commissioner. Away in Fort Manning, in Dowa, people have become so infuriated against imperialism that they've gone so far as to lay their hands on the dirty body of a white-skinned fellow. And away in Karonga you will hear people have stood in open revolt against British authority. They are defying death, they are defying all the diabolical instruments of death in the face of the imperialist. They are defying prison bars of the Central Prison Zomba and exposing themselves deliberately for arrest."

The expression of these sentiments makes it difficult for Mr. Chipembere to contend that he disapproved of violence and would not encourage it in any form. Nevertheless, in his evidence before us, he did so. He told us that in truth he thought it a bad thing that hands had been laid on the dirty body of a white-skinned fellow. He just wanted to state the facts; and the facts as he then understood them (no white man had in fact been hit) were that a European had been assaulted and that he was in fact a dirty man and a man of untidy habits. He thought that the statement of these facts would bring home to his audience the desperate mood in which the people were.

## References to Bloodshed

In Northern Rhodesia on 23rd February Mr. Y. K. Chisiza made a speech which contained a num-

ber of references to disturbances, bloodshed and to keeping the police busy. At one point he said:—"We mean to embarrass the local government, Nyasaland Government and the British Government about our demands. This is the only way. Negotiations won't do. But we mean to create disturbances from Port Herald to Karonga even if it means every person in the country dies."

Mr. Chisiza denied that he had ever advocated violence. He agreed that the parts of his speech we have just quoted and similar parts could only mean violence but he denied that in fact he uttered the words. He continued to deny that even after the recording of his speech had been played over to him and thus made further examination unprofitable. We have no record of any speech made by Mr. D. K. Chisiza but we have what we regard as incontrovertible evidence of what he was saying, probably at this time, and we are satisfied that his thoughts on these matters were substantially the same as those of his brother and Mr. Chipembere.

## Tie with British People

On 8th February at Mlanje Dr. Banda told his audience that moderate leaders were no use; they had not got anywhere in Ghana or the Sudan "because the British people prefer to face brave and open opinion and discuss things with them". That was why he opposed Federation. "As long as there is a tie between us here in Nyasaland and the British common people in the Colonial Office . . . the common people of Britain and their House of Commons, at least we have somewhere to take our case".

On 20th February it was announced that Lord Perth, the Minister of State for Colonial Affairs, would come to Nyasaland for talks on the constitutional question; and on the same day the Chief Secretary, Mr. Footman, who had previously been away on leave, had an interview with Dr. Banda about the deterioration in conditions. He gave him full details of what had happened at Karonga and said that the Government had had reluctantly to bring up reinforcements. Any further disorders, he feared, might make negotiations impossible; and he hinted that the Colonial Office might already be taking the view that the talks with Lord Perth would not be possible. He felt that this sank in.

## TROOPS FROM S. RHODESIA

Dr. Banda said that he wanted to move by negotiation. Mr. Footman said that he did not suggest that every disorder was due to Congress; there was always the hooligan element. But there were occasions when members of Congress were involved and he asked Dr. Banda to control the situation through his branches. Dr. Banda did not say that he would make any move, but the Chief Secretary felt that he had given him a good deal of matter for thought. At this interview Dr. Banda asked, but was not told, whether any of the reinforcements that were coming in were Southern Rhodesian, and

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## THE DEVLIN REPORT

# WHAT HAPPENED AT FATEFUL MEETING

(Continued from page 12)

he added that he hoped not as that would really cause trouble.

Dr. Banda did not respond to Mr. Footman's request. He did not entirely believe the official account of what had happened at Karonga. He thought—and it was very likely true — that his own letters and messages from the Northern Province were being intercepted. However, from what Mr. Footman told him he did not like the sound of things; he was worried, he told us, and on 22nd February arranged to send Mr. Arnold Nkata (who was Mr. D. K. Chisiza's assistant) up to the Northern Province to report.

*[The Commission records that Mr. Nkata's report confirmed the official version and that Dr. Banda said he was shocked by it.]*

But what caused him, he says, to abandon all thought of co-operation was that on the evening of the 20th he heard on the radio that troops from Southern Rhodesia,—that is, European Federal regiments,—were being sent to Karonga. On the next day he wrote an open letter of protest to the Governor. Law and order had not, he said, been so broken down as to necessitate the calling in of Federal troops. This was the showdown of which the European settlers had been talking and it was dictated by them. The letter was in rhetorical terms.

On 26th February an incident occurred, not very important in itself, but which several witnesses mentioned as showing Dr. Banda's pacific intentions. There was a quarrel and some fighting between a European and some Africans. We have not investigated who was to blame, but in some way the Africans came into possession of the European's shotgun which they took to the Congress secretariat who sent them on with it to Dr. Banda. Dr. Banda at once telephoned the police who went to his house and recovered the gun.

## Banda Expects Arrest

For some days past Dr. Banda had expected to be arrested at any moment. The country was full of troops, the press was assembled in force and everyone expected something to happen. The Government's plans were in fact completed. On the afternoon of 2nd March the Governor gave a press conference where he was placed in a position of some difficulty; for security reasons he did not wish to disclose that he intended to arrest the leaders of Congress in the early hours of the following morning and to declare a state of emergency so as to enable him to do so.

According to the news broadcast that was made that evening, the Governor said that he had the power under the present laws to deal with dissidents without having

to declare a state of emergency. There is no completely reliable verbatim account of what was said at the press conference. The account we have seen is open to misinterpretation.

The broadcast caused many people to think that the worst of the crisis was over, and there was therefore some shock when on the following morning they learned that a state of emergency had been declared at midnight and a large number of Africans arrested.

## TO ACT OR TO ABDICATE

We are not, under our terms of reference, concerned with the underlying causes of the emergency. We have heard many opinions about where the responsibility for it should ultimately lie; it is not part of our task to choose between them. We apprehend, however, that it will be generally agreed that on the facts we have found and in the situation that existed on 3rd March, however it was caused, the Government had either to act or to abdicate; and since with the forces at its disposal the maintenance of order could not be achieved within the ordinary framework of the law, it had to resort to emergency powers.

Everyone may not agree about the extent to which it exercised them and the manner in which it did so. It exercised its powers with the object of stamping out Congress wherever it could be found and in the later parts of this report we shall describe the means which were taken to that end. When we do so, we shall neither express nor imply any view about what was the right policy; our duty is to find the facts about the activities of Congress so that you can consider how it should be dealt with.

This we have done; and you will have observed that in some important respects our findings do not confirm the appreciation of the facts set out by the Government in the White Paper. In particular we have not found any detailed plan for massacre and assassination; we shall refer to this shortly as "the murder plot", a term which was afterwards applied to it though not one which is actually used in the White Paper.

Accordingly anyone who wishes to consider in the light of our findings the policy of the Government will have also to consider to what extent this policy was based upon the supposed murder plot and how far the extent and severity of the measures employed to crush Congress were due to a belief in the plot. We propose, therefore, in this part of our report to examine that question and to begin by setting out what information the Government had at its disposal before 3rd March about Congress activities.

We shall also set out what steps it was taking to deal with Con-

gress: it has been criticised from one side for doing too little and doing it too slowly and from the other for allowing itself to be forced into action by outside pressure. Finally, we shall assess the evidence about what was decided upon at the emergency conference and state our reasons for rejecting the contention that violence was never discussed at all as well as the contention that a plot was framed for massacre and assassination.

Information about what was going on in Congress circles was constantly being collected and digested by the special branch and was made available to the Governor and his Executive Council in the form of monthly intelligence reports. Until towards the end of 1958 none of these reports indicated the possibility of any violent action on the part of Congress. To the contrary, the Government's information was that in the Northern Province when violence was discussed earlier in the year it was disapproved of. We have been given the name of the man who was said to be advocating violence. From what we have heard about him, and not merely from sources unfavourable to Congress, we have little doubt that he was in fact a man of violent tendencies and that he was probably the instigator of a good deal of the trouble in February in the Northern Province which we have already recounted. But in the second half of 1958 his views were making little headway and he was definitely in the minority.

The first reference to violence as a possibility is contained in the intelligence report for the month of September. It is there reported that as a result of intense political activity following upon Dr. Banda's campaign, there had been a number of references by Africans to possible violence against Europeans. The Government began to take into consideration the possibility of disorders if, when its constitutional proposals were announced, they did not satisfy Congress; but it did not anticipate that this would happen until about June, 1959.

Whenever there is a prospect of an outbreak, the policy of the Government is naturally to anticipate it by preventive action which includes the arrest and detention of the leaders believed to be responsible for its organisation. In Nyasaland it has been the practice at least since 1954 for the special branch to maintain a list of "suspects" whom it thinks might have to be arrested on the declaration of an emergency. In November 1958 a complete revision of the list was undertaken on the assumption that there might be serious trouble from Congress some time in 1959. The list was to include all those persons who were believed to be members of the central executive committee, or of the three provincial committees or were known as the chairman or secretary of any branch.

Throughout December and

January the Government regarded the situation as worsening by reason of the events we have already recorded. But it was felt that these did not give sufficient ground for any change in the appreciation that there were unlikely to be widespread disorders until after the constitutional changes were announced. So plans proceeded for constitutional talks and by 9th February had proceeded far enough for arrangements to be made for the visit of Lord Perth on or about the 22nd.

## MURDER AND SABOTAGE

At the beginning of February reports about the emergency conference began to come in to the special branch from informers. These reported specifically the dismissal of Mr. Chaluluka and the appointment of Mr. Y. K. Chisiza and generally that civil disobedience, violence and murder had been discussed. These informers were not present at the meeting and claimed to have got their information from those who were.

On 11th February the special branch received from one informer a comprehensive and detailed account of what was supposed to have been decided at the meeting; he claimed to have got it from a branch official. They found it convincing and immediately embodied it together with the other information received in a special intelligence report dated 13th February; this is the assessment, the contents of which are summarised in paragraph 24 of the White Paper from which we now quote.

"According to these reports it was agreed at the meeting that:—

- (a) until such time as the announcement of the impending constitutional changes was made, unlawful public meetings and processions should be held throughout the Protectorate. These meetings were to be held where possible in the bush. Those attending them should not resort to violence but should offer themselves for arrest if the need arose.
- (b) If Dr. Banda were arrested, four persons, Messrs. H. B. Chipemhere, D. K. Chisiza and M. W. K. Chiume and Mrs. Rose Chibambo, elected to run Congress in his absence, were to fix a day when violence was to begin, to be called "R" day. Every branch in the Central and Northern Provinces should be informed of the arrest. In view of the difficulty of communications "R" day would probably be from ten to twenty-one days after Banda's arrest. All action was to begin simultaneously in every district on this "R" day.
- (c) The plan for violence on "R" day included:

(1) Sabotage of telephone wires, road and rail bridges, airfields (including Chileka) and installations, petrol dumps and the main power station at Blantyre.

(2) Murder of District and Provincial Commissioners, District Police Officers and other Europeans, including missionaries, also of certain Chiefs and other Africans classed

as "Quislings". In the townships Europeans and Asians were to be killed, including women and children.

(3) Assassination of the Governor and other senior British officers.

It was also reported that at the meeting on the 25th January the delegates were told to go home and brief the Chairman and Secretary of each Congress branch about the plan."

## Any Weapon at First

The informer went into considerable detail about the plans for murder and assassination. Each district chairman was made responsible for the murder of his District Commissioner to be followed by that of the police officer and then of any other Europeans. Mr. Chipemhere was reported to have said that the murders should include all women and children and their bodies should be mutilated and then burnt if possible. In districts where there was also a Provincial Commissioner, the district chairman was responsible for him as well.

Inevitably the greatest responsibility fell upon the district chairman for Zomba. He had to see to the assassination of the Governor, which was to be done by the Governor's own staff of servants; and then to that of the Chief Secretary. After that there came in order of priority the Commissioner of Police, the senior police officer in Zomba and the senior K.A.R. officer there; these were to be murdered by the police and the K.A.R. themselves, 75 per cent. of whom were expected to go over to Congress with their arms and ammunition. To begin with any sort of weapon would have to be used; but after the first killings weapons would be obtained from murdered Europeans. After all this had been done, Congress leaders, and those who had taken part in the outrages, were to retreat into the bush until such time as things had quietened down.

On 18th February another special intelligence report was produced. Further information had been obtained, the report stated, indicating that Congress was setting up an organisation to acquire data about the habits of Europeans and their arms and ammunition and that particular attention was being paid to the murder of European children. The report also stated that since 24th January there had been eight cases of illegal meetings, three of which (we have referred to them in paragraphs 106-108) has been followed by rioting or stone throwing. This, we may observe, was inconsistent with that part of the reported plot which laid it down that until Dr. Banda's arrest no violence was to be offered; but it was treated in the report not as casting doubts on the sources of the information but as showing that Congress instructions regarding passive resistance were not being followed. But, as the intelligence report pointed out, taken by themselves these incidents revealed serious deterioration in the security situation: the view generally held in the Southern Province was that any incident might spark off immediate violence.

On the same day, the Commissioner of Police expressed to the Governor his view that the information about a plan for the mass

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murder of all Europeans and Asians, men, women and children, in the event of Dr. Banda being arrested, was correct and must be accepted seriously. He believed it to be the intention of Congress to overthrow the Government and to place the country in a complete state of anarchy. In his opinion, urgent action was necessary at once to prevent the situation becoming out of hand. He stated it as his considered opinion that unless the forces of law and order were immediately reinforced substantially and action was taken against Congress, the situation might get beyond control.

## Governor Asks for Troops

On this advice the Governor decided to ask the Federal Prime Minister for a battalion of K.A.R.; he decided also that he would ask the Governor of Northern Rhodesia to provide two platoons of P.M.F. He had earlier, on 29th January, asked the Government of Tanganyika whether they would be prepared to help, if there were disturbances in the course of the next six months, with two platoons; and the Government of Tanganyika had somewhat reluctantly offered one platoon if they were able to spare it when the occasion arose. These were precautionary measures and the Governor, Sir Robert Armitage, had not yet made up his mind what action he would take. He noted that the information about the plan was secondhand from informers and had not yet been fully confirmed. He noted also that it called for action only if the constitutional proposals were unacceptable or if Dr. Banda was arrested; and he believed that Dr. Banda had every intention of participating in the constitutional talks.

On the whole he believed that in the immediate future there was more likelihood of isolated disorders than of an organised outbreak of violence. On and after 18th February the list of suspects prepared by the special branch was revised, to include any person known to have attended the emergency conference who was not already on the list as an official of Congress. In each case history sheets were prepared for submission to the Governor. By 3rd March a list of 208 people had been approved by the Governor. It consisted mainly of officials and participants in the emergency conference but with some others added whose names the special branch had submitted as likely to be a menace to public tranquillity.

## SIR ROY AND SIR ROBERT

On 20th February Sir Robert went to Salisbury for a meeting of the heads of government,—that is, of the two Prime Ministers, Sir Roy Welensky of the Federation and Sir Edgar Whitehead of Southern Rhodesia, the Governor of Northern Rhodesia and himself. These meetings were regularly held to discuss common problems and this particular meeting had been arranged for some time before and had nothing to do with the problems of Nyasaland. But naturally the problem in Nyasaland was discussed; all three territories had similar problems since there were

CONTACT

Congresses in each of them. The Federal Prime Minister as Minister of Defence had the final say about the disposition of the troops. Sir Robert stated the factors affecting his decision and in particular that he still felt that the visit of Lord Perth would have a restraining effect; he believed that Dr. Banda with his western upbringing would want to carry through with the constitutional talks before he allowed other plans to take place. It was while he was at this meeting that Sir Robert received news of the events at Fort Hill.

On 21st February, the Nyasaland Operations Committee, which the Governor set up to plan for an emergency, held its first meeting. The committee considered that there was nothing at present to indicate that the overall plan of Congress had been put into action. Troop movements were discussed; and also the question of accommodation for detainees who might be arrested when an emergency was declared. At a meeting of the committee on the next day, a direction was given that security plans must be completed within ten days and special attention must be paid to a detailed operation for the pick-up of suspects, which operation must be planned meticulously.

By 24th February a number of further incidents had occurred. We have recorded them; they included the disturbance at Lilongwe at which the troops had opened fire. But the Governor still did not come to any final decision. As he saw the situation, the two factors restraining him were the need for further reinforcements before he acted and the talks with Lord Perth.

On 25th February Sir Roy Welensky asked the Governor in view of the further developments in Nyasaland to give serious consideration to deferring Lord Perth's projected visit. In his, Sir Roy's, view it would be wrong to hold constitutional discussions so long as Congress were deliberately adopting a policy of intimidation since any constitutional advance could be represented by Congress to be a direct result of pressure brought to bear by them.

## Suggestions of 'Pressure'

On the same day the Governor telegraphed to Lord Perth suggesting that he should postpone his visit saying that the situation made an early declaration of a state of emergency inevitable. On the next day the Chief Secretary flew to Salisbury in order to make final arrangements for the despatch of troops; the arrangements that he made and which he reported to a meeting of the operations committee the same evening gave the Governor the assurance of those forces which he had been advised were necessary before he took action. So at this meeting the declaration of the emergency was fixed for the night of 2nd/3rd March. On 27th February it was announced in the House of Commons that the visit of Lord Perth had been postponed because it would provoke disturbances.

After the emergency was declared the suggestion was made in Parliament that the Governor had acted under pressure, in particular from Sir Roy Welensky. It is for this reason that we investigated closely and have set out in detail the factors which were operating on the Governor's mind. We are

# THE GOVERNOR ASKS FOR TROOPS

(Continued from column 2)

quite satisfied that we have been given all the information, oral and documentary, which bears on this point and in particular we are satisfied that the only contribution which Sir Roy made was the expression of opinion which we have set out in the preceding paragraph. No one, we think, will suggest that it was a point on which he ought to have kept silent. The Congresses in the three territories were closely associated bodies and the object of the "summit conference" to which we have referred in paragraph 138 was to concert common action; the way in which a threat from Congress in any territory is met is the concern of all three territories and of the Federation as a whole.

## THE WELENSKY INTERVENTION

Sir Roy's fear that any constitutional advance would be represented by Congress as a victory for a policy of violence was not an imaginary one. This is shown by the speech of Mr. Y. K. Chisiza in Northern Rhodesia two days before Sir Roy expressed his opinion. We have quoted from that speech in paragraph 139, the passage in which Mr. Chisiza said that negotiations would not do and that Congress meant to create disturbances all over the country.

After this Mr. Chisiza went on:—

"Now, you will be pleased to know that already the British Government in London is shaking . . . the Britishers are sending Lord Perth . . . usually all they do is let Lennox-Boyd or whoever it is announce the reforms from London, but now they understand that the situation in Nyasaland is a delicate one. They can't afford to do that. Otherwise the whole country is going to be in bloodshed. Now they are sending Lord Perth to try and persuade Dr. Banda, beg him, to let his people cool down and perhaps ask him to compromise."

Sir Roy's intervention was not directly on the question of whether or not an emergency should be declared. But by this time in the Governor's mind the choice lay between carrying on with the constitutional talks and declaring a state of emergency, so that the two things were bound up together. We have no reason to think that the Governor did not give to Sir Roy's expression of opinion the weight which it obviously deserved; but equally we have no reason to think that the decision to postpone the visit and declare a state of emergency was not his own. He did not make up his mind until a week after the Commissioner of Police, who under him was responsible for the security of Nyasaland, had pressed for immediate action; and during that week the most serious disorders occurred.

[Here the Commission considers the evidence about the meeting on 25th January.]

We have therefore what we regard as a firm basis for a finding

that violence was discussed on 25th January. It consists of first, the documents; secondly, the fact that something was being concealed; thirdly, the inference that can reasonably be drawn from what actually happened afterwards for there is no doubt that violence was committed and that, particularly in the Northern Province, it was violence in a form that suggested something much more than the reaction to an *ad hoc* situation. On top of this we had testimony given directly to us—not a great deal of it, but some—to the effect that violence, and even murder, had been discussed.

## BANDA AND VIOLENCE

We next had to make up our minds whether Dr. Banda, who was not at the meeting, authorised or assented to the policy of violence. There was no direct evidence to show that he did. But we had to take all the circumstances and especially his position as the President-General of Congress, into consideration and ask ourselves three questions.

1. Was Dr. Banda's absence from the meeting deliberate, and did he know what was going to be discussed and decided?
2. Was he taking care not to know what was being decided?
3. Was he throughout in complete ignorance of what was going on behind his back?

The answer to all these questions depends very largely upon the impression which we formed of Dr. Banda as a witness and as a man, from what we knew and had been told about his character. The answer to the first question depends almost entirely upon that; and we answer it by saying that we accept Dr. Banda's account of how and why he was absent from the meeting. For reasons which to a considerable extent we have already indicated we find the relationship which Dr. Banda's evidence shows to have existed between himself and his principal lieutenants to be quite a convincing one. We have given careful consideration to the other two questions and we think that the answer lies somewhere between them.

## Never Condemned Categorically

We think that Dr. Banda would never have approved a policy of murder and that he would have intervened decisively if he had thought that it was so much as being discussed. We think that he was quite honest in saying that he did not approve of violence in

principle. But we think also that he had come to regard some degree of violence as inevitable; he would do his best to restrain it but he could not always succeed. It would indeed be very difficult to succeed, for a policy of civil disobedience, which Dr. Banda was prepared to enforce, requires, as he must have known very well, a much higher degree of discipline and restraint than the average of his followers possessed. Dr. Banda made his own position clear—that he would accept arrest—and he exhorted others to follow him; but he did not, as he once frankly said, exclude violence and he never condemned it categorically.

It was this inaction on Dr. Banda's part which made the meeting on 25th January possible. If he had been known to have condemned violence unreservedly, Mr. Chipembere's proposals could not have succeeded. If every official of Congress knew that Dr. Banda disapproved of violence in every form, those proposals would have failed. We think that the ordinary official did think, and could reasonably have thought, that Dr. Banda would not disapprove.

We thought Dr. Banda to be a frank witness. He gave us the impression that he was probably aware of the danger that Mr. Chipembere and others like him might go further than he himself would approve; but that he felt that he was doing as much as he could reasonably do and going to the limits of what was practicable by discountenancing any violence which was brought to his notice. He said that he several times had to restrain his supporters from acts of violence after his meetings.

There are two main differences between the effect of the meeting as we have found it to be and the effect as stated in the White Paper. We have found that violent action was to be adopted as a policy, that breaches of the law were to be committed and that attempts by the Government to enforce it were to be resisted with violence. We have found further that there was talk of beating and killing Europeans, but not of cold-blooded assassination or massacre. That is the first difference.

## Unconvincing Informer

The second difference is that we do not think that there is anything that can be called a plot nor, except in a very loose sense of the word, plan. Branches were encouraged to resist the enforcement of the law and ways were suggested; but we do not think that anything more detailed than that was planned. The White Paper and the intelligence report upon which it is based suggest a plot, worked out in reasonable detail.

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## THE DEVLIN REPORT

# "MURDER PLOT EVIDENCE REJECTED"

(Continued from column 1)

There is only one witness who attempts to describe the meeting as resulting in a neat series of decisions. That is the informer upon whose report the intelligence report is based. We saw and heard the main informer and found his evidence most unconvincing.

By contrast with the sparseness of the positive evidence in favour of the plot, there is a vast quantity of negative evidence. This is not the type of case in which negative evidence proves nothing in favour of either side. If a plot of the sort alleged had been hatched at the meeting, no person there could have missed it; and inevitably it would have been the highlight of his story; everything else, cutting telephone wires, black lists and the rest of it, would have faded into insignificance.

It is quite clear from what we have heard that to obtain evidence in confirmation of the existence of the plot was the object of every interrogator. Every witness therefore who speaks of violence and yet fails to depose to the existence of a plot to assassinate and massacre on R-day is a witness against it. The offices of Congress and the houses of every officer were searched on the morning of 3rd March and no document was discovered to corroborate the existence of the plot.

## No Attempt at Assassination

No attempt at assassination was ever made; notwithstanding that there were considerable districts which for a time were controlled only by Congress gangs, no European was ever killed, though upon one occasion one was at the mercy of the mob.

It is said that the Congress leaders were too intelligent to suppose that violence would pay. Here, we think, a difference may be drawn between the sort of violence that Mr. Chipembere and Mr. Chisiza sponsored and the sort of plot with which they are credited. They are certainly intelligent men who must have known that they could not succeed in taking over the government of the country by assassinating the Governor and his Council. "That would have been tantamount to declaring war," as Mr. Chisiza pertinently observed. "You cannot kill a representative of the Queen and expect the people in the United Kingdom to take the whole thing lying down. After all we had the example of Kenya before our very eyes."

Nor do we think that Dr. Banda could have been expected to swallow any possible explanation of it. For this purpose the violence must not be indefensible. It must be done in response to Government measures and must be something which could be represented as an answer to provocation. It is now being said in Nyasaland that the blood shed was that of defenceless men and women. That can be made into not incredible propaganda, whereas assassination and massacre would wreck the cause.

## 'EVIDENCE' REJECTED

FOR ALL THESE REASONS WE HAVE REJECTED THE EVIDENCE, SUCH AS IT IS, FOR THE MURDER PLOT.

We must now consider to what

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extent the Government's belief in the supposed existence of a murder plot affected its policy. It has not proved at all easy to ascertain to what extent the Government was convinced of its existence. Quite apart from the murder plot, everyone in the Government felt that the declaration of the state of emergency was justified by the attitude which Congress had adopted and by the disturbances which had taken place before 3rd March. Accordingly, the Government never had to look at the murder plot in isolation or sought to make up its mind how far it justified any particular measure.

**No one at the centre of Government positively disbelieved in the murder plot; but no one appears to have believed in it with sufficient intensity to allow it to colour his actions.** "Thus, on 20th February the Chief Secretary exchanged "the usual compliments over a cup of tea" with the man who, according to the White Paper, there was reason to believe had a month before directed his assassination; and said that he had made an impression on him by threatening the suspension of the constitutional talks.

A murder plot obviously would be the best justification for the declaration of a state of emergency and, one would have supposed, the best argument for convincing all shades of opinion in Nyasaland of its necessity. But no reference at all to it was made in the broadcast at 7 a.m. on 3rd March in which the Governor gave his reasons for declaring a state of emergency seven hours before.

He said:—"I have taken this step because of the action of the leaders of the Nyasaland African Congress. It has day by day become increasingly apparent that they are bent on pursuing a course of violence, intimidation and disregard of lawful authority... Under emergency powers the principal organisers of the campaign of violence and unlawful demonstrations are being arrested and will be detained."

## Ministers Talk of Massacre

In a statement made on the 6th March the Government referred to "a carefully prepared Nyasaland African Congress plan, designed to disrupt government services, and to destroy communications and to bring about widespread violence directed against property and lives."

The word "murder" was first used on the following day, 7th March, when a government leaflet said, referring to the arrest of Congress leaders:—"the Government has done this because these leaders had made a plot to destroy property and to murder many people both Africans and Europeans." On 9th March the Governor directed that no information should be disclosed of the Congress master plan unless it was

authorised by him. On 11th March he directed that action should be taken urgently to build up the full story of the Congress plan. This no doubt was in preparation for his dispatch which was published in the White Paper on 18th March and which sets out almost the whole of the plan.

In the House of Commons references to massacre and murder and to plots were being freely made on 3rd March, by yourself and by Mr. Amery, the Under Secretary of State. We understand that you had received the intelligence report of 13th February. On the evening of 3rd March you said that a massacre was being planned. Later in the debate Mr. Amery said there was a conspiracy of murder and he referred to Mau Mau and to a blood bath.

The Government view, as expressed to us, was that the murder plot was a possibility rather than a probability, but something which had to be treated seriously and taken into account. We have no doubt that it was treated seriously but it is difficult to put into words how it was taken into account. **If the Government had had no information about a murder plot, we believe that they would still have declared a state of emergency on or about 3rd March.** None of the measures taken to give effect to that declaration can be isolated and stated to have been included because of the supposed existence of a murder plot. We have found no evidence that any particular measure was made more severe because of the belief that the Government was up against something in the nature of Mau Mau. We cannot find, for example, that the list of persons to be arrested was made any more extensive than it would otherwise have been. We think that before there was any suggestion of a murder plot it had been contemplated that all branch officials of Congress should be arrested in the event of an emergency.

The decision to suppress Congress, we think, owed more to the belief that its continued activities were making government impossible than to the feeling that it was, or might be, a terrorist organisation. On the whole therefore we think that belief in the murder plot did not materially affect the conception of government policy. **When the time came to prepare the justification for government policy, the murder plot began to play a larger part; no doubt it was natural to make it the frontispiece of the story.** But people naturally asked themselves why, if it were true, the Governor had not referred to it when he declared the state of emergency.

## Effect Was Unfortunate

We have found that the effect of this upon opinion in Nyasaland (we are not reporting upon

opinion anywhere else) has been unfortunate. Most Africans are incredulous on this subject and the attempt to involve Dr. Banda in massacre and assassination is generally thought by those who have seen or heard him to be ridiculous. We have found that the publicity given to the murder plot has distracted attention from the real strength of the Government's case against Congress. This is particularly unfortunate in the case of moderate opinion, by which we mean Africans who do not belong to Congress or are not on its extreme wing and those Europeans and Africans in the Church of Scotland mission who support Congress in the belief that its policies are not violent.

We have said that the belief in the murder plot did not materially affect the conception of government policy. But it may have affected the attitude of mind of the policy-makers towards the members of the organisation which they were suppressing and it may have affected the attitude of mind of those who had to execute the operations which were set in train. Did the ordinary European policeman or special constable think that on the morning of 3rd March he was arresting the potential murderers of his wife and children? **If so, that fact might offer an explanation, if not an excuse, for some of the incidents which we shall record below.** We have not found any witness who would endorse the view that this belief might explain any unnecessary degree of violence that was used after 3rd March; it was suggested that if there was anything of the sort it was more likely to be typical of the state of tension which had grown up between the races before 3rd March.

The fact is however that some knowledge of the supposed murder plot had penetrated to quite a wide circle. We do not think that anyone below the Provincial Commissioners was officially informed but it was left to the discretion of the Provincial Commissioner whom he told; and if he told the District Commissioner, then to the latter's discretion how far it went below him. In some districts special branch officers were the source of information. The position therefore varied from district to district but we are satisfied that in some districts every police officer and most of the special constables had heard talk of the supposed plot.

## Operation 'Sunrise'

On 21st February the Nyasaland Operations Committee was set up to direct operations during the emergency.

The first operation that was planned was called "Sunrise" because its intention was to pick up at or shortly before first light on 3rd March the 208 persons whose names were on the Governor's list of hard-core de-

tainees. The general terms of the "Sunrise" operational order were settled by the Nyasaland Operations Committee on 27th February. Each province and district had its quota of police and military and each pick-up operation was to be undertaken by a separate body of men numbering about half a dozen. The need for strict secrecy was emphasised because, it was said, surprise was vital to success.

It was evident from the orders that were given about the "Sunrise" operation and the size of the force that was sent to arrest each man that the Government anticipated violent resistance. In fact there was almost none. The great majority of detainees came quietly as soon as they were called for. A dozen or more who were not at home when the police came, gave themselves up voluntarily later that day or on the following days. In about a dozen cases, most of which we record below, some resistance was offered. This is not surprising when it is considered that the house was broken into in the hours of darkness and the householder had no way of knowing the character of the intruder.

We think that you would wish to know the manner in which Dr. Banda's arrest was effected. Elaborate preparations were made for it and a large force assembled.

The diversion group rushed the servants' quarters at the rear and the assault group rushed the house. About 60 men sleeping round the house and assumed to be a body-guard fled leaving behind them two bows and arrows, four catapults, one spear, twelve batons and knobkerries, three axes and sundry metal bars. The front door was forced with an axe. It opens into the sitting room where the snatch party found Mr. Y. K. Chisiza lying on the settee. He led them to the bedroom occupied by Dr. Banda who was asleep. Dr. Banda was refused permission to dress but was allowed to put on a dressing gown and he was then taken to a waiting Land-Rover. The house was searched, all locks being broken open with an axe or bayonet. Dr. Banda was not handcuffed until he got to the aeroplane. A suit of clothes, but no underclothes, was taken so that he could dress at the airport.

## Hit and Thrown by Inspector

We propose now to set out without comment the facts relating to a number of arrests which we investigated. Chikafa's arrest took place in the Mlanje district. He is a man of about 40 and not strongly built. He is an elder of the Church of Scotland and we have heard nothing to suggest that he is a man of violent habits. The party sent to arrest him consisted of a police inspector, three special constables and three police sergeants. The arrest was effected at 4 a.m. on 3rd March.

The inspector's evidence was that he entered the room where Chikafa was, which was of course in darkness, and flashed his torch on Chikafa. He saw that he was out of bed and was stooping down. The inspector did not tell him who he was or what he had come to do but hit him with his baton, aiming for the shoulder. The inspector's explanation, which we found most unconvincing, of why he did this was that he thought Chikafa was bending down to get a weapon; no search was made for

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any weapon after the arrest.

The inspector said that this blow had no effect. He was a large and powerful man and he next caught hold of Chikafa and threw him towards the door, six or eight feet away, with sufficient force so that he crashed into one of the special constables who says that he was just coming through the door at the time. The constable says that he thought that Chikafa was trying to escape so he hit him on the head with his rifle butt. In his first report of the incident the inspector said that Chikafa was "strongly resisting arrest." Chikafa was then carried to the Land-Rover and on his arrival at the police station two hours later he still appeared to be unconscious and was carried into it.

## Trussed, Gagged, Handcuffed

A medical examination made at the prison showed that he had sustained four wounds on the head, two three-inch lacerations and two one-inch lacerations, which re-



LENNOX-BOYD

quired to be stitched. Chikafa says that he was held down on the bed and beaten. We think that this is probably exaggerated, but the wounds on his head suggest that he was beaten even more severely than the police admit.

[The Commission here describes other arrests, many of them resulting in injuries to the detainees. The Commission continues:]

We have said that the Northern Province order required all arrested persons to be handcuffed or otherwise secured. This order went down to the District Commissioner who had a discretion as to how they should execute it; and the general instructions in the Mzimba district permitted arrested persons to be handcuffed, tied at the elbows and at the ankles and gagged. The majority appear to have been treated in this way. This included a party of four, all of whom had come quietly on being arrested. They were handcuffed, trussed and gagged and then put into Land-Rovers and taken to the Eutini road junction which had been arranged as a meeting place. The four men were picked up at different points. There was only the one pick-up party to cover the four points so the Land-Rovers had to follow a circular route, the total distance being 120 miles. The party was taken, still tied up, from the Eutini junction to Mzuzu.

## Unnecessary and Illegal Force

One of the four was a Presbyterian minister and another a village headman. Two of the Land-Rovers were open; the prisoners' condition could therefore be seen. The minister, who was also an active and outspoken member of Congress, was the Reverend Henry

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The Nyasaland Commission. Left to right: Mr. E. T. Williams, 46, Warden of Rhodes House, and Lord Montgomery's chief intelligence officer in the last war; Mr. Justice Devlin, 53; Sir John Ure Primrose, 59, former Lord Provost of Perth and Chairman, Scottish Motor Traction; Sir P. Wyn-Harris, 55, former Governor of Gambia.

## THE DEVLIN REPORT

# GOVERNMENT USED FORCE ILLEGALLY

(Continued from Column 1)

Makwakwa who had been arrested at his manse. He had been a chaplain in the K.A.R. for two years and he was described by the camp commandant at Kanjedza, who knew him, as "a very good front line padre." The same witness also says that on arrival at the camp (this was 4 days later) Mr. Makwakwa's arms were bruised.

[The Commission next describes disturbances and arrests following Operation Sunrise, and continues:]

We think that it is quite evident that unnecessary and therefore illegal force was used in making a number of arrests; illegal measures of restraint were also employed. Apart from those instances which may not be defensible judged by standards, you may think that the incidents show generally a freer use of the baton than would be tolerated in this country. The arrests were carried out in the main by small groups of inexperienced officers in the dark of an African night. Operating often in unfamiliar terrain they were to arrest people whom they did not know personally and whose arrest they feared might provoke violence by the local populace.

## Deliberate Policy?

These have been put to us as grounds for regarding ordinary British standards as inappropriate. In this respect it may be useful for you to have a comparison with a similar operation which was carried out in Southern Rhodesia on the night of 25th-26th February. This operation was also planned secretly so as to create the maximum amount of surprise. It was conducted by the regular police alone. Just over five hundred persons were arrested; we are informed that none of them was injured in any way and that there were no incidents of any sort.

We believe that the administration, which we found to consist in the main of conscientious and

devoted men, has been greatly trusted by the African villager. The ordinary African is not of course a student of constitutional law; but we found that quite a number of Africans who gave evidence before us had some general notion that in a British territory the Queen does not allow her subjects to be arrested without charge or imprisoned without trial. It would be a poor advertisement for 60 years of British rule if it were otherwise. If, however good the cause may be, this is to be swept away overnight, we think there



DEVLIN

might have been expected in Nyasaland at least a small part of the consternation that a similar act would cause in Britain.

We do not think that the Government ought to have been satisfied that on 3rd March a bare statement by the Governor, which very few Africans would have heard, that Congress was a bad thing and guilty of violence, intimidation and lawlessness, would automatically carry conviction everywhere. Whether or not it was due to the belief in a murder plot, we think that the Government overestimated the extent to which the idea of violence had penetrated Congress; and under-estimated the impact which their own emphatic action would have on the minds of persons who were normally law-abiding.

We must record one other observation that is also based on our hearing of the evidence. As we have said, we saw everyone who was responsible for the shooting.

In the incidents that we have so far recorded we have not found anyone who was "trigger-happy." The general policy for dealing with wrong; the individual may have been mistaken in his assessment of the position; but having seen all those who were responsible for the shootings in the incidents so far recorded, we are satisfied that each man did what he did because he honestly felt that he could not discharge his duty in any other way.

[In a closing section on "Governmental responsibility," the Commission adds:—]

We consider that some of the acts recorded in this Report as committed by or on behalf of the Government might be the subject of criticism. While the Government must and does take responsibility for all acts done in its name, we sought to ascertain to what extent they were part of a deliberate policy inaugurated by the Government and to what extent they were unauthorised irregularities. We shall give you the information we have obtained on this point under four heads.

(1) **Burning of houses.** This occurred only in the Mlanje district and was initiated by the D.C. on his own responsibility. It was not suggested that he had any legal power to do it and indeed he was at the time aware that he had none. The Provincial Commissioner describes it as "not strictly in accordance with the rules." It seems clear that the Nyasaland Operations Committee immediately called for a report on the subject. There were no more burnings and an application from the Northern Province for permission to burn was refused. On 13th March, all D.C.s in the Central Province were instructed that punitive action of this nature must not be taken.

(2) **Confiscation of implements.** No general orders were given

about this. It was done on the initiative of the officer in command of the troops which were searching the village; and when so done, it was approved. The question of its legality did not arise until we asked for information about it and this was produced after some research.

(3) **Use of unnecessary force in arrests.** It was admitted that in some cases unnecessary force might appear to have been used and it was not suggested that that was other than illegal. There was no express authorisation, but we think it is plain that individual officers were given a latitude which allowed them to behave as they thought fit and that their illegalities, often recorded in their own reports, went unnoticed or unrebuked.

(4) **Use of force in villages.** It was not suggested that this was other than illegal and we are satisfied that these illegalities were expressly or impliedly authorised from the top. We have referred to the conception of these operations and to the use of the words tough and punitive. We do not suppose that these words were used in orders of the day, but we are satisfied that the intention behind them was clearly conveyed to the troops who had to execute them. We had very frank evidence on this point from the High Command of the Army. The Army regarded it as a military operation the object of which was to subdue troublesome areas. It was a job which fell to the troops; and it was felt better that they should do it rather than the police because the police had to live with the people. An aggressive and bullying attitude was part of the treatment and lack of submission to it meant hitting



ARMITAGE

and beating. All this was generally known and we sought opinions about it at every level in the administration. They varied from those who thought it proper and desirable to those who thought it regrettable but inevitable.

## No Government Regrets

The Government has not at any time, either before us or, so far as we are aware, to anyone else, expressed any regret for or disapproval of what has been done under these heads. We record this as a fact and not as indicating that any expression of regret or disapproval is necessarily appropriate; that is a matter for you. We think that for many of these actions there are thought to be sound administrative reasons. If that is so, no doubt you will be furnished with them. We do not set out such as we have heard because it would be outside our province to discuss them or to discuss the larger question whether sound administrative reasons can justify breaches of the law.

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SOUTH AFRICA'S NON-RACIAL REVIEW

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**INDIAN  
SOUTH AFRICANS:  
Natal Group Areas**

SEE PAGE 2

**Lazarus on Education**

SEE PAGE 3



**FESTIVAL OF LIGHTS**—(Special aspects of life among Natal Indians on pages 2 and 3)

## Background to Group Areas

# Loss of Votes Leads to Loss of Property

From Contact Correspondent

DURBAN: "Whoever needs a peacock must put up with a journey to India, runs a Persian proverb. Natal Indians have found, however—thanks to the Group Areas Act—that even in the quest of a more utilitarian prize the road is arduous, and beset with enemies. Indians first landed in Natal on 16th November, 1860. The majority came as labourers under the indenture system, and in their wake came "passenger Indians"—those who paid their passages.

At first, Indians enjoyed the same rights and privileges as Europeans. Then in 1893 came the first restriction, when the Natal Parliament passed an Act depriving Indians of the vote. This Act was voted by the British Government on the ground that it differentiated between European and Indian.

Not to be balked, the Natal Parliament framed new legislation without specifically referring to Indians. The law merely said that those who hailed from countries which did not enjoy parliamentary institutions were not entitled to be registered as parliamentary voters. The British Government was not able to veto this legislation.

Thus did the Indian lose his parliamentary franchise — in 1896. In the same year, free immigration into Natal was stopped except for those Indians who were literate. In 1913 immigration was totally stopped. However, indentured Indians continued to arrive in Natal until 1911, when it ceased.

## Two Acts

In 1905 the Natal Parliament passed two Acts which aimed at (1) prohibiting Indians from carrying on trade or business; (2) forcing every Indian to close his business or trade within 10 years. Both these Acts were vetoed by the British Government.

In 1922 the Natal Provincial Council passed an ordinance empowering the Durban City Council to introduce conditions in the sale of unalienated municipal lands, prohibiting any sale to or occupation by Indians. In 1923 similar powers were conferred on all local authorities.

With the aid of the 1922

ordinance Durban has been able to impose restrictive conditions on all its sales and thus confine these to Europeans only.

While vast areas within the borough boundaries were opened up for European settlement, only 16 sites were sold to Indians.

## Borough Ordinances

In 1924 the Natal Provincial Council passed the Boroughs Ordinance which took away the municipal vote from the Indians. As a result of the Durban municipality's neglect to meet their housing needs, Indians acquired properties wherever they were able to do so. Europeans agitated against this.

In 1939 the Smuts Government appointed a commission under Mr. Justice F. Broome to inquire whether there had been any Indian penetration into European areas since 1st January, 1927.

The Commission found that there had hardly been any. Their needs still being neglected by the municipality, the Indians were forced to move into areas where civic amenities were available. This resulted in a one-man Commission of Inquiry (Mr. Justice Broome) being appointed. It found that since the report of the first Broome Commission, penetration had taken place, but it did not give reasons for this.

The report led to the 'Pegging Act' of 1943. In 1946 General Smuts passed the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act, prohibiting the sale of land between Indian and European except under authority of a permit. The law controlled the occupation of permits; in addition, it recognised the existence of Indian areas and demarcated them as scheduled areas which

were exempted from the provisions of the law.

Mr. P. R. Pather, President of the Natal Indian Organisation, who here takes up the story, comments: "The Group Areas Act is the most sinister law that human ingenuity could have conceived. It is aimed at the economic ruin of the Indian people.

"The plans prepared by the Durban City Council in 1953 provided for the uprooting of 64,000 Indians from the settled areas as against a mere 3,000 Europeans to be affected. Sydenham and Overport — one hundred per cent Indian—were to be for Coloureds.

"The Group Areas Development Act is eyewash. It would never be able to rehabilitate an Indian who has to move out. To give an example! Recently, a property in Cato Manor, in extent two acres, with a store and wood-and-iron dwellings, was sold by the Sheriff for non-payment of municipal rates.

"That property, to an Indian, was worth £5,000. There was a bond of £2,000. The Group Areas Development Board acquired the property for £2,250.

"If Cato Manor had not been proclaimed and the property sold in an open market, the owner would have received £5,000 for it."

## Beach Zoning

Turning to Beach zoning, Mr. Pather said: "The present Indian areas on the Durban Beach is the fourth given to Indians: that is to say, on three occasions we have had to move to make way for Europeans.

"Three years ago the Council wanted to move the present area elsewhere, and I led a deputation to the Beach Committee, as a result of which it was agreed that a portion of the Beach beyond the Durban Country Club should be given permanently to Indians.

"It was also agreed that Indians would be given sites for a hotel and tea-room, and amenities were to be provided gradually.

"Now Councillor Osborne wants us to go to Tongaat, 20 miles away. If this plan were to materialise, thousands of Indians in the central Durban area and the west and north-west slopes of the Berea would be without a beach, because nobody can imagine these people travelling 22 miles—having regard to their economic position.

"The Durban City Council does not seem to realise that great changes are taking place in the world and that the coloured races are coming into their own. The Council would be well advised to take that into account when they consider the aspirations of the Indian People in Durban."

## INDIAN SPORTSMAN



Indians excel in sport. Here M. Valjee, Table-tennis champion who represented S. Africa at the championships in Oslo, is shown with his trophies.

## "Redistribution" call

# LIBERALS DEFINE LAND POLICY

IT IS profoundly significant that at its recent congress, the Liberal Party formulated a new policy. Subject to some safeguards in the Reserves, all racial restrictions on the purchase of land will be abolished.

"The Liberal Party bases its land and agricultural policy on its concept of a common society, based on democratic foundations without discrimination. All persons, therefore, who wish to use the land and are able to use it with advantage to society should have equal use thereof."

The Party realises that the greatest problem, when the colour bar goes, will be the fact that nearly all the farms are in the hands of white people.

Although the Party by and large backs private ownership and private enterprise, it cannot close its eyes to the fact that for the last century the law has been used by the white minority to keep the non-whites from owning land. The State having held back the non-whites for so long, will have the clear duty to do a great deal to help them forward, just as soon as the cause of non-racialism triumphs.

## The Policy

For this reason the Party has formulated its redistribution policy as follows:

"The Party appreciates that the most important question in South African agriculture is the equitable distribution of land. Under present conditions, the Non-European population as a whole is in possession of only approximately one seventh of the land, and has virtually no opportunity of acquiring more. Some redistribution of land will clearly be necessary so that the wants of a hitherto landless people can be met, but the Party is opposed to a violently enforced redistribution which would lead to the disruption of the country's agriculture and to poverty and starvation.

"It is proposed that a redistri-

bution takes place along the following lines:

(a) By making applicable to all without discrimination the provisions of the Land Settlement Act of 1912, as amended, by which farms may be purchased with considerable government assistance.

(b) By the government purchase of land on the open market, which may if necessary be sub-divided and made available with similar assistance to suitable applicants without discrimination, such assistance to benefit amongst others the peasant farmers in the reserves, and to reduce the pressure on these areas.

(c) By the breaking up of large estates through the taking of fiscal or administrative steps to ensure that the land is used productively or made available for public purchase or for government purchase under (b).

(d) By allowing free purchase without discrimination of all privately owned land, except where transitional restrictions may have been placed on reserve land that has passed from communal to private ownership.

(e) By the encouragement of intensive cultivation on government sponsored irrigation schemes which could make smaller farms capable of providing a good return, and the land capable of supporting a larger agricultural population."

The policy envisages a change-over in the Reserves from tribal to individual tenure. It also makes provisions for the eventual and gradual disappearance of the Reserves.

## EXPERT GARDENERS



Indians were the pioneers of market-gardening in Natal and it is thanks to their efforts that the province grew into a "garden colony." Here Indian women plant turf for an Indian sports ground.

## TRAINING TO HELP HUMANITY



Nursing is a popular profession with young Indian women, and their dependability makes them popular in hospital and among patients. Here nurses study at a class at St. Aidan's Mission Hospital Durban.

### BENONI "COLOURED" HOUSING

## HOMELESS PEOPLE: COUNCIL DOES NOTHING

**B**ENONI has the largest number of Coloureds on the East Rand. The latest figures put the number of Coloured South Africans there at approximately 6,000. The overwhelming majority of these people are eking out an existence in ramshackle and derelict buildings in squalid, overcrowded, slum conditions.

The responsible authorities do not take note, despite heart-rending pleas from the Coloured community, of the deplorable and appalling conditions in which these people live. The result is that absolutely nothing is being done by the Town Council to house these people. Although there is a waiting list of thousands, there are no immediate prospects that the Coloureds will be provided with decent and adequate housing.

In Actonville, the Coloured township, there are only about 156 Council-built houses. The rest of the Coloureds live in the Coloured and Indian locations.

*The last time the Benoni Town Council built houses for its Coloured community was just over ten years ago. Small wonder that these people feel that they are the forgotten and neglected part of the community. They fail to understand the callous and inhuman indifference of a Council that, on the one hand, boasts of a £7,000,000 "model" African location (Daveyton) and yet, on the other hand, cannot provide them with suitable accommodation.*

It is commonplace to find four to five Coloured families living in squalor under the same roof. And some of the families have as many as seven children.

#### Tragic example

Recently a tragedy has served to highlight the shocking housing problem. Two weeks ago, on one of the coldest nights of the year, ten families were rendered homeless when their

By  
Henry Simmons

frail and corrugated-iron building was gutted by a fire. The people stood by helplessly as the fire destroyed everything they possessed, rendering them completely destitute. Nothing was saved as the building became a roaring inferno within a few minutes.

The ancient, broken-down building had housed eight Coloured and two Indian families; 53 people in all. This situation alone is conclusive proof of the housing situation.

An appeal for blankets, clothing and food to succour the distressed families was immediately sent out by local organisations. The response from various quarters, particularly from the White community, was magnanimous and many individuals gave munificently. The pressing problem, however, remained: how and where to accommodate these families.

Initially, the stricken families were housed in the hall of the non-white Davey Social Centre in the location. Later they were put out by the authorities who claimed that they could not keep them there any longer because of social functions that had to take place. These people are now "housed" in the Anglican church hall in the location.

Whilst the unfortunate families were in the Social Centre, the Welfare Officer of the Non-European Affairs Department,

appealed to the residents of the location to take these people into their homes as they could not live indefinitely in the centre. The residents replied that they had no accommodation as they themselves were hopelessly overcrowded. Furthermore, the problem is that of the Council and not that of the residents. The onus, the residents maintained, was on the Council to provide alternative housing. They were not prepared to solve the Council's problem and so relieve it of all responsibility in the matter.

#### Council's apathy

Up to now the Council has not yet lifted a finger to assist these families.

Meanwhile, the Council has taken steps in another direction which can only worsen the position of the Coloureds. Tenants who live in council-built houses and who have sub-let their outbuildings, have been issued with notices by the Town Council threatening them with legal proceedings if they do not have their outbuildings vacated within 30 days. Needless to say, the tenants and sub-tenants are desperate as there is no place where these people can go to. Either the tenants eject their sub-tenants or face the risks of prosecution.

This measure, coming at a time like this, can only aggravate an already grave situation.

The Coloureds are now discussing what action to take to persuade the Council not to evict the sub-tenants and to provide all families with adequate accommodation.

### FOR YOUNG INDIANS

## "SHORTAGE OF SCHOOLS AND OPENINGS"

— LAZARUS

From *Contact* Correspondent

DURBAN: "The European has no conception of the sacrifices Indians make in their effort to acquire education. I know of many pupils who go without food so that they may spend the money instead on bus fares to school." Mr. A. D. Lazarus, graduate of Yale University, U.S.A. and Principal of Sastri College, Durban—(with its 850 pupils, the largest high school in South Africa)—told me this when I interviewed him.

Outlining the education position as it affects the Natal Indian, Mr. Lazarus said that the main problem—one which has always existed—was the shortage of schools.

According to official lists, the Government has provided 46 schools; but in actual building plan they number 33. The point is that these are double-session schools (used morning and afternoon by different sets of pupils,) so the figure 46 is misleading.

Of the 15 high schools officially listed, four were originally built by Indians and handed to the Government.

"After the schools shortage the next big problem we Indians face is the colour bar. Here are a people, intelligent, skilful, cultured—a powerful source of labour which has not been tapped. Nobody has proved that the Indian cannot do what the white man can do. This tremendous pool of skill is being wasted.

#### Encourage employment

"As a result of talks with businessmen, I have managed to encourage them to give jobs to young Indians and they are beginning to realise that this potential exists. But it is a slow process. Indian employers, in the furniture and other trades are doing what they can, but the whites must also do their share.

"The biggest employers of labour are the Government, and the Municipality, but they employ merely a handful of Indians.

"These then are the various problems facing the Indians in the education sphere in Natal. We are doing all we can to help ourselves. In 1950 I launched a scheme to raise £150,000 for our schools, the first £25,000 of which the teachers would provide from their own pockets, by a six per cent levy on their basic salary over two years.

"We raised this £25,000 and the fund is growing. Forty-three of our schools have benefited so far from the fund.

"The future? He would be a man who would prophesy anything in these stirring times in South Africa.

"Since there are always two sides to every controversial issue in this country, *CONTACT* appears to me to be serving the cause of Race Relations in South Africa very usefully, by presenting a side of the picture not usually available to the general public," Mr. Lazarus said.

"Access to different facets of a particular story that this journal makes possible must lead to critical thinking on matters affecting the different races of our country. This in turn, one hopes, will lead people out of confusion to a clearer understanding of our problems."



LAZARUS

Up to 1930, no high school existed for Indians. In 1930, Indians built Sastri College and gave it to the Government—fully equipped. Since then the Government has added to the building.

"Until 1951," said Mr. Lazarus, "we paid school fees from primary to high school. We do not pay now, but of course we pay for books."

Last year, 9,585 pupils could not find a place in any school. Latest statistics are not yet available but the indications are that about half that number will be looking for places this year.

"So far as Indians are concerned, the Government leans on the aided school system," said Mr. Lazarus "because the community has to find the land and half the cost of the building.

"We are running 63 private schools on the platoon system—that is with double sessions.

#### Not enough

"In all cases the Government provides the teachers and a maintenance grant of £1 per child per annum. This in no way meets requirements. It should be noted that the curriculum in our schools is exactly the same as that in European schools and we take the same exams under the Department of Education.



## LIBERALS IN PROVINCIAL ELECTIONS

## PATRICK DUNCAN TO CONTEST SEA POINT (C.P.)

THE LIBERAL PARTY has opened its campaign in the Provincial Election in Sea Point, Cape. There are over 11,000 voters in this constituency. In the same constituency in 1958 Mr. Gerald Gordon (Liberal) received some 1640 votes against some 7000 cast for Mr. Jack Basson (United Party)

A preliminary canvass has shown that, compared with last year, the United Party is discredited. Although the habit of voting UP dies hard, few have been found with a good word for the racialistic, Mitchellite, wing of the party which has now taken over what is left of the United Party.

On the other hand the consistent, known stand of the Liberal Party is gaining everywhere.

A historically new step is that canvassing and public meetings are conducted by members of all races. This new development has been welcomed by members of the public.

The first meeting was held on 19 August. The Sea Point Town Hall was jam-packed; there was an overflow in another hall; and some 150 people stood outside, where an extra loudspeaker was installed. Dr. Oscar Wollheim was in the chair. Mr. J. Nkatlo, Mr. Gerald Gordon, and Mr. J. C. A. Daniels spoke in support of the candidate, Mr. Patrick Duncan.

As a result of the meeting the party's machine is now running in top gear. All interested in helping with office work, envelope-address-

ing, and canvassing, should get into touch with the election office, at Shop No. 4, Tresor Flats, Regent Road, Sea Point (Bus Stop 24). The telephone number is 44-1728.



PATRICK DUNCAN

PATRICK DUNCAN, the eldest son of the late Sir Patrick Duncan, was born in

1918 in Johannesburg, and was educated in Johannesburg, at Bishops, in Switzerland, at Winchester, and at Oxford.

He spent 12 years in the Colonial Service, mostly in Basutoland, ending up as Judicial Commissioner. The Judicial Commissioner's Court is an appeal court hearing appeals in Sotho law and custom from the Paramount Chief's Court.

After the general election of 1948 he became convinced that the South African problem could be solved only by an application of Gandhi's methods of passive resistance. In 1952 he resigned from the Colonial Service and took part in the Defiance Campaign. Together with a large batch of defiers which included the late Manilal Gandhi, son of the Mahatma, he entered Germiston location without a permit, was arrested and sentenced, and served two weeks in Boksburg prison.

Mr. Duncan later joined the Liberal Party and for some time was its national organiser. He gave this up in order to found *Contact*, a non-racial fortnightly, which is published in Cape Town.

In 1948 he married Cynthia, daughter of Sir Patrick Ashley Cooper, then a director of the Bank of England and Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company. They have four children.

## MRS. GUINEVERE VENTRESS TO CONTEST PINETOWN (NATAL)

THE Liberal Party is also contesting one of the seats in the Natal Division. In tackling Pinetown, the Party will be breaking entirely new ground but it will be doing so with a candidate who is well-known and respected in the area. It is an awkward constituency, wide-spread and rambling, but although this will confront the Party with special canvassing difficulties it will also give it the opportunity to hold more public meetings than it could in the usual urban seat.



MRS. VENTRESS

There will probably be eight or ten of these and, as it has

done in the past, the Natal Division will try to have a thoroughly inter-racial audience and platform at each of them. All the people who come to the meetings may not be voting in October but those who will not have as much at stake on that day as those who will.

In the second half of 1959 South Africa stands face to face with an Africa totally opposed to policies put forward by either of its main political parties. The Party is extremely lucky in having, in Guinevere Ventress, an able and fearless candidate who will put forward a policy which Africa can accept and support and which offers to the people of her constituency, voters or voteless, a future of hope in a troubled world.

Mrs. Ventress was born and educated in Natal. Before her marriage she pursued a career in the field of advertising

Thereafter she took an active part in organizations of a political, cultural and welfare nature. A strong and forthright believer in individual rights guaranteed by a firm constitution, she contests this election on behalf of the Liberal Party.

Her husband shares her interest in public affairs. He is a university lecturer and is a civil engineer.

Her connection with South Africa goes back many generations. Her mother's family goes back to 1653 when the original member came out from Holland. Later there was intermarriage with Huguenot families. They came to Natal with the Voortrekkers and settled in the Greytown district. Her father's family emigrated from Yorkshire with a party of settlers who arrived in Natal in 1849. They farmed for many years in the Sydenham area which is now largely Indian and is part of the constituency she is contesting.

## IN THE TRANSVAAL

The Liberal Party is also contesting one or more seats in the Transvaal. Details of the campaign in that Province will be given in these columns in our next issue.

## PREDIKANT OF 200 YEARS AGO



A PICTURE of a Ghanaian of over 200 years ago, who became a minister in the Dutch Reformed Church. He is shown wearing the full-bottomed wig of the period. This old engraving was recently found in Europe by a collector of Africana. The German caption to it reads: "Jacobus Elisa Joannes Capitein, an African Moor, who studied theology at Leiden in Holland, and in 1742 was called as preacher to the Dutch fort of St. Georgio de la Mina in Guinea, (now Elmina, Ghana) his fatherland." Underneath a quaint poem reads:

Here you can see a Moor, the skin is black, the soul white:  
He now lives to praise God, and will build up the black folk:

He intends to teach faith, hope and charity,  
So that even you, who are made white, may worship the Lamb with him.

## CONTACT

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## EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

## AIM IS BIGOTED MASTERS AND WILLING SLAVES

THE PAST TEN years of Nationalist misrule have seen many drastic and far-reaching changes in the field of education. These changes, which have burst upon the country with bewildering profusion, have completely transformed the educational scene. The new educational systems for both Whites and Non-Whites have the same general aim: to make *apartheid* and *baasskap* acceptable to all sections of the people.

The system of education for the Whites aims at producing a sufficient number of bigoted and intolerant fanatics who will continue the iniquitous racial policies of the present government. On the other hand, Non-White education is designed to arrest the development of the Non-Whites and to maintain the supremacy of the *Herrenvolk*.

This explains the welter of legislation in the educational field: the Bantu Education Act, the Language Ordinances of the Transvaal and other provinces, the amendments to the Cape and Transvaal Education Ordinances, the philosophy of Christian-National Education (which is the education policy of the Nationalist government), the political application of mother-tongue instruction, the University *Apartheid* Act, the Universities Amendment Act, the Fort Hare Transfer Act, the transfer of some Coloured schools to the Coloured Affairs Department, and so on.

## Open and brazen

While the prostitution of the education of the African has attracted a great deal of attention and has aroused widespread opposition because it is so open and brazen, the onslaughts on Coloured education have escaped the notice of the majority of the people because the changes have been insidiously introduced through administrative channels rather than through legislation. The system of education for the Coloureds has also been changed to make them fit into the pattern that has been weaved by the government.

Since 1948 the tenets of Christian-National Education have been assiduously applied to the schooling of Coloured children. On the question of education for the Coloured, the C.N.E. policy states:

"We accept the policy of trusteeship of the Non-Europeans by the Europeans . . . This trusteeship imposes on the Afrikaner the solemn duty of seeing that the Coloured people are educated in accordance with Christian and National principles . . . The welfare and happiness of the Coloured lie in his understanding that he belongs to a separate racial group (hence *apartheid* is necessary

in education) and in his being proud of it."

(Article 14)

Before the Nationalists came into power the majority of Coloured children (especially those in the urban areas) were taught through the medium of English. Today, almost all the primary schools and many of the high

by Henry Simmons.  
and Bolus Smith.

schools have been converted to Afrikaans-medium without consultation with parents and teachers. The argument of educational authorities is that all Coloureds are by definition Afrikaans-speaking and will, therefore, learn best through that medium. The pursuance of Afrikaans-medium, even by anti-educational methods, has revealed that this policy was motivated by political and not educational considerations.

The overwhelming majority of Coloured parents prefer that their children should be educated through the medium of English.

Previous to 1948, Coloured and Indian children attended the same school. This practice has been stopped whenever it was possible to do so by providing the Indian community with its own schools.

During the latter part of 1956 the authorities in the Cape raised the age of admission so that since January, 1957 many children have been retarded for a full year. This has meant deliberate shortening of the school life of most Coloured children.

## More Frustration

In 1953, a year after the publication of the Eiselen Report on Native Education, the Provincial Administration of the Cape appointed a Commission on Coloured Education. The Commission's report was only published in 1956. Its recommendations have already been applied and education for the Coloured child has as a result changed considerably in quantity and quality.

One of the terms of reference under which the Commission was appointed was to "enquire into and make recommendations on the question whether the nature and direction of the present educational system fulfil the needs of the Coloured population, or whether the system with its emphasis on the academic side does not lead to a feeling of frustration."

(Report of the Coloured Education Commission, 1953-1956, page 4.) The Commission's Report is a dangerous and insidious document. The following extract illustrates that it is deliberately intended to provide the Coloureds with an education that would set a ceiling to their development:

"It must be borne in mind that a large part of the population of this country makes a

living by the use of its hands. The Coloured people are no exception to this: indeed, under present circumstances most of the opportunities for employment open to them are in those fields of industry and agriculture where manual skill must therefore be emphasised. This does not mean technical instruction for specific trades or occupations . . ." *Ibid.*, page 9).

In other words, the Coloured must be "educated" to prepare him for manual labour in industry, agriculture and domestic service.

The Commission further recommended that the inspectorate be enlarged so as to "assist" principals and teachers to draw up modified syllabuses with a view to adapting them to the "special" needs of their pupils. "The Commission is of the opinion that, instead of a suggestion, it should be an instruction to school principals to draw up specially adapted syllabuses under the guidance of inspectors of schools . . ." (*Ibid.*, page 9)

## Teaching debased

Coloured schools have previously had syllabuses which were the same as those in White schools.

It is interesting to note that the number of inspectors have actually been increased. And the visits of these inspectors are more frequent. This is no mere fortuitous occurrence; it is part of a deliberate plan. The inspectors serve as the chief administrative agents for the implementation of this debased schooling. The main concern of these inspectors is the introduction of Afrikaans as the medium of instruction, religious and moral instruction, gardening, agriculture, handwork, and, or course the modification and adaption of syllabuses so as to fit the child into the place pre-ordained for him under *apartheid*.

## Will be sacked

In connection with those Coloured teachers who are vigorously criticising and opposing the educational policies of the government, the Commission recommended the expulsion of all teachers who denounce and refuse to accept the Coloured equivalent of the Bantu Education Act:

"The Commission in no manner whatsoever wishes to detract from the right of free speech in a democratic (!) country, but desires to point out that, if the privilege of free expression were to be exploited in any such ill-behaved manner by teachers, it would in the future be virtually impossible in such an atmosphere to further the interests of Coloured education.

"The Commission feels strongly that it would be in the interest of education if such destructive elements were ex-

cluded from the profession." *Ibid.*, page 52).

The authorities have been slow in following this advice for already some intransigent opponents of the government's policies have been dismissed from the teaching profession.

To ensure that the teacher will be the vehicle for State-controlled indoctrination, amendments to the Education Ordinances were made. In 1955 the Education Ordinance of the Cape was amended to read: "Any teacher . . . who does anything or propagates any idea or takes part in or identifies himself with any propaganda or activity calculated to cause or promote antagonism amongst any section of the population . . . against any other section of the population . . . or uses his position as a teacher to further . . . political aims . . . shall be deemed to have been guilty of misconduct."

## Absolute power

In November, 1958, section 29 of the Transvaal Education Ordinance (1953) was changed so as to give the Administration absolute disciplinary power over the teachers in that province.

In Transvaal schools, with their new differentiated syllabuses, Vocational Guidance and Race Studies have been made compulsory subjects in Stds. VI, VII, and VIII. The aim is to make the Coloured, in terms of Christian-Nationalist Education, race-conscious. Further,

the Coloured child must be discouraged from pursuing certain trades and professions and he must be made aware that for him, as for the African, "there is no place in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour."

Very soon, possibly next year or early in 1961, all Coloured education will be transferred to the Coloured Affairs Department (C.A.D.), just as African education was placed under the bureaucratic control of the Native Affairs Department. Already a start has been made. Last year the Vocational Amendment Act and the Special Schools Amendment Act assigned to the C.A.D. the control and administration of certain Coloured schools and institutions.

Far too many of us, when viewing these grandiose schemes of the rulers, tend to dismiss them as the aberrations of a diseased mind. Let us remind ourselves of the success achieved by the Nazis in the ideological control of the Nazi youth. The system of education that prevailed in Nazi Germany has been used as the model for the Nationalists' Christian-National Education policy in South Africa.

We are confident, however, that the rulers cannot stop the rising tide of liberatory ideas. It is the Non-Whites, and not the Nationalists, who will decide the future of South Africa.

## JOURNALIST VISITS "PRISON WITHOUT BARS"

## FINDS LUTULI IS FRIEND OF THE WEST

MR. VICTOR RIESEL, the blind American journalist who recently visited South Africa, interviewed Chief Lutuli on behalf of the *New York Mirror*. The interview contains some important statements of policy by the Chief. Readers should remember that the report was written for Americans.

Mr. Riesel begins:

In this little corner of Africa rests mankind's fate and the life of many an American boy. For on this piece of earth treads the "outlawed" Chief Lutuli, spokesman for nine million Africans south of the Zambesi River.

I drove here through miles of sugar cane fields to find him. He is a friend of the West on a continent where many seem eager to do a cash business with the Soviets. But he is in a special kind of exile.

He is under "ban". He has been now for a month. He will be for five years. He had not talked to a newsman since the government put the "ban" on the chief. I was the first. The chief chanced that. He is watched by the Special Branch, the secret police of the Union of South Africa.

The "ban" means he is in a prison without bars. He can live at home, but he must not go out of a 12-mile circle. His mail is watched. Telephone facilities are monitored. The "ban", means he cannot talk to more than one person at a time. Two people would mean a meeting under the law and he is prohibited from addressing meetings, or going to one or making any political gesture—even if it means help to the West.

"I will work with all forces," the chief said. "How long do you think we will offer ourselves

as slaves? I will work for a sharing of power. But if the time comes when we have power and a left wing totalitarianism takes over, I will not work with it. I will fight it or step down."

I spoke of the danger of violence in a land where the Africans outnumbered the whites nine million to three million. The answer came swiftly.

"I am here under ban," he retorted. "Leaders who replaced me have each been put under ban. There are those who agitate our people. Soon there will be no moderates to counsel our millions. Many of those in the villages will see that their leaders have been silenced. They might listen to unwise voices. They could stir in anger. Who knows what can happen. There are so many of them."

In this little corner of Africa, 10,000 miles from Broadway, it is difficult to believe that Main Street America knows not of Chief Lutuli. So much of Main Street's fate is tied to him. All Africa is watching his nine million Africans, most of whom are Zulu. If they rise without his restraining hand while our friend is under ban, all Africa will be aflame below the Sahara. Out of such chaos, only the Kremlin could profit. But the men who could stop this, our friend and his friends, are under "ban".

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## GROUP AREAS CONFUSION

# Move, Build, Break and Move Again

From *Contact* Correspondent

**KLIPTOWN:** In January some fifty families, who had been squatting near Midway for more than 15 years, were told by the Group Areas Board to move to Kliptown. On arrival there they found that there were no vacant rooms to let. They went to the Rev. M. Mahlamvu, of the Methodist Church at Kliptown, and told him of their plight.

He said that provided the Peri-Urban Areas Health Board gave approval, they could erect shelters on his vacant plot. Approval was given for the erection of temporary shelters so the families moved in.

During April, Mr. Mahlamvu was prosecuted for having these shelters on his land and given a suspended sentence on condition that he demolished them before the end of July.

He notified the squatters who in turn went around looking for fresh accommodation. The City Council of Johannesburg re-

fused to rent them houses as they were not employed in the urban area of the town. The Resettlement Board in Meadowlands could not give them accommodation, so they were forced to leave the district and go and live with friends.

## Thrown out

One family, however, was less successful. A man, his wife and eleven children could find no one to help them in their trouble. The shack in which they were living was demolished

and all their possessions put outside.

The man is employed on the railway at Midway.

Another instance of the malicious effect of the Group Areas Act is that of Mr. Suleman Ebrahim Nanabhay, who is reputed to be over 90 years old, a well-known Indian merchant of Toby Street, Sophiatown.

Mr. Nanabhay first went to Sophiatown in 1900. He and his family have been ejected from their fine nine-roomed house which, together with his other property and shop, have been taken over by the Resettlement Board. Their belongings were thrown on to the street as were the goods from the shop.

Mr. Nanabhay's properties have been valued officially at £8,000 and privately at £12,000, but all he was offered by the Resettlement Board was £4,000, which he has been obliged to accept under protest.

This great financial blow and loss of a lucrative business has crippled Mr. Nanabhay and thrown several members of his family out of work.

## Yet another

Yet another typical example of hardship being experienced by non-whites in the Union through the implementation of the Group Areas Act, is that of 79-year old Mr. Thomas Gilbert Wangra, a Hausa who came to South Africa from Ghana (then the Gold Coast) and has been a respected and highly successful businessman in Kliptown for many years.

He has been told to move because he has been classified as "a native" and only "Coloureds" are now to live in Kliptown, yet ever since he arrived here 56 years ago, his classification has been "Coloured."

His property is estimated to be worth £8,000, but nothing like this amount has been offered to him by Government by way of compensation.

## Lost trace

He has lost all trace of his relatives in Ghana, but in view of the treatment he is receiving from the Government, he is doing his utmost to obtain permission from the Ghana authorities to return to that country with his wife and nine children.

Mr. Wangra was educated in Scotland, where his parents died. He has a sister, a nurse in Edinburgh.

One of his prized possessions is a 1905 model car, still very much in use.



Mr. T. G. Wangra, Ghana-born, highly respected business man in Kliptown must leave his home, lose practically all his money—and his 1905 model car—because of the Group Areas Act. He is trying to get back to Ghana after 56 years in South Africa

## FORMER MESSENGER PLANS £20,000 HOTEL

FROM delivery boy at ten shillings a week to wealthy African farmer-businessman worth many thousand pounds, is the success story of Mr. Johannes N. Jacobs, 46-year old Xhosa, owner of a chain of stores in the Bochemelo Location, Bloemfontein, an orchard near Port St. John's, a nine-roomed house that can compare favourably with many of those in the best residential areas of Johannesburg, three big cars and a bus service carrying passengers and goods in the Thala-Nchu district.

By Z. SONKOSI

Mr. Jacobs is one of the few Xhosas left in the Bochemelo Location, now predominantly inhabited by members of the Barolong tribe. He started work as a messenger with a city firm and now, not even satisfied with his farming and business successes, is seeing his £20,000 self-service departmental store nearing completion, the first store of

its kind for Africans in the Union.

In his shops and produce market—the only one of its kind run by an African—he employs over 40 other Africans and over 100 are employed by him on his farm.

He gives freely to charity and provides scholarships for promising young students. One of his sons is studying medicine at Cape Town University and another is taking his B.Sc. at Fort Hare.

## Rand Firm Has Shop Courtesy Register

JOHANNESBURG: The Bodley Publishing Company, Johannesburg, over the past six months has been conducting a number of surveys to ascertain the degree of courtesy accorded to Africans in Asian and European-owned shops. The surveys covered shops in Johannesburg, on the Reef, Vereeniging and Durban and the result makes interesting

In the first survey, 67 percent of both Asian and European shops had a take-it-or-leave-it attitude towards African customers. Knowledge of the survey, however, appears to have made the shopkeepers think, for in the second survey, that attitude had dropped to only two percent.

The organisers of the surveys are now producing a "Guide Directory to Africans", which is due to appear on sale sometime this month. It will be the first of its kind ever produced and will contain lists, by street and name, of shops known to welcome African customers.

Shopkeepers willing to be courteous, will be offered, free of charge where necessary, large shield-shaped badges for display in their windows. The words "People of Africa pledge courtesy" will be superimposed

on a map of Africa. People of all races will be offered replicas of the badges, to be worn on shirts or coats. These badges are well designed in blue and gold with black lettering.

Wearers of these badges will have one thing in common—courtesy, and no matter what their race colour they will know that they have a mutual bond between them and need no longer be afraid of being snubbed when approaching others wearing the badge. And what a splendid opportunity it will provide for well-intentioned shopkeepers to display these shields in their windows to show their willingness to be courteous to all customers, irrespective of colour.

Mr. Ernest Bodley, the man behind the scheme, has travelled all over the world and has wide experience in human race relations.

## Would-be Butchers Rent Hotel

**KLIPTOWN:** Two cousins left home recently to visit the Peri-Urban Areas Health Board offices to apply for a butcher's licence. They ended up by renting a large hotel near the race course.

At the Health Board offices they looked at one of the notice boards and saw an advertisement for a non-white hotel to let. So instead of following up their intention to obtain a butcher's licence, they made enquiries and applied successfully to take over control of the hotel.

The two men are Messrs. Fred and Hendrik Baker and they plan to cater for non-whites visiting Johannesburg and also for private social gatherings, birthday parties and other functions.

The hotel has well-furnished single and double bedrooms with cold and hot water in each, a large lounge, big dining room, modern kitchen and a small hall for private functions. The new licensees are already busy adding to the facilities and comfort of the accommodation.

The hotel is the second in the Transvaal to cater specially for non-whites, the other being an hotel in Orlando West, owned by a Mr. Mofokeng.

## CHAMPION INDIAN DANCERS



Western music and dancing are fast invading the homes of young Indians. Here are the two ballroom dancing champions—Miss Violet Letang and Mr. Runga Naidoo, in a Latin American dance. (more aspects of Indian life in Natal are pictured on pages 2 and 3.)

## Markets Glutted

# Potato Boycott Hits Natal Farmers

From *Contact* Correspondent

UNDERBERG: Over 1,500 tons of potatoes, equal to between 90,000 and 100,000 pockets, are lying piled up in a 750 ft. by 60 ft. shed at the Johannesburg produce market and if the half-million Africans in the Johannesburg townships continue their boycott, it may well be that most of these potatoes will have to be destroyed as rubbish.

The reaction of farmers and others to the disturbances in Natal and the boycott has been mixed, but strange as it may seem, the majority have shown themselves over these particular issues, to be in support of the African National Congress: first because they have been appalled at the revelations about the treatment of African conscripts on Transvaal farms, and secondly because they have adopted an attitude of opposition to the Nationalists which is as uncompromising if not as radical as that of the Congresses and the Liberal Party.

## State of mind

This state of mind has been brought about particularly by the Prime Minister's recent threat to seek control of European schools in Natal.

Also because many of the farmers realise that the only way to bring the Nationalists to their knees is to force them economically. There is consequently some support for the overseas boycott of South African goods, even if it means a period of great hardship for the farmers.

Initially there was something like panic among some of the Europeans, but as the course of events became clearer, they realised that the African women have some genuine grievances against the Government, particularly in matters affecting their families such as Influx Controls.

The opinion that the demonstrations are not racialistic is borne out by the fact that the only buildings attacked have been those belonging to the B.A.D. department, or those erected by it.

In the Harding district a different set of circumstances have been at work to explain the conduct of the Africans. Harding is on the border of an incipient Bantustan, and it was

from there that the people came who set alight the farms and terrorised farmers. It appears moreover, that the A.N.C. has very little influence in the area and that the mob of women was subject to no internal control, especially as the government appointed chiefs have lost the confidence of their people.

*Some serious effects of the potato boycott are reflected in the market position quoted in the Farmer's Weekly (26th August). Lack of demand is the predominant feature in many of the main centres: For example: Johannesburg; market heavily over-supplied and only best quality attracted attention. Pretoria; heavy supplies met with a poor demand. Bloemfontein; supplies far in excess of demand and inferior grades especially were difficult to dispose of. Port Elizabeth: potatoes over-supplied. East London; market glutted. Durban; market consistently glutted. Pietermaritzburg; market totally glutted.*

Indeed, a feature of the disturbances is that these chiefs have themselves been threatened by the women, and in one case at least the unfortunate man was forced to flee. The Africans in the Natal reserves have begun to understand the fraud of the Government's Bantustan plans and regard the chiefs, as government stooges, holding their jobs and liquor permits by grace of the government alone. The attitude of the little-travelled Africans in that village, implies that the general rural African popu-

IN ALEXANDRA...

## NEW TERROR GANGS TAKE OVER

JOHANNESBURG: The news of the results of the Msomi Gang trial before Mr. Justice de Wet in the Rand Supreme Court, where the leader of the gang, Shadrack Mathews, was sentenced to death together with Noah Majoheng, for the murder of John Monake on January 13, was received with relief by many of the residents of this crime ridden centre.

In the townships the days were recalled when Shadrack Mathews used to lead a dangerous gang of more than 600 notorious and merciless thugs, who used to terrorise, rob, kill, assault and demand protection fees from the people.

The real thing is that although the Msomis have all, or most of them been arrested, new powerful gangs known as the Stone-

breakers and the Vultures have settled in the area and are causing the same trouble. These new thugs, when they heard the news that the Msomi leader had been sentenced to death and 12 others sentenced to long terms of imprisonment—started celebrating. The reason for the celebration? They can now go terrorising without fear of their former rivals the Msomis.

Relatives, friends and those formerly associated with the Msomi gang have been given notice by the Stonebreakers, Vultures and Spoilers gangs to quit Alexandra before the end of August. Alexandra has been a place of terror from time immemorial and has been called "the Dark City", "Hell's Kitchen" and "Slagpan" because of its terror.

lation knows that it is being tricked by the Government. The A.N.C. has of course been blamed for the disturbances, but at the same time there has been high praise for it from the Whites for the manner in which it has restrained large crowds from the use of violence against persons.

This was particularly apparent in the thousand-strong demonstration at St. Faith's. The Police had thought it necessary to arrive in a Saracen, but throughout the meeting, which lasted many hours while A.N.C. women leaders discussed their grievances with the Native Commissioner, there was no suggestion of the use of force.

On the other hand, A.N.C. men seem to have been the instigators of arson on a farm in Donnybrook on the grounds that it was supplying potatoes to local Africans, an action which has lost the Africans a great deal of goodwill.

There is no doubt that the attitude of many farmers in this district shows, in the words of Chief Lutuli, that "there is a new spirit abroad, but there is great danger that all sympathy for the A.N.C. will be lost if the Congress permits its members to conduct themselves as they did in Donnybrook."

Some whites are only too anxious for the chance to take potshots at demonstrating Africans. If it becomes normal for peaceful demonstrations to turn into orgies of arson, there is no doubt that the opportunity to satisfy a basic fear would not be passed by.

With this in mind all members of the Liberal Party in Underberg, African, European and Coloured, have agreed to a suggestion that, should the occasion arise, they take positive peaceful action to prevent violence, whether it be on the part of Europeans or of Africans.

## MILLION SIGNATURES EXPECTED



Under the above symbol, New Zealand democrats in the Citizens' All Black Tour Association have prepared to launch a million signature petition against segregation in New Zealand Rugby.

From *Contact* Correspondent

WELLINGTON, NEW ZEALAND: The Citizens' All Black Tour Association, set up to combat racial discrimination in the selection of the 1960 rugby team to tour South Africa and to demand the abandonment of the tour if absolute equality of treatment cannot be assured, fully expects to obtain a million signatures to a protest petition against the exclusion of Maori members of the team.

The association's president, Mr. R. O'Regan says that there are 1,700,000 in New Zealand over the age of 16 and on the basis of his experience during the past few weeks, he was sure that a million would sign the petition "because two out of every three people asked for an opinion, are against the Rugby Union racial discrimination policy."

## TRANSVAAL INDIAN CONFERENCE

### WORLD REACTION TO APARTHEID WELCOMED

DURBAN: Hundreds of Indian men and women packed the Gandhi Hall on Sunday to attend the annual conference of the Transvaal Indian Congress which was presided over by Mr. D. Mistry.

Dr. A. Kazi, in his speech to the delegates, called upon the Indian people not to be misled by the manoeuvres of a group of individuals seeking support for a plan due to be submitted to the Group Areas Board, on behalf of the Indian people living and trading in different areas.

The meeting resolved that it was totally opposed to the obnoxious Group Areas Act and demanded its immediate repeal.

It welcomed world-wide reaction against apartheid as a sign that nowhere in the world are people prepared to tolerate any longer the evils of discrimination on the grounds of race and colour.

Mr. S. Saleh said that these notorious Government acts can be met only by resistance by the Indian people as there is no other path.

The following were elected as office bearers: Mulji I. M. bie; Dr. V. Mistry; Paul Joseph; J. N. Patel; Saleh Salim; S. M. Saloojee; M. I. Vania and Mrs. I. N. Naidoo as vice presidents; Messrs. B. T. Naidoo and S. M. Nathie as joint secretaries; Dr. Aziz Kazi and M. G. Patel as joint treasurers.

Mr. Jack Unterhalter, who spoke at the meeting on behalf of the Liberal Party, said his party was, and is always willing to, co-operate with other freedom-loving Congresses and will continue to oppose and fight the Nationalists' discriminative Act.

He condemned the Group

Areas Act and the uprooting of the Indians.

Messages were read from many parts of the world.

### 26 AFRICANS ARE BISHOPS

STRESSING the need for an additional 1,000 African priests within the next 15 years, *Lumen*, a Catholic church magazine published in Pretoria, referring to the growth of the Catholic church in Africa, states that at present there are some 2,000 African priests throughout the whole of Africa of which there are only 65 in the Union for a Catholic African population of one million. Also that since 1939, 26 Africans have been consecrated bishop in various parts of the continent.

Commenting on the growth of the Catholic church in Africa, *Lumen* expresses the following view: "The church cannot be said to be firmly established in Africa unless run by African bishops and priests."

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# CONTACT

## U.P. NEARS ITS END

**I**N a court case, when the Prosecutor tries to break down the defence, his job is difficult until the accused tells a patent lie which he cannot talk himself out of. Then the prosecutor harps on that lie and discredits, in the mind of the Magistrate, everything else that the accused says.

For many years now the once great United Party has told the urban, largely English, voters that it is "liberal". It has criticised the Liberal Party for being "unrealistic", and has successfully persuaded hundreds of thousands of innocent voters that it is "the only realistic liberal party".

At the same time, for many years, its speakers have gone up and down the country areas posing as more Nationalist than the Nationalists, repeating, like bearded, veldskoen-wearing Annie Oakleys, "Anything the Nats. can do we can do better".

They have got away with it, and the image of a realistically liberal party has remained with the town voter. That phase has now ended. The townsman has now caught out his own United Party lying. And worse than lying, the townsman has discovered that "his own" United Party is more oppressive to the non-whites than the Nationalists.

For eleven years the English press and overseas critics have ensured that the Nationalist government is the most notorious of to-day's governments. No more oppressive, no more unpleasant government could be imagined. On this point Parktown agreed with Umtata; Asia with America; Europe with Australia.

And now the country has woken up to the fact that Mr. Douglas Mitchell has been going up and down the country areas of Natal, for years, saying that the Government is too liberal, that it should not give valuable Voortrekker land to the Africans. Just last session it was Mr. Mitchell who called Mr. de Wet Nel the oppressive father of the oppressive Bantu Administration and Development Department (the BAD Department), the biggest *kafferboetie* of South African history.

We are now told by the United Party that the only objection to the land purchase is that the land is "destined to form part of Bantustan, which the Party objects to". Why, then, was Mr. Mitchell three years ago, doing all he could to stop land purchase, this time on the grounds that the Africans could not farm it?

And so, all through the United Party, in its committees, in its branches, in its youth movement, reigns disgust, bitterness, apathy. As Mr. Strauss said, its members have lost their respect for the party, which has been reduced in moral stature. And as Mr. Strauss said, a party that has lost its self-respect is on the way out. That is why the country, white as well as non-white, has applauded the break away of the Progressives.

At last the English South Africans are rejecting, finally and for ever, the sterile political struggle in which they have been bogged over the last eleven years. They are no longer interested in voting for men who, whatever their virtues may be, are competent only to fight and re-fight over and over again, the old battles that divide Boer from Briton. They have woken up to the fact that the Boer War is no longer the single most important political fact: they now realise that the integration of non-whites into the economic, social and political life of the country is the only question that matters.

Of course, all over the country, robot-like motions of "fullest confidence" in Sir De Villiers Graaff are being passed. These are worth something less than the paper on which they are written, for they are written with one idea only in mind: the Provincial elections. Many candidates simply cannot afford not to get back in October. They therefore stay with the bandwagon—for the moment. Once they are safely back the next explosion will make the recent explosion inside the party look small. For no one any longer believes that the United Party has the power to come back. With the disappearance of this belief disappears the one force that over the last eleven years has held together this disparate crowd of office-seekers.

Mr. Mitchell once complained that any policy on the colour issue would be a millstone round his neck. His reactionary policy has become a millstone round the rump that is left with Sir De Villiers. It is a millstone of increasing weight. It will, in Mr. David Marais's famous words to one of his best cartoons, "take individuals as well as quite large parties to the bottom". Mr. Mitchell will thus have to be jettisoned, and with him will go all semblance of a national opposition.

The end of the United Party will be a day of national rejoicing. When it is gone there will be room for real politics. Among the whites there will be two main streams: those who, with Dr. Verwoerd and the Nationalists, will seek, by all forms of Bantustan, *baarskan* and *apartheid* manoeuvres, to delay the day when white privilege passes. And there will be those who, with the Progressives, wish to hasten the day of full integration.

Thus will white South Africa prepare to meet the day when tremendous overseas and internal pressures build up, and when the government is faced with the simple choice: government by machine-gun or government by consent.

In clearing the decks for this clear issue, much rubbish is going to go overboard. Among this rubbish is the United Party.

## OLD MAN OF THE SEA



Mitchell (to Graaff): "Don't worry, Div . . . you've still got me."

## GETTING IT FROM "THE BOYS"

**JOHANNESBURG:** "What's the latest in the record business?" the white man asked the African tea-boy. The African grinned stupidly and scratched his head as he placed the cup of tea on the white man's desk.

"Well, Sir, I've got Billy Holiday's 'Velvet Mood.' One of the boys brought it in a few days ago." But the white man was not a Billy Holiday addict, so there was no "business" for the tea-boy on that day.

The white man buys his records from the tea-boy because he gets them pretty cheap . . . 15s. for a 12 inch LP. And from where does the tea-boy get the records? From "the boys," and he sells them for them for a "cut."

"I'll get it for you from the boys." You hear it everywhere. In the shebeens, in the trains, the buses, the street—in the office.

And who are "the boys"? Just plain ordinary day to day workers like you and me. But with this difference: they have a knack of lifting anything that's not nailed down and getting out of the premises into the townships with it.

One day I was sitting next to a well-dressed gentleman in a train. We soon got to talking and before long he pulled out something from his pocket and held it in his palm for me to see. It was one of those expensive self-winding watches.

"Three-ten," he said.

I didn't have a penny to gnash my teeth on at the moment—which is painfully too often.

He gave me the address where he works — a well-known jeweller's shop in town—and said I could come around anytime I wanted something. He said that if I was married, he could sell

me all the stuff I wanted—including a 52-piece cutlery set for "three-ten."

I haven't been around to see him—my ship is still on the seven seas—but I put a couple friends of mine on to him.

By  
**HERBERT  
MOFULATSI**

One chap was hired as a messenger at our office. He stayed only six weeks. I asked him why he was leaving and he told me he had got a job in a shoe factory. He said he was going to get less money than he got at our office but he decided to leave because "*daar's brood, daar!*"

What he meant was that he would have a chance of what is usually called "making money

on the quiet."

A week after he had left us, this same chap called at our office and tried to sell us shoes! I gave him my order for a pair of size five-and-a-half black shoes.

Walk into some of the houses in the townships and you will be surprised at the posh carpets, radios, vases, ash trays, oil paintings and other bric-a-brac they've got. If you're not in the know you will think that they have dug deep into their pockets to buy these things. But in actual fact they have paid rock bottom prices for them.

If you want them, just tell them to introduce you to the "boys". You see, the "boys" can sell you anything from a nail clipper to a car engine.

The only thing that the "boys" can't sell you is an interplanetary missile. But I wouldn't swear to that!

### CIVIL RIGHTS BRAINS TRUST

*THE Civil Rights League is holding a "Brains Trust" at its annual general meeting, to be held in Cape Town at 7.45 pm. on Monday, 14 September, in the Banqueting Hall, City Hall, Cape Town. All are welcome.*

*The Question Master will be Mr. A. Gordon Bagnall. Among the members of the "trust" will be Professor A. C. Cilliers, Mr. Donald Molteno, and Mr. J. Fourie, of Cape Town University. The subject is "civil Liberties."*

*The League has a distinguished record behind it of consistent opposition to oppressive legislation. Founded on 14 September, 1948 to combat the threat of the removal of the Coloured voters from the common roll, it has opposed many laws. In particular the weight of its opposition was felt by the Government when it brought in the Suppression of Communism Act (a law that can be used against all opponents of the Government, and not merely against genuine communists), the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1953, the Public Safety Act, and the Church Clause.*

*In its opposition to the removal of the Coloured voters the League organised a petition signed by over 100,000 people, which was presented to parliament.*

*Professor B. Beinart is the chairman and other prominent members are: Bishop Lavis, Mr. Leo Marquard, Mr. Gerald Gordon.*

*Miss Maggie Rodger has, since its inception, been the secretary. Without her constancy and self-sacrifice there would not be a League to-day*





Peter Brown, Chairman of the Liberal Party.

## Progressives and the Liberal Party

Non-White people—the view that, as far as White South Africans are concerned, a promise is not something to be kept as a matter of honour, but as a matter of convenience.

How far there has been a deterioration in South Africa in accepted Western standards of behaviour is illustrated only too well by the fact that this obvious breach of faith by the United Party could command the support of the vast bulk of its own members. Worse than that, with a few notable exceptions, the South African English-language press, which claims to be one of the last and most vigorous upholders of Western standards in South Africa, has shown remarkable little disposition to criticise the U.P. capitulation. Instead, paper after paper has come down firmly on the side of Sir De Villiers Graaff, the broken promise, and reaction. For it cannot seriously be argued that the United Party's new policy on African land purchases is anything but a denial of the undertaking given by it to the African people in 1936.

The party has now discarded the last shreds of its honour in the desperate hope of somehow persuading some Nationalists to vote for it. Quite apart from the fact that this manouvre will almost certainly fail to achieve its purpose, it deals a blow at the already tottering integrity of White South Africa from which it will be hard put to it to recover.

It is to the credit of the U.P. dissidents that, like Japie Basson before them, they should have struck a blow for our dwindling stock of White political honesty and that they should have done so at some considerable risk to their own political futures.

Having made their break,

what do the "progressives" do now?

At the moment they are only committed to two points of policy. They believe that land purchases for Africans should go on and that their Parliamentary representation should be increased. The statement issued after their Johannesburg meeting makes it clear that they will not commit themselves to much else immediately and that, before they do so, they will consult with Non-White South Africans. With whom they will consult is not clear but that they have committed themselves to "consultation" at all, before deciding on their policies, reveals a departure from conventional U.P. thinking. The U.P. has always maintained that there was no point in consulting Non-White opinion until you were in power. And when it was in power, if the story of the Natives Representative Council is any guide, it paid little attention to what the Africans it consulted had to say.

This sort of consultation is plainly useless and we will look to the progressives to go much further.

Any policy which hopes to influence our future must be acceptable to Non-White South Africans. If it is to be that, it must recognise as its objective the destruction of the Colour Bar. As long as the Colour Bar is officially sanctioned, in however small a sector of our national life, those against whom it operates will be bound to feel that the state does not really have their interests at heart and they will have good reason for not giving it their undivided loyalty. Anyone who plans for South Africa must recognise too that our future is quite inseparably linked with that of Africa as a whole and that artificial barriers based on race are intolerable to African eyes and have no place in the Africa of the future. The fact that the Colour Bar must go is a most unpalatable fact for White South

African voters to swallow but I hope that that will not prevent the progressives from presenting it to them.

There is one other temptation to which I hope the progressives will not fall prey and to which we are all susceptible. It is the temptation to attack anyone to the left of us and to dissociate ourselves from them in an attempt to acquire for ourselves a respectability they don't seem to possess. This makes co-operation on straightforward issues on which there is no disagreement more difficult than it need be.

I hope, then, that the progressives will not feel it necessary to attack the Liberal Party. I do so, not only because we all have more than enough to do fighting the Nationalists but also because, although they may not feel ready to join the Liberal Party yet, I hope that in time they will. For the time being they may find Liberal policies a bit much to swallow but they represent the destiny to which South Africa must move if there is to be any real hope for the establishment and survival of authentic democratic institutions in South Africa.

**D**URING the last ten years there have been periodic epidemics of rumours about imminent splits in the United Party. Sometimes the rumour has turned to fact—the Bekker group and Bernard Friedman left—more often it has not. This year's U.P. Congress, preceded by a specially rich crop of rumours, produced the biggest split of all, and I think it is generally accepted that what happened was all to the good. There may not be any startling or immediate results from the break but a new element is introduced into our political situation which could have an important influence on the future shape of South African politics.

Dr. Steytler and his colleagues must be given full credit for what they have done. When the United Party adopted its resolution opposing further land purchases for Africans by the present Government, it made the final abdication to expediency. It gave the clearest possible confirmation to a view increasingly held by growing numbers of

### FAIR COMMENT

by Patrick Duncan

**L**AST fortnight I said *apartheid*=greed. Here is further evidence. In a recent issue of the Farmer's Weekly an article dealt with the cost of ploughing. The farm concerned belonged to a Mr. Lurie, a non-Afrikaner, in a "progressive" area. The farmer is one of the wealthiest in the province. When he ploughs, he ploughs, and goes at it night and day. He ploughs 2½ acres an hour. So far so good.

Then the costs are analysed. Fuel is shown, and wear and tear on the tractor. Still all right.

Then the little item "cost of labour" is shown. The wage of a tractor-driver, for 24 hours, is shown as 6s. (88 United States cents). It is shown as 6s. *inclusive of rations*. These are the generous *family rations* boasted about in SAIS handouts to foreign diplomats.

What it means is that one man, for 12 hours' hard labour, at a skilled job, gets about 2s. cash and 1s. worth of food, on which he has to feed, clothe, and educate a family.

Put it another way. For ploughing one acre the tractor driver gets under two pence, under two American cents, including food for one family.

This is possible because the Government has tied these tractor-drivers to the land, with no hope of going to the towns; because trade unions have been forbidden; because education is for serfdom; because the whole state apparatus has become a machine for the most brutal and greedy exploitation by man of man in the whole world.

**I**T is interesting that the Catholic church would be bound to support a rebellion in South Africa—on one condition only: that it have a reasonable chance of success.

The traditional view of that church—and probably of Christendom generally—is that rebellion is justified if three conditions are present. They are:

1. If there be on the part of the government grave and prolonged violation of the rights of the subject. *No one could deny that this has been true for many years of our country.*

2. If all constitutional methods of obtaining redress have been seriously tried and have failed. *They have of course, for about*

*a century. And the government has just made certain that they will fail in the future by abolishing them.*

3. If there be a reasonable prospect of success and of setting up an objectively better government because unless there be, the common good demands that civil war be averted. *For three quarters of our people there could hardly be a worse government than the present.*

That leaves the one condition unfulfilled that I spoke of—a reasonable chance of success.

Makes you think . . .

**I**T'S terribly important to see that skilled and unskilled work is properly separated! White supremacy depends on it. The Free State roads department is very careful to see that the traditional barrier between skilled work (whites) and unskilled work (non-whites) is maintained.

In the old days, when scrapers were pulled by mules, the skilled worker was the man on the scraper. He was white. The non-white drove the mules. But now that tractors have come along, driving a scraper is "unskilled". Driving the tractor is "skilled". And so the white man sits on the tractor.

Of course the real reason is that every white man expects to work near a non-white, to have someone to run errands for him, someone to boss, someone to swear at if anything goes wrong. This is the essence of the white supremacy state.

**W**HO said the United Party was dead?

They have just ventured successfully into an entirely new field. Two "Coloured Representatives" (whites only need apply of course) have just been elected, unopposed, for the Cape Provincial Council. And they are members of the United Party.

Does this mean that the "Coloured" people are so enthusiastic for the United Party that none other than Mitchieillites need apply? Or does it mean that no other party will stoop so low as to feed on the carcass of the "Coloured" people's vote—all that is left from the old days when they had equality with the white man?

I leave it to you to decide.

**SOUTH AFRICAN  
LOOKING - GLASS**

First, there's the room you can see through the glass—that's just the same as our drawing room, only the things go the other way.  
—Through the Looking-Glass.

"We are your children. Lead us and we shall try to crawl."  
—Chief Lucas Mangope, to Mr. De Wet Nel.

In Johannesburg, for instance, said Dr. Meyer, only one out of every 100 Afrikaners earned more than £1,000 a year, yet one out of every 10 non-Afrikaners earned more than that.

Sir De Villiers Graaff, as leader of the United Party, has emerged from the events of the past week with his status immeasurably enhanced.—leader in *Cape Argus*.

## COLOUR BARS GO IN KENYA

## LAND, VOTES IN DISPUTE

NAIROBI: To the Africans of Kenya, land and the franchise appear today as the last remnants of the colour bar in this East African Colony. Both are highly-explosive subjects, calculated to raise the emotions at African or European political meetings, yet these are the issues which must be faced up to soon if Kenya is to secure political peace and a constitution which will prove acceptable to all the races.

Although there are still some white settlers prepared to make a "last ditch" stand over preserving the White Highlands for European settlement, it seems as if this race barrier will be lowered before any form of universal franchise and a common roll is introduced in Kenya.

For many years the White Highlands have withstood violent political attacks—the constant target for African nationalists and occasional forays by Asians as well. But since Mr. Michael Blundell's "feeler" a couple of years ago, followed recently by his open advocacy of opening up this area of 12,000

has become conditioned to discussing this most controversial of subjects. Before then the subject, like racial equality in South Africa, just could not be discussed.

Considerable "probing" has been carried out by Mr. Blundell's New Kenya Group since its formation several months ago and this has revealed an atmosphere sufficiently encouraging to cause the Kenya Government to bring forward its detailed policy for a lowering of the land barriers. This will be embodied in a White Paper to be tabled shortly in Legislative Council.

## In the past

In the past any exchanges of land within the White Highlands had to be sanctioned by the Highlands Board, representing the interest of white settlers. Under the new proposals it appears likely that this board will be replaced by a system of district and regional land boards including representatives of all races, presumably taking a non-racial view of all applications for exchanges of land.

Such a system is to be applied to other land areas in Kenya, including the African reserves. It is ironic that the strongest opponents of this system for African holdings are the African Elected Members, on the grounds that Africans might be exploited and tempted by ready cash to part with their land, which is their only security in old age.

Complete freedom to exchange land in all areas of Kenya could well bring complications, as the African nationalists are ready to point out. Some of the largest European companies and syndicates engaged in tea, coffee and pyrethrum could make good use of large tracts of African-owned land adjoining their existing plantations. All the best land in the Colony is by no means in European hands. Some of the most fertile in the whole of Africa is found on the slopes of Mt. Kenya and the Aberdare Mountains—Kikuyu country that saw so much bloodshed at the height of the Mau Mau rebellion.

## Vast area involved

Out of the seven million acres of the White Highlands, about 5,500,000 acres are used for cattle-raising, mainly ranching country with low rainfall, supporting few animals to the acre. Much of this country, in contrast to the lush crop-producing areas, is marginal and little-developed because of the lack of individual capital. Similar land in the African areas receives the benefit of expensive Government schemes for controlled grazing, and the provision of water. It is likely to be land in this category which will first become available for

African settlement.

Although there has been no "panic" selling by Europeans, few people are investing in the larger holdings. Today only 10 farmers in Kenya own 50,000-acre and over farms. Considering that even to start on a small scale as a Government-assisted tenant farmer requires an initial capital of between £6,000 and £10,000 it is not surprising that there is no rush of applicants. Of the 70,000 Europeans in Kenya only some 3,000 to 4,000 are actually farmers.

It seems as if economics are joining with political forces to bring about the most important development in the history of this young Colony—the abolition of racial barriers to land ownership.

## ADULT EDUCATION IN GHANA

## Whole Community Works Without Pay

TSITO . . . Maybe the name does not mean anything to you yet it is being talked about increasingly today in West Africa. Tsito is the name of a village, population 2,500, the largest village in the Awudome division of Ghana, about 90 miles from Accra on the trunk road.

It is a thriving, go-ahead community where the village people on their own initiative have built a market place and a park for the lorries which come in daily laden with passengers and produce.

But that's not what puts Tsito in the news. Its fame stems from the fact that it has become an important centre for adult education—a place where people from all over Ghana and from other parts of Africa meet together for study and discussion and it all started on a "do it yourself" basis.

It began in 1949 when the University College of Ghana appointed a Resident Tutor, Miss Lalage Bown, for the Transvolta - Togoland Region. She lectured up and down the country and organized evening classes. And everywhere her lectures met with tremendous success, especially in Awudome. So much so that evening classes soon proved insufficient: the people of Tsito wanted a college of their own, on the lines of the Scandinavian Folk High Schools they had read about. Couldn't the University College provide one for them?

The answer was something like this: "No money for building, but if you construct the buildings yourselves, the Institute of Extra-Mural studies will provide teachers and arrange courses." Twenty-four hours later Tsito's reply was cabled to Accra: "Site already cleared. Awaiting picks and shovels."

A beautiful site on a hillside commanding a magnificent view had been donated by landowners. The whole population had streamed out with their machetes to hack away the bush and clear the ground. Even the women



Tsito College in Ghana has come into being on the do-it-yourself principle and it is now a flourishing institution. Here some of the students are seen cutting grass to keep snakes away.

by Paul Bertelsen

and children helped, carrying on their heads loads of cement, sand and water—the water from a stream nearly two miles away.

The labour was given free, but even so money for materials had to be found. So local collections were started, and nearly everybody in the region gave something. In all, nearly £1,500 was collected—a large amount for an area with a total population of about 7,500, where many farmers scarcely have a money income at all.

In 1956 things became easier. Gifts in cash and kind from firms and individuals outside Awudome were followed by a £1,000-grant from the Transvolta-Togoland Council, and technical guidance from the Ghana Department of Social Welfare and Community Development. In 1957 a second grant of £1,000 made it possible to complete three blocks of buildings.

But long before the buildings were completed—before they were even roofed—the first course was held at Awudome College. That was back in 1954. Since then, courses have been held regularly. There are sessions lasting from a week-end to a fortnight, which are focussed on some timely topic, such as "economic development"; "constitutional problems"; "the work of the United Nations in Africa"; "business in Ghana", and so on.

There are also longer courses lasting three months each, which are aimed at young Ghanaians with qualities of leadership. The emphasis in these courses is on social studies, history, international affairs, and literature, but practical work in carpentry, gardening, etc., is also included. In these courses, the young farmer from the north meets the fisherman from the coast and the smart clerk from Accra.

They have to speak English to understand each other, for their mother tongues are different. But they soon learn to appreciate one another's songs, dances and folk tales, and they are eager to exchange experiences. When they leave, tribal barriers have been broken and another step has been made towards national unity.

The idea of residential adult education has its roots in Denmark, where the first adult college was established in 1844. The Danes have shown a good deal of practical sympathy for Awudome College, and sent gifts to a total value of more than £1,500 including about £80 worth of UNESCO Gift Coupons donated mostly by school-children.

Last year, a voluntary Danish association, Danrelief, sent a Danish couple to Tsito to help in expanding the college. Daniel Pedersen is an experienced craftsman and adult educationist, while his wife, a qualified nurse, acts as college matron and advises the girl students and the women of Tsito in matters of health and baby care, cooking and sewing, etc. Nearly all courses at the College, incidentally, are attended by women as well as men, and in 1958 a special course dealing with the position of women in Ghana was started. Tsito is now well on the map and in the mainstream of Ghana's economic and cultural development. (UNESCO)

## FREEDOM IN FIVE YEARS

— Nyerere

MR. JULIUS NYERERE, President of the Tanganyika African National Union, stated before leaving London for Geneva recently that Tanganyika "would need its European civil servants for many years as the Territory did not have enough trained local men for the service".

Said Mr. Nyerere: "If the civil servants left suddenly they could cause great disruption in the country. I am hoping that they will remain under the same conditions as they have under the Colonial government."

Mr. Nyerere had talks with the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Alan Lennox-Boyd.

At a Press Conference he said he had urged self-government now for Tanganyika and predicted that the Trust Territory would be an independent country in five years.

According to a report in the *Tanganyika Standard*, Dar es Salaam, Mr. Nyerere said he had "fairly satisfactory discussions" with the Colonial Secretary regarding political changes in the territory and he was not going home disappointed.

A target date for independence was not discussed, he said, but the Tanganyika people were impatient to achieve responsible self-government now.

When they were in a position to run their own affairs, a target date for complete independence would be a matter for the Tanganyika politicians.

"I cannot imagine the British continuing to rule in Tanganyika for more than five years" he said, "it would be impossible."

In reply to questions Mr. Nyerere said he was in favour of the boycott of South African goods which has been announced by the Jamaican Government and proposed by organisations in Ghana, Nigeria, Uganda and Kenya as a protest against the Union's apartheid policies.

square miles to other races, public opinion among Europeans

# IN WEST AND CENTRAL AFRICA

## FEDERATION DEVELOPS IN WEST AFRICA

ACCRA: "Africa must be free!" was the main slogan for the All-African People's Conference held in Accra, Ghana, last December. But the ideal for this continent did not end there. There was the bigger dream of a United States of Africa, to rival the United States of America. Could this dream ever come true? The idealists and dreamers were practical enough to realise that even when Africa was under African rule, it would still take many more years before there could be such unity.

The first step, then, it was privately agreed, was to try and form a West African Federation, which would lead the way to the united states of the whole continent. But to some people, this federation is just as much a dream as a united states. What, then, are the chances for this federation?

This federation would, presumably, stretch from Mauritania in the north, to the Cameroons in the east, made up of French and English-speaking states. According to Guinea and Ghana, the first step towards

Nigeria is independent, be foundation members, in what will now be termed the Community of African States, like anybody else. Ghana and Guinea would come in separately, but retain their unity pact.

### Cynical Comments

This explanation has led to cynical comments about free Africa ending up with too many flags. It was mooted in Liberia that the Community of African States would have its own flag which would be hoisted at the community's "summit talks" with the individual flags of the states making up the community. This, they say, would mean that between them, Ghana and Guinea would fly three flags—the third will be the Ghana-Guinea Union flag—and the French Community States (if they were ever enticed into this community) might also decide on their own French Community flag being flown with their individual flags.

That Liberia, Ghana (and therefore Guinea), Nigeria and Sierra Leone (when she gets her independence) can come to a definite agreement to start this Community of African States is an accepted possibility. But without the French Community states, this pact would be as internationally ineffectual as the Ghana-Guinea union. It is therefore up to the heads of these English-speaking countries to persuade their French counterparts to shed their de Gaulle patriotism and pledge themselves to the "African Personality" — which, at the moment, seems to be a Herculean task to set anybody.

Under the iron-handed leadership of M. Felix Houphouët-Boigny, who is ridiculed as being more pro-French than de Gaulle, it is very unlikely that the French Community states can be persuaded to look for allegiance, to the rest of Africa, instead of north to France. Except, perhaps, Senegal and French Sudan, the two states which make up the Federation of the Mali.

### Seems Amenable

Modibo Keita, the president of the French Sudan and the Mali, is the only French-African leader who seems to be amenable to sitting down at a conference table with Sekou Toure or Nkrumah—Sekou Toure is mentioned first, here in Accra, because there is a growing belief that he will be the bridge between English Africa and French Africa.

There is a school of thought in West Africa which believes



SEKOU TOURE

that since Houphouët-Boigny can never be cajoled, or threatened, out of his first allegiance to France, the only possible means of getting French Africa into anything like the Community of African States is by breaking him as a political leader—of the Ivory Coast and the all-powerful R.D.A., with Modibo Keita succeeding him as the leader of these states. But breaking Boigny is much easier said than done, since his R.D.A. is the controlling political body in all the French-speaking states except Senegal and Sudan where Keita rules supreme—and is waging a battle of slanderous words with the other states over the powerful radio station at Dakar, the capital of Senegal.

### Some Problems

These, then, are some of the problems facing the realisation of the Community of African States—a watered-down version of the Union of Independent African States which, with time, could still lead to the original ideal. The first hurdle will come up late next year when, after Nigeria's independence in October 1959, Liberia's President Tubman will have the task of convincing the Nigerian leaders that Dr. Nkrumah means them no harm—that he does not want to be the leader of Africa, but only wants to unite with them on an equal basis to fulfill his dream of a united Africa.

## THREE LONELY BLACK MEN

SALISBURY: Three lonely black men stood sipping tea in the sunlit courtyard of an hotel in Salisbury whose lavatory they were forbidden to use. The tea finished, they trooped with 140 whites into the hotel ballroom converted for the occasion into a conference hall, to join in a debate on a resolution that the control of affairs in Central Africa should never be allowed to pass into black hands. A resolution which sought to change the wording of the Federation's Opposition Dominion Party policy so that it recorded that government should remain in "European" rather than merely in "civilised" hands, was not successful.

But the pathetic anomaly of the presence of these three

## UNEASY CALM IN NYASALAND

From Contact Correspondent

BLANTYRE: The Devlin Commission report has created an atmosphere of tense expectation in Nyasaland. Copies of the report have now reached this country but it will be several days before the detailed findings are widely known. Already the African reaction is that Dr. Banda's magic has prevailed and that he and the other detainees have been completely exonerated.

Already forbidden slogans have been chalked in Soche African township, midnight curfew has been ignored, and there has been singing and dancing in Kanjedza detention camp. Only a few African intellectuals and ex-detainees are being more cautious and are awaiting the Government's action on the Report. But even these speak menacingly of the consequences of failure to accept what they consider the main findings, namely the absence of a murder plot and the universal opposition to Federation. "At the time of the emergency," said an African schoolteacher, "there was ill-feeling between Europeans and us because the Government had told them we were murderers. Now it has been proved they were wrong, we are owed an apology."

### The Police

Over one thousand extra special constables have been enrolled since the emergency and the police are generally much more alert and confident. Furthermore, 686 of the 1,308 Congress members arrested during the emergency remain in detention. Although there are many active Congress sympathisers still at large and considerable organisation is going on, it is expected the police will be sufficient to deter disturbances in the Southern Province. But in the Central and Northern Province the situation will be more precarious.

The police, though recently reinforced, are still thin on the ground. Moreover further forces standing ready in Northern Rhodesia may be of limited use in the area where roads and

communications are so poor. The Moscow-trained Congress leader Msupulji is still at large in the Northern Province with a small band and might be in a position to initiate further riots and demonstrations.

### In the Shadow

The review of the Constitution of the Federation is not due to take place for more than a year. But already the Federation is living in the shadow of its fateful "summit." The subject predominates in private conversation on public platforms and in the columns of the newspapers. Politicians are limbering up for the backroom tug-of-war that will precede the final meeting. But for the man-in-the-street the months of waiting threaten to be nerve-wracking—and particularly so for the business man who will still have to make his own assessment of future prospects in Central Africa after the politicians have mapped out the political future.

Small wonder then that suggestions that the review might be delayed have been most unwelcome here. A prolonged period of wait and see could slow down the Federation's economy seriously, but, understandably, few people are prepared to launch big development projects in the present climate of uncertainty.

The British Government has certainly made it clear that it has no intention of "dismembering" the Federation in 1960. But these assurances have not bred any complacency here. There is in fact pessimism about the prospects of persuading the Africans of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland that Federation is good for them. And there is a growing realisation among white Rhodesians that without African acquiescence Federation must fail. The Government's belated propaganda about the succulent fruits of Federation does not seem to have had much impact—instead, in Nyasaland, Africans have been resigning from the Federal health and postal services as a protest gesture. And there is no African political leader of any standing to be found who is prepared publicly to endorse Federation.

In fact in Nyasaland, one of the most discouraging factors of the situation for those who hoped the Protectorate would soon come to heel, is the yawning political vacuum which persists in spite of the Government's promise of more African Legislative Council seats. Dr. Hastings Banda may be out of sight in prison, but he is certainly not out of the minds of the Africans or Whites.



HOUFHOUE-BOIGNY

this federation was the unity pact signed by the heads of these states last November in Accra, and later ratified by their parliaments. But for the rest of West Africa, this pact seemed to have the reverse effect.

Ghana and Guinea were accused of taking too much onto themselves because in the signing of this pact they were styling themselves as the leaders of the federation, with the other states coming in as junior members. This point of view was raised at the Accra Conference by Chief Anthony Enahoro, Minister of Home Affairs for the West Nigerian government, who said that federation talks should wait until after countries such as Nigeria — which were larger "and had much more experience in the administration of federations"—were independent.

Dr. Nkrumah and Sekou Toure have since dispelled this accusation by explaining at the recent "Big Three" talks in Liberia with President Tubman that the Ghana-Guinea union had no bearing on the West African Federation: the two states would, after the talks to be held by heads of West African states late in 1960 when

## AN AFRIKANER LOOKS AT CONTACT

# Are We Too Nasty To The Nats?

I'VE almost become a regular reader of *Contact*, I'm now reading my second issue of *Drum* and have read an anthology of African writing entitled "Darkness and Light". All these I find extremely illuminating, much of it enjoyable even, but there are, and will always be, moments of irritation particularly with *Contact*. I do feel that this paper is just a little too venomous; just a little too petty and spiteful and sneering. In a recent issue, for example, the Editor refers to a criticism that he is too nasty to the Nats. and he replies to the effect that you can't wash out a pigsty with perfume. It's a figure of speech, of course, but I deeply resented it and so would any other Afrikaner.

When I take a stand for a more sympathetic approach to the Afrikaner, I'm not thinking solely of protecting our feelings and sensibilities. It's a good thing to be annoyed sometimes. But from the point of view of *Contact* and the Liberal Party, from the point of view of any organisation desiring to extend its influence, is this the best way to win friends and influence people? I know that my people are guilty of it too—in fact, it seems to be a general human failing—but I should like to see it eradicated on both sides and from all spheres of conflict of ideas.

Another anti-Afrikaner attitude that I would like to attack is the tendency to regard anything coming from him as premeditated, deliberate, unmitigated evil, whereas anything coming from an African is pictured as being the unfortunate result of circumstances over which he has no control. Surely it can be argued that the Afrikaner, while seemingly having more power to achieve his ends, is hardly less of a victim of circumstance than the black man!

## "Satanic Policy"

Surely the Afrikaner is worthier of the prayers of the English churches, in that his satanic policy is leading him straight to damnation, than the black man who by virtue of his earthly martyrdom, is to inherit heaven! Surely the Afrikaner has some unselfish feelings, and if those feelings are recognised and exploited, greater understanding would result—to the benefit of all concerned!

*Contact's* approach, and the approach of many other people to our race relations, can be faulted in another respect. You will know that a team of West Indian cricketers is due to visit this country. *Contact* and many others are moving heaven and earth to have the tour called off as it would, so it is alleged, lend support to *apartheid*. If this tour is cancelled the attention of the entire world will once again be focussed on S.A. and one more

A highly-placed Afrikaner nationalist has written to a friend of his who is a member of the Liberal Party. As the letter is controversial, and as it deals with *Contact* among other questions, we bring you part of it. It should stimulate discussion. Here goes:

black mark will be notched up, against us. Moreover, S.A. sportsmen will be deprived of an opportunity to see a team of great cricketers. Race relations will suffer another severe setback.

## Positive Approach

That is the negative approach. The positive approach is to welcome the team, to do everything possible to make their visit a success. Literally thousands of white South Africans will flock to see the team play. We will have one more of the all too infrequent opportunities to observe that a black skin can house a human being. That is all we need to bring about a gradual change of heart.

Watching these agitators one is compelled to ask whether true patriotism is the motive, or whether they are not merely aiming at the achievement of their own selfish ends, the vindication at all costs of their own point of view.

Another aspect of the negative approach is the all-out efforts of the local English press to discredit our police force. We all know that the force is about 100% Afrikaans speaking and far from 100% in efficiency. Is the latter condition a result of the former? I don't think so, but the press is doing everything humanly possible to create that impression. More space is often given to the alleged misdeeds of the police than those of the persons being arrested. Because we are ashamed of the actions of many Afrikaans-speaking policemen, we are sensitive about it, the more so when it is rubbed in at every appropriate and inappropriate opportunity by direct accusation and indirect

insinuation.

What I shall never understand is what the English press hopes to achieve by its campaign of discrediting everything Afrikaans; the Government, the Public Service, the Police, the Dutch Reformed Churches, the economic

situation, in fact everything with which the Afrikaner can be remotely associated or for which he can be faintly held responsible.

"It must be resisted simply because to resist authority is a good thing". These are sentiments of an African author in *Contact*. In the broad sense and in the world of ideas this is an admirable sentiment, but what is the broad mass of our African population to make of it? To my mind it can only lead to resistance to authority and disregard of law and order.

If this were an isolated idea appearing in *Contact*, we need not pay much attention to it, but it is the underlying message in news reports on every page of every issue of practically every local English paper. These papers are sitting on a powder keg. They are playing with fire. They are stopping their ears in anticipation of the bang and they are gleefully looking forward to seeing the Nats. blown sky high.

They would gladly suffer the worst depression of all time and they would joyfully see the

economy of the country disintegrate. They would smilingly expose their country to the slings and arrows of foreign opinion to see the Nats. on their knees. They would enthusiastically drive South Africa to the brink of annihilation—and beyond it—not caring whether there is anything to save once they stop their slanders as long as the Nats. are driven from power.

To me it just does not make sense.

I have recently read three books on the subject of racial discrimination. These are *In A Province* by Laurens van der Post, *Ons Die Afgod* by Rabie, and *Swart Pelgrim* (now also available as *Black Pilgrim*) by Venter. Of the three I think the last-named best succeeds in giving a sympathetic portrayal of both sides of the question while yet retaining the significance of the story. With the other two writers the tendency appears to be to condemn what is white and to condone what is black.

H.J.B.

## AFRICA

### NEW TREND IN LIBYA

## PEOPLE, NOT SETTLERS, BENEFIT

TRIPOLI: A dark-skinned young Libyan offered me a drink as soon as I entered the small cafe-bar; and I accepted this kind of welcome given without suspicion or shyness to the foreigner. We were in a little town 40 miles from Tripoli. I had been visiting the vast pink remains of a second century Roman city by the seashore a mile away, at almost 100 degrees in the shade. There was very little shade among the solitary columns and silent, broken walls.

So I was glad of a drink and a talk to the young man, Makluf Salah. He worked at a medical dispensary in the town, which gives first aid and examines patients from the district around. Those who need treatment are sent to the Government hospital in Tripoli.

Makluf Salah is not a doctor, nor is there any doctor in the district; but he received training at a new nursing school in Tripoli. The Point Four aid programme is a good thing, he said in explanation. There is no child welfare clinic in the town, but there will be next year, thanks to Point Four—by which he meant apparently foreign aid generally, American, British or United Nations.

### Many Changes

Of the many changes which have taken place in Libya since it became an independent kingdom seven years ago, the most important is that foreign-subsidised development is directed towards the Libyan people. The roads and buildings and farmsteads built by the Italians before 1940 are there to show what can be done with subsidies from outside and to mock the size of present efforts; but they were made for Italian settlers. Whatever benefit the Libyans derived from them was incidental.

The major share of recent development expenditure has gone to public works, public utilities and agriculture. But it is the expansion of education which has produced the most far-reaching effects—in the growth of a new class of young administrators. Secondary schools have been set up in the main population centres—before

### By a Special Correspondent

independence there was nothing beyond primary education for any except a few selected Libyans—and a university, with faculties of arts and commerce at Benghazi and a faculty of science at Tripoli, had 307 students this year.

Two schools of agriculture and four commercial and technical schools have been established; and the education of girls and women, even among the oases-dwellers of the Fezzan, has begun. Primary schools have been added to at the rate of 50 a year.

The lack of qualified teachers has been met mainly by seconding Egyptians from the Egyptian Ministry of Education. Recently Palestinians and Lebanese have also been recruited, some of these being paid for by U.S.-controlled aid.

### More Facilities

The school system follows the Egyptian, and the textbooks used are Egyptian-produced. Most Libyan students who can take higher or professional courses, either on Government scholarships or at their own expense, go to Egypt. One result of this is the increasing use of the English language.

Development in agriculture is largely an attempt to restore to cultivation the areas irrigated under the Romans by bringing into use again old Roman underground cisterns and wells and system of dykes to spread occasional flood waters. But it involves, especially in Cyrenaica, changes in the tribal form of

land tenure and in the nomadic traditions of the people. Of the three provinces of Libya, Cyrenaica, although smaller than Tripolitania, has the biggest share of arable land. Libya has a total area of 680,000 square miles, of which an estimated eight per cent is cultivable and only half of one per cent is at present under settled farming.

### Across Desert

Across the Gebal Akhdar, the green plateau of Cyrenaica, are strung 62-acre farmsteads parcelled out and equipped for Italian settlers and now reoccupied by the tribes whose grazing land they originally were. The farms are State property, and the title of the present occupiers—families or groups of families—is unsure. Most of the occupiers are semi-nomadic, sowing their crops and returning to harvest them. Under tribal tenure the same individual may not have the same area to cultivate the following year.

The tradition of static farming is growing (in Tripolitania it is now established) but at least a generation will be required before the people are willing to make full use of the agricultural resources which can be made available.

Agricultural planning in the inland oases is made difficult also by the movement of the young people to the coastal capitals, Benghazi and Tripoli, where jobs are on the increase and the style of living is removed by several civilisations from the frugal desert ways. This is a change which the Libyan Government, for political as well as economic reasons, is trying to discourage, but with little success.

## CORRESPONDENTS WANTED

*Contact* wants additional correspondents in cities, townships and reserves throughout South and South-West Africa.

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Write to *Contact*,  
P.O. Box 1979,  
CAPE TOWN.

## BACKWASH OF TIBET, KERALA

COMMUNISTS DISCREDITED  
IN INDIA

THE RECENT ousting of the Communist Party of India (C.P.I.) in Kerala State must not be viewed as an isolated incident of malgovernment by the C.P.I. and warranting the action that has been taken against it as provided in the Constitution of the Central Indian Government, for behind it lies a story of national disillusionment of the Communist Party following the Tibetan revolt.

Nobody can deny that the removal of the communist government was undemocratic despite the provisions of the Constitution. In fact since India's independence in 1948 this is one of the most undemocratic acts that she has committed.

As Mr. K. M. Panikkar points out in his recent book "The Afro-Asian States and their Problems" India is the only country that, despite its tremendous economic and political problems, has treaded the path of democracy with dignity, and given promise of doing so manfully in the future amid the crumbling of democracy in most of the other Afro-Asian states that have won their independence in the past decade.

Does this mean that India is turning back on democracy? No, for India is positively committed to it, as she recognises it as the only sane form of government and in the tradition of her long history.

What then has caused the Indian Central Government and Mr. Nehru to act in this high-handed manner? To some extent it has been the situation in Kerala itself, where violence and unrest have reached dangerous proportions. Hence the promise by Mr. Nehru that there would be a re-election

By a Special  
Correspondent

within six months.

But to really understand both the Opposition to the Government and Mr. Nehru's actions, one must understand India's reaction to the Tibetan revolt, and the role of the C.P.I. in it.

When news of the revolt first reached India, there was general sympathy among the Indian people for the subjected Tibetans. They not only liked and respected the Dalai Lama, but also had centuries of cultural contact with Tibet. The prevailing mood was one of sympathy and not even condemnation of the Chinese action, until China accused India of plotting the revolt, and having imperialistic, expansionist ambitions towards Tibet.

The false accusation not only shocked the Indian nation but also

drove them into a furious rage. Demonstrations broke out in Bombay and New Delhi with crowds carrying banners exhorted the "Chinese imperialists to stop strangling Tibet."

China then accused India of interfering in her internal affairs. With this accusation the spirit of the Bandung Conference — where China had given emphatic assurances that her policies were based on non-aggression and respect for national sovereignty—melted into the air as did its protestations of friendship and co-existence in regard to India.

## Famous Pact

The famous Panch Shila drawn up between Mr. Nehru and Chou-en-Lai during Nehru's visit to China in 1954, based on the five principles of "mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful co-existence," withered away.

When India criticised Chinese actions in Tibet she did so on the basis of the Panch Shila that was drawn up between the two Prime Ministers in the context of Tibetan autonomy. Nehru had agreed to acknowledge Chinese suzerainty over Tibet provided China recognised Tibet's autonomy.

But China has now betrayed this agreement. It has not only tried to uproot Buddhism but it has also continuously interfered in Tibet's domestic affairs.

As if all this were not enough for the Indian nation, India's Communist Party assumed a fifth column role. It sided with Peking and backed the communist charge that the Tibetan uprising was inspired by India and that Kalimpong in India was the command centre of a revolt by feudal elements in Tibet against the legitimate government there. A member of the C.P.I. was summoned to the Chinese Embassy for this purpose.

Nehru categorically denied this charge in Parliament, but 24 hours after his denial the C.P.I. repeated it.

## India raged

India raged over the two-facedness of the C.P.I. and Parliament clamoured for the C.P.I. to be discredited as a national party.

Referring to allegations in the Communist press concerning collusion between Indian political officers and anti-Chinese spies, Mr. Nehru said indignantly: "the C.P.I. goes about naming our principal officers. The Party shows, more than we suspected, a certain lack of balance of mind and total absence of feelings of decency and

## MAKING "BUTTER-TEA"



Tibetans drink an incredible amount of tea, each day, sometimes as much as 70 howls. This picture shows a Tibetan woman making the "tea" from yak butter, salt, tea and boiling water, in a wooden vessel.

NON-RACIAL HOSTELS  
IN LONDON

DETAILS of the work being carried out in Britain by the various hostels catering for the needs of overseas students, and an appeal for support of the International Socialist Youth Hostel in London, are outlined by Mr. Fenner Brockway (Labour M.P.) in a report received from London by *Contact*. Mr. Brockway writes as follows:

When students come to Britain from abroad they must either live in hostels or find private lodgings. The hostels are generally specialised, occupied by students from a particular country or who belong to a particular race. Lodgings are not always to be found easily by Asian, African or Caribbean students because of colour prejudice, and the rents are often more than students can afford to pay.

The hostels are mostly good and there are certain advantages in their racial segregation. Students coming to a new country often like to live with people from their homeland. Their first political interest is centred there; they form groups which carry on their national struggle in London.

But there are also disadvantages in segregated hostels. Students who come to London do not want only to learn law, medicine or engineering. They also want to widen their experience by learning about the life of other people and to do this they must mix.

There are a few hostels in London where men and women of all races live together and one of these is the 'Yusuf Meherali' hostel in North Paddington, not far from Notting Hill where the recent

racial disturbances took place. It is named after one of the pioneers of socialism in India, a dedicated prophet of international equality and brotherhood.

This hostel has been opened as a joint effort by the British and Indian socialists. The Labour Party is one of the co-sponsors and the British Trade Unions have assisted. British socialist students at the Universities co-operate and the Indian Socialist Group in London participates enthusiastically. The hostel has an Indian warden.

The residents live simply, sleeping two to a room and cooking their own food at a row of stoves in a well-equipped kitchen. Because life is simple and there is no profit motive charges are low.

We hope that this will be the first of many hostels spread through the towns of Britain. They can become centres of a new world in miniature with young people of all races living together in equality.

The hostels are being established by the Home and Overseas Hostels Society. The Warden of the Yusuf Meherali hostel at 31, Kilburn Park Road, London, N.W. 6. (Kilburn 1501) will be pleased to hear from all who are interested.

nationalism. What they are, I don't know. They cease to be Indians if they talk that way."

The Tibetan issue has also focussed fresh light upon another deliberate indignity to India by Communist China. In the last five years as much as 30,000 sq. miles of Indian territory has been shown by Chinese and Soviet cartographers as belonging to China. This was overlooked in India as an academic error until Nehru said in Parliament last year that Indian grazing grounds on the Tibetan border had been forcibly occupied by Chinese herdsmen.

## Kidnapped

Just before the revolt in Tibet a party of Indian officers skiing in the Ladakh region of Kashmir were suddenly kidnapped by Chinese soldiers for allegedly contravening Chinese territory. This incident was repeated in Uttar Pradesh, a North Indian state, when ten Indian army men were captured, taken across the border, questioned and then led back, blindfold.

India protested to China about these affairs "on numerous occasions," but the replies up to date were inadequate, Mr. Nehru said. China had no grounds for violating Indian territory because the international McMahon Line clearly separates its territories from those of India.

China has also tried to undercut Indian markets in South East Asia.

Mr. Nehru is no Communist, nor fellow-traveller. He made that clear in a recent article in the *Indian Economic Review*, when he said that Communism would be

doomed to failure because of its disregard for spiritual values and its suppression of the freedom of the individual. But despite this, he has been inclined to be dewy-eyed about the Communists' real intentions.

All that has changed since the Tibetan crisis. India now fears her security while a monster looks on greedily beyond the borders of Tibet. She is now openly initiating joint defence measures with Nepal and troops have been reinforced along the eastern border.

And what of the future of Communism in India itself? Can it be contained? Probably yes, but only if the corruption and nepotism that are rife in the ruling circles is rooted out. The C.P.'s success in Kerala was due to a large extent to corruption. A situation similar to the corrupt regime of Chiang-kai-Shek may develop in India, and result in a Communist victory.

## Situation tense

The situation is pregnant. India's best chance is for the Praja Socialist Party or some other Socialist democratic party to build itself into the true opposition and a popularity equal to that of the Congress, which could also gain the confidence of Mr. Nehru as a democratic Socialistic Party. Mr. Nehru has said that the purpose of the Indian economic development should be to establish a "Socialistic democratic Society". Then it need not be asked "After Nehru, What?" India will then be safely on her way to a socialistic democracy, a choice that will decide the way of the world for freedom or totalitarianism.



# SAM SLY'S CORNER

FORTNIGHTLY NOTES ON BOOKS AND THE  
PRESS



## Poets mix it

Roy Campbell was hazy on detail when talking, as pleased him, about poets he had punched. Of his adversaries, the 'MacSpaunday' syndicate, MacNeice and Spender seemed to have been at the other end of Campbell's hamlike fist. Auden and Day Lewis to have got off. An old B.B.C. colleague of Campbell's, Louis MacNeice, weighed down with honours since those lean post-war days, seemed quite gratified when I slipped in a question about this amongst some rather hearty talk about Brendan Behan and rigger the other night. Campbell in a rage, he said, whipped off Geoffrey Grigson's glasses outside a bookshop and smacked his face.

Drinking in the George later, MacNeice and friends were discussing Campbell's prank in one corner, Campbell and friends in another. Campbell came over to MacNeice, who said: "You really shouldn't have hit Geoffrey like that, Roy. You know he can't see without his glasses, and besides he's much smaller than you are." Campbell said: "I only did this to him," giving MacNeice a velvet touch on the cheek. MacNeice then said: "Now show me how you really hit him," which Campbell did—hard—got biffed back and they managed to bang each other about for a few seconds before their friends brought this interesting scene to a close.

They never met after Campbell went to Portugal, though MacNeice heard once that when Roy was visiting London and friends suggested a drink at the George he refused, muttering, "Things happen there."

It was part of the Campbell paradox that so generous-hearted and loving a person should nurse unruly quarrels and hatreds. David

Wright the poet wrote of him: "He can count his enemies but not his friends."

## Africa by Africans

Unless you are a West African, a history of West Africa may not sound over-exciting, but a new one Allen & Unwin are publishing should make news. It is by a Ghanaian called William Conton and is from original African sources. Oddly enough Africans see their history as starting before the Europeans arrived, whereas every colony's written history still begins with the planting of a flag among benighted blacks. Conton's work is an important step in the new writing of African history.

Basil Davidson's *Old Africa Rediscovered* (Gollancz) gathers most of the first fruits of ten years research by a few into popular form. It will be reviewed here on publication in October, by Edward Roux. The only Union histories from the non-white angle that I know of are *The Role of the Missionaries* by Nosipho Majeke and *Three Hundred Years* by Hosea Jaffe, which both consist of white sources turned inside out—for right read wrong, triumph-disaster, hero-villain etc.

## Classic plot

John Barkham, a charming and cultivated American, also told me that Conton has a novel accepted by Littlebrown, Boston (and bound for paperbacks after that), to be published in February. It tells the story of a West African, educated like Conton in England, who settles there, falls in love with a white South African girl, but leaves her to lead the liberation movement in his homeland. He is triumphantly successful and at the end of the book decides that he will accept the urgent call to go south and lead South Africa to

freedom as well. Future events will influence the writing of a sequel, he told Barkham.

## Plumb centre

Conton is an educationist who was born in Sierra Leone and lives in Accra, a Ghanaian citizen. John Barkham is a literary journalist born in Pretoria who lives in New York, an American citizen. He went there in 1944 from the *Rand Daily Mail* and is now a book reviewer for the *New York Times* and *Saturday Review of Literature*, with a syndicated book column of his own, and a splendid position in the plumb centre of the American book trade. These 15 years are the result of his second attempt to get to America. The first was in 1932 when he set off for Europe with a fellow junior reporter, Uys Krige, but came home after a year, to marriage and another 12 years in South Africa. After 11 years in a dormitory suburb while their son and daughter were going through high school and college, the Barkhams moved to an apartment in the middle of New York. After a few weeks in South Africa, believe me, they are dying to get back to it.

## ABRAHAMS IN EXILE

### MUSICALS AND LIBERALS

THE last time Peter Abrahams was here was 1955, and *Return to Goli* was the result. This, *Tell Freedom* and his novels are a valuable part of our literature. His latest news is that *Mine Boy*, his first novel, will be shown as a musical in New York next January. Its Duke Ellington score Abrahams is said to have found "more African" than *King Kong's*

In 1st August issue of the *New York Saturday Review*, Abrahams calls Alan Paton's *Hope for South Africa* "a very serious and sincere attempt to think a way through the ugly racial situation that is South Africa to-day". He criticizes Paton, whom he calls "one of the finest South Africans", on four points.

\* white bias—Paton says 3000 Zulus were slain at Blood River, but 100 Boers were slaughtered at Weenen. Abrahams adds "if the book had been written by a black South African, even a black member of the Liberal Party, there would have been an equal number of hints of 'black bias'."

\* not favouring co-operation with the Congress of Democrats.

\* "obviously limited knowledge" of the Congresses and

Unity Movement and their interaction.

\* comments on the ANC which are "superficial in the extreme". Abrahams sees in the ANC "all the hopes and dreams—social, cultural, religious, political—of a dispossessed and denied people."

\* the Liberal Party's attempt to carry the message of liberalism to white voters by putting up candidates for parliament—a justification that is "feeble in the eyes of any African."

A man who, like Professor Keppel-Jones gives up hope for his country, must find another. Peter Abrahams, now editing a newspaper in the West Indies, has given up hope for us. He ends.

"Mr. Paton's Liberal Party is a noble attempt to turn back the evil day in South Africa, as is its hope to forestall a revolution in favour of what he describes as "massive evolution". Started two decades ago, it might have been the hope of South Africa. To-day it is, I fear, too late to avert the terrible explosion that is in the making."

## Dread Words

THE HIGH ROOF. By Joy Packer (Eyre & Spottiswoode) 16s.

HERE is a clear case of a writer "blackening the good name of South Africa abroad"—a writer who reaches many thousands in a score of languages, and who starts her new novel with the dread words: "all the characters and situations . . . are fictitious. Only the setting and way of life is authentic". (my italics)

White South Africans cannot all be as bad as this. In many societies the same depths of amorality, racial arrogance, narcissism have been plumbed by the soft descendants of self-made oppressors. In these other societies there was often a vulgarity of mind almost the equal of Lady Packer's characters, though it was usually counterbalanced by sensitivity and refinement in a few. But there can never have been such mental dullness. Her people's antics in and out of each other's beds, their tasteless entertainments, their lack of civilized emotional relationships

show them to be a set of Yahoos scarcely disguised within their physical beauty: "wheat-fair hair," "deep velvet voice", "strong, sensitive hands" they may have, but their hearts and minds are made of candyfloss and vinegar.

These English South Africans Lady Packer creates, Pierre Delaporte, Kirsten de Vries and others similarly named, are not put before us as objects of derision: Lady Packer likes her white characters, even bad egg Lois. Of her Coloured and African characters I shall say nothing except that they reveal some of the meanest of white prejudices. Some of the legislation that such prejudices have given rise to ("the dreaded Immorality Act" and the Population Register) helps to motivate the plot, and is no doubt a sales factor too. Lady Packer reserves judgement on these, but she says elsewhere "Like most South Africans and every Afrikaner, Helm was fully in favour of apartheid." Most South Africans? More than half of the 14 million of us? Or does "South African" mean something more select?

Why so excited about an ephemeral best-seller? Isn't the author another of these "South African lady novelists" Campbell described as "housekeeping with her fountain pen and writing novels with her broom"? No she has a story-telling gift that will carry the soulless protagonists of *The High Roof* into the minds of her countless readers. Her spicy tale of adultery, broken marriages, blackmail, sugar with lachrymose incidents in maternity homes and hospitals, has an admirable pace and the latter part of the book is expertly dovetailed with suspenseful twists. This is in spite of a repellent prose style, schoolgirl dialogue and no humour at all. Yet a suspension of disbelief is achieved, presumably because of the author's belief in her characters and their way of life.

It is a way of life unfamiliar to most Contact readers; those few who have had occasion to be irritated by the kind of people she describes (pace Lady Bracknell) will, I am sorry to say, uphold her claim to authenticity. This is disquieting, for it is a way of life that is, in its empty pretentiousness, as much a symptom of our social illness as the more obvious ones of alcoholism, the divorce rate, and police brutality. Like others who "blacken our good name abroad", Lady Packer has done it by telling the truth. S.S.

## OUTSTANDING SOUTH AFRICAN



D. C. MARIVATE, Tsonga author and composer, at the African Authors' Conference held at Pretoria in July. In the Scout world Mr. Marivate holds the Silver Wolf, Scouting's rarely-won top award.

## NEW AND TOPICAL PUBLICATIONS

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by Muriel Horrell — 4/6

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# The Novel & The Nation II

On 8th August there appeared on this page a summary of the first part of "The Novel and the Nation" Miss Nadine Gordimer's address to the 1959 NUSAS conference. There remains her analysis of eight major South African novels in terms of the sociological and philosophical background which the first part describes. Below are some brief extracts from her remarks on seven of these novels, ending with the final passage of the address, on *The Story of an African Farm*. The extracts are not intended as literary judgments, they are reproduced here merely for the particular points they make:

● Sarah Gertrude Millin's *God's Stepchildren* accepts without question our white South African tribal morality. Nowhere does the book suggest that Barry Lindell's sense of sin [for his measure of black blood] is tragically, ludicrously misplaced . . . If this is the stuff of sin, at what a curious disadvantage it must put us with people of other nations, whose writers are concerned with man's survival and the meaning of his life on earth.

● In Alan Paton's *Too Late for the Phalarope* it is not the awfulness of lust that shocks and shames, but the awfulness of its object—a black woman. The moral focus of the book, like that of *God's Stepchildren*, is offcentre. (But there is comment within, and Van Vlaanderen's aunt, the narrator says in the end:) "The truth is that we are not as other people any more."

● In *Wild Conquest* . . . Anna's husband and Paul represent the spiritual values which Peter Abrahams suggests the white man lost by living by the rifle. He postulates, in fact, that you cannot have the bible in one hand and a rifle in the other.—That combination is per-

haps the beginning of an immoral morality.

● In Harry Bloom's *Episode*, the location does not belong to the old homogeneous community of the black man . . . but to the technological collectivity of modern South Africa. In the African character we see not so much a picture of the past decaying in the present as the present painfully giving birth to the future.

● In *A Dance in the Sun*, Dan Jacobson does not teach or instruct, he goes further, he illuminates . . . We are out of the world of political concepts and down to human needs . . . We are shown that it is the liberal attitude—the no-colour-bar one—that is crude and untried in South Africa; whereas the *intrinsically* crude relationship of the black-man-in-his-place, the white-man-in-his—"that is mellowed, that is history."

● In *Turbott Wolfe*, William Plomer saw what [the life around him] was in its essence, and therefore its potential, instead of writing about it according to prearranged concepts, and the shape it was squeezed into by the South African morality. He was not a prophet but a fearless thinker whose imagination took a leap.

THE freedom that Lyndall burns for—it is not freedom from the colour bar, but freedom for women in an age when independence for women was an issue. But what does it matter? All oppressions are the same in their effect on the oppressed, and what she suffers is valid for all who knew a man-imposed limit on the scope of their minds and bodies. And the spiritual progression of Waldo, struggling to understand himself, and the relaxation of man to his godhead, alone and ill-equipped, a poor ignorant boy "so blinded by thinking and feeling that he has never seen the world"—that same struggle is being lived through by many young Africans to-day, and by these young people of all colours who ask something of a life that provides, at best, for the senses, but not for the searching mind, not even to the extent of furnishing the cultural means of going about the search.

THIS novel has a special significance in that itself provides one of those cultural means; it stimulates intellectual curiosity, something conspicuously lacking in our culture, almost lost to us through preoccupation with our own social and political problems. "I like to realise forms of life utterly unlike mine" says Lyndall. And restlessly tirelessly through Lyndall and Waldo, who together make up the questing nature of life itself, we explore nature and the nature of man. Olive Schreiner has none of the intellectual timidity that makes her limit herself to the things she knows, the little world she knows. She is not afraid to make pronouncements, her own definition of the unwieldy and ineluctable. The book is full of guesses at the things we want to know, the questions at the centre of existence with which we are all always concerned at the level where our lives plunge out of grasp. She analyses the nature of work of different kinds, and what it does to and for men; she ponders on crime and identity, and on genius. The novel is glorious with irrelevancies, for nothing is irrelevant to the exploration of life, and Lyndall and Waldo are in exploration of life.

THEY are taking it as far as it can go, rather than trudging from one of the accepted human goals to another—love, success, salvation—as people do in most novels.

"TRUTH begins in dialogue" Nietzsche said. What the South African novel is doing for the people at present is making heard that dialogue. *The Story of an African Farm* is always there to remind us that though we may have changed and shaped ourselves according to laws and ideals within our particular situation, and though our novel does and must concern itself with making sense of what has happened to us, we have not contracted out of the human

condition. In the end, the question we must ask of the novelist, and the one he must attempt to answer is: What is the life of man?

## MAKING DO

SOUTH AFRICAN PERSONALITIES AND PLACES. By Bernard Sachs (Kayor Publishers) 15s.

BLURBED as "a new departure in South African literary writing" Bernard Sachs's book is at best a false start. It rarely rises above the level of rather pedestrian journalism.

For the most part, *South African Personalities and Places* consists of profiles reprinted from the *S. A. Jewish Times*, dealing with such diverse characters as Mr. Sachs's trade-unionist brother Solly, Jan Smuts, Nadine Gordimer, the sculptor Lippy Lipschitz, Lewis and Dora Sowden, H. C. Bosman and Prosecutor Percy Yutar. Where profiles should be crisp, these are soggy, where they should be taut these are rambling and gossipy. Many are too laudatory and most could do with considerable pruning.

Not that they are completely without charm. "We now come to the meridian of Solly's political career in South Africa—the prohibited meeting he held at the City Hall steps that sunny Saturday morning, when the police indulged, and over-indulged, in some batoning études. I, myself, stayed in bed reading Proust—I can't stand excitement."

There is an essay on the 1922 Johannesburg Miners' strike that makes grimly fascinating reading, untangling some of the horribly confused issues and recording the terrible incidents. In "The City Hall Steps" Sachs reminisces about some of the eccentrics of the early Communist Party days. Here he is at his best evoking nostalgic memories as he did in his autobiography *Multitude of Dreams*. He also has some interesting comments on the Jewish contribution to South Africa.

But why must he drag in allusions to mythology and the Old Testament and quotations from and references to literature at every possible opportunity? So many are embarrassingly pretentious. And why must Mr. Sachs talk about "the African"? There ain't no such animal. And why did he absorb only Bosman's worst stylistic defects and none of his felicities?

The first profile is on Bernard Sachs himself, written by a friend who concludes "It may even be that Bernard Sachs turns out to be a significant chronicler of our times." I very much doubt it, but until that "significant chronicler" turns up we shall have to make do with Mr. Sachs.

PETER RODDA

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## AN AFRICAN FARM

AND so we come last to the first South African novel, and what appears to be merely a defiance of chronology is in fact the greatest homage the present can pay the past.

*The Story of an African Farm* is not something over and done with; it is instead the sort of novel we hope is to come. Its quality is best defined in the words of the stranger in the book itself, who says of the wood-carving Waldo makes for his father's grave "the whole of the story is not written there, but it is suggested: the attribute of all true art, the highest and the lowest, is this—that it says more than it says and takes you away from itself." The eye of Olive Schreiner's consciousness opens on a Karoo farm in the eighteenth-seventies, but it takes us away to nothing more limited than the mystery of life itself. The other novels we have been considering have answered the question "What does man make of life in South Africa?" This one attempts to answer the eternal question "What is the life of man?" The answer is presented like one of those frost flowers that in their slight, brief beauty contain a pattern that is one of the fundamental forms of the universe itself.

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# LIBERAL PARTY NOT AGAINST CONGRESS

SIR,

May I answer some of the questions put by your correspondent, V. Kunene, in a recent issue of *CONTACT*? Your correspondent's first two questions deal with Mr. Ngubane's attendance at the Pan-Africanist Conference and have already been answered by him. The third question asks if the Liberal Party is against (i) the ANC, (ii) the Congress of Democrats, (iii) *New Age*.

In reply to (i) and (ii) the Liberal Party is not against these two organisations and has repeatedly worked with them in the past on matters of common policy. In reply to (iii) the Liberal Party applauds much of what *New Age* does to expose the practical effects of *apartheid*, while disagreeing with much of its comment on international affairs.

Question Four: The Liberal Party's attitude to the Congress Alliance is set out in the reply to the previous question.

The Liberal Party does not support the Freedom Charter. Some of its provisions are acceptable, other socialistic provisions are not compatible with the Party's declared policy.

The aim of the Liberal Party is universal suffrage, which may, or may not, be achieved by stages.

Question seven asks if the Party supports capitalism or socialism? The Party stands for private enterprise but recognises the responsibility of the State for the provision of large-scale social services.

Finally, your correspondent asks whether the Liberal Party agrees that (i) the masses must be organised before a change in the *status quo* can be brought about, and (ii) that the basic causes of injustice, race discrimination and *apartheid* are economic?

In reply to the first part of the question, the Liberal Party does not think or plan in terms of amorphous, impersonal "masses". It believes that it is imperative that *people* of all races should be organised if the *status quo* is to be altered.

The Liberal Party does not hold the view that economics is the basic cause of racial discrimi-

mination. Whilst it may be an important element in the situation it is possible to quote many examples of the economic interest of the whole community being sacrificed in order to further racial discrimination.

PETER BROWN  
Pietermaritzburg

## REAL OPPOSITION

SIR,

To serve as a brake against the kind of legislation being rushed through by the Government, that affects and reduces the dignity of the non-whites in this country, we need a new opposition party that is really effective and so far as the salvation of the non-whites are concerned, we would prefer and would welcome the Liberal Party, because the United Party today is as dead as the dodo.

HARILAL H.  
Durban

## ECONOMIC FORCES

SIR,

Your correspondent SUFFICIENT and other critics seem to have missed the main point of Mr. Stanford's argument which is that the greater the degree of industrialisation and prosperity (i.e. economic integration) in South Africa, the sooner will equality be achieved.

In short, it is to economic forces that he looks to break down the colour bar.

Surely no Liberal can disagree with this argument, which is a long-term one.

E.N.M.  
Durban

## To Correspondents

Because of shortage of space many of the letters which we publish have had to be shortened. Other things being equal we will give priority to letters that have been kept as short as possible.

## THE BOYCOTT

SIR,

I repeat the question put to you in my letter dated Aug. 7th. On what principle can we advocate economic sanctions in the form of a trade boycott against South Africa when this same weapon is not used against the anti-Christian and anti-democratic Communist countries of Russia and China?

V. G. DAVIES  
Camps Bay

For two reasons: (1) because *apartheid* (not "South Africa") is anti-Christian and anti-democratic; (2) because as South Africans we are principally concerned with our own country.

—Editor.

## SELLING POINTS

SIR,

I am sure that you will want to improve the circulation figure of *Contact*, which I believe now stands at 9,500 copies. At sixpence a copy I believe you can sell many more if you follow these suggestions:

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*Contact* is the people's paper and more and more people must read it for the good of South Africa. AN INDIAN YOUTH  
Durban

## NATIONAL DRESS

SIR,

It seems to me as though we have given ourselves over to other people's clothing and customs and forgotten our red blankets, poneyskin trousers and tribal decorations (*umvambo*).

In this we are being misled by those who do not know this country but call themselves Afrikaners. They have taught us about God and equality in the sight of God, but have enriched themselves on the land and given us *apartheid* instead.

This people say that it is sinful to wear red blankets but they say so because they want us to buy clothes so that they can make money.

Let us have a week devoted to wearing our national dress and taking part in our dances and singing.

LUNDI JONGWANA  
Langa, Cape Province



# Mission Schools and D.R.C. Influence

SIR,

In your issue of August 8 there is an article said to be by "an authoritative commentator writing in *South Africa*, London." It is entitled 'D.R.C. Reaps English Mission Crops'. The last paragraph begins 'I do not think that any one of the facts set out above can be seriously challenged. They are facts. Some may demur to the interpretation of them . . .'

I disagree and wish to challenge the so-called facts very seriously indeed. In Lovedale; Healdtown; Blythwood; Emgwal; St. John's College, Umtata; Tiger Kloof; Emfundsweni; Shawbury; Clarkebury; St. Matthew's, the change described has not taken place. Can it then truthfully be said that it has taken place scarcely without exception?

And if one considers some other schools, such as Nyanga, All Saints; or Osborn in which the Principals are Africans, one can add to the list for in these schools also the Principals are not Afrikaans-speaking members of the Dutch Reformed Church.

To state that "it is not at all misleading to say that Anglican or Presbyterian principals have been replaced by principals who are scarcely without exception, members of the Dutch Reformed Church" is to state, not a fact that cannot seriously be challenged, but something that is definitely not true.

As a member of the Liberal Party and a subscriber to *Contact* from its inception I am con-

cerned that this article could have appeared without comment in your paper. I find it easy to believe that our rulers would like the facts to be as stated but I think it is clear that they are not.

One more point. I read "in all these schools English is, of course still taught, but it is already in the second place instead of first and there are signs that it may be slipping into the third place." I would not dream of challenging this as a fact. It is all too obviously true. But should it not be reported that Afrikaans-speaking teachers are again and again appointed to vacant posts even to teach English, because English-speaking teachers do not apply?

I read in my newspaper yesterday a protest by Mr. Alan Paton against misleading articles in the English press and was very glad to know that he had made it. Can we not rely on the unvarnished truth, grim enough, to plead our cause? Misleading propaganda is a very ugly weapon.

J.H.E.  
Umtata

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CONTACT



# CONTACT

**SOUTH AFRICA'S NON-RACIAL REVIEW**

Registered at G.P.O. as a Newspaper

WEEK ENDING 19th September 1959

Vol. 2 No. 19

**ELECTIONS:  
LIBERAL FIGHTS NAT.**

SEE PAGE 2

**NYASALAND GOVT.  
BANS "CONTACT"**

SEE PAGE 5



**GRAHAMSTOWN LOCATION 11 a.m.—100,000 hungry children are fed in Cape and coastal schools alone—all by volunteers since official schemes were dropped for "economy" reasons.**

## LIBERALS AND THE ELECTIONS

# Colin Lang fights Nat. in Pretoria East

THE LIBERAL PARTY has nominated four candidates for the provincial elections. Two of them, Mrs. Marion Friedmann in Houghton and Mr. Patrick Duncan in Sea Point, have straight contests against the United Party. In Ixopo, Natal, Mrs. F. G. Ventress has been caught in the only four-cornered contest of the election — Liberal Party, Federal Party, United Party and an independent.

Pretoria East, a constituency which has already played a historic part in South African elections, will have a straight choice between a Liberal and a Nationalist. In 1910 General Botha was defeated here by Sir Percy Fitzpatrick; in 1948 General Smuts took this seat after he had been defeated at Standerton. Delimitations and the drift since 1948 have turned it into a Nationalist stronghold, but this has not deterred the Pretoria Branch of the Liberal Party and its founder-chairman, Dr. Colin M. F. Lang, from challenging Mr. B. Muller, the Nationalist candidate.

The son of the late James Lang, once a vice-principal of the Pretoria Boys High School and later rector of Grey High School in Port Elizabeth, Colin Lang was born in Pretoria in 1927. He obtained his medical degree at the University of the Witwatersrand and then went to London for post-graduate studies. For the past five years he has been in practice in Pretoria.

Dr. Lang is a grandson of Sir John Fraser, for many years chairman of the O.F.S. Volksraad and a candidate for the Presidency. His forbears were pioneers in the Dutch Reformed Church and his family have been leading members of the Presbyterian Church in South Africa. Two of his brothers are also prominent members of the Liberal Party—Mr. John Lang in Johannesburg and Mr. David Lang, chairman of the Port Elizabeth Branch.

## Critical Choice

During his election campaign, Dr. Lang will tell the 13,000 voters of Pretoria East that we are moving to the moment of "critical choice between ideas that stem from fear and race prejudice and a sane solution which is South Africa's destiny

— a society in which character, not colour, will determine opportunities and rights for all her citizens".

Commenting on Dr. Lang's stand, Backbencher, the political columnist of the *Cape Argus*, sees Pretoria East as one of the few bright spots in "what may become known as the provincial election of the long, long yawn". "Some South African constituencies," he writes, "seem destined to remain on nodding terms with our political history. Names of seats such as Wakkerstroom and Standerton conjure dramas of the past.

"Now the voters of Pretoria East, another significant constituency, have been beckoned on to the fickle stage of history. For the first time ever in South Africa at the provincial polls they will be asked to choose between an official Liberal Party candidate and an official Nationalist Party contender.

"It is a bizarre decision with which to confront the electorate in a constituency which in the process of time has become a Nationalist citadel."

## Making History

Backbencher envies the electors of Pretoria East "the piquancy of their choice". For the third time since Union they can "make history as they mark their ballot papers on October 14."

In Natal, where 22 United Party, eleven Federal Party, and seven independent candidates are contesting 22 seats, Mrs. Ventress moved from Pinetown to avoid a three-cornered contest with a U.P. and a "progressive" to find herself in a four-cornered fight in Ixopo. If variety is lacking in the other three provinces, Natal makes up for it. Only three candidates were returned unopposed, in contrast to 32 (18 Nat and 14 UP) in the Cape, 17 (all Nat) in

the Orange Free State, and 31 (17 Nat and 14 UP) in the Transvaal.

Houghton, which, like Sea Point in the Cape, has been greatly disturbed by the United Party split, will have a straight choice between Mrs. Marion Friedmann (Liberal) and Mr. J. P. A. de Vos (UP).

Mrs. Friedmann is chairman of the Houghton Branch of the Liberal Party and is a member of the National Executive. In her B.A. degree year at the University of the Witwatersrand, she was the first winner of the Distinguished Woman Graduate's prize. She was later awarded the M.A. degree with distinction for her thesis on Olive Schreiner.

For years an active member of the Liberal Party, Mrs. Friedmann has participated before in its campaigns in the Houghton area. This time she approaches a constituency already torn by the UP rift. Its Member of Parliament, Mrs. Helen Suzmann, was one of the leaders of the "progressive" breakaway; its first provincial election candidate, Mrs. K. Mitchell, was replaced after she joined the "progressives".

## Had other ideas

United Party squabbles and breakaways are also a feature of the Sea Point constituency where Patrick Duncan is now opposed by Dr. Jan Dommissie. The first United Party candidate, Dr. Arnold Greenblatt, kept quiet for several days after the Bloemfontein congress; he then said he was "100 per cent Sir de Villiers Graaff", but found that the most active members of his committee had other ideas; a few days after this statement he withdrew from the election saying there was no room in politics for a humanitarian unless "he was prepared to submerge his conscience into a rigid party affiliation."

Dr. Dommissie, apparently, has no such qualms. He is "four-square" behind Div. He emphasised this when nominated and repeated it in a five-minute speech at his opening meeting at Camps Bay when he and one other speaker addressed an audience of 70 (including 30 Liberals) in a 400-seat hall. Dr. Dommissie also told this meeting that, "we in the United Party are, to quote Mr. Harry Oppenheimer, a 'middle-of-the-road' party... Our leader is not a *baas*. That is why we are willing to follow him."

The election in Sea Point is being hampered for the Liberal Party by the sudden illness of Patrick Duncan. He is now recovering from a serious abdominal operation and is making such good progress that he is expected to be back in the campaign before the end of the month. He is to speak at a meeting in Sea Point on September 29 and in Camps Bay on October 7.

"Do It Yourself"—and for Others



A spare-time hobby is bringing fame—and useful pocket-money—to Mr. John W. Mohapi, of Mohale's Hoek, Basutoland. Mechanically-minded John Mohapi repairs wireless sets, gramophones and watches and his clients include Europeans as well as Africans. Mr. Mohapi is a clerk in a local store and this picture shows him at work outside his home until his worship is completed.

## BEUKES BALES OUT: VISA FROM U.S. GOVERNMENT

THE JOURNEY of Mr. Hans Beukes to London, Oslo, and now New York to put the case of the Rehoboth people before the United Nations is one of the most startling set-backs which the Nationalist Government has had.

The "Beukes Affair" aroused considerable interest not only in South Africa but also in the United States and in Europe.

Mr. Eric Louw and his S.A. Information Service went into action immediately they laboured hard and unceasingly to convince the world that the Government was justified in withdrawing Beukes's passport.

The Government is not obliged to give reasons for the withdrawal of a passport, but it transpired that one of the flimsy reasons was that Beukes's grandfather had been a signatory to a document which criticised the Government and which was circulated some years ago.

The impression was also created that Beukes did not enjoy the confidence of his own Rehoboth people and that they did not regard him as their representative or spokesman.

It is now known that a representative delegation of his people visited him during his "exile" in Bechuanaland and assured him of their confidence in him and of their unwavering support as their representative at the United Nations. Furthermore, his people contributed towards the expenses of his trip.

So much, then, for the futile Government propaganda that the Rehoboth people did not want to have anything to do with Beukes.

There is, however, another most significant aspect of the whole affair which should be pondered over by every citizen

of South Africa. The United States have the strictest and most rigid immigration laws in the world. They are most discriminating as to whom they allow into their country.

It would be childish to imagine that after the worldwide publicity which Beukes has received, their Consul in Salisbury would, on his own responsibility, grant him a visa. He obviously consulted the State Department in Washington before doing so.

The State Department is very well informed and they know all about Beukes and the withdrawal of his passport. Despite that and in the face of a propaganda barrage by Mr. Eric Louw and the S.A. Information Service, they had no hesitation whatsoever in granting the visa.

Not only did the United States Government give the Union Government a well-deserved slap in the face, but they also gave them a salutary lesson in the democratic rights of the individual citizen.

Unless otherwise stated, all political comment, sub-editing and headlines in this issue of CONTACT, by Peter Hjul, 4th Floor Parliament Chambers, Parliament Street, Cape Town. cartoon by David Marais, 6 Gluckman Avenue, Milnerton. political columns by Peter Brown, 268 Longmarket Street, Pietermaritzburg and John Duncan, Clyst Hazel, Salisbury Road, Wynberg. Lewis Nkosi, P.O. Box 3413 Johannesburg.

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## PROFILE

## DOUGLAS MITCHELL

*Bull in the UP China Shop*

A VERY SHREWD Nationalist politician said about five years ago "I cannot understand why the Nationalist Party worries about the United Party. Mr. Douglas Mitchell will eventually break them." That was a very prophetic statement and recent events have shown that Mr. Mitchell has contributed more to the eventual disintegration of the United Party than all the fulminations of the Nationalist Party and their Press.

Who is this Mr. Mitchell who has suddenly found himself prominent to a degree out of all proportion to his real political stature?

Mitchell, now 63, is a Natalian of Scottish descent, a farmer and storekeeper, who fought under General Smuts in East Africa in 1916 after secondary education at a now defunct private school in Natal. He speaks Zulu, is married with four children, and entered politics through the Natal Provincial Council. When an MEC he was made Administrator of Natal by General Smuts, a notoriously bad picker of men.



1946—Administrator Mitchell

But Mr. Mitchell had greater political aspirations. He regarded himself as undisputed spokesman of English-speaking South Africans and he visualised himself as a future English-speaking Prime Minister of South Africa.

He resigned as Administrator and in 1948 entered the Union Parliament as a member for

By "POLITICUS"

South Coast, Natal. From the time he made his maiden speech in Parliament, it became evident that he would be an embarrassment to his colleagues in the United Party.

He had a very poor conception of the general political set-up and, what was more deplorable, he had a very hazy notion of United Party policy, such as it was.

He was irrepressible and the bane of his Whips. Their most difficult task was to prevent him

known as "Millstone" Mitchell ever since that debate.

The more politically-astute members of the United Party have always realised that Mr. Mitchell is a handicap to the Party, but they could do nothing about it, for after all, he is high in the Party hierarchy and the leader in Natal. Their fears were borne out at the recent Party Congress in Bloemfontein, when despite the pleas of Sir de Villiers Graaff and other prominent leaders, he persisted in putting his resolution, with regard to the purchase of land for Africans, in the reserves before the Congress. The results of his action are now political history. The effect has been to hasten the end of the United Party.

**What was it?**

What was the motivating force behind Mr. Mitchell's fatal resolution at the Congress?

In order to answer that question adequately, it is necessary to probe into his political thinking. It is a brand of thinking that would have been more appropriate to the eighteenth than to the twentieth century, for he still clings with passionate fervour to the old idea of British colonialism. In other words, he is completely reactionary.

As far as the Indians in Natal are concerned, he regards them in the same light as the Nationalists do. They are a menace, particularly so far as "big business" is concerned.

With regard to the Africans,



1959—Still Waiting

he is insular and petty. He grudgingly admits that we are a multi-racial society, but he adheres strongly to that ill-chosen and meaningless United Party slogan of "discrimination with justice." One would not be at all surprised if deep down he does not have a fond regard for the Nationalist brand of *apartheid*.

One thing is certain: Mr. Douglas Mitchell is completely out of touch with the ever-increasing number of whites who are clamouring for a just

and realistic approach to our urgent political problems. He lives in a little political world of his own: a little world in which he believes it is politically possible for him to "out-Nat the Nats."

His whole attitude appears to be one of "give us a chance to deal with the kaffirs and we will show you what we can do. We will guarantee White supremacy for the next five hundred years."

That is the kind of political expediency which he believes

will bring thousands of people back to the United Party. It is a stratagem which is not going to bluff either the Nats or any thinking section of the electorate.

The obstinate "bull at the gate" Mr. "Millstone" Mitchell is going to be a very sadly disillusioned politician.

He will come to the sudden realisation that he is not the spokesman for Natal and much less the spokesman for English-speaking South Africans.

*The Political Idiocy of Bloemfontein*

—Cape Argus

THE UNITED PARTY is losing its few remaining friends among the English-language newspapers. Latest to break is the Cape Argus which, in an outspoken leader on 8 September, described Mr. Douglas Mitchell's Bloemfontein resolution against land for the reserves as a "crass piece of expediency" and referred to the "hollowness and hypocrisy of the position into which the United Party has been led."

Under attack by the Argus was the "resign from Parliament call" from the UP Head Committee to the "progressive" MPs who have left the Party. "Shall we then," asks the Argus, "begin with Dr. Jan Steytler?"

"As the Head Committee is so confident that those who have rejected the political idiocy of Bloemfontein have no popular support, would they hand over Queenstown to a Nationalist? We would like a straightforward answer from those who with Mr. Douglas Mitchell, UP leader in Natal, and Mr. Lionel Murray, MPC, chairman of the Cape Peninsula Council of the United party, are making great play, about 'consistency' and 'loyalty'."

"This question of consistency can justly be pressed a little farther. In the new cult of personalism that is being pursued in the party, much fuss is being made of full confidence in Sir de Villiers Graaff. Why? Because he voted against the Bloemfontein resolution?"

"And, if consistency is to be the main theme, will Mr. Murray now proceed to vote against every educational, hospital or housing grant for the Natives because it would be helping forward Bantustan? Even the authors of this crass piece of expediency do not seem to understand its implications or the morass of contradictions into which it will inevitably plunge the party."

"Mr. Mitchell continues to talk about what should be done for the 'savages' as though he had never advocated making it official UP policy to refuse to do anything at all. On top of this now comes a policy of smearing and name-calling against former colleagues."

*Non-Racial Sports Conference*

PORT ELIZABETH: The South African Sports Association — a co-ordinating non-racial sports body supported by eight national sporting bodies and more than 70,000 sportsmen of all racial groups—has convened a conference to which all National Sporting Bodies in South Africa are being invited. The conference will be held at Port Elizabeth, on Saturday, 3 October. The theme of the conference will be: "Problems in the Development and Organisation of South African Sport." Special attention will be devoted to the improvement of standards, Olympic representation and the elimination of racial discrimination in sport in South Africa.

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## ORDER FROM BAD DEPARTMENT

## NO WHITE POLITICIANS IN LOCATIONS

JOHANNESBURG: Mr. de Wet Nel's Department of Bantu Administration and Development has issued a circular to municipalities which hits at the very foundations of non-racial organisations like the Liberal Party. The circular orders managers of municipal non-European Affairs departments not to give permits to white people to enter African townships to address or attend political meetings.

The executive of the Transvaal Division of the Liberal Party has already studied a copy of the circular.

It is unlikely that non-Nationalist city and town councils will be able to defy the order contained in the circular. It was addressed to managers of Non-European Affairs departments, not to local authorities as such. And these officials, although paid by the councils, are licensed Government officers — their licences can be withdrawn if they do not obey orders from the BAD Department.

Johannesburg, certainly, cannot resist the order. It has already assured the Mentz "watchdog" committee that it will not embarrass its manager of Non-European Affairs by giving him orders contrary to Government policy.

Here is a full text of the circular, number 616/313, dated 14 May.

● 1. It has come to the department's notice that at certain meetings held recently by Europeans in urban locations, speeches of a seditious and subversive nature were made.

● 2. On inquiry it was ascertained that the persons making these speeches not only obtained the right in terms of paragraph b. of sub-section (9) of section 9 of the Natives Urban Areas Act to be in the locations, but that they were also given permission to hold or address such meetings.

● 3. The department regards it as highly undesirable that malicious agitators should be given the opportunity of carrying on their activities in locations and sees no reason why this should be allowed.

● 4. In order to avoid occurrences such as those mentioned in paragraph 1., entry into locations should be refused to any person not entitled to be granted the right of entry by reason of his legitimate business.

● 5. Even where good grounds for granting applications to enter do apparently exist, extreme caution should be exercised and at the least suspicion that propaganda of a racial or political nature may be spread, such applications should be refused. [my italics].

## SHOP COURTESY CAMPAIGN

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LONA FENSTERENG.



UPAWO LELI LIYA SIKOM.  
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KUBO BONKE ABAFUNA  
UKUTENGA KWIZITOLE  
EZINALO E FESTILENI

Pictured above is the badge which more than 10,000 shopkeepers in Johannesburg and the Reef are being asked to place in their windows so that African customers will know that they are welcome. The scheme, part of a courtesy campaign launched by Johannesburg businessman, Mr. Ernest Bodley, and outlined in *Contact* 5 September, will later be extended to other parts of the country. Shop owners will also be offered the same badge in lapel form for use by shop assistants, in the hope of creating a nation-wide, informal "goodwill club." Mr. Bodley intends to send one of the badges to Dr. Verwoerd with a request that he wear it. He is also sending badges to heads of all African states and will ask them to wear them on all possible public occasions. Brief details of the campaign are contained in Sotho and Zulu-Xhosa on the left and right of the badge.

CONTACT

## Students boycott apartheid bus



For more than two weeks, students of the University of Cape Town carried on a boycott of a recently segregated bus-service to the University from the Mowbray Station a mile and a half away. This picture shows a section of a meeting held to discuss an ultimatum delivered by the City Tramways. The ultimatum was ignored and the buses have been withdrawn. Meanwhile a ferry-service is being operated by the students. An awakening of interest in politics has resulted and the withdrawal of the buses is generally regarded as being both a triumph and a prelude to further campaigns, against the system of social segregation in force at the University.

## Nat-UP "Toenadering" in Johannesburg Council

JOHANNESBURG: Very serious charges have been made against the United Party in the Johannesburg City Council by Mr. Jack Cutten, who is a member of the Progressive group. The charges have not been answered.

Attacking the council for closing down its Social Affairs Department (the only one of its kind in the Union), Mr. Cutten, at a council meeting, said:

"I was told that an agreement had been reached with the Opposition (National) Party that if the department was disestablished immediately, the

Opposition Party would not insist on a Commission of inquiry."

He added: "The fact that in the end a commission of enquiry was asked for, makes me wonder whether someone 'ratted' on that agreement, or whether I was just misinformed."

Mr. Cutten was a member of the United Party caucus when, he alleges, he was informed of the "agreement."

But Mr. Cutten went further: "If such an arrangement was made, on reconsideration I am convinced that it was not the proper thing to do."

### THEY WANT SEX APARTHEID

EAST LONDON: Sex apartheid in Police vans was requested in a motion submitted by Mr. A. M. Qangqo, at the last meeting of the Joint Locations Advisory Board.

Mr. Qangqo moved that the City Council ask the Department of Justice to have different vans for the conveyance of female and male prisoners and persons awaiting trials.

He said that people arrested for infringements of the Pass Laws, were taken in the same van as hardened criminals from Fort Glamorgan, with the result that women had been mishandled.

The Chairman, Councillor D. J. Sobey, reported that the Bantu Affairs Commissioner had requested that the matter be referred to him for submission to the Department of Justice.

"nanny" rather than of a trained welfare worker with a university degree.

Mr. Cutten, in his speech, contended that there was no definite legal justification for disestablishing the department.

He said that a memorandum from the Union Department of Social Welfare did not say: "What the Johannesburg City Council is doing interferes with our own statutory rights to provide services, and thus should be stopped."

From the opinion of a Q.C., too, Mr. Cutten said, it was clear that it had not been laid down by any authority that the Social Affairs Department of the Johannesburg Municipality infringed upon the statutory rights of the Government department.

"So why did we disestablish this department?" he asked an embarrassed Council.

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NYASALAND BANS DEVLIN "CONTACT" . . . .

# But Last Copy Was Sold The Day Before

**C**ONTACT has been banned by the Nyasaland Government. The first news Contact had of this ban was a report in the South African daily press in which it was stated that it had been imposed "for security reasons." The ban followed the circulation throughout the Union, the Federation and East and West Africa, of the issue of 22 August containing a ten-page summary of the Devlin Report, a front page picture of Dr. Hastings Banda, and editorial comment far less scathing than appeared in many other publications.

As a result of press reports, Contact addressed the following letter to the Chief Secretary to the Nyasaland Government, to which, so far, no reply has been received:

*"We understand from press reports that your Government has banned the above journal in Nyasaland. These reports do not give any reason for the ban; nor do they indicate whether it affects one or all issues of Contact.*

Although written in lighter vein, the gossip columns of the Salisbury *Evening Standard*, show the effect of emergency jitters in the Federation. This is what that paper had to say on rumours current at the time of the ban:

"Not since the famous 'Border Incident' of seven years ago—when two Rhodesians, one a woman, were arrested in Machipanda and half the male population of Umtali had to be dissua-

copies of the South African magazine Contact for delivery to the Nyasaland distributors.

"The current issue of Contact contains a ten-page summary of the Devlin Report and has on its cover a large picture of Dr. Banda.

"It was on this that the rumours were ased: that Grundy was imprisoned at Chingara on a charge of smuggling subversive literature; that he had been shot while resisting



The Land of the Lake—where Contact's "potential was almost unlimited"

*"We shall be glad therefore, to receive an official communication from you giving the reasons why a reputable news magazine, circulated to and accepted in most African territories, should be denied to the people of Nyasaland."* . . .

Fortunately for readers in Nyasaland, the ban was only imposed after many hundreds of copies of Contact had been distributed in various parts of the country. So great was the interest taken in the issue, that repeat orders for additional copies were received in the office by letter and by telegram.

How anxious the people of Nyasaland are to read reports affecting the territory is reflected in a statement contained in a letter received by Contact. The writer says: Regarding the cable about further copies . . . We wanted to know whether you could reprint many thousands of copies since the whole issue received for Nyasaland was sold at once. Without a banning (which took place after the cable had been dispatched) the potential was almost unlimited. People are starved of all news save the crudest and most illiterate Government handouts . . . The photo of Banda was almost an ikon . . ."

ded by BSAP from crossing the border to release them—has there been such a buzz of rumour about events in Mozambique as swept through Salisbury this week.

"The cause was appropriately enough, a journalist — Denis Grundy, who left Salisbury for Nyasaland by road on Friday morning. It was known that he had in his car more than 1,000

arrest at Tete; that it was the Nyasaland, not the Portuguese, police that had arrested him; that he had evaded arrest and was being hunted by a combined Nyasaland-Portuguese security force.

"In fact, as was established later, he had reached Blantyre on schedule and without trouble, and had handed over the magazines . . ."

## Opposed to Atomic Test

**RABAT, MOROCCO:** France's atomic bomb, which she means to explode in the shifting sands of the Sahara near Reggane, has backfired upon her lately, but there is more to come. De Gaulle intends the bomb to strengthen French prestige. It may well weaken her militarily, with its cost superimposed on the enervating drain of paying for her four-year-old war in Algeria, and politically as opposition in the African and Arab worlds increases.

Communists everywhere supported the nine independent African States meeting in Liberia recently, when they condemned the proposed test as "a menace to humanity." Early next month the Arab States are meeting in Casablanca. Already the Afro-Asian and Communist blocs have made the French

bomb a major propaganda issue and this campaign will gather momentum after the Casablanca conference and thus be ready to serve up piping hot at the United Nations when the General Assembly meets shortly afterwards.

And it is the kingdom of Morocco, until three years ago a

## INVITATION TO FEDERATION

AT the invitation of the British Prime Minister Mr. Macmillan, and with the agreement of the Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, the Governors of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Viscount Monckton of Brenchley has agreed to accept the Chairmanship of the Advisory Commission which is to be set up in preparation for a review of the Constitution of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, which is due in 1960. The members of the Commission will be appointed in due course. The Commission, besides the Chairman, will consist of six privy councillors from the United Kingdom Parliament, six independent members (of whom two would be from Commonwealth countries, other than the United Kingdom), and thirteen representatives of the Federation and its several component territories and communities.

## IN LONDON

## LORD HOME RETRACTS ASSURANCE TO AFRICANS

**L**ORD HOME, Secretary for Commonwealth Relations, has retracted an assurance he gave to the African population of Northern Rhodesia during the recent debate in the House of Lords on the Devlin Commission report.

In that debate he said British policy for Central Africa was that power would be progressively transferred "not to the Federal Government, but to the Governments of the two northern territories [Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia] which will progressively become more and more representative of Africans until they have African majorities."

Mr. H. J. Roberts, Minister of Labour and Mines in Northern Rhodesia, and a spokesman of Sir Roy Welensky's United Federal Party, subsequently called Lord Home's declaration "a blast at the very foundations on which the present Northern Rhodesian Constitution has been built."

This public attack, reinforced by private representatives, has led Lord Home to issue what he calls a "clarifying statement," in which he says:

"On reading my speech again I see that the words could bear the interpretation to which Mr. Roberts has drawn attention. I certainly intended no such meaning, as I am in full agreement with the present policy set out in the dispatch of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, which is to develop non-racial politics on party lines."

"The point I meant to make," he says, "was that as more and more Africans qualify for the franchise the time will come when the Africans will numerically be in a majority on the voters' roll, though, of course,

when that time comes they should be voting entirely on party lines . . . Certainly non-racial politics must be the goal of all of us."

Thus, although Africans will in time constitute a numerical majority of the electorate, Lord Home says this is not the same thing as an African majority.

Lord Home, however, makes no retraction in his statement about the pledge that power would be transferred to an African majority in Nyasaland.

The Northern Rhodesian Government has taken drastic administrative action against the largest tribe in the Protectorate, the Bemba. The decision to decentralise the tribal administration, thereby reducing the power and authority of the Paramount Chief, Chitimukulu, is justified on grounds of greater administrative efficiency and to eliminate internal difficulties.

What is not admitted in the Government statement is that the action stems from the unyielding opposition by Paramount Chief Chitimukulu to the imposition of Federation.

He has carried this opposition to the point of refusing to meet the Federal Prime Minister, Sir Roy Welensky.

It would be surprising if the Government's decision to interfere with the internal affairs of the tribe—despite its recent official statement that it desires to maintain the traditional role of chiefs—were accomplished without further difficulties.

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# CONTACT

## Coalition With What?

**T**HE departure of the progressives from the United Party has not solved all the problems of the so-called conservative who have remained in the party.

During the past few days, there have been denials by party leaders, Mr. Douglas Mitchell, M.P., and Mr. Henry Tucker, M.P., that certain members of the party desired an eventual coalition with the supposed "dissident and moderate" elements in the Nationalist Party.

This coalition talk is nothing new. For a considerable time, a number of United Party members of Parliament have been putting out "feelers" to the Nationalists. And the line of approach has always been the same — "when we get rid of our liberals, there will be common ground for serious discussion and compromise. The truth of the matter is that there is very little difference between the "conservatives" of the United Party and the Nationalists with regard to *apartheid*. The policies of both factions are based on "white supremacy."

Despite their oft-repeated and tireless cries of "when we get into power", Mr. Mitchell, Mr. Tucker and other United Party leaders know full well that they can never rule this country again.

More and more people are beginning to think seriously and those are the people who feel that the United Party is no longer a serious factor in our politics.

The days of bluffing the electorate with neo-nationalist slogans are gone for ever. And deep down in their hearts the policy framers of the United Party realise the hopelessness of their position. Hence the "feelers" for coalition.

But how badly they misjudge the political trends in this country! They fail to appreciate the fact that Dr. Verwoerd is at the head of an autocracy, and that there is not a single Nationalist leader of note who has either the desire or the courage to oppose him.

They also have no effective counter to the ideological and emotional appeal which the Nationalists have to Afrikaners. That appeal will continue to pay dividends until such time as Dr. Verwoerd brings this country to absolute chaos. And even then it will not be the United Party that is going to benefit. When that time arrives here is going to be a clear line of demarcation in "white" politics—reactionaries on one side and liberals on the other.

How naive can certain people be? Why do some of these misguided United Party politicians still cherish the hope that Nationalists will coalesce with them?

The Nats have power and no effective opposition in Parliament. They are carrying on with their missions of united Afrikanerdom and Bantustans and for the time being they are meeting with success.

And all the jobs that are going have to be filled by their own faithful followers and not by political stragglers from the fast-disintegrating United Party.

Mr. Douglas Mitchell M.P. and Mr. Henry Tucker M.P., can deny the coalition "feelers" as much as they like, the United Party has never been very good at guarding secrets and thousands of people in this country know such "feelers" have been put out.

The ironical part of it all is that Mr. Tucker presided at a meeting in Johannesburg last week when Mr. Badenhorst Durrant M.P., let the cat out of the bag.

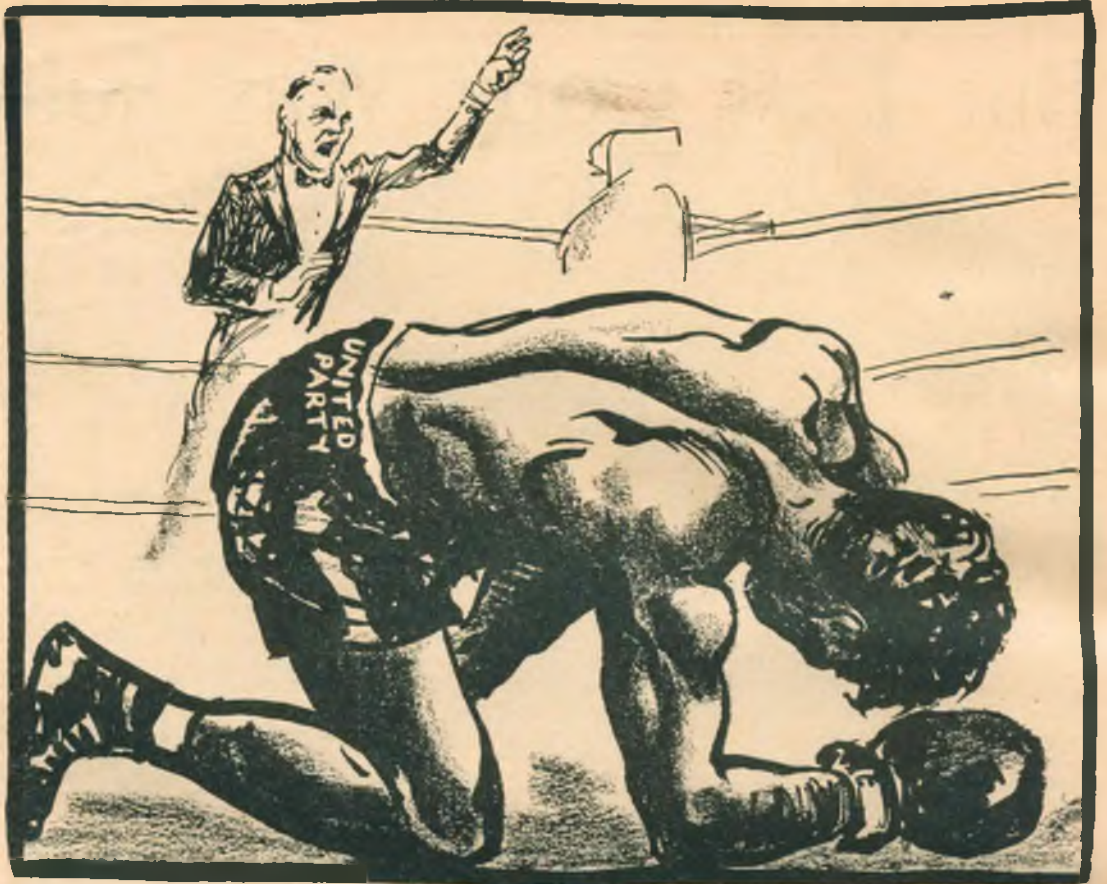
Mr. Durrant said "now that we have got rid of the liberals, any 'moderate' Nationalist" can come and talk to Sir de Villiers Graaff". Would Mr. Durrant care to tell us what he means by "moderate" Nationalist?

Is a man who watches another man beating his wife unmercifully a "moderate" sadist?

## Ban On Contact

**U**NDER its emergency regulations Africa's newest "police state" has banned the Devlin Report issue of *Contact*. We have received no official notice of this ban; nor do we know if it applies to one or all issues of *Contact*. What we do know is that ten pages of our August 22 issue were devoted to straight extracts from the Devlin report; that, with these extracts, we publish editorial comment no stronger than that of several British magazines and newspapers; and that on our cover we featured Dr. Hastings Banda. About 1,250 copies of this issue were circulated in Nyasaland. The day after the last copy had been sold the ban was imposed. The bungling efforts to restrict press freedom in Nyasaland are already well known. And the banning of *Contact*, unreasonable and too late to be of any effect, merely emphasises some of the closing observations of the Devlin report.

CONTACT



"Eleven! Twelve! Thirteen! . . ."

## AN INNOCENT IN CAPE TOWN

By Lewis Nkosi

**A**FTER spending three weeks of my leave in Cape Town recently I am overcome by a strange conviction that may have no basis at all in constitutional logic. I am more than strongly persuaded that the Cape forms no part of our South Africa as I know it. If its people make a tentative attempt to participate in our social and political experience it is with half-hearted enthusiasm.

I am even persuaded to think that if the Cape got an ingenious lawyer he could possibly build up quite a persuasive case for secession. As a consequent we may find ourselves compelled to transfer Parliament to the Reef or Natal, where politicians engaged in their legislative tasks may feel comfortably close to reality.

Cape Town simply does not reflect the reality of our situation. While I was down there it was sometimes with dread that I discovered myself on the verge of forgetfulness as to what was going on in the country. One may be taken in by the enthusiastic manner in which Cape Town's intellectuals spend sleepless nights, delighting in theoretical arguments about this country's problems.

However it is part of my proposition that this delight in *talk* rather than *action* should be accepted as a true reflection of Cape Town's isolation from the political consciousness of the country.

Coming from the Transvaal one cannot help noticing the relaxed manner in which people here live with one another. Cape Town is more like the US town that one so often reads about, a

town still bugged by the virus of race prejudice to be sure, but warm, relaxed and even friendly. It is easy to believe that without the attempts of the Central Government to ram *apartheid* down the throat of the Cape Town people, they could solve their problems in a happier, friendlier atmosphere.

I must admit that when I got off the Joburg train I was tense; my defence mechanism still highly geared up against all sorts of possibilities. I noticed at the station that *apartheid* had already left some of its scars. There are all sorts of notices designed to sort out the races just in case Chief Lutuli should rub shoulders with Chief Verwoerd at the station entrance.

Once in Adderley Street I saw a policeman lolling round a street corner. From sheer instinct, over-worked instinct, I began to rummage for that vital paper. When the policeman nonchalantly walked past, for once I even felt let down. Maybe this was an official oversight of which our policemen on the Reef simply aren't capable, as Sergeant Arlow can tell you. I don't know whether I should pat the Cape Town force on the shoulder for not patting me on the head with a baton. Anyway this was a happy change from the all too zealous police force in the North.

I was also happy to notice that in the buses — at least for the time being—*apartheid* is a flop! It seems that in Cape Town people have neither the will, nor the enthusiasm to make *apartheid* a success. Nothing illustrates this point better than an incident which happened to a friend of mine.

One afternoon this friend of mine caught a bus which was already almost full. While the "Europeans Only" seats had all been taken, there were some seats remaining in the Non-White section. My friend flopped down next to a Coloured person. Whereupon this young supporter of *apartheid*, a young man of tender mind and firm racialistic conviction, started admonishing my friend.

"If we want *apartheid* we must be prepared to make sacrifices for it," said the young Verwoerdian. "We can't have it both ways." He then advised my friend to stand.

"I paid a sixpence in order to travel comfortably in this bus," said my friend, settling comfortably in the seat. "It's not fair for you to ask me to make sacrifices for *apartheid*. I've never asked for it."

Encouraged by this friendly atmosphere, I and my writing friend, Howard Lawrence, tried to crash a restaurant in St. George's Street. As we walked by one night we were attracted by the robust sound of jazz; so we decided to walk in. I must confess that our mental acumen had been somewhat blunted by Cape Town's white wine and it seems that we disastrously over-estimated Cape Town's willingness to integrate. I remember foggily a White girl saying: "You can't just stand there!"

I personally thought this called for a correction; so I hastened to inform her that we did not want to stand, that in fact we were all for sitting down. She looked more alarmed. Presently more waiters came upon the scene. I am not very fond of crises and this had the making of a crisis. So I advised Howard that it might be better if we walked out peaceably than that we should be assisted out

(Continued on page 12)



Peter Brown, Chairman of the Liberal Party

# The ANC Is Not Behind Natal Disturbances

accepting the same sacrifices, but he has the additional task of persuading White South Africa that it is only in a non-Colour Bar democracy that there lies any real security for himself or his, children.

As the tensions mount, and it seems to me an inescapable adjunct of *apartheid* that they should, the Liberal's task will become more dangerous and less pleasant but, by virtue of his membership of an organisation with feet firmly planted on both sides of the colour line, he can play a unique part in drawing together the different sections of our community.

If he does not play this part effectively he may lose his last chance to influence developments in the direction he desires and to ensure the survival of liberal and democratic influences in our country.

who have been in the forefront of events in Natal's rural areas has been that, since the issue of reference books to them, many of them have been driven out of Durban and back to the areas from which they originally came. They have returned to the country with a real sense of grievance and, not surprisingly, have become centres of agitation in what were peaceful and undisturbed areas.

What are the women agitating about?

The main points of their case have been their objection to paying increased taxes, the fact that wages are so low, the fact that influx control keeps their men folk out of the places where they can earn the most money, and the fact that, in rural areas, they are now being asked to perform, for nothing, community services for which they were previously paid. In addition many women complain that their husbands' wages disappear into municipal beer-halls while they are prevented from brewing at home. In some areas trouble may have been sparked off by other causes but these are the main points of discontent.

Almost every restriction or disability to which the women object is a pillar of *apartheid*. We are told incessantly that Africans will have to pay increasingly for their own services. How can they do that unless they are more heavily taxed? If Bantu Authorities are going to function at all they are going to need money to do it and they will have to raise taxes.

What of influx control?

If, as South Africa has been assured, *apartheid* will turn the tide of African urban migration back to the "reserves," then influx control can only become stricter and a growing cause of tension.

What improvement is there likely to be in African wages while the Colour Bar persists?

Already the lag between actual wages and subsistence wages is enormous. How can the gap be narrowed while job reservation is especially designed to protect the White South African from competition and to close new better-paid avenues of employment to Non-White South Africans? It cannot, and we face a future in which those 6 million Africans whom Professor Tomlinson still expects to see in his "white" area in 2,000 A.D., will be prevented from doing the jobs which would allow them to earn a decent living and will smoulder resentfully in the locations and villages of every "white" town.

*Apartheid's* chickens are coming home to roost and, as the policy is more rigidly and vigorously applied, they will become more troublesome. The

African people of Natal have reacted against the pinch of *apartheid*. The pinch will not become more bearable with time, but less so. Influx control, job reservation, increased taxation, more unpaid community service, each of these things is part and parcel of *apartheid*. As long as it is with us so will they be and as long as they are with us so will tensions mount and the drift towards racial strife remain an ever-present threat.

In this situation the Liberal has a very special role to play. The White Liberal has the task of showing Non-White South Africa that he is prepared to identify himself with the peaceful struggle to achieve full status in every sphere for all South Africans, whatever the cost may be in personal suffering and unpleasantness.

The Non-White Liberal has the task of identifying himself with the same struggle and of

## POLITICS and PEOPLE by John Duncan

WHILE Patrick Duncan recovers from an operation and contemplates the political scene through newspapers from a hospital bed, I shall venture into his column to talk about politics and political people.

I thought Gerald Gordon made the point very well at an election meeting in Sea Point when he remarked that the United Party was a platteland party at heart; that most of its delegates at a party congress came from the platteland; and that rural thinking dominated its outlook and shaped its policies. The safe city seat seems to have become the United Party reward for devoted service in the countryside.

Which makes me think of Sir de Villiers Graaff's "triumphal" tour through the Northern Transvaal. Motorcades half-a-mile long and "four square behind Div" rallies are very stimulating, but we have had them before and we have also seen one UP candidate after another voted into the ground on polling day. It is the cities which may one day lead the UP, and perhaps South Africa, back to sanity and it is in the cities where people of sane outlook and progressive ideas now have a chance of showing the way.

THE proposed nomination of a Stellenbosch University student, for the Stellenbosch seat, which was later withdrawn shows that dissent is not the monopoly of the UP "progressives". When Dr. Donges announced, with the air of a magician pulling the rabbit out of the hat—that he was giving the vote to 18 year olds, I remember thinking that maybe this would boomerang. This Matie passed his hat round for the deposit, announced that many of the 3,000 enfranchised Stellenbosch students agreed with him and have come out against a Nationalist candidate and the Party machine.

He has a policy too (which is more than can be said for the United Party): no republic without a referendum and two-thirds majority; Africans outside reserves to be represented in Parliament; protectorates to be incorporated but possibly only after the Union has been changed into a federation; full consultation with the coloured people to find out whether they wish to be on a common or a special roll; *apartheid* to be treated as a matter of social expediency and not as political dogma; parents' choice in education; fully autonomous non-white universities, but all universities to be free to

admit whom they wish. I would have no quarrel with this and admire the courage behind this move.

IN Fair Comment, Patrick Duncan mentioned an Orange Free State farmer who detailed among his labour costs cash wages of two shillings for twelve hours work paid to an African tractor driver. By some South African standards this farmer found his labour the hard way. On the outskirts of many county towns the farm jail has become a landmark—a grey, Belsen-like square of buildings with a sinister watchtower in the middle. These jails are built by a limited company whose shares are subscribed by local farmers—surely the only communities in the world who can own shares in a jail.

To these "squares" are herded Africans arrested for technical offences and they are hired out from them to the farms at 9d. a day.

IN a frenzy of self-righteous hysteria, the Nationalist press has been howling at the Natal "razzberry" given to Dr. Verwoerd at Pietermaritzburg. The *volk* have been told that this was not so much a demonstration against Dr. Verwoerd but was an affront to Afrikanerdom. Nonsense. The simple answer is that Dr. Verwoerd is cordially detested by the vast majority of South Africans. He is a symbol, not of Afrikanerdom, but of a narrow, selfish clique which rules not for South Africa but for itself. The Natal demonstration was a minor eruption of the volcano he is preparing for himself his followers.

"IT is the law here that the people cannot sit together? Then I say that the law is criminal and unjust and . . . ridiculous, no?" Thus Antonio, greatest of Spanish dancers, whose show at the Alhambra was picketed by Capetonians with banners saying *Down with the Colour Bar in the Theatre; Art Knows no Colour Bar; No Segregated Audiences; Antonio, Your Art is for All*. Members of Antonio's company had the banners translated, and agreed wholeheartedly with them, as did many theatre-goers. For Antonio the realization that these people could not see him came too late. "I did not know when I signed the contract that I would dance for whites only . . ." Why didn't he know? The support of artists of this calibre against the colour bar should not be lost by default.

## WEST AFRICAN ENTERPRISE

# Ghana Starts Its Own Canning Industry

ACCRA: With the probable boycott by Ghana of South African products, it is interesting to note the steps taken by Ghana during the past few years to encourage local production and the establishment of industries to enable the country to rely less on outside sources for some of its supplies. First experiments were carried out over twelve years ago, when a fish canning experimental station was established at Osu, near Accra. It was soon realised that fish could not be canned all the year round, so other possibilities were examined.

Fruits were considered to be a good substitute, and different types of them were put to the test — guava, grapefruit, pineapples, as well as meat and poultry products.

After eight years of hard laboratory work of trial and error, pineapples were accepted and the first Ghanaian fruit canning enterprise came into operation in 1948. It was run by the Fisheries Division of the Ministry of Food and Agriculture until 1956 when, as in any other democratic country where most industries are expected to be run by the people rather than the Government, it became a joint enterprise between the

Ghanaian, run under the supervision of a United Kingdom trained technician. But the equipment is imported. The machines come from America and the cans from Britain. One hundred and forty thousand cans were imported in 1957.

It has an annual output of 50,000 cans at an average rate of 3,000 cans daily.

Between July last year and April 1959, 36,707 cans of pineapple juice were produced, and from September 1958 to April this year, 3,445 cans of pineapple slice came out from the workshop.

Public opinion about the

Pineapples are among the indigenous fruits of Ghana. They grow over large areas in thick forests and are so common that nobody really takes the trouble to cultivate them for commercial use. Pineapple supply in the local markets usually exceeds demand by a wide margin.

## EARLY SELF-RULE THE AIM

# Kenya Nationalists' New Demands

From *Contact* Correspondent

NAIROBI: The biggest political news in Kenya is the Kenya National Party's statement of constitutional demands to be put forward to the forthcoming Round Table Conference early in 1960. The demands have cut the ground from under the feet of both Mr. Blundell's New Kenya Group and the Kenya Independence Movement of Mr. Tom Mboya.

The KNP demands responsible government for the 1964-68 period and full self-government in 1968. For the four-year period from 1960 to 1964 it demands a limited number of seats reserved for each of the races to be elected on a common roll on a common franchise. Africans should be given many more seats than the other races.

Further, it suggests that a much larger number of open seats should be made available for election on a common roll. The total number of elected members must exceed the total of nominated members and a proportion of the latter must be nominated from a panel recommended by the elected members. Unofficial ministers must be in a big majority for this period, with Africans predominating.

## All elected

For the period 1964-68 the party suggests that there should be a great increase in the number of open seats. There should be no more nominated members and, apart from two civil service ministers, all members should be elected. The leader of the majority party will be the leader of the House and all ministers, except the two civil servants, should be unofficials.

The proposals state that the Council of State should cease to function next year; a second chamber, or Upper House, with an unofficial majority should be set up in 1964.

In the year 1968, the party says, all seats in both chambers should be open and elected on universal adult franchise on a common roll. Nominated seats in the Upper House and reserved seats in the lower should be done away with.

A party spokesman said it was felt that it would be undesirable at this stage to disclose the breakdown of figures which had been decided upon for the various categories of seats, the

## AT OSU FACTORY



At work on one of the canning machines.



Picking pineapples is done by both men and women.

Fisheries Division and the Agricultural Development Corporation. The Fisheries Division, however, still runs it on the corporation's behalf.

Two types of pineapples are canned, the indigenous type, and 'smooth cayenne,' introduced into the country from the West Indies. 'Smooth cayenne' is usually big, sweet and more juicy than local pineapples; but the latter are much more tasty when canned.

Locally canned pineapples compare favourably with imported ones and are preferable in some cases.

The enterprise is entirely

apple, coupled with the desire for national industrialisation, has spurred on the Agricultural Development Corporation to improve and expand the canning enterprise, and look for some other outlets.

Tomato canning is the next item on the programme. A Dutch expert in tomato canning is already conducting a survey in the country to assess the possibilities.

Meanwhile, pineapple canning is geared for domestic consumption only. Nor is it likely that Ghana will export canned pineapples in the near future; but she will soon cut down the percentage of imported pineapple.

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Mr. Tom Mboya (right) talks to Dr. Ralph Bunche (left) at a recent meeting at United Nations Headquarters in New York.



CHINA APPROVES EISENHOWER-KHRUSHCHEV TALKS . . .

## BUT NO SIGNS OF BETTER RELATIONS BETWEEN WASHINGTON AND PEKING

WASHINGTON: Surprisingly, there is Chinese approval for the coming Eisenhower-Khrushchev talks. Peking did not welcome the prospect of such a summit last year, but now *Red Flag*, the paper of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, says "this is good for the relaxation of international tension. This has increased speculation on what place in the talks China will have, if any."

There is no sign in the Far Eastern Affairs Division of the US State Department that the American and Russian leaders will discuss better relations between Washington and Peking. Nothing has occurred, says the Division—neither the death of Mr. Dulles nor the replacement of Mr. Walter Robertson by Mr. Graham Parsons as Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs—to change the American attitude. US policy has been, and still is, to resist Chinese communist expansion and it is accepted that this threat of expansion persists.

### Peking "aggressive"

"Peking's policies are aggressive," say American officials, "and everywhere in South-East Asia Peking is supporting attempts to overthrow legal Governments by force."

If it be asked why military aid given by America, including aid to Chiang Kai-shek, is rated moral whereas military aid given by Peking is not, the State Department answer is that the United States is not engaged in a struggle for power; it is not trying to grab power in Asia, but simply resisting communist China's attempts to expand. "There is a difference," say the officials, "between supporting a free Government which asks for aid and supporting a communist take-over bid; there can be no equating of attempts to influence towards freedom with attempts to influence towards unfreedom."

Even so, could not Peking be recognised, since the State Department itself has repeatedly said that diplomatic recognition does not imply moral approval, and the United States, after all, recognises Moscow? Why keep China out of the United Nations, since it is agreed that it is better to talk even with one's enemies? And if the world is to have an effective ban on nuclear explosions, will China not have to be included?

The answer given by the State Department is as follows: One does not have to have diplomatic relations to operate inspection agreements — the

Korean and Indo-China agreements prove this. It took 16 years for the US to recognise the Soviet Union, and during that period Moscow was not engaged in aggressive moves, and was not violating international agreements. The Russians rejected the principle of universality in the United Nations charter and insisted that only "peace-loving" countries be admitted. China stands condemned before the General Assembly as an aggressor and she has not purged herself of aggression by withdrawing from Korea which she invaded. Russia may also not qualify as peace-loving, but she was in the UN from the first day, and the question of admitting her or not does not arise.

What did Britain get out of her attempt to recognise China? A chargé d'affaires in Peking who is never allowed to see anyone, and £1.200 millions of

British properties in China confiscated without compensation.

The remaining State Department arguments revolve around Formosa. "The existence of a free China is of tremendous psychological importance for all the anti-communist Chinese inside and outside China. Recognising Peking would mean the end of the Republic of China (Chiang Kai-shek's regime in Formosa)."

The prospect of two Chinas is not countenanced because "the communists will not accept two Chinas, so there is no point in discussing this"; not to mention the difficulties that a US Government would encounter in adopting a policy that finally accepted the communist victory on the mainland ten years ago.

All this is the official line in which US officials declare they believe. There are unspoken aspects.

Peking has never shown any willingness to let the US retreat honourably. The Chinese communists want an unconditional American capitulation and this is a very difficult thing for an American Government to swallow. A lot of underdeveloped nations spend much of their energy condemning all aspects of the US character and on the whole, the Americans have been meek, patient, understanding of such "growing pains." But these critics are, at worst, salvageable neutralists; it is something else to accept violent insults from declared enemies.

And the insults hurt. Friendship for China was a great movement in the United States

before Mao Tse-tung's victory. The old China hand was a respected, romantic figure, despite the occasional sweet smell of corruption about him. And the old China hand is still not entirely without influence where China policy is concerned.

Finally, there is the persisting American search for idealism in the pragmatic world of politics, for moral values. It is not always easy to make such clear distinctions and the US clings to the few easy ones. The American citizen may have to back colonialist allies, and worse still, fête Mr. Khrushchev, but he can still treat Mao as the devil, and there is something comfortably familiar about this.

## BRIDGES BETWEEN PEOPLE

*THE EIGHTH international congress of the International Federation of Business and Professional Women held at Unesco House in Paris recently brought together nine hundred delegates from 26 countries to discuss the theme: "Building Bridges Between Peoples". Speaking at the inaugural session, Mr. Jean Thomas, Assistant Director General of Unesco, stressed the identity of the goals of Unesco and the Federation. Unesco proposes specifically to "bridge ignorance . . . to enable the unfavoured nations to benefit from the experience of the more fortunate ones . . . It is also the role of Unesco," he said, "to bridge the infinitely different cultures of the world's peoples. In resolutions adopted by the congress, the Federation decided to continue its efforts to eliminate all forms of prejudice and discrimination against women."*

### AARON'S ROD

## Ellamay Is a Social Problem In America

WASHINGTON: Ellamay, a Negro domestic servant, went home one day and found her girl friend lying on the floor murdered. The killer was the girl's "man". Ellamay also had a man, and she used to proudly show pictures of her children and their father. But she had quarrelled with him since then. Before the murder Ellamay often stayed at work long after her floor-scrubbing was done because she said she "liked being in a pretty house" and because "the rats back home won't miss me yet awhile." Now she stayed later because she felt safer. And then, one day she vanished without trace. She had taken her children and fled, probably to another Negro ghetto.

Half of America's domestic servants are Negro women, and many make their homes in slums which scar the world's richest country. In Washington's Negro areas—and more than half Washington is Negro—there are streets where it is unsafe to walk alone at night. Even the police stay out of this territory and the more violent crimes are seldom dealt with satisfactorily.

**A liberal public figure with a record of fighting for Negro equality is obsessed by these crime streets of Washington. Why, he keeps asking, does not the national Negro leadership launch an educational campaign to improve**

**the behaviour of the Negro? Why do not Negroes do more for one another in the way of organising against juvenile delinquency, building clubs for teenagers?**

It is true that the Negroes, as a class, have a worse record for antisocial behaviour than have the whites, but reasons for this abound. Many Negroes simply don't feel it matters how they behave. Whatever they do, they believe they will be snubbed and not given a fair chance. Even in the north of the United States this is so and perhaps no aspect of this discrimination makes the Negro more bitter than discrimination in employment.

Discrimination becomes most apparent in times of recessions when more Negroes than whites are discharged. For instance, in January 1958, unemployment for whites was 6.8 per cent., but for Negroes it was 12.2 per cent., and yet surveys indicate that the Negro worker is not a worse employee than a white man. Labour unions sign contracts with employers in which secret clauses restrict the Negro to menial jobs.

### Net result

The net result is that according to the census bureau, the average Negro income is half that of the average white.

Among professional and technical workers only 3 per cent. of all men are Negroes, even though Negroes are more than 10 per cent. of the popula-

tion. A Negro educationist remarked wryly the other day that "if a Negro boy gets a good engineering degree, he will get a good job running an elevator."

**This is one sort of thing which makes the Negro apathetic and uncaring about being anti-social. But that is only the more general reaction. There is also the reaction of a smaller, militant group which has consistently joined forces with white liberals to increase opportunities for Negroes. Their success has been impressive. In 1939 the average Negro income was a third of the white's, now it is half. Twenty years ago only 6 per cent. of working Negroes were in managerial, professional and other white collar jobs. Today the figure is 13 per cent.**

Down at the old fish market wharves of Washington, sat a Negro wearing blue jeans and a coat of the same material and surrounded by a collection of magnificently carved hickory sticks—tall sticks, stubby sticks, sticks like snakes ("Moses's Staff") or sticks ornamented with symbols, a hand, a bible ("Aaron's Rod"). He was carving yet another piece of hickory.

The hickory carver welcomed me. But he looked more than a wood carver, and when I introduced myself—a newspaperman, not American, interested in racial questions—his tone of

voice changed immediately.

He was from the Deep South and was going back. Why should anyone want to go back to where he came from?

"Many of my people need help there . . ." As he talked easily his real role became clearer: a minor local prophet, a leader of downtrodden coloured sharecroppers. He preaches to them, a simple message, to organise and to study, and to keep fighting for registration on the voters' rolls.

### Getting on

"We're getting on. A step here, a step there. I won't live to see the day but the road is clear. Those who discriminate against us, those who want us to remain a serving caste (these are his words) . . . Why, we'll be nice to them but when election time comes we'll all vote solidly the other way. They'll learn by and by, though I won't see the day."

He was not acting on his own, but was a part of a movement, a sort of open underground movement, tunnelling under white supremacy. He was "up from behind the enemy lines for a breather" and for instructions before going back.

The militants are using Negro voting power as a battering ram to break down the walls of discrimination. They have secured federal anti-discrimination measures and similar measures from 18 State Governments—particularly New York where the legislation has been most effective. To the dismay of their liberal friends, the Negro activists seem to become more aggressive with each concession they gain and they are even rejecting as paternalism, the help of the white liberals.

Pride in discovering their own strength may eventually infect the mass of the Negroes who still see their life as a contest against hopeless odds.

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## SAM SLY'S CORNER

FORTNIGHTLY NOTES ON BOOKS AND THE PRESS



### Embassy scandal

South Africa has a true friend in the Rev. Gunnar Helander of Sweden. With Professor Herbert Tingsten, he is giving the weight of his authority to the Swedish counterpart of the Defence and Aid Fund, which Senator Leslie Rubin advocated in Sweden last month. Helander was a missionary here from 1938 to 1956, and married an Afrikaans girl. He has written several books, one of which, *Black Rhapsody*, published in 1956 in America, was praised by Alan Paton. He will be taking part in debates and talks on our race problems, as will a recent visitor, Per Wastberg, and John Stonehouse, who will be in Scandinavia in November. A friend tells me that Helander is "intensely hated by your Embassy in Stockholm, which is distributing among Swedish businessmen and church people false details about Helander's personal life, in a manner that no legation has ever dared to do in this country."

### For sensitive plants

"High-minded little group", indeed! *Time*, in an issue which also pats *Drum* on the head and praises M. K. Jeffreys's Colour articles, dismisses the Liberal Party with the above back-hander and says it's "got nowhere". Curt Prendergast, who was brilliant in his recent *Time* feature on Sekou-Touré, was not so this time. He should know that the Liberal Party is the fastest-growing political group in the country and will soon be gaining members as fast

as the United Party, Unity Movement and others lose them. Out of all the gas about progressives, land transfers and Bantustans, one fact has been clearly stated. Verwoerd at Maritzburg:

Whites and non-whites have to exercise their political rights separately or whites and non-whites have to exercise them together. There is no third way.

The words after *or* are the policy, and in its own affairs, *the practice*, of one group and one group only, "high-minded" or otherwise. Sensitive plants needn't flinch at the word "high-minded" with its echo of humbug: *Roget's Thesaurus* lists it under *Disinterestedness*, in this flattering sequence: *handsome, liberal, noble; noble-minded, high-minded; princely* . . . *Time's* Mr. Prendergast is laying it on thick!

### Not for children

"Always verify your references", said the great Dr. Routh. This is vital in any South African research, where the strangest things happen when A quotes B. I was startled by A. F. Hattersley's remark (in his fine little *Oliver the Spy* reviewed here by M. K. Jeffreys) that "as late as 1861, Lady Duff Gordon found [white] labourers working under a black overseer." In vain I searched my copy of Lady Duff Gordon's *Letters*, until I saw the words "Edited for school use" on the title-page. The black overseer had been removed from the innocent eyes of school-children and is only

to be found in the expensive complete edition.

### Coming writers

Do you remember a story called "High Fence" in *Africa South*? It was by Michael Fisher, once of the University of Cape Town, now, at 25, surgical resident at the Doctors Hospital, New York. I admired his story, "The Hot Rain" in the August *Atlantic*. Due soon is his first novel, *The Sharp Edge of the Sun*, which will be published in London next year. Another South African first novel is *A Twist of Sand* by Geoffrey Jenkins: book and author are both being launched with full best-seller ballyhoo by Collins the publishers.

## NO USE

**PUEBLO.** By Michel-Droit (Eyre and Spottiswoode) 16s.

*PUEBLO* takes us into a very strange realm. It is not so much the external details that are affecting—although these too take us out of the commoner paths. The tall scarlet cliffs; the stony, naked countryside with its bright orange, blue and green hovels; the towns with their bizarre mixture of old and new—the blanketed, impassive Indians and the garish neon-lighted Woolworth's; the blood and dust and uproar of the bull-ring; the softness of the New Mexican night—these are all vividly drawn for us. But what gives this book its real originality is that we see through the eyes of a young Red Indian.

For the rest of the world, Red Indians are legendary figures belonging to the pages of story-books, to secret childhood games, to fancy-dress parties. And it is this very conception that is the chief source of their suffering. Poverty, oppression, and the grosser forms of injustice they do not know. "Being few, we are not dangerous," comments Paco, ironically. "We no longer constitute a problem, nor ever shall again. Just a small local question, occurring here and there, simple or awkward according to circumstances, but on the whole, negligible. Be that as it may, living in a town I should have to live apart, isolated. In the East . . . I should cause surprise by not sticking feathers in my hair and doing the scalp dance."

That is their tragedy—to be treated as picturesque *objects*, never as persons. It is when Paco flings the photographing fee back into a well-meaning tourist's face, that he begins to grow to a full realisation of his people's predicament. How to receive what the Whites offer, and at the same time to escape from it? There is no answer.

A slight and improbable story neither adds to nor detracts from the virtue of the book, which is that it reveals, in all its sadness, the situation of a people who have failed to come to terms with the age of technics and for whose age-old and haunted ways the modern world has no use.

FRANCES BOWERS

## OBSCURING THE FACTS

**TRANSITION IN AFRICA.** Edited by Gwendolen M. Carter and William O. Brown (Boston University Press)

AMERICAN scholars are today giving more attention to Africa than are the British. Having discovered this continent about a dozen years ago, the American foundations and some universities

are spending a lot of money on research into its problems.

This is a good thing, yet its results are disappointingly smaller than one might expect. The first reason for this lies in the reluctance of Americans to commit themselves, a habit that has now infected academic men who give one the impression of knowing all the facts but none of the issues. The second reason, related to the first, is the tendency of American writers to obscure their meaning by writing in a sociological jargon painful to read.

This book provides an example of both weaknesses. It contains articles on Nigeria, Ghana, Rhodesia, and Kenya by men who have made every effort to understand and to report on the political situation. They fail to impart much of their knowledge because their style of expression has to be quoted to be believed.

In writing about "political role systems" in Ghana, two contributors jointly say that

"the method adopted for this analysis is to rank inter-related roles and membership groups in terms of their functional diffuseness."

In case you become hazy at this point (as I did), they kindly explain that their terms

"have the following meaning. Functional specificity and functional diffuseness: the qualities of goals, and means to goals, which characterise different roles and membership groups. 'Specific' and 'diffuse' represent the two poles of the characteristic role action between which varying degrees of specificity or diffuseness may be differentiated. Degrees between the poles are designated as predominantly specific, specific-diffuse, and predominantly diffuse."

Please, gentle reader, don't pretend that you grasped the meaning of all that, if you have any lingering doubt about it. I must honestly tell you that when I got to that point, I gave up. If that is the best American way of offering me an insight into Ghana's politics, I shall have to remain in outer darkness.

It is a pity, for I know Drs. Carter and Brown to be good scholars themselves and I wonder why they did not impose on the members of their team a decent minimum of lucidity if they wanted to give the book its proper value. As it is I closed the book sadly recalling that Bernard Shaw

once remarked that Americans are separated from the English by the barrier of a common language.

JULIUS LEWIN

## SEVEN TO TEN

**SIA LIVES ON KILIMANJARO.** Pictures by Anna Riwkin-Brick. Text by Astrid Lindgren (Methuen) 8s. 6d.

IF you want to show some small nephew, niece or god-child who has never seen Africa, what this fabulous continent is really like, you can hardly do it better than by sending this beautiful little book. I think age groups seven to 10 would appreciate it most, but as the book is composed mostly of photographs, even younger children as well as grown-ups will enjoy it, too.

Sia is eight, but her gentle and expressive little face shows some quality which seems far beyond her years. The book makes a very simple story the excuse for a series of photographs of the heart of Africa. They convey, better than any words, the life and spontaneous friendliness of the people, and the brilliant countryside, with its exotic vegetation and wild animals.

F.B.

## SETTLER TYPES

**OLIVER THE SPY AND OTHERS.** A Little Gallery of South African Portraits. By Alan F. Hattersley (Maskew Miller) 17s. 6d.

THE subjects of these sketches all reached the Cape in the first half of the nineteenth century, and all hailed from the British Isles. They came from many walks of life, and are a cross-section of the type of settler who, while not so well known to us today, played a role in the building up of European society at the Cape and in Natal; for Professor Hattersley has divided his sketches between these two regions of South Africa. From the name-sketch, "Oliver the Spy", we obtain a glimpse into the world of political intrigue, and move from there, through the diary of Samuel Eusebius Hudson.

(Continued on page 11)

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## SETTLER TYPES

(Continued from page 10)

into the sphere of the upper servant class of Victorian times. From the story of young Paddy Farrel we learn of the vicissitudes of destitute child-labourers in Ireland, while the career of Inspector King tells of his early efforts to organise the Cape police on the lines of Metropolitan Force in London. William Layton Sammons, the original Sam Sly, with his famous African Journal, concludes the Cape section of the sketches.

From him to the Oxford man and hunting country squire, Charles Barter, is but a step, with his background of coaching and the playhouse and his travels in the two Americas.

Ascending still higher in the social scale, we meet Dr. Peter Cormack Sutherland, medical student of Aberdeen University, who combined surveying with his medicine, explored the Arctic in search of the remains of Franklin's expedition, and finally landed on the shores of Natal. Perhaps the most curious incident in his varied career was his method of conveying a skeleton to England in the luggage of an unsuspecting lady! Ethnologist and archaeologist, he was well acquainted with the material resources of the land of his adoption.

As a back-cloth to this colourful series, is the description of conditions and of the chaos caused by industrial unrest in the British Isles, with its sharp contrasts of wealth and poverty, conditions which are strikingly similar to those of present-day South Africa.

Professor Hattersley has set out all he could collect about these elusive personalities: those who like their problems solved for them may feel it tantalising that there are so many gaps; while others may find their appetite whetted to investigate further.

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## OUR HISTORY: THE SEARCH FOR TRUTH

ON 21 MARCH, *Contact* published a review by Patrick Cullinan of A. B. Davidson's account in Russian of the Matabele and Mashona war against English colonisation, called *Matabele i Mashona v borbe protiv Angliiskoi kolonizatsii*. We are now privileged to publish a reply received from Professor Ivan I. Potekhin, who is the head of the Soviet political drive in Africa, with a final statement by Patrick Cullinan. At the new year, Professor Potekhin was made chairman of the Soviet special commission charged with supporting "in every way possible" the "national liberation" struggle of Africa, as we informed our readers in a full and illustrated profile on 10 January.

## Potekhin:

I HAVE carefully read your review of A. B. Davidson's book *Matabele and Mashona in the Struggle against British Colonisation*. You have mentioned my name several times and I deem it my duty to answer you.

You are quite right in saying that my foreword to the book "has a message to everyone" who is devoted to the study and truthful recording of events of African history.

I share your opinion that "to record anew the history of Africa in the 19th century" is rather your duty than a duty of the Soviet historians. You live in Africa and it is you who is interested most in the creation of a true-to-fact history of Africa.

I am also glad to note that you say about the book that "the facts are there and this able book takes full advantage of them." Moreover, you admit that the facts "prove the author's case."

But how can you say after all that, that the book "irritates... with its Marxist supposition", that it is tendentious and that, finally, it is a challenge to the objective historian?

You have laid grave accusations against a scholar but where is the ground for them?

Your estimation of the book as being tendentious contradicts your statement that the author's conclusions rest on undeniable facts.

## OLD ARGUMENT

You call it tendentious on the grounds that nothing is said in it about "black barbarism and imperialism." It is true; nothing is said in the book either of black barbarism or imperialism. This is the difference, the line of divergence between historians who try to depict an objective picture of the historical process and those justifying the colonial oppression of the African people.

You call Lobengula a barbarian because he "was blood-thirsty as his forefathers. He was quite capable of firing and roasting alive an entire kraal of 60 men, women and children..." But this argument of yours is not a new one, it has long been in the service of the advocates of colonialism who have tried to justify the outrages committed by the imperialists in Africa.

The African people are presented as savage and blood-thirsty while the colonialists are presented as benefactors who have come to Africa for the exclusive purpose of doing good. This is such an old argument that, indeed, I hate having to speak about it once again.

You call Lobengula blood-thirsty because he "was quite capable of firing and roasting alive an entire kraal of 60 men, women and children who incurred his displeasure." But what do you call the people who in our days drop bombs on African kraals and kill thousands of men, women and children in Kenya, the Cameroons, and Algeria because they "incur the displeasure" of the imperialists?

You remind us that Lobengula



Rhodes and the Matabele — a contemporary cartoon.

was capable of firing a kraal but you say nothing of the bloody massacres of the African people perpetrated by the imperialists both in the 19th century and in our time.

Where is objectivity? Who is to be reproached for being unobjective?

## INTERNAL AFFAIR

But this is not all. Lobengula used to administer justice and inflict punishment cruel as it was in his native land and it was, to use a modern term, an internal affair of the Matabele and they did not ask the Europeans to intervene.

Who gave the Europeans the right to interfere with the internal affairs of the African people? You write about the imperialism of the Matabele. One should be careful about using this term.

The history of humanity has recorded a great number of migrations of peoples in all the continents. Why not speak of the imperialism of the Kelts having in mind their migration to the British Isles? To say in passing the level of their historical maturity was just the same as that of Matabele. But that would not be science but a play on words. We prefer to adhere to scientific terminology.

We can consider it generally accepted that imperialism means a certain stage of development of capitalist society. Why then speak about "the imperialism of the Matabele"? Evidently, merely to say that Lobengula and Rhodes were both of them imperialists and to justify the colonising activities of Rhodes.

But are you being objective?

It is true that the Matabele had migrated to the land of the Mashona, but the Mashona had not asked Rhodes to save them from the Matabele. Quite the contrary: the Mashona and the Matabele had jointly fought against Rhodes. The relations between the Mashona and the Matabele were their internal affair, an affair of two African peoples and they had no need for any protection of the British colonisers.

## LET READERS JUDGE

I have given you my opinion concerning your accusation of A. B. Davidson's as being unobjective and tendentious. Now let the readers judge who departs

from the scientific understanding of the African history and who is tendentious.

A few words on your comment on the references to V. I. Lenin and J. V. Stalin. You are trying to draw some conclusions from the fact that in my book I quote Stalin where Davidson quotes Lenin.

This will lead you nowhere. The explanation is very simple. I wrote on a national problem and quoted Stalin because he has written special scientific paper on this subject; Davidson wrote on the imperialistic colonial policy and made references to V. I. Lenin because it was Lenin and not Stalin who created a scientific theory of imperialism. This does not call for any guess-work.

## Cullinan:

PROFESSOR Potekhin's answer to my review is interesting because it provides a further illustration of Communist inability to realise that an objective view of history can exist. If history is to be objective it must take note of all the facts that influence a particular situation. An objective historian will not suppress facts, nor will he write history to prove a predetermined theory. He will let the facts speak for themselves. Professor Potekhin's line of attack is to make out that my review is pro-imperialist. It is nothing of the sort, but it is definitely anti-Communist and against bias of any sort in writing history. In dealing with the points raised by Professor Potekhin I, in turn, leave it to readers to judge whether my view or that of the Soviet historian, A. B. Davidson, is more objective.

I say that the facts prove the author's case because it is true that the colonisation of Rhodesia was accomplished with bloodshed, trickery and an inhuman disregard for African life by the Pioneer columns. But the book does irritate and it is tendentious because of the suppression of other equally valid facts. Does Professor Potekhin deny then that there was black barbarism and that Lobengula subjected and enslaved the Mashona nations with the same disregard for human life as was later shown by the colonisers?

## LIVING FACT

I am not concerned with justifying either Lobengula or Rhodes; but to admit, as Professor Potekhin does, that this book says nothing about the facts of black brutality and then to give this as a reason for the objectivity of the book does not, in the name of logic, make sense to me.

To point out that Lobengula was as bloodthirsty as his forefathers and capable of roasting and firing alive an entire kraal of 60 men, women and children, is not an attempt to whitewash British imperialism. It is a living fact in the history of the Matabele and as such cannot be suppressed by any objective historian. Nowhere in my review are the "colonialists" presented as benefactors, so Professor Potekhin might have saved himself the trouble of 'having to speak about it once again'. It is also just not

true to say that I do not mention 'bloody massacres of the African people perpetrated by the imperialists,' because by reading my review you will see that I do so in the first paragraph. 'Where, indeed, is objectivity? Who is to be reproached with being unobjective?'

I agree, Professor Potekhin, one should be careful how one uses the word imperialism and I am so glad that you prefer to adhere to scientific terminology. When I hear that the peoples' revolt in Tibet is an imperialist plot, when I learn that the workers' revolution in Hungary was activated by imperialist warmongers, I begin to wonder myself what exactly the word imperialism means. But if the word imperialism is used in a variety of ways, how about the term 'migration'? Some people might find it just a little weak when used to describe the Matabele reign of terror over the Mashona.

## TO BE CONDEMNED

If I use the word imperialism to describe Matabele aggression it is because the Matabele were trying to carve out, along the lines of Chaka, an African empire of their own, and not because I wish to justify Rhodes. Oppression of other people, whether you call it imperialism, colonialism, 'migration', or an 'internal affair' is, in my eyes, still something to be condemned.

I do not deny that the Mashona later aided the Matabele against the colonisers, but to a nineteenth-century Mashona dynamite and a white skin must have seemed far more terrifying than an assegai and the devil he knew.

It is, of course, not for me to tell Mr. Davidson, whose book was published in 1958, not to quote Stalin. It is true, however, that Professor Potekhin's book *The Formation of the South African Bantu into a National Community*, published in 1955, quotes widely and extensively from Stalin. Furthermore, I feel that the histories of the South African and Rhodesian tribes both involve national problems and are deeply concerned with 'imperialistic colonial policy.' Indeed, the burden of both these books is the impact of this policy on those tribes. But perhaps Mr. Davidson does not think much of Stalin's 'special scientific paper'? Incidentally, in Professor Potekhin's book the index lists not one 'special scientific paper', but seven *Works* by Stalin.

## THE TRUE STORY

To conclude, I would like to reaffirm that my criticism of Mr. Davidson's book is not that it is anti-imperialist. I say it is tendentious because it suppresses facts and ignores anything that might detract from the historical assessment he wishes to make. The true story of the Matabele and Mashona in the nineteenth century and the conflict with the white colonisers must acknowledge that there was barbarism on both sides. It must give the facts, all the facts. The book under review does not do this and that is why it is unobjective, biased and, if you can stand the word again, tendentious.

19th September 1959

# "False Accusers Wrecked My Tour"

—BOYDELL

SIR,

In *Contact* of 8th August, you have an article headed "How Mr. Boydell's Australian tour was wrecked." The answer is simple. It was wrecked because my false accusers, the church, press and some students, accused me of "indoctrinating" the children with "racial poison" from South Africa.

Could you have any higher authority than the Deputy Director of Education for Western Australia who took me to the small town schools and heard a dozen of my talks to the children, and this statement appeared in public press at the height of the banning controversy?

"I found Mr. Boydell a very gifted speaker and most impartial during his lectures in the country. When addressing an audience, Mr. Boydell emphasised he was trying to deal with a controversial subject in a non-controversial way and left it to his listeners to draw their own conclusions."

In New South Wales, where I was banned, the Minister of Education stated in the press that my school talks "had been satisfactory" and that I "had observed the strictest propriety in any references he may have made to South Africa's race problems."

Without exception I was praised and congratulated by all the school authorities who heard me. They numbered 51. Also without exception I was damned by church, press and students, not one of whom heard my school talks.

Never was truth more outraged and justice more severely raped than when my accusers said I was "indoctrinating the children with racial poison." It

was for this false accusation that my talks were banned on 16 occasions. I addressed 51 schools out of 67 at which I had been booked.

*Contact* appears to support my false accusers' contentions. I can do more than state the truth which is: I did not preach racial poison. My talks were praised by all who heard them and condemned by those who didn't.

It's a strange world, my masters.

**THOMAS BOYDELL**  
14 Arcadia, Bayview Ave.,  
Tamboers Kloof,  
Cape Town

*Mr. Boydell kindly sent along with this letter a roneoed list of excerpts from letters written by school authorities praising his talks. Reading between the lines of these it is quite clear that he was white-washing apartheid. One principal wrote that "a great deal was achieved in the creating of a feeling of goodwill towards South Africa." By South Africa, of course, this bewildered principal meant the white population that supports apartheid. And there are many such.*

*Contact never said that Mr. Boydell was not praised or gifted, or that he broke the proprieties. What Mr. Boydell did was far worse: he defended the despicable system by which one South African who happens to be white*

(Continued from page 6)

by the friendly arm of the law ... or fist!

My sense of chivalry compels me to note in passing that Cape Town is no less remarkable for its collection of beautiful girls. This does not mean that I am a young man who immediately drools at the mouth at the sight of a female form. As a matter of fact my priest used to congratulate me on my austere tastes. However, Cape Town's brown beauties are an unforgettable sight. Some of its white girls can be quite embarrassing, too.

I remember the afternoon I and Paul Meyer, Cape Town's craziest jazz critic, were driving near Camps Bay. I turned to look at a bevy of beautiful girls who were walking barefooted on the road. Mistily, I observed one of them touching her lips and boldly throwing a gestured kiss in our direction. I couldn't help looking out for a uniformed figure lurking somewhere in the bushes. I recoiled further into my black skin and behind my dark glasses in sheer white terror.

Cape Town's friendliness is too well-known to need comment. Its hospitality was characterised for me by all the people who invited me to parties. This, of course, was disastrous for both my health

and working schedule. I came to realise only too late that I was spending most nights gadding about and the days sleeping instead of achieving some of my half-hearted intentions to work.

Yet, this going out and meeting people was quite profitable in a way. I met quite a few interesting people. Some I hope I will never meet again. I also had a chance to know what people thought of my rather inept and pointless writing. Needless to say quite a lot of them like it—which is tragic. But I love them for it. Some don't, and naturally I hate them for it.

Once I had lunch with a young woman who thought I wrote badly and tried to imitate Salinger to boot. This was quite refreshing after having spent half the night in Joburg arguing with an Englishman who was dead certain that I picked my style from Damon Runyon whom, unfortunately, I had not read. At the University of Cape Town I was introduced to a horrible young man who wanted to know if I was the "Nkosi who writes for *Contact*." I quickly said "Yes," and waited to be congratulated. "I hate your writings," he said firmly. What a piece of impudence! Nobody has any business not to like my writing. That horrible young man owes me an apology.

## To Correspondents

Because of shortage of space many of the letters which we publish have had to be shortened. Other things being equal we will give priority to letters that have been kept as short as possible.

*battens on and exploits another because he is not white.*

*Another wrote that "an important part of his address was devoted to an explanation of the policy of apartheid. Though many Australians thought the policy was lacking in idealism yet it was a practical way of preventing the white races in South Africa from being submerged by the black majority. The policy was to restrict advances made by the black people to improvements within their own special areas and to prevent them gaining influence in white areas."*

*Another wrote that "his purpose is to correct half-truths and false impressions of South Africa, particularly in regard to the colour problem."*

—Editor.

## We Want Self-Rule

SIR,

All Nyasas, at home or abroad, waited with great anxiety for the publication of a Report into the recent disturbances in the hitherto peaceful "Land of the Lake".

We were all grateful at the Commission's findings that there was no detailed African Congress plot or massacre and assassination in Nyasaland, as alleged in government Reports.

Dr. Banda is now in prison because of the liberation of his people. The spirit of freedom is in the heart of every one in Nyasaland—male or female. We are all politically awake, and the keeping in prison of our dear Dr. Banda does not help solve the problem.

We want self rule—Black self rule. No more, no less.

**E. J. BANDA**  
Mufulira, N.R.

## What has ANC Achieved?

SIR,

We have at last seen the long overdue split in the United Party, an organization which has been more concerned with getting into power than with the rights of South Africans. It is only right that such a group should disappear.

There exists another group in this country, however, whose hidden motives can hardly be called patriotic or democratic. I refer to the Congress alliance in which, as in the United Party, good men have to keep quiet for fear of embarrassing the left-wing types in the Congress of Democrats.

The ANC has some very good people in its ranks and yet what has it achieved? After 50 years of existence its membership is shockingly small and its record consists of one successful bus boycott and a long list of unsuccessful strikes, boycotts, and protests. Chief Lutuli can do as little good in the Congress alliance as John Cope could in the United Party.

The other organizations in the alliance are mere stooges of the COD and yet, when a committee is formed to control the alliance, SACPO, with a national membership that could get lost in one branch of the ANC, sends as many representatives as the ANC. It is not only the Nats that use the African for their own purpose.

Do ANC leaders really believe that the COD desires a state where individuals are allowed to own property, to express political opinions, to enjoy freedom of movement, speech, worship or association; rights which are fast disappearing in Russia and South Africa? Are Africans prepared to watch their women go through the Natal uprisings to establish a state which will necessitate another Budapest or Kerala uprising?

I cannot see how some Liberals, pledged to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which was rejected by Communist Russia and Nationalist

South Africa, can oppose the United Party while they hesitate to fight the Congress of Democrats. These organizations are very similar; both have a few good men gagged by the rest, both practice *apartheid* in their membership, both howl about "splitting the opposition" and about "the greater common enemy", and both believe that anyone who fights them is helping the Nats as though the doctor who fights smallpox is spreading cancer.

All that Chief Lutuli achieves when he appeals to Liberals to drop their anti-communist plank is to make his cruel and unjust ban under "The Suppression of Communism Act" look passably respectable. The chief should look down the long list of good men who have been used by communists and who have ended disillusioned and frustrated.

Countries like France, Belgium and Italy co-operated with communists to destroy "the greater common enemy" and with what result? The end of Nazi-ism was not very much hastened and these countries are still paying the price in weak and insecure governments plagued by communist influence. It will need a strong government to right the Nationalist evils and there must be no communist influence in that government.

We must work to smash the United Party and the communist-controlled section of the Congress alliance. Only in a non-racial organisation such as the Liberal Party can men of the stature of Lutuli and Cope hope to destroy totalitarianism.

**BRIAN F. BISHOP**

1 Bickley Road,  
Sea Point, Cape

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**SOUTH AFRICA'S NON-RACIAL REVIEW**

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WEEK ENDING 3rd October 1959

Vol. 2 No. 20

**UP's Immigration  
Fantasy**

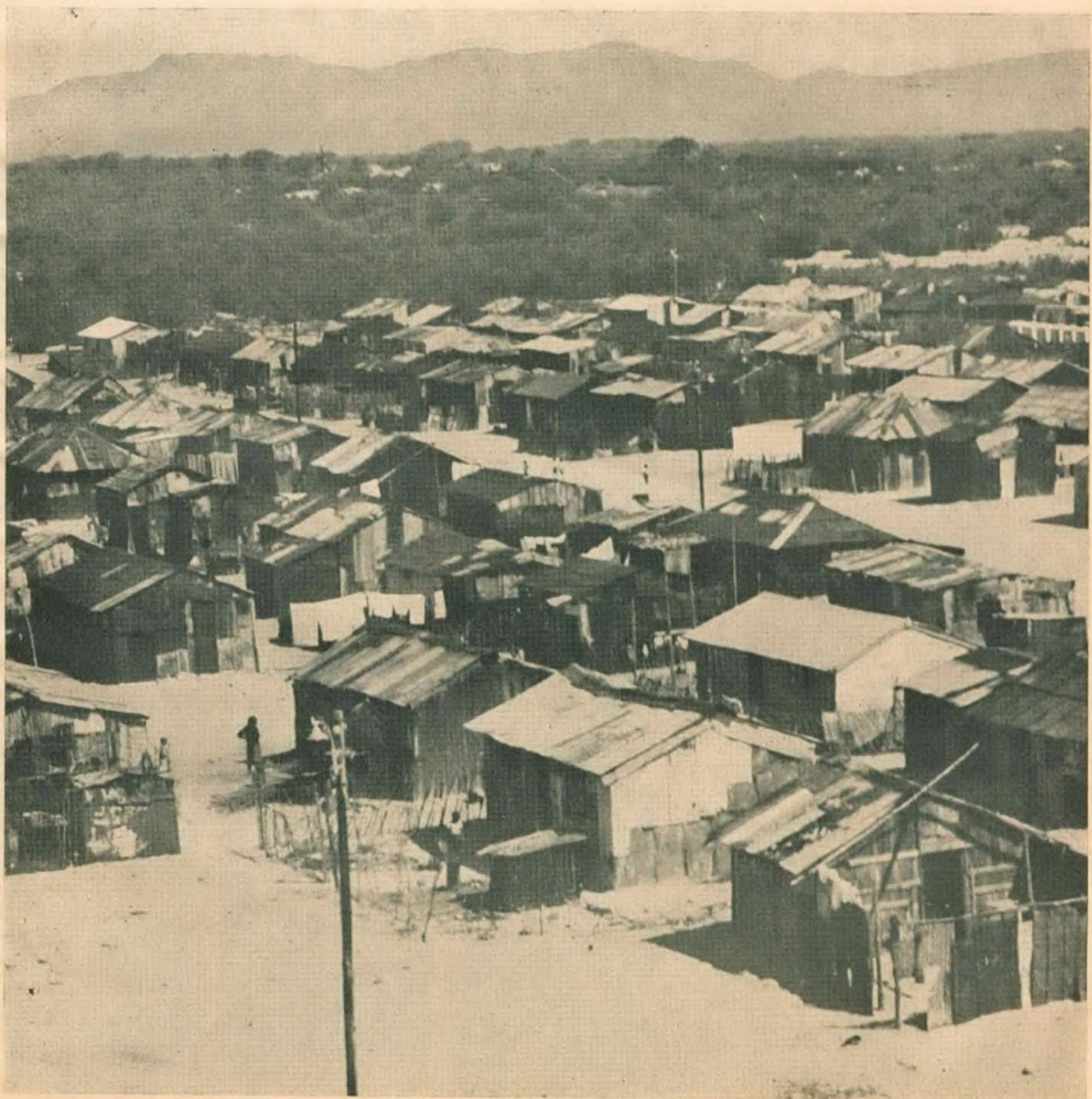
See PAGE 2

**Nyanga Housing Misery**

See PAGE 3

**Liberals Urge  
Higher Wages**

See PAGE 4



**NEW SLUMS FOR OLD:** This is Nyanga, the NEW housing estate for Cape Town's Africans. As the tin-and-sacking hovels of Cape Town's African slums are cleared, the owners are given a free lorry ride 14 miles out of Cape Town and told to re-erect them here, at Nyanga.

This is called the "site-and-service scheme"

## GRAAFF'S IMAGINARY MILLIONS

# White Immigration is a UP Illusion

**I**NTENSIVE WHITE IMMIGRATION is one of the cornerstones of United Party policy. "White leadership", it argues, can be maintained indefinitely if the gap between white and non-white in South Africa's population is reduced. By all means bring the emergent African into the economy and let him assist in its development. But at the same time let us strengthen our white stock with a huge influx of skilled workers from Britain, Holland, Germany and the other countries of Europe.

It is comforting thought, this illusion of a waiting reservoir of white workers anxious to leave their homelands for an uncertain future in South Africa. And it is one which beguiles United Party members and supporters from Sir de Villiers Graaff down.

Speaking at a recent meeting in his Sea Point constituency, Mr. Jack Basson, MP stated that "thorough investigation has revealed that if every 100 Europeans supported 2½ immigrants a year, the position would be rectified in 40 years."

The "position" which worries Mr. Basson and other "four square behind Div" men is the estimated population trend in South Africa over the coming 40 years to the end of the century. By the year 2000 the Union's population will, on the most conservative estimate, exceed 30,000,000; and, of this total, more than 21,000,000 will be Africans, 4,000,000 Coloured and 1,500,000 Indian. Whites will increase at a slower rate to 4,500,000 without immigration, and, according to the Tomlinson Report, to 6,150,000 with immigration. Quite obviously, this number of whites will find it difficult to dominate 26,500,000 non-whites.

The Tomlinson and Verwoerd answer is to plan for the partition of South Africa. Tie most of the increase in the African population into neat little Bantustan parcels; let the whites keep four-fifths of the country; and allow about six million African workers to live as tolerated sojourners in the white areas. With most of South Africa, the United Party has rejected this fantastic scheme, but it refuses to accept the alterna-

By  
Peter Hjul

tive — integration of the Union's people in a non-racial society.

Instead it has come up with a scheme even more extravagant than Nationalism's Bantustan. Asked by the *Cape Argus* to outline the "Native" policy of the United Party, Sir de Villiers Graaff suggested this could be carried out alongside a policy of intensive white immigration. "We shall," he wrote, "as a first priority seek to increase our white population as fast as assisted immigration and social planning for an increased birth rate will permit."

"With our vast natural resources and with a Government with the necessary will, we must strive to build up our European population to at least 15,000,000 before the end of the century."

"As we progress towards the achievement of that aim, one can expect that racial tension will decline."

For a Party which has already lost some of its best members because it has become increasingly unable to face up to political realities in South Africa, this is ambitious talk. On analysis it stands out as a political confidence trick equalled only by the *apartheid* promises of the Nationalist Party.

## Greatest ever

To increase the white population of South Africa to 15,000,000 in 40 years' time, a United Party Government would have to supplement the estimated natural increase with 10,000,000 immigrants. This is

a figure only 4,000,000 less than the greatest migrant flow in history.

In 40 years, from 1860 to 1900, the United States absorbed 14,218,050 immigrants. These were the "huddled millions" from Europe's shores who poured without restraint into America. Far less than 20 per cent of them were skilled workers; the rest were labourers, peasants, their wives and their children. During the decade 1880 to 1890 when 5,246,613 people migrated to the United States, 540,411 were skilled workers. To maintain the flow, there was no selection and only the booming economy of North America with the population vacuum created by the drive westwards saved the country from its policy of unrestricted immigration.

These conditions no longer exist for America or for any other country. There is no vast movement of people away from Europe; and for South Africa, there is no need for an influx of unskilled workers and peasants.

The most intensive migration of recent years has been to Canada and to Australia. In ten years, from 1946 to the end of 1955, Canada took in 1,222,319 immigrants. From 1947 to 1955, Australia had 1,000,000, of whom 800,000 remained in the country.

Both Canada and Australia are larger, better-developed nations than South Africa. They have substantial state-aided immigration schemes costing millions every year. They also have homogeneous populations and can take the unskilled worker.

Some idea of the comparative capacities of South Africa and Canada can be gained from the figures for 1947/1948 when both countries had intensive immigration schemes. South Africa in that period had 48,000 immigrants; Canada took in 190,000.

## Australian plan

After trying to maintain a programme of 200,000 immigrants a year, Australia has now settled for a more modest 100,000 to 120,000. And this is proving a costly project. At a symposium a few years ago a former Australian state Prime Minister, quoting several authorities, estimated the cost per immigrant at £1,000 to £2,000. This included transport, housing and all the other extra facilities needed by a rapidly-increasing population.

But practical considerations such as these seldom find their way into the nebulous policies of the United Party. The figure of 15,000,000 white South Africans, 10,000,000 of them immigrants, sounds good from a platform and may even

read well in a newspaper article. Perhaps a gullible electorate, anxious to see safety in white numbers, will swallow it. Not so easy to swallow is the cost, on the lowest Australian estimate, of £10,000,000,000, over the next 40 years, or £250,000,000 a year — five-sixths of the total yearly revenue of the Union Government.

## Facts needed

But even costs fade before the task of bringing in these immigrants. Assuming that 10,000,000 Europeans were ready to emigrate to South Africa to maintain this bastion of "white civilisation", then they would have to arrive here from 1960 on at the rate of 250,000 a year. This is twice Australia's present rate, and more than 100,000 above the average for Canada. It works out at nearly 700 people a day, every day, every week for 40 years.

This 700 represents the average passenger load of a Union-Castle Line mailship. A large migrant ship might accommodate 1,500 a voyage and at least 20 of these ships would be needed to maintain the flow. Each day South Africa would have to provide jobs for another 200 to 300 white workers:

homes would have to be found for them and their families; and the state would have to provide many of the amenities they left behind them in their homelands.

Even if these miracles could be achieved, what would these new South Africans do to solve the race problems of their adopted country? Absorbed gradually into the white population, they might, as in Rhodesia, acquire some of its prejudices. But 2,500,000 people in ten years is not gradual absorption. Immigrants would bring with them the more enlightened outlook of Europe; they might mix readily with non-white co-workers. On the other hand, an influx on the scale suggested could easily result in an explosive contact between workers competing for too few jobs, too few houses, and for severely strained amenities.

Either way, immigration on this scale, if it were even faintly possible, could be disastrous for the illusions of the United Party. It can never be the answer to the problems of South Africa. And, by seriously suggesting it, Sir de Villiers Graaff joins Dr. Verwoerd among the more fatuous day-dreamers in South African politics.

## HERTZOG MEETING FAILS

**D**R. ALBERT HERTZOG, perhaps the most unpleasant person ever to be made a cabinet minister in South Africa, flew down from the Transvaal to Caledon, Cape, the other day to hold a meeting in support of the Nationalist candidate in the Provincial Council election.

The meeting was well-publicised, and was held in the Town Hall. Only 170 people from this stronghold of Nationalism, attended. *Die Burger* commented (21 Sept.)

"Have Nationalists become used to ministers? Or is it just that there is little enthusiasm for the election? . . . I remember ten years ago, when I attended a provincial election meeting of Minister Paul Sauer at Caledon. The Town Hall was crammed, and many people stood, my report ran. Are small meetings a symbol of this election

campaign? The other day there was a report that Minister Jan de Klerk got so small an audience in a Johannesburg suburb that the chairman expressed his disappointment over the absence of so many Nationalists."

Since, according to another minister, Mr. P. W. Botha, the three issues before the electorate are the vital questions of the economy of the country, the republic, and the very existence of the white South Africans, it is clear that the people of Caledon at any rate are not prepared to take the Nationalists at their own valuation.

## Cape Girl's Big Award

**A** SOUTH AFRICAN girl, Miss Morea Veldsman, has the distinction of being the first South African to win a £1,800 award to study library science in the United States, sponsored by the United States Department and the American Library Association. She was chosen from a large number of South Africans who applied for the bursary and left Cape Town recently for New York.

The bursary is a comparatively new one and while open to librarians in many parts of the world, few have been selected for the award.

Miss Veldsman was the first non-white to qualify for the University of Cape Town's diploma in librarianship. Since taking her B.A. degree at the University, she has been with the Cape Town library service, but before finally making up her mind to become a librarian, she thought seriously of taking up ballet and while studying for her B.A. degree travelled around the Cape Province as a ballerina with the Eoan Group.

Miss Veldsman, aged 25, was educated at the Livingstone High School, Claremont.

Unless otherwise stated all political comment, sub-editing and headlines in this issue of CONTACT are by Patrick Duncan, Parliament Chambers, Parliament Street, Cape Town, cartoon by David Marais, 6 Gluckman Avenue, Milnerton, political columns by Peter Hjul, Parliament Chambers, Parliament Street, Cape Town, Peter Brown, 268 Longmarket Street, Pietermaritzburg.

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## Houghton Candidate



Mrs. Marion Friedman

## LIBERAL PARTY FIGHTS 4 CONSTITUENCIES

## NEWS FROM ELECTION FRONTS

THE Liberal Party's four election campaigns are going ahead well. They are taking place at Houghton, Ixopo, Pretoria East and at Sea Point.

## HOUGHTON

The campaign in Houghton, which got off to a slow start, is now gaining momentum and canvassing is taking place among the 20,000 electorate.

A fair amount of interest is being shown in the Progressives. Mr. Harry Oppenheimer's defection from the United Party underlines what the Liberal Party has always said, namely, that the practical reasons for writing off the United Party as an effective opposition are as strong as the idealistic ones.

In an appeal to the electorate, Mrs. Marion Friedmann, the Liberal Party candidate for Houghton, urges all concerned to accept the fact that radical changes must come to South Africa and that by voting Liberal, Houghton "may well help to make history."

There are still those whom she describes as "automatic UP voters", but she points out that "their number has decidedly decreased" and that a considerable amount of interest is being taken by them in the forthcoming elections.

## IXOPO

The Ixopo constituency, which Mrs. Guinevere Ventress contests on behalf of the Liberal Party in these provincial elections, is vast and presents greater problems of area coverage than any other the Party has yet taken on. It stretches from the spacious Durban suburbs of Hill Crest and Gillitts to small

country towns like Howick and Ixopo itself. Its voters share no particular community of interest. Some are leading Durban businessmen, others country store-keepers, many are farmers.

It will not be possible to cover such an area with a detailed canvass, so the Party, while it will canvass what it can, will make up for this by holding meetings as widely as possible.

Several have been held — at Hill Crest, Howick, Richmond and Ixopo. Speakers have been the candidate Mrs. F. G. Ventress, who is acquitting herself very well, Ishwar Amin, Bill Benghu, Peter Brown, Violaine Junod, Alan Paton and Leslie Rubin. At Richmond, where the town was confronted with its first-ever inter-racial political meeting, some of the voters had difficulty in retaining their composure when they found themselves being addressed by an African. On the whole however the Party has been given a very attentive hearing.

## PRETORIA

The campaign in Pretoria East is going according to plan. The general feeling so far is that there has been stimulating response from traditional Nationalist and UP voters and that interest in Liberal policy is much greater than in the by-election of two years ago.

A lively open-air public meeting was held in Lynnwood, addressed by the candidate Dr. Colin Lang, supported by Sen. Rubin and Mr. Ernest Wentzel. Dr. Lang spoke of the pri-

## IF YOU DON'T LIKE IT, GET OUT

## NYANGA FACES THE BITTER FACTS

COLD desperation best describes the state of mind of the 20,000 tenants of Nyanga location, a cheerless sandy waste on the Cape flats which is to be the future home of all Africans in the Cape Peninsula and its hinterland. The present nightmare for them is that about 95% of their number owe rent to the Cape Divisional Council, and are facing the constant threat of ejection, gaol (you can go to prison for debt in South Africa—if you are black), or deportation to even worse conditions in the "reserves".

But their abysmal poverty is not the only factor. For a year the hard-core tenants of the "old location" — three-roomed houses built from 1946 onwards — have refused to pay the £4 15s. a month rent imposed in August 1958, but have tendered the old figure of £2 3s. 4d. For £4-a-week people, the old sub-economic rent was bad enough, but on a budget of 12s. transport 50s. food, clothing, fuel etc., etc. extra, the new economic one was quite impossible. And, moved to action by the Vigilance Committee, those who could just afford to pay stuck to the old rent too, joining the poorest of the poor in the Transit Camp in a growing volume of debt.

## RENTS RAISED

When rents were raised a council official told the Press: "Many of the tenants get up to £50 a month" (palpably untrue).

and "they can apply to be moved to houses with lower rents" (a cynical play on the word "apply", since cheaper houses are scarcely ever available.)

A year later, the tune is changing. The secretary of the Council, Mr. S. G. Malan says that "the fault is not with the

(Urban Areas) Act (1945) and its amendments, constant police raids, and the actions of Christoffel Scheepers, a junior official who is the most hated man in the location.

All these are as nothing to the icy shock that has hit the people of Nyanga. They have learnt now that even in easy-going Cape Town, their misery and insecurity are a source of gratification to their overlords, the Dept. of Bantu Administration and Development.

The harsh cruelty of influx control has always been slightly cushioned by the attitude of BAD officials here, but recent pronouncements of the new Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner, Mr. J. S. de Wet, have removed the last pretence that the Government means well.

A deputation of women which took to Mr. de Wet their complaints about rent, living conditions, police raids and permits were shattered at his response. All grievances were met with apparent glee and the refrain: "the more you complain, the more it suits us!" The lesson was thoroughly rubbed in that life should be as uncomfortable as possible for the dependents of the Cape's African workers—to force them to "go back to the reserves".

## DISMISSED

The police attitude on the other hand was conciliatory and investigation was promised (subsequently a senior police officer warned the Council that the police would not be responsible for the safety of Mr. Scheepers.

Incredulous at De Wet's attitude, the women asked to see the Council's "Native Affairs" manager, Mr. H. M. Pansegrouw. Mr. Pansegrouw saw them on 24 September, while denying to the Press that any meeting was to take place, and simply reiterated Mr. De Wet's dismissal of their complaints.

The women now demand to see Mr. Pansegrouw's bosses, and there is a hope that the "Native Affairs" committee of the Council may be capable of a more human response than the BAD Department.

Meanwhile, Nyanga is tense. Some action must follow the huge rent debt. Somehow ways must be found to keep homes together. Vigilance meetings, women's meetings, political meetings, even the puppet Advisory Board—all argue this nightmarish sequence of low wages, high rent, ejection, gaol, deportation. And no one can see a way out of it all.

## PORTRAIT OF NYANGA

In 1951 there were 57,000 Africans in the Cape Peninsula, which was double the pre-war figure. Eight years of accelerating apartheid have brought the number up to 110,000. Inexorable economic pressure, the springs of history itself, has brought these families here, because they and the people living here before need each other, whatever governments may say.

On the cover is the Transit Camp at Nyanga, the location which, with municipal Nyanga West, is to house all the Africans of this area. Nyanga has tarred roads, street lighting, a clinic, churches and primary schools, an efficiently-run location office, adequate though expensive transport, and is free of real crime. It has no community centre, cemetery or secondary school. The railway station, by a classic of mis-planning, is three miles from the nearest house. A small minority of the houses have postal deliveries, the tenants are hounded by police raiding for liquor, passes and visitors' permits. The majority live in *pondokkies* on 1,400 square-foot plots of white sand, for which they pay £1 a month (and are gaoled for non-payment). The rest live in two and three-roomed brick houses now being built on smaller plots than before, without floors, ceilings or paint, and the whole area is an unhygienic, damp, infertile corner of the sandy isthmus that joins the Cape Peninsula to the mainland.

Divisional Council but with the wretched wages paid to these people by industry, the Government and other employers." One must add: and the Divisional Council itself, which has a top clerical weekly wage of £4 15s. and labouring wage of £5 10s., while the minimum family subsistence income is agreed at £5 15s. a week. Wages are indeed part of their problem, and meanwhile the people of Nyanga cannot and will not pay their rent.

Poverty and rent are not all, even when added to the intolerable working of the Natives

many things that the Liberal Party felt duty bound to do—to ensure that everybody would have the right to adopt a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and his family with education as a right for all. Should the Liberal Party come into power, he said, it would draw together a National Convention of leaders and representatives of all races and parties, to draw up a Bill of Rights on democratic lines.

Sen. Rubin and Mr. Wentzel debated with the audience on the more immediate and practical points of policy. Quoting from his pamphlet "This is Apartheid", Sen. Rubin was able to emphasise the human suffering resulting from the implementation of apartheid laws, which are directed against those who have no voice in their enact-

## SEA POINT

In Sea Point the campaign has gone well, despite the absence of the candidate for three weeks in hospital and in convalescence. Mr. Patrick Duncan is now back on the job, and has moved over to live in Sea Point until the campaign ends.

Three meetings are planned during the last three weeks of the campaign, and great interest in the Liberal idea is being shown by the voters. There has been a definite growth in the willingness of white voters to accept a non-racial solution.

This, together with the great difficulties that have dogged the United Party's local effort, and the great disillusionment felt with the United Party's stand generally, have given the Liberal Party a real chance of winning the seat.

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by

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## The Ins and the Outs



Sometimes it's hard to understand why some children can use the swings and some can't. [Sam Dyantyi, Queenstown]

## LIBERALS CALL FOR HIGHER WAGES

**S**TRONG representations have been made by the Liberal Party to members of the Government Wage Board meeting at Pietermaritzburg, urging drastic revision of minimum wages if non-white employees are to enjoy a standard of living which is, at least, above subsistence level.

In a memorandum on the subject, the Chairman of the Pietermaritzburg Branch of the Liberal Party, Mr. Jack Spence, deals specifically with conditions affecting non-white employees in private hotels, boarding houses and flats, in respect of whom the 1944 wage determination laid down certain wage scales plus cost of living allowances for married persons.

At the last wage board hearing, the Liberal Party maintained that a family of five required an income of £20 14s. 7d. a month to cover, *inter alia*, food (£12 1s. 9d.), transport (£1 10s. 8d.), rent (£1 10s.), fuel (£1 4s.), clothing (£3 10s.), Sundries (17s. 11d.). This figure excluded expenditure on education, books, hospitalisation, church dues, newspapers and cigarettes.

Assuming that an employee receives food from his employer, he would still be required to spend £8 per month approximately on food for the rest of his family. Taking into account the other items of expenditure, the employee would require an income of at least £16 12s. 7d., including cost of living allowance.

If this figure is compared with the legal minimum laid down in 1944, plus COL, then clearly there are strong grounds for an increase in the wages of the majority of workers in this field of employment.

The wages of unqualified workers are substantially lower

and the need for an increase is correspondingly greater in their case.

## Africa South: Latest Issue

**T**HE October-December issue of *Africa South* is just out. It maintains past high standards, and even seems better than ever. Colin Legum has done a most valuable piece on the Belgian Congo, sketching what has led up to the present situation, and giving a key to the somewhat complicated list of parties. This article will be filed by many for reference.

A. C. Jordan contributes a further interesting instalment on Xhosa literature of the late nineteenth century. Basil Davidson's article on French West Africa does for it what Colin Legum's does for the Congo.

Maurice Pope brilliantly discloses what Fort Hare was, and what it is to become, while Ben Turok and James Fairbairn write authoritatively on the horrifying new serfdom into which the Government is pushing African rural workers. There are many other articles of the same high standard.

On the lighter side Tony O'Dowd has done one of his best sketches with the background of an ethnic university. Giving remarkable value for 3s. 9d. Mr. Ronald Segal, the editor, is to be congratulated on a brilliant job, courageously and well done.

THEY BRING MISERY TO THOUSANDS, BUT . . .

# U P Would Not Repeal The Pass Laws —Marais Steyn

**I**N WATTVILLE township, Benoni, a feeling of revulsion from the United Party has arisen. In a recent speech Mr. Marais Steyn spoke of Influx Control—the laws that have taken away the Africans' freedom of movement. He was reported as saying that that the United Party had no intentions of repealing these laws, if it came to power. A few examples will show the vicious nature of these laws.

Only recently, a highly-respected African clergyman found himself placed in a dilemma over influx control. As a clergyman liable to transfer from pillar to post at any time, he, like all others falling in his category, cannot have a "permanent" residence. He is now living in Johannesburg.

Because of this, he was told that his son who was a student at Fort Hare when the family was transferred from Pretoria to Johannesburg, could not be permitted to "enter, seek work and/or reside" in the proclaimed area of Johannesburg.

Under Influx Control regulations, the Registering Officer's department ordered the young man to seek an entry permit in Pretoria where he formerly lived as a minor under his father.

Having been at school all his life, he had never registered in terms of Influx Control requirements. There is no record to show he had ever lived in Pretoria; that being the case, Pretoria need not have accepted him if he had applied to seek work and reside in that district.

## Can't live with parents

Because of this, he is now in a quandary; he wants to live with his parents; but that, in terms of Influx Control measures, is illegal—illegal to live with his own parents!

Again, not so long ago, a man from Bethal, Eastern Transvaal, successfully found employment in Benoni where his parents now live. When, however, through no fault of his own, he lost his job in Benoni, he was endorsed out of the area and ordered back to Bethal.

At Bethal, however, he was refused entry on the grounds that his stay there had been temporary and had been conditional on his being employed in the district.

Bethal, therefore, referred him to his place of birth, a remote Eastern Transvaal farm where his father once worked before migrating to Benoni.

This was years ago, and for the young man, there was no question of returning to this place since nobody would know him. The farm itself had changed ownership several times and, for him, "home of origin" was non-existent.

In utter desperation, he risked

a return to Benoni where he would live a life of hide-and-seek with the police.

Under these regulations, an African is restricted to residence in the area where he works, or vice versa. Should he perchance lose his job and obtain employment elsewhere, he must move out with his family to reside in the area where he has found new employment.

But the law tells him he cannot introduce dependents into an area unless he himself has first lived and worked in that area over a number of prescribed years. He thus has nowhere where he can take his family to.

## Employment next to unemployment

Now, a ludicrous situation obtains on the East Rand. Two municipalities are placed cheek by jowl. One, suffering from the lack of adequate labour, has a fast-growing industrial township bordering on the African residential zone of the other. Only a narrow buffer strip keeps the industrial township and the "location" apart.

The municipal authority under whose jurisdiction the Africans in this "location" fall, has a surplus African labour reservoir. Indeed, this has been swollen to large dimensions through retrenchments caused by the recession in trade which badly hit this particular area.

Many, or most of these unemployed Africans, could easily be absorbed in employment in the neighbouring municipal area; but, thanks to Influx Control, jobs go begging while other men and their families suffer from unemployment.

**The incidence of crime steps up rapidly in the municipal area with hundreds of unemployed. Daring daylight robberies are perpetrated in the erstwhile peaceful township; evening social life is dead; clinics and hospitals are kept busier than ever; and the courts are full of murder, assault and robbery cases.**

Alarmed at this, local advisory boards plead repeatedly for the relaxation of influx control measures, but their pleadings fall on deaf ears. In desperation, they plead for the right to form civic patrols in order to "deal" not with the law responsible for this upsurge of crime, but with their own people who have turned criminals through influx control measures.

This request is always refused. Indeed, as one elderly man put it: "the white man just glories to see us go at each other like wild dogs."

Such are some of the effects of the Influx Control laws — the laws Mr. Marais Steyn has just blessed in the name of the United Party.

## ANOTHER PROP GOES

**T**HE London weekly *South Africa*, which, it is safe to say, has never before criticised the United Party, has come out in severe criticism of what it calls "the conservative rump of the United Party over which Sir de Villiers Graaff now presides". The leader is called "A party that has lost its way". It asks how the United Party "which stands for a fair deal for the natives" could have passed the Bloemfontein land resolution. It explains thus:

"Because according to the United Party diehards, if they consented to further land being purchased for the natives, they would be acquiescing and co-operating in bringing about Dr. Verwoerd's dream of Bantustan. What nonsense! In any case, don't forget it is the United Party above everyone else which has declared that Bantustan is nothing but a dream and must remain so. What the United Party has got to recognise is that, Bantustan or no Bantustan, more land has got to be set aside for the benefit of the African population. The United Party is pledged to that policy up to the hilt. The fact that the Nationalists are prepared to implement the Opposition's own policy, while the United Party disowns it, is the most ironical feature of the situation."

*South Africa* dismisses with contempt the "palsied programme" which the United Party puts forward to extend the representation of Africans. "Boiled down", the leader runs:

"The United Party's answer to political apartheid is to appoint five more whites to the House of Assembly to speak for millions more blacks. That is a derisory proposal which will attract not the slightest support anywhere at home or abroad."

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CAPE TOWN



## OVERSEAS BOYCOTTS

## SA - UK CANNED FRUIT TRADE IN DANGER

THE GHANA BOYCOTT seems to have come to very little, largely because it was proposed by Mr. John Tettegah and his Ghana Trade Union Congress, and not by the Ghana government, which, as a member of the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT), is not supposed to go in for boycotts. And the smaller West Indian islands, too, though anxious to boycott *apartheid*, have been dissuaded by Britain, and have not as yet the power to override Britain's wishes in such a matter. The Jamaican boycott remains.

At the same time the matter of exports from South Africa is an extraordinarily delicate one. The country is tremendously dependent on overseas trade.

South Africa's dependence upon overseas trade was relatively the highest in the world and it was more than necessary that this position should be improved, said Dr. A. J. Visser, a well-known Witwatersrand industrialist, at the quarterly meeting of the Johannesburg Afrikaanse Sakekamer recently. The Union's imports in 1958 amounted to 31.5 per cent. of its total national income. In Canada imports were 21.1 per cent.; in Britain 20.7 per cent.; Australia 17.1 per cent., and in

the United States only one per cent.

Already in some key sectors of South Africa's export trade, even with no political complications, the Union's markets are in danger.

A revealing example is the canned fruit export to Britain. The British market is worth some £40 million a year. Last year South Africa sold no less than £12 million worth of canned fruits in this market — £2 million more than the Australians, and way ahead of the Americans, who are still held back by dollar quotas.

But though the Australians and South Africans have marked off so fat a slice of this

fat market, their share of it is slipping. In 1954 their combined shipments represented 70% of total sales in Britain; but in 1958 they only represented 54%. This is due to intensified competition from various countries.

Mr. G. H. Whitehead, of Langeberg Co-operative, reflected South African fears when he said recently that the canning industry was standing on the edge of a precipice.

**Quick decision**

Perhaps this insecurity caused the quick decision of Langeberg to have talks recently with the ANC, talks which resulted in the ANC withdrawing Langeberg from its boycott list. For this Langeberg was bitterly criticised in the Nationalist press, but Langeberg did not go back on its agreement with the ANC, which included recognition of the ANC-backed Food and Canning Workers Union, and an undertaking not to help the government to enforce the Urban Areas Act against the workers in their plants.

There is another factor that may act to rob South African exporters of the whole of their sales in the British canned

fruit market. To a greater and greater extent the farm gaol system is being extended to the towns in the Cape *boland* (country areas). Under this iniquitous system convicts are made available to farmers at 9d. a day each. Syndicates of farmers build the gaols under private enterprise — the gaol belongs to them. They and the country thus acquire a vested in-

has ceased to be part of the Commonwealth, or if it has become a *broederbond* republic, such a campaign might well destroy, completely, the whole of the £12 million canned fruit export trade with Britain, in addition to much of the canned fruit export trade with the rest of the world.

The British housewife has never lost the belief, dating from



terest in full gaols, which chimes well with the vicious police enforcement of the pass laws and other technical offence laws. The convicts from these gaols work under the shadow of a rifle.

**Grim shadow**

One day, when Dr. Verwoerd has done something more to inflame overseas opinion, a campaign might well get going in Britain to popularise the fact that South African canned fruit is "grown under the shadow of a rifle".

If by that time South Africa

pre-war, that American canned fruit is the best. She will thus not struggle against such a campaign, especially as the Americans are again knocking at the door of the British supermarkets.

If this were to happen, most of the sufferers would be Nationalists. These overseas pressures are already with us. They will increase in intensity. They have already had a tremendous moderating influence on the wild white supremacists, and as pressures step up internally so will the health and influence of overseas boycotts grow.

## TABLE TENNIS TOUR

## "Honorary Whites" to Play "Non-Whites"

WHEN THE four-man Egyptian table tennis team visits South Africa shortly, it will be undertaking an epoch-making tour, for it will be the first international clash on South African soil against teams selected by the non-racial South African Table Tennis Board.

There have been international tours before, but these matches have been played against the South African Table Tennis Union (white) which has since ceased to be recognised by the International Table Tennis Federation because of its refusal to allow non-white membership.

It will be recalled that the South African Table Tennis Board, which has a membership of Indian, African, Coloured and some white players, was accepted into the fold of the International Table Tennis Federation a few years ago. The Board made history when it sent a five-man team to participate in the world table tennis championships in Stockholm. The team hit the world headlines for just as it was leaving South Africa the Government tried unsuccessfully to stop it.

Early this year the members of the team made another attempt to leave in order to take part in the world championships which were held this year at Dortmund in Germany. Mr. Cassim Bassa managed to elude

By  
Rajendra Chetty

the security police but his teammates were cornered. Their passports were withdrawn just as they were preparing to leave. When Mr. Bassa returned, his passport was taken away.

**Deep water**

With this Egyptian tour, the Union authorities are really getting into deep water. It has become traditional in South Africa to regard Egyptians as "honorary Europeans". Thus, a team of "honorary Europeans" will be playing, in South Africa, teams classed as "non-Europeans". But the Government dare not stop them.

The Government cannot forbid entry to this team of "honorary Europeans" without affecting the status of all Egyptians in South Africa, including diplomats, and risking an international explosion. They cannot do it either without making nonsense of Mr. Honey's pledge on the Olympics that all, irrespective of colour, would be given an equal chance of representing South Africa. And if they were to do this, so soon after the solemn pledge that all, irrespective of colour, would be given passports to go to the Olympics, it is on the cards that a new impulse would be given to the Maori resistance in New Zealand.

Rugby boycotts, above all other sporting troubles, are what the Government does not want.

**"Coloured" and "Indian" Education**

## DEGREE COURSES PLANNED

PLANS ARE being made to introduce degree courses and a higher education diploma (post-graduate) at the teacher-training institutes for Coloureds and Indians in the Transvaal. This information was disclosed by Mr. Smith, Vice-Principal of the Johannesburg Indian High School and Training Institute for Indian Teachers, in an address to the matriculation students of an East Rand High School for Coloureds and Indians.

There are only two training colleges for Coloureds and Indians in the Transvaal. Both are situated in Johannesburg. One, for Coloureds only, is at Coronationville and the other, exclusively for Indians, at Fordsburg. Both these institutes offer a Teachers' Certificate (Standard VIII and two years' training) and a Lower Diploma (Senior Certificate and two years' training).

Mr. Smith said that negotiations are taking place to provide courses that will lead to the B.A., B.Sc. and B.Com. degrees at the training colleges. If all goes well then it is likely that these courses will be available as from next year. At these colleges students will be prepared for the examinations of the University of South Africa. The Transvaal Education Department will provide loans, book and travelling bursaries for all needy students.

In addition, the Department will bear the cost. Students will be expected to repay the cost of their education only after completion of their studies. All students will be required to sign a contract binding them to

By  
Henry Simmons

the service of the Education Department for a number of years. During this period of service, deductions will be made from their salaries to pay for the education they have received.

Apart from these degree courses, provision will be made for two diplomas, a post-graduate diploma upon completion of a full degree and a diploma upon completion of five first year university courses.

From next year the Matriculation Certificate will be the minimum entrance requirement for enrolment to the Coloured Training College.

The Coloured Training College is large enough to accommodate these extra classes if they are introduced. The Indian Training College, on the other hand, has not got suitable accommodation, so that when these courses are started there, then the Indian High School (which is at present attached to the College) will have to give way. If it is moved then it will

most probably be transferred to an Indian group area.

Teachers welcome this move by the education authorities to improve the academic and professional qualifications of the Indian and Coloured teachers in the Transvaal. At the moment the qualifications of many of the teachers are deplorably low.

In 1956, of the 907 Coloured and Indian teachers in the service of the Education Department, 589 (or 64.9%) had the Junior Certificate (Std. VIII) only, while 89 (or 9.9%) had qualifications lower than Std. VII. The Senior Certificate was possessed by 187 (or 20.7%) and only 42 (or 4.6%) were graduates with university degrees.

These figures indicate quite clearly the distressingly low qualifications of teachers. Since the teacher is the pivot on which education in all its aspects ultimately turns, it is obvious that with an ill-equipped and ill-educated teacher there can be no suggestion of real education. Small wonder that the standard of education in Indian and Coloured schools in the Transvaal is so unsatisfactory.

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# CONTACT

## Let's take Khrushchev's proposal seriously

WHEN Mr. Khrushchev made his dramatic disarmament proposal to the United Nations he did something that affects everyone in the world. That is why *Contact*, an African fortnightly, must consider his proposal with as much care as if it were a European fortnightly, published under the immediate shadow of the bomb.

Mr. Khrushchev proposed that there should be complete disarmament within four years. This would involve all types of arms, armies, bases, atomic and hydrogen bombs. Rockets would be used merely for the conquest of space for the common benefit of all mankind. There would remain police forces, to be maintained by all countries under agreement. And there should be set up an international control body. Presumably this control body should have the right of inspection in all countries, as Mr. Khrushchev said: "States will have nothing to conceal any more and the controllers will therefore be able to manifest their zeal to the hilt."

The history of disarmament talks since World War II is a pathetic record of failure. Most of the blame for this failure must be laid at the door of the Soviet Union. It was the Allies, after all, who really *did* disarm in Europe, and it was the Soviet Union that continued to maintain vast conventional armed forces. Even to-day the total number of divisions under NATO command is only 30, while the Soviets and their satellites have no fewer than 100—in Europe. Again, there have been daring and constructive disarmament proposals from the Western side—one only has to think of the scheme put forward by Mr. Macmillan for Britain in 1957. Under this scheme provision was made for all nuclear tests to be stopped, for a drastic reduction in all armaments, for a reduction of military stocks of uranium and its transfer to peaceful uses, and for inspection to see that the scheme was being carried out. This and all other Western schemes have been unacceptable to the Soviet Union, for until to-day the Soviet Union has refused all effective control and inspection.

With this history as a background, there will be a strong tendency among the Western powers to regard Mr. Khrushchev's new proposal as mere propaganda; to dismiss it as impracticable, and to say "we can't trust anything that comes from these goddam Russians." Such a reaction, if it were the official Western reaction, would be a tragedy. It is a pity that President Eisenhower's final communiqué could not have been more constructive. It is important that the Western reply, generally, be considerably more generous.

Why is it so important? Simply because the future of mankind, perhaps of life itself, is at stake. To refuse on principle an outstretched hand at this stage is to take on oneself the responsibility for the supreme tragedy, if it should thereafter come about. It is important because, as Gandhi never tired of pointing out, it is always better to be outsmarted than to allow suspicion to corrode one's soul.

It is finally important that the reply be constructive because of the personal record of Mr. Khrushchev. In a few years, since the end of the tyranny of Stalin, much has been put right inside the Soviet Union. The exchange of visitors and ideas has been stepped up. The slave camp system is being quietly ended, and to an ever greater extent Siberia is being opened up by voluntary, paid labour, and the millions of ex-slaves are being given an ever-increasing amount of liberty. The reign of the uncontrolled secret police is being quietly brought under ever-widening civil control. Discredited leaders are no longer "liquidated" in fearful purges, but are put out to pasture at Turkmenian power-stations or Mongolian embassies.

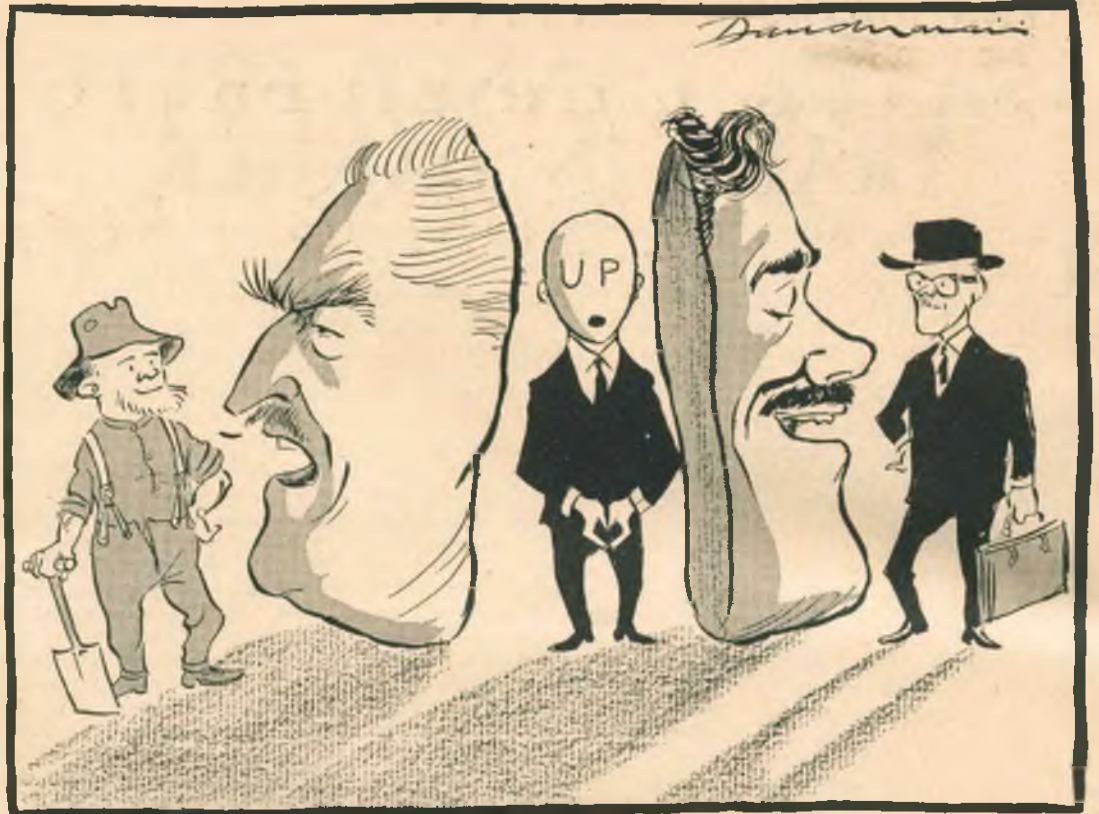
Alongside this progress towards the rule of law Mr. Khrushchev has shown himself to be a man of experimental and non-doctrinaire thinking; a man with a great sense of realities, a man with an acute sense of humour who can even laugh at himself. This peasant realist has said that many marriages are not marriages of love, but the husband and wife have nevertheless to make the best of it. That is how he sees the relations between the United States and his own country. For better or for worse both have to live together, on the same planet. Why not try to make a go of it?

At the heart of this difficulty lies the question of disarmament. Mr. Khrushchev has said that the world is spending £35,700,000,000 a year on arms, and that this money ought to be spent on developing the backward areas. He is right. The most critical difficulty in front of us is that so much of the world is so poor, while Europe (including the USSR) and the West is so rich. If we are to have peace, continental and racial peace, this gap must be closed. It cannot be closed while this fearful arms race goes on. Let the money be spent on developing the underdeveloped areas.

Let us therefore pray that the West will react as Mr. Gaitskell, leader of the British Labour Party, has reacted. He said, about two weeks ago: "I say we should accept Mr. Khrushchev's proposals in principle . . . and then the disarmament commission should get down to brass tacks on the details. Nothing could be worse than to dismiss these proposals as just propaganda."

With wisdom and tolerance on both sides we, the human race, can surmount what Coudenhove-Kalergi has called "the most dangerous crisis in our history". The choice, as he says, lies between "unimaginable catastrophe" and "incomparable renaissance".

Let the West therefore meet Mr. Khrushchev in the spirit in which he has gone to America, and let all together plan the best for ourselves and our children.



Mitchell: "Only the UP can keep the Native in his place."

Graaff: "The UP believes in a South African patriotism which will include all races."

## A European Ghost

About 300 years ago Captain van der Decken, in command of a sailing ship of the Dutch East India Company, was trying to sail round the Cape on his return to Holland. The winds were against him. In a fury with the Almighty, van der Decken swore that he would go on sailing, even if he had to sail until Doomsday. The Devil heard him, and his ship disappeared. Since then many people have seen a ghostly ship still trying to round the Cape. Some years ago it was seen in Cape Town harbour. Apparently since then van der Decken has landed — and this is what happened when he talked to a modern South African.

GOOD evening, Sir. I'm a reporter from *Die Volk*. I just saw you land on the beach in those old clothes. Are you taking part in a pageant?

Heavens, No, young man. I'm Captain van der Decken of the Flying Dutchman. I've sailed these seas for nigh on three hundred years, condemned never to round the Cape for defying the Almighty to stop me. What a fool I was. At last I've been allowed to land to replace my sails.

This is the scoop of the century, Captain. This interview will go down in history. Is it your ship that is sometimes sighted by mariners? Will your punishment never end? What happened to your crew?

Now, now, young fellow. All in good time. Tell me first, what is this town called? It was a tiny settlement last time I called.

Cape Town, Captain. Did you enjoy your last meeting?

Rather. Went to a terrific wedding. The settlement's surgeon married a local belle named Eva. The bride's family, huge black fellows, were full of fun and . . .

Yes, Captain, Quite. Not by any means the traditional South African way of life, but I suppose that people born in Holland never quite understand local conditions. Will you allow me to show you our city? We have a special tour for overseas visitors . . . except clergymen. First through the

European suburbs and then on to the Coloured and Bantu areas.

Capital idea, Sir. Thank you very much. I am pleased to hear that you have Europeans here. I'm longing to chat to someone from Europe. Where were you born, young man? I can tell by your accent that you're not European.

I beg your pardon, Captain. I most certainly am European. Here's my identity card. See "W". It means "White".

Good Heavens, young man, you should be in bed. My sailors all went white before they died. Checks completely lost their normal pinkish tinge.

Sssh, Captain, please don't refer to anything as having a pinkish tinge. It can only lead to trouble, with one of our cabinet ministers. Come, shall we get started? You will be pleased to see what we are doing for the Black people.

Oh, yes, I remember them. Used to steal the settlers' cattle but those that joined the company were O.K. — like Eva. Only trouble was that most of the sailors had wives at home so that only a few could marry local women. There appeared more and more brown-skinned people around the place. Half white and half black but of course perfectly acceptable. We are used to such people in Holland as a result of the Dutch East India Company. Fascinating women in the Indies, you know.

No, Captain, you are quite wrong. Our government has proved that there is no white blood in the coloured population.

I should think not. Who ever heard of anything but red blood?

Please, Captain. Don't think me rude but may I suggest that you refrain from commenting on our domestic affairs until you have heard both sides. So far you have obviously only heard the rantings of Liberalists and political clerics. Completely out of touch with reality, probably communists. They don't even support *apartheid*.

What kind of hate, Sir?

Not hate, Captain, *heid, apartheid*. Possibly an unfortunate word. I prefer separate development. Keeping the different groups apart.

Congratulations, Sir, a bold but

necessary step. In my day there was a shocking amount of mixing and I believe that this can only lead to a lowering of moral standards.

My respect for you grows, Captain. You are just the type of man we need in South Africa.

Yes, the mixing in my day was disgusting. Everywhere one went, one saw men and women mixing in the most disgraceful manner. Even walking in the parks.

I don't mean men and women, Captain. I mean Black and White. We keep apart but develop along our own lines.

Well, that's democratic, anyway. And how often does each group meet to decide which lines it wants to develop along?

Oh, no, Captain. The Bantu are like little children who need to be led and our government knows what is best for them. We must protect European civilization, you know. Of course, we have councils of responsible Bantu to form closer links with them and these councils often send telegrams of thanks and appreciation to our Cabinet ministers. Simple telegrams, you know, but really quite sweet. Of course, we have a small number of agitating kaffirs but we'll fix them along with the sickly Liberalists. Human Rights, indeed!

Hmm, how very odd. Never mind, no doubt I'll understand as time passes. Let's go and meet those European friends of yours. Which part of Europe did you say they came from?

You don't understand, Captain; They are not European Europeans, they are white-Europeans.

Look here, young man, are you trying to be funny?

Captain, somehow I feel that you will not make a success of living in our glorious new vision.

I agree, you impertinent young blackguard. And now that I think of it, I suppose that my sails could last for another hundred years. No doubt you'll all have come to your senses by then. I'm going back to sea. Hmm, how very odd! European civilization being protected by a group of Europeans who are not European Europeans . . .

# WHY LIBERALS ARE NOT OPPOSING PROGRESSIVES



Peter Brown, Chairman of the Liberal Party

**T**HE United Party is embellishing its Provincial election campaign with a poster proclaiming that only it is fighting Dr. Verwoerd, the Nationalists, the Liberals, the Progressives, the Federals and the Independents. The impression which the poster is no doubt intended to create is that, while the United Party is locked in do-or-die combat with the Nationalists and Dr. Verwoerd—the two are distinguished in order to make it easier, presumably, for non-Verwoerdian Nationalist voters to turn UP—packs of other interfering busybodies are yapping at its heels.

In fact the Liberal Party could produce as impressive a list of opponents for an election poster if it wanted to. It is fighting Dr. Verwoerd, the Nationalists—it does not believe the one should be distinguished from the other—the United Party, the Federals and the Independents. The only people it is not fighting are the Progressives. It has gone out of its way to avoid doing so by withdrawing its candidate from the Pinetown constituency in Natal.

The Liberal Party has avoided fighting the Progressives not because of their policy—they have not decided on any policy yet—but because they have taken a stand on an important matter of principle and should be supported in that stand.

In past elections, the UP has made great play of, and achieved some success with, the propaganda line this poster typifies. It has insisted on its prior right to fight the Nationalists in every possible seat, on the grounds that only it can defeat them. When its non-Nationalist opponents have decently refrained from contesting such seats, for fear of splitting the anti-Nationalist vote, it has derided them, in those seats which they have contested, for not having the courage to oppose the Nationalists.

This October things have changed. In Pretoria East Dr. Colin Lang of the Liberal Party

opposes the Nationalists in a straight fight. Good luck to him! For the first time the Liberal Party is able to get to grips with a Government-supporting candidate without finding somebody from the UP in the way. And the Party is delighted. At long last it can confront the electorate in a Nationalist constituency with the two clear alternatives from which it must choose . . . the slow deterioration of Western standards and disintegration of the Western way of life in a futile attempt to preserve White supremacy, or their preservation through the rapid extension of rights and responsibilities, until they embrace all South Africans.

The Liberals of Pretoria East deserve our admiration and congratulations for being the first in a field in which, increasingly I hope, Liberal and Nationalist will find themselves in straight opposition on the fundamental issues which really count.

While the contest in Pretoria East breaks new ground for the Liberal Party it is also, I think, a sign of the times for UP. In the past the UP has tried to oppose every Nationalist it possibly could. It is no longer doing so. In the Cape, Transvaal and Free State over fifty Nationalists will be returned unopposed on 14 October. I believe that this is a sign of the UP's dwindling confidence and diminishing conviction. It is also a sign of its characteristic inconsistency. Many of the seats the UP will not contest are platteland seats.

At Bloemfontein the UP deliberately broke faith with the African people to free itself to oppose further African land purchases in rural areas and presumably in the hope of drawing to it Nationalist voters from those areas. The logical next step to Bloemfontein was to contest every possible platteland seat, dangling this appetising bait before disgruntled White farmers. But that is not happening. Why is the UP so shy of showing its new wares where they should sell best? Is even it ashamed of them?

For over six years Liberals have been predicting the decline and disintegration of the United Party. The years have proved them right. Today I predict, for the future, further decline and disintegration. It is a process which I do not believe can be arrested. Cracks may be papered over for months, or even years, but the break will come. Ever since 1948 the prevailing councils of the United Party have been set in the direction of reaction. Hofmeyr was blamed for 1948, Strauss was blamed for 1953. The Public Safety and Criminal Laws Amendment Acts were supported, the original promise to the Coloured people was

repudiated, the 1958 platteland hustlings rang to cries of "Verwoerd, the *kaffirboetie*". All to what end? All to win votes. Each of these manoeuvres bears the same distinctive mark — it was a dismal failure!

Each election campaign based on these tactics has brought the Nationalists more votes and the UP less sets, yet, at Bloemfontein, the same men with the same arguments, and a formidable list of failures behind them, again carried the day.

I predict decline and disintegration for the UP precisely because its policy-making remains firmly in the hands of those who have served it so badly in the past. But that is not my only reason. With the advent of the Progressives, the UP will lose some, at least, and possibly a large part, of its departure it has also lost its best

brains. All that is left now are people bent on gaining office at whatever costs. But, most important of all, the Party has now lost its integrity. And a political organisation without integrity will carry neither youthful nor enthusiastic support, the only kinds of support which count in the end. I do not myself think any self-respecting person can now vote for the UP with a clear conscience. It sold nine million Africans down the river.

The UP will not get back to power again because it has no clear alternative to offer to Nationalist white domination. Its consuming ambition is to get rid of the Nationalists, so is it everyone else's. But simply "getting rid of the Nationalists" financial support. With their

is neither a policy nor a principle and it can only be done with both policies and principles. The Liberal Party has an unambiguously clear alternative policy to that of Dr. Verwoerd and it is based on clearly-stated principles. In Pretoria East the Nationalists are being confronted with it. In other constituencies one-time supporters of other parties are. Amongst them will be one-time United Party supporters. Can they possibly support the Bloemfontein land resolution? Have they asked an African what he thinks of it? Do they think that Strauss and Oppenheimer and Harry Lawrence have suddenly gone mad? If, after years and years of loyal service, these men cannot stomach the expedient fumbblings of the UP any longer, I cannot believe that any self-respecting UP voter in Houghton or Ixopo or Pretoria East or Sea Point can.

The time for him to make the break is now and the way in which to make the Nationalists feel it most is to give his support to the policy which they recognise as the only real alternative to their own—that of the Liberal Party.

## FAIR COMMENT

by Patrick Duncan

**I**'VE been off for a fortnight having an operation. Nice to be back on the job again—minus most of my stomach. Nowadays you can do without almost any part of the body. If you're in the UP you can even get along without a brain.

**T**HE leaders of the Pan-Africanist Congress have publicly claimed that they have enrolled a membership of 25,000. *Contact* has good information to the effect that they have not yet got 2,500 card-carrying members.

When they founded their movement early this year, they promised they would have 100,000 members by July this year. South Africa can take comfort from this fact, as this is the movement which refers to white, and Indian South Africans as "foreign minorities."

*Contact* challenges the PAC to substantiate its claim with detailed figures of branches.

**D**ID you know that there are still millions of slaves in the world? Some people fear that the trade from Africa into Arabia is on the increase, not decrease, as the slave-owners get richer and richer on oil revenues.

For nearly two centuries the Anti-Slavery Society—Wilberforce's society—has battled to end slavery everywhere. It is at present struggling to get set up, in the United Nations, a special organisation which would implement the Slavery Conventions. Progress is very slow.

Africa has suffered so much from slavery, and is still suffering. Can't we in Africa give the Society a hand? It needs members and funds badly.

Another thousand members would enormously increase the power of the society for good. Couldn't someone make it his business to enrol them?

Incidentally Dr. Hastings K. Banda has been a member of the committee for over twelve years.

Any offers should go to: The Anti-Slavery Society, 49 Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Road, London SW 1.

**I**'VE discovered an infallible way of telling whether an area is "white" or "non-white". You find out whether there is money in it. If there is, then it's "white".

But do you know that some of the time an area can be "white" and the rest of the time it can be "non-white"?

Town locations are "non-white" when Africans have to be removed from the flourishing city-centres. But, believe it or not, they are really "white". This discovery has been made by Mr. D. W. R. Hertzog, chairman of the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, the biggest Nationalist-controlled chamber of business. He has said that he regards locations in white areas as white "areas", and the trade in those locations must remain in "white" hands.

The reasons? Well, Mr. Hertzog said, the Africans have a spending power of more than £1 million a day. By implication it is obviously unnational, and treason to white South Africa, to allow as much fat as this to remain in uncivilised hands.

Secondly, some African traders cooperated with the ANC boycott — another crime against civilisation, clearly.

Thirdly, "if the whites are not able to trade in locations, the money which the *Bantoe* earn from the whites does not come back to the whites."

Like Hamlet's corrupt mother, Mr. Hertzog, your appetite seems to grow by what it feeds upon.

So, once again it is clear, "apartheid = greed".

**I** WOULD like to put right something which has been misinterpreted. In our issue of 5 September we published an interview with Chief Lutuli by Mr. Riesel, an American journalist. In the introductory paragraph we said: "Readers should remember that the report was written for Americans." This of course was only concerned with the presentation of the interview, and did not mean that Chief Lutuli would give one story to Americans and another to South Africans.

Incidentally his farm at Grootville is becoming one of the great centres of our country. During the last fortnight the American ambassador, Mr. Crowe, has visited him there. I understand too that Mr. Jan Steytler, leader of the Progressives, has also had talks with him. And when a close friend of "Chief" spent a day in Durban about a week ago, "Chief" saw him,—but it meant putting off two other visitors. And "Chief" told him that for that day, and the following, his engagement book was absolutely full.

# Englishman works under African boss

**M**OST OF YOU, like me, will have heard of St. Faith's Mission, near Rusape in Southern Rhodesia, where Guy and Molly Clutton-Brock showed that an African community could farm Southern Rhodesian land well, and could make progress on what the land gave them.

I've been on a long hitch-hike round Africa, in the intervals of going to university, and I decided that St. Faith's just had to be one of my stops. I found it all informal—and very informative.

I arrived one night at 11.30 with two hours' notice, slept in an office and, after a breakfast of mealie porridge, went out herding cattle at 7 o'clock the next morning. From then on, I just worked farm hours, doing whatever work the manager gave me, in return for my board and lodging: in other words, seeing Africa from the bottom upwards.

## African boss

My boss was a young African who had grown up with the farm over its first ten years from a-shilling-a-week on weekend cattle herding, to the position of pig manager for a wage well above the average paid on white farms to Africans. But the significant part—it was a wage considerably below what he might have got with his primary education in Salisbury. A breakthrough had been achieved. Not only had enlightened conditions of work triumphed over high wages, but it was manual work: indeed the most despised farm job of all.

My position in this was one so full of potentialities that even now I cannot help feeling how short I fell of realising them fully. Beaven, my boss, once said to me, speaking of the days when he worked with Cedric Wildman, a young Englishman who had gone out there to do such work as he was given for as much money as he was paid, in the hope that he might be able to make some contribution: "Cedric and I—we worked together as two brothers."

By  
Vernon Gibberd

At first, I hadn't been out of England long enough to realise the incongruity of my actions—doing dirty unskilled work under an African—but I can well remember the frustrations it entailed. I was impatient. I was fully aware of the cash, and skills, shortage; less aware of my own lack of



VERNON GIBBERD



At work in the field

agricultural knowledge, and least of all, totally unaware of the need to adapt my outlook to that of my work-mates, rather than hoping that, perhaps by some miracle, they too could suddenly see life through the eyes of one born and bred in a highly-developed capitalist country.

As I worked on, through my daily contact with the ordinary people over our ordinary jobs, I began to see round my feeling of frustration—though my impatience somehow never left me—to something more funda-

mental.

I realised that agriculture among Africans in Southern Rhodesia is in a fearful mess. The people have been converted into serfs, driven at times by the agricultural officers, but robbed of any feeling of responsibility or participation. And they have not nearly enough land.

St. Faith's has overcome this by sharing not only the jobs but the thoughts and plans. For Africans in Southern Rhodesia the next move must be more agricultural education—AND MORE LAND.

## EAST AFRICAN BOYCOTT TO START SOON

**NAIROBI.** 1 November will mark the start of the boycott of South African goods in the East African territories. A decision to this effect was taken at a meeting of the Pan-African Freedom Convention of East and Central Africa held at Moshi, Tanganyika, earlier this month. As a symbolic protest, the meeting called on the pub-

lic to refrain from purchasing South African sherries and other wines, which are sold here in large quantities at cheap prices.

Between now and the date for the start of the boycott plans are to be worked out for the boycott to operate in Kenya.

Uganda and Tanganyika. Delegates from all territories were present at the Moshi meeting and initial plans are already in hand.

However, there is a section of African public opinion, in this case the African elected members who belong to the Kenya National Party, and their supporters, who say that the boycott is "absurd and impracticable" in view of the fact that the masses have not been organised. Similar views have been expressed by delegates of the Uganda Democratic Party who also attended the Moshi conference.

As far as consumption goes, the main buyers of South African goods are Europeans and Asians, and even if the latter decide to cut out South African products from their shopping lists the European community, with a few exceptions, will not follow suit.

## Students Rebuild Bombed School

**MR. MARC ANTHONY BOULLE**, a 24 year old student of science at Natal University, is one of over 100 students from 49 countries rebuilding a school house in the small Tunisian town of Sakiet-sidi-Youssef, just a few yards away from the Algerian border. The school house was totally damaged in a French air bombardment in February 1958 which killed 55 villagers and 11 school children.

To express the international student community's condemnation of French colonialism in North Africa, 66 national unions of students participating in the 8th International Students Conference (ISC) in Lima, Peru, this February unanimously decided that an international students work camp should be held to reconstruct the school.

This project, jointly organised by the Co-ordinating Secretariat for national unions of students participating in the ISC and the Union Générale des Etudiants de Tunisie (UGET) has the full support and aid of the Tunisian government.

Mr. Boulle was recommended as a participant in the camp by the National Union of South African Students, and is on the executive of the Southern Africa Work Camps Association. As a participant in many previous work camps, Mr. Boulle said about Sakiet, "this is the largest and also the most internationally representative camp that I have ever attended..." Along with other participants, Mr. Boulle has had the opportunity to visit parts of Tunisia and he found that the government is making "a valiant attempt to develop the country by promoting education, land reforms, irrigation schemes, etc."

## KENYA AFRICANS SPLIT

### NON-RACIAL PARTY OPPOSES MBOYA

**NAIROBI:** The political tug-of-war goes on apace. At the moment it appears that the main contenders are the Kenya National Party (KNP) which has been registered as a political party, and Mr. Tom Mboya's Kenya Independence Movement, which, though it has been refused registration, is still a powerful force.

Mr. Mboya has announced the movement's intention to organise in such a manner that the refusal of registration will not prevent it from going to the people. The method adopted for this is to have a movement in every district.

An impetus has been given to the African nationalists by the recent conference in Moshi, Tanganyika, of the Pan-African Freedom Convention of East and Central Africa. Mboya got a badly needed shot in the arm from fellow freedom fighter Julius Nyerere, President of the Tanganyika African National Union.

To be self-governing was human, Nyerere said. The African people's impatience to govern themselves was based on a human principle, and principles could not be tampered with. Even so, they were not asking for self-government immediately, which they were entitled to demand. All they wanted was responsible government in 1960.

The reason for this, Mr. Nyerere went on, was that the African people wanted in the period between responsible government and freedom to demonstrate to the "doubting Thomases" that "our desire for self-government has nothing to do with the idea of driving out the non-Africans."

Days after the conference ended it was announced that the KNP members had been refused delegate status because the KNP had not lived up to

the demand made by all PAFMECA constituent units that responsible government should be granted in 1960.

This the KNP's African founders have refused to accept, saying that at no time has any member of PAFMECA bound itself to such a demand on the timing of responsible government.

Even Dar es Salaam's *National Weekly*, founded a few weeks ago with the full backing of Nyerere's party was constrained to remark: "It is to be hoped that all right-thinking persons of all races who have the interests of East Africa at heart will welcome all participants of all national movements, not as representatives of community or race, but as free citizens. An important political organisation such as PAFMECA will be setting a very undesirable and undemocratic example if it does not allow these citizens their right to participate without any racial prejudices. It is hoped that the leaders of PAFMECA were not swayed by the extreme black nationalism of some African leaders of Kenya and Uganda."

Side by side the split in the ranks of the African elected members in Kenya has become complete and final. An attempt made by the eight members of the group who are holding aloft the KNP banner to iron out their differences with the Mboya six in order to present the constitutional adviser, Prof. W. J. M. Mackenzie, with a united front, came to naught.

The KNP is expected to secure a valuable ally and active worker in a few weeks' time when Sir Ernest Vasey, Minister of Finance, gives up his portfolio. He believes that its demands for constitutional advancement and reforms—it wants responsible government in 1964 and full self-government in 1968—do not take fully into account the training in the art of government that the African people need, but are nevertheless formulated along the right lines.

## Liberal Party of South Africa Sea Point Election Fund

To win this election, we need your help and we need your donations. Please send donations to "The Liberal Party", P.O. Box 3618, Cape Town.

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Inserted by L. Freedman, 47, Parliament St., Cape Town.

Is his film fact or fiction?

## Truth About Rogosin

I AGREED to play in Lionel Rogosin's film *Come Back Africa*. This is the film that has been described both as a searing exposure of *apartheid* and a malicious, cynical exaggeration. What is the truth?

I first met Lionel Rogosin at a party. He told me that he had come to this country to do a documentary travel film featuring African music. Now that he had been here for several months he was so appalled by the conditions under which many Africans were forced to live, that he had completely changed his orientation. He now wanted to give his film a more serious content.

Some months later, he approached me to act in the film.

"You are just the type I am looking for" he said. "Don't worry about not being a professional. All you will have to do is to be yourself. I have worked out techniques of filming with non-professionals."

### Typical employer

Briefly we discussed the part he wanted me to play, that of a typical white employer. When I reported for shooting, I was initiated into this "technique". The first thing that I learned was that two African journalists had guided and advised Rogosin in the script. Although Rogosin had been in this country for seven months, soaking up background as he liked to call it, he had relied heavily on his assistants for the incidents in the story. Also these incidents were in outline only. The dialogue was only hinted at.

I was decidedly put out when I saw the paucity of the script. Rogosin saw this and said "now tell me in your own words what you would do in such a situation, or if you like, what you have seen other South Africans do."

That was easy and as I told him I criticised the script and told him that whites would not behave in the way depicted. This was accepted immediately. Then he called Zachariah, the African lead, and asked him his opinion of what I had said and also how he would reply in the situation described. Zachariah, apparently used to this technique, entered fully into the discussion.

"Right" said Rogosin. "Let's just try it once or twice." And

*Lionel Rogosin, brilliant American director of On the Bowery, smuggled out of South Africa a similar "natural" film, Come Back Africa, which has already made its mark at the Cannes Film Festival. Apart from its real quality as cinema, it is important as a very sharp thorn in the side of Government propagandists, and as a visual proof to the world at large of conditions of South African life. One of the actors gives his views . . .*

before I was quite aware of what was happening, I was acting a scene with Zachariah along the lines discussed.

By the time we had finished rehearsing, the scene bore very little resemblance to the original script, but I was happy that it was as true a portrayal as we were capable of.

I was often present at the filming of other scenes and they all followed the same pattern.

For the one shebeen scene, Rogosin took a tape recorder into a Sophiatown shebeen. Unknown to the somewhat inebriated patrons, he taped a discussion on the South African political and social scene and on white Liberals. He was so intrigued with the content that he located the leading participants in the conversation, played the tape back to them when they were sober and managed to get them to re-enact the discussion.

### Average types

On the whole, the whites portrayed in the film seemed to me, and to the Africans concerned, the average type that the majority of Africans are likely to come across. There are patient and impatient employers: kind and unkind.

When I queried the only (to my mind) really explosive scene in the film—a white policeman making a pass at an African domestic worker—the African laughed and asked "do you think it has never happened here?"

Zachariah drinks his employer's brandy; is enticed by a



workmate into joyriding in a car that doesn't belong to them. His wife is tragically killed by an African gangster.

It is obvious that the film was made from a specifically African point of view, but the question is still there: how truthful is it?

To me that hinges on a second question: how many whites are familiar with, understand or appreciate the African point of view when the usual master-servant restraints have gone?

I ask this in all humbleness because working in this film was an amazing experience and a revelation for me.

Lionel Rogosin taught me a great deal.

(Above) Zacharias and shebeen queen; (below) Rogosin directing.



## INTERNATIONAL

# PARISH OF FRIENDSHIP

NEW YORK: A parish of friendship in the turbulent racial life of New York's Harlem is slowly being built by a group of anonymous American ministers who have dedicated themselves to creating a bridgehead in this racial slum area.

As Harlem has become predominantly Negro and Puerto Rican, so the agencies of the white churches have tended to move away and to neglect the challenge of race and racialism on their doorstep. It was this situation which ten years ago a group of young ministers decided to change by moving into Harlem to build a parish of friendship without large resources and without erecting buildings and elaborate organisation. It was a deliberate attempt to start with people as people, and to see whether the presence of "white faces" in Harlem would increase racial tension or help to allay it.

It has taken ten years for the young men and their families, and their successors, to live down suspicion and race hatred. But their original storefront church now has two companions, and another storefront is a

centre for dealing with drug addicts. Two apartments in an old house form the venture's medical clinic, and a former furniture store provides a library, legal aid, and a credit union which helps large numbers of people to manage their finances and avoid the money-lender and the racketeer. Two street clubs are run for young people in rented rooms.

The group deliberately chose to live as Harlem lives and "to be native in all things save faith and morals." They have avoided erecting buildings, and also avoided large-scale organisation on the pattern of American religious organisation, recognising that a bridgehead of friendship in a racial area like Harlem can only be created by people's personal identification with the local people.

The present staff of the

Harlem venture consists of eight young ministers and their families, two students, six lay workers and office assistants, and their support comes from a group of American mission boards. But out of the venture a "parish sense" is gradually emerging. It does not claim any spectacular results for its ten years work in Harlem, but the presence of this bridgehead of friendship and reconciliation is recognised by the whole community as a genuine contribution to New York's most bitter problem.

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## SAM SLY'S CORNER

FORTNIGHTLY NOTES ON BOOKS AND THE PRESS



### Worm's-eye views

*Three Hundred Years* (Sam Sly 5 September) is by "Mnguni", who is not Mr. Hosea Jaffe. My apologies to both. Its two volumes were published by the New Era Fellowship (P.O. Box 7, Lansdowne, C.P.) in 1952, and was their contribution to the tercentenary commemoration of that year. (See 50 *Inglorious Years*) Two other worm's-eye-view histories I could have mentioned were Rubusana's unpublished *History of South Africa from the Native Standpoint* and John Henderson Soga's *The South-Eastern Bantu*. Though both temperate and just, the latter would frighten a government school-teacher out of his wits in the unlikely event of his reading it. Theal-Cory distortions mar all but a few school history books to-day, and I am glad to hear that Dr. Edgar Brookes and the Natal University history faculty are trying their hand at a history course for schools. (Soga's book only deals with the Xhosa people, but how nobly!)

### Get it?

Jan Rabie, author of *Een-en-Twintig* and *Ons die Afgod*, writes about Van Wyk Louw on this page. The anonymous epigram below was inspired by the "commitment" of another distinguished Afrikaans poet of the Establishment:

*Ons het nou ook ons skrywers  
engagés:  
Kyk hoe befoeter ons die wreed  
A.A.!*

## Algeria: the realities

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Yes, I know it's esoteric, but one can't very well explain it at greater length than the epigram itself.

### 50 inglorious years

The official junketing to commemorate the 50 years since Union will not be applauded by *Contact*. We make our contribution here and now: dissatisfaction with the prizewinning symbol for the celebrations is widespread (though I personally like it better than them) and we are happy to present a new device whose symbolism hits the nail unquestionably on the head:



## Courts of Reason

**LIBERALE NASIONALISME and BERIGTE TE VELDE (second edition). By N. P. van Wyk Louw (Nasionale Pers) 17s. 6d.; 15s.**

N. P. VAN WYK Louw is well-known as the most distinguished Afrikaans poet, as well as a fine critic and writer of analytical prose. No other writer in South Africa has such a bold and wide-ranging mind with so much clarity of expression at its command. For us who are aware of the *trahison des clercs*—the writers' betrayal of their task of social comment, or at least of not remaining silent in a world where nationalism and privileged injustice warp the values they represent, it is important to see what Professor Louw says and does not say.

With his recent book, *Liberale Nasionalisme*, he himself gives us the right to this query.

As a member of the Afrikaner group with its strong cohesion, he believes in nationalism. Yet he is uneasy enough about it to add the adjective, liberal. Is this a happy marriage? Or an honest one?

In 1936 he wrote in *Berigte te Velde* that nationalism "makes the same absolute demands as a religion". In 1952 this martial note is toned down to: "the ultimate temptation for a nation is to believe that mere survival is preferable to survival with justice." And: "how can a small people survive for long if it becomes something hateful and evil for the best inside—or outside—itself?" Elsewhere he asks the difficult question: "Must the Afrikaners survive as a separate people?"

This is honest, courageous thinking. Yet he maintains a sad and hurt defence of nationalism, and accuses liberalism of too abstract an approach to our concrete multinational situation. Even though Louw considers nationalism and liberalism as the fruitful poles of South African history, he can give no definition of "liberal nationalism".

Our all-devouring "colour problem" never comes into direct focus in his writing. He seems to stop short whenever the suspicion of

"politics" might be forming in his white reader's mind. He says, for instance: "*dit is vir 'n volk beter om geslaan te word as om te slaan*," but remains silent about who is actually handing the lash. It is true however that his purpose is "rather to stimulate thought than to preach certainties." In this he succeeds well. But it is also true that the more militant South Africans—of any camp—will call him a cautious *draadsitter*.

Van Wyk Louw personifies the writer's dilemma today. He can write a pamphlet, or a poem. No layman dares say if and when these should meet. Writing has its own laws, as much as living. But we live in violent, urgent times where, most of all the arts, writing is being exhorted to attain the democratic level of the daily newspaper, or be called the bad political names in vogue. This dilemma, too, explains the reserve in Van Wyk Louw's writing, the feeling one gets of watching a fine pedagogic game of tennis on the courts of reason, where no decision is ever reached.

*Liberale Nasionalisme* was written in Holland, as long ago as 1953. Last year Professor Louw returned, to a chair at the University of the Witwatersrand. We are indeed curious to see what he will write next.

JAN RABIE

## To Parry Danger

**FROM WAR TO PEACE. By Count Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi (Cape) 18s.**

I HAVE just read a great book, by a great man. It deals with the central questions that exercise men's minds to-day. It puts forward humane yet realistic solutions to some of the most difficult questions. And it touches on questions that lie at the heart of our own South African existence. It has appeared in this English translation during the current year.

Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi, born of a Japanese mother and a noble European father, is now sixty-five years old. In 1923, following the publication of his first book *PanEuropa*, he founded the Paneuropean union, and since World War II, with people like Winston Churchill, he has pressed forward the idea of European federalism.

European federalism, yes, for the Europeans, but, and this is a measure of the man, not against the Russians and Asians. For we live in the age of the atomic bomb, and it is urgently necessary for there to be world federation, with a world federal army. But, since it is not possible for the Americans and the Russians to give up suddenly their own arms, this world federal army will have to await the relaxing of the cold war tensions.

The book contains an eloquent plea to the Americans and the Russians to compromise. These two great powers—the only possible challenger to their power, China, cannot reach their standards before some 50 or 60 years—have so much in common. America is half-socialist; Russia is state-capitalist. Each has vast empty spaces to fill. The vital economic interests of neither clash in any serious way. The Russian revolution is simmering down. The Russians want peace, and have as much to lose as anyone from the suicide of a nuclear war: "Some maddened dictator like Stalin could perhaps bring about a double suicide like this, but not a political realist such as

Khrushchev."

Coudenhove-Kalergi expects that, if only the peace can be maintained, the "capitalists" and the "communists" will muddle along together for at least another fifty years. But this depends on the "communists" abandoning their plans for communising the world. As the author says, "the prerequisite for a reconciliation among men is that Bolshevism should remain a politico-economic system, and not develop into a new world religion."

However, a greater potential threat than the cold war is the threat of race war. Even so, it is possible that "Europe and China should work together from the very beginning in the creation of a peaceful world". The pacific nature of the Chinese is commented upon, and the westernising and anti-racial influence of communism is mentioned.

Racial peace, however, could not come about without Europe's abandoning its racial arrogance. "In order to parry the danger of racial wars that threatens, what is needed is a renewal of the consciousness of human fraternity, transcending nationality, race, class, and religion... and (it must be remembered) that within almost every man there is a mixture not only of all the races, but also of the elements called good and evil." The author quotes Confucius's "eternal words, now more relevant than ever before: 'Among truly educated men there are no racial differences'."

Nevertheless the racial question is one of near-insolubility, and the author—and this is where I part company with him—recommends leaving aside certain "problems which for the time being must remain insoluble. The cause of peace would not be served by an attempt at an immediate solution. For example an endeavour to force the white population of South Africa, in the name of democracy and racial equality, to submit to the wishes of their black fellow-citizens with their overwhelming majority, would result in the whites' fighting to the last man to maintain that racial superiority on which their culture depends."

Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi is a proud man, and one wonders if he would have penned that sentence if his colour had been black. Nevertheless, that a man of his wide and peaceloving views, a man feeling fellow-citizenship with all human beings, should feel this way is a reminder to all freedom fighters just how tough is our assignment here. Let us use his judgment to harden ourselves and to sharpen our weapons, not to accept discouragement.

Apart from this I felt only excitement and pleasure at finding a case so near my own heart put so eloquently, and with such a total absence of hatred. I hope that many leading minds on both sides of the iron curtain see this book, read it, and pass it to all their friends. It is prophetic and it is profound.

PATRICK DUNCAN

## Reaching Millions

**WAYALESHI. By Peter Fraenkel (Weidenfeld & Nicolson)**

NOW that it seems man is moonwardbound, there can be no doubt that the driving force of technology and industrialisation is going to be even more accelerated. For us in Africa this means moving directly from the darkness

of the past into the technological society of the future without any intermediate steps, and naturally, the problems of adjustments are going to be many and agonising.

It seems to me that the first problem is going to be communication on a mass scale: the transmitting of the ideas and values of sophisticated societies to the masses of Africa who, as they are to participate in government, are going to make far-reaching decisions.

In illuminating the problems of communication and the educative potential of the radio medium in Africa, Peter Fraenkel has produced a book of unequalled value.

In the early fifties, Fraenkel joined the Central African Broadcasting Station under an idealistic Englishman called Michael Kittermaster. This broadcasting venture was aimed at reaching millions of Central Africans who had never heard of the radio before. The content of broadcasts was for education and entertainment, sometimes in the most rudimentary sense.

*Wayaleshi* (African corruption of "wireless"), is an inestimable report on African broadcasting. The problem of paramount importance, of course, is communicating some of the underlying ideas behind world progress and making them understandable to a people with only a very basic rural culture.

Fraenkel observes: "Even the words 'machines can do the work of the men... more cheaply' really call for many pages of explanation... Uneducated Africans coming from a background of subsistence agriculture without any knowledge of the laws of a money-economy do not have any idea of costing."

Fraenkel found it even harder to convey the idea of Leonardo da Vinci's work "by speech alone", however he was able to put across his "versatility, his restlessness and inventiveness."

However, there were other simple facts that Africans could grasp, facts which are more important for people making the transition from a tribal to an industrialised society. "The Africans with whom I discussed the drafts were prepared to acknowledge that there was something to be said for creating land where there had been sea, and for building bridges and designing aeroplanes, but they often had serious and searching doubts about the European spirit". A case in point was the importance of being first to climb Mount Everest!

Not only is this book valuable as a primer for those pioneering into African radio in this country, but there are interesting sidelights on the emergent African, the degree of his sensitivity and suspicion. There are sometimes poignant insights into the loneliness of the African who has broken with his tribal past and finds no acceptance in the new society. There is Pepe Zulu who won't accept the hospitality of the simple rural Africans without paying for what they give him: "We Africans cannot go on living in this easy-going way. I myself do not want to have to support hundreds of strangers, so in turn I cannot accept the hospitality of these people."

Fraenkel wondered about this: "Perhaps he was right," he says. "the break with the past had to be made dramatically."

LEWIS NKOSI

# White Novel Black Nation

IT was natural that South African novelists, who almost alone have made our literature known, would find the racial situation of the country a fertile ground for their novels. The racial scene is a paradise for the pen, with its wealth of human passions so nakedly assailing the souls of the black majority.

Our white writers should be credited with being brave enough to tackle this field. But in doing so some also show a weakness—the weakness of failing to find substance for literature in their immediate environment and in white society, and of seeing only “plots” in the abounding life of the townships and locations, or in the clash between these two societies.

It is with this failing that I am chiefly concerned here, for I believe that in having succumbed to it, our white writers have betrayed the true functions of literature and art.

## THE TWO DIVISIONS

The writing of novels is in the main a record of the social conditions of man in living human images. Often they are filled with the problems and discontents that are the sores of a society, and which mar the inner harmony of the individual with the external world. They are the mirror of man, seeking the truth or showing the way to the truth.

As such they fall generally into two divisions, namely, the social novel of Zola and Dickens, and the other more profound type, the novel of Tolstoy and Dostoevsky, which digs deep into the meaning of life and seeks to give significance and purpose to human existence. Social novels became popular with the rise of industry, and the reduction of the working class

Two South African writers, Nadine Gordimer and Harry Bloom, have recently stated on this page their view of the novel in our society. Here is a new approach

By  
Bennie Bunsee

to the level of brutes. The tremendous sufferings and degradation that poverty bred made sympathetic writers strike out in outrage against it. Dickens took us to this world and in graphic, shocking images showed us the utter shamefulfulness that an unbelievable poverty was creating. So did Emile Zola in *Germinale* and other works where he tried to show the influence of environment upon man's moral decline.

Our white writers are direct heirs of these social novelists. They saw the wealth of material that lay in the stories that came from the township and plunged into the field with zest. In doing so some good work was produced, like Alan Paton's *Cry, the Beloved Country*, but generally what has flowed from European pens about Africans has lacked the substance of life.

## CAUSE OF FAILING

In *Episode*, for instance, Harry Bloom has a good vision, but his characters, though they can be clearly seen, do not move around as if they were real. Perhaps if the author had lived among his characters and seen their conduct with his own eyes, he would have been able to portray them more powerfully.

This is the cause of the failing of our white writers in general. Mr. Paton's book, I believe, was such a success because of his first-hand acquaintance with African life at Diepkloof Reformatory, where he worked for 10 years. Dostoevsky once said that if a writer wants to write about pimps and prostitutes, he must live with them, sleep with them. That is a statement our white writers should heed.

They would, I believe, produce greater works if they sought their material in their native environment. Their work would then be more lifelike and faithful. Even more important, they would be writing with a sense of true human values in presenting characters that they know about, which is a primary function of their art.

## “PLOT” WRITERS

What is happening at the moment is that they have become more or less “plot” writers. It is much easier to conjure up stories about the life of a prostitute or a tsotsi than to have an insight into the passions of a person, even the person next to you. Consequently, white writers produce very little that throws light upon the meaning of human existence, or upon the problems of living, or even reflects their contemporary world. Ducktails, the divorce rate, call girls, homosexuality—nothing of this is ever written.

In *A World of Strangers*, Nadine Gordimer writes:

*old hulls of finance, still sniffing the sawdust, with the broken shafts of money-tussles, overwork, overeating overdrinking stuck fast in their thick necks . . . (their clothes) covering the ruin of the hardened arteries, the damaged liver or the enlarged heart that lay heavily in the breast.*

Here in a few phrases the whole stinking hypocrisy and rottenness of a white society that oppresses a black is symbolised. But where is the writer that has stripped to the bare the bourgeois world in which white society wallows?

I am not trying to say that European writers must strictly confine themselves to writing about their own society. They should look around themselves more to give a sense of eternal value to their work, and infringe upon African life when they see truth contained there. African writers themselves will in time interpret for us the underworld of African life in a manner both true to life and vibrating with a meaning such as the outsider cannot provide.

Perhaps the results will help whites and non-whites to understand each other and help in the creation of a South African culture absorbing all the elements of our multi-racial country.

**THE IDEA OF COLONIALISM.** Edited by Robert Strausz-Hupé and Harry W. Hazard (Atlantic Books, Stevens) 42s.

A somewhat massive, but extremely commonsense primer of colonialism. Although concerned to make it quite clear that the Soviet Union is the major modern practiser of colonialism, the book deals also with the colonialism of Europe and that of the United States.

The book is extremely fair-minded, and will be kept by many of its readers as an invaluable reference book and source book.

P.D.

# CORRESPONDENCE

## Boydell Replies

SIR,

In your issue of 19 September, you say: “What Mr. Boydell did was far worse; he defended the despicable system by which one South African who happens to be white, batters on and exploits another because he is not white.”

What a despicable thing to say when I do nothing of the kind. It is *Contact* that supports the white capitalist exploiting cheap black labour. *Contact* is against the Bantu being given a chance to govern themselves and build up their own economy in their own territories. *Contact* does not want to deplete the white capitalists' cheap black labour force, so it opposes apartheid.

What earthly hope has the African got to develop his own nationalism and find expression for his own language under *Contact's* policy? Not a snowball's hope.

Isn't it time *Contact* stuck up for the Bantu and gave him a chance to stand on his own feet and do something for himself? Or perhaps *Contact* thinks the white capitalist's profit must come before Bantu welfare?

To succeed in this despicable policy, *Contact* fights against “separate development” or apartheid.

By a fortunate coincidence in the very next column to my letter there is a letter from E. J. Banda from Northern Rhodesia. Speaking on behalf of the natives there and in Nyasaland what does he say? “We want self-rule: Black self-rule. No more, no less.”

They want self-rule: “separate development — apartheid.” They want a chance to stand on their own feet and to build up their own social and economic organisation.

Why shouldn't they get the chance? If they want it up there, why shouldn't our Bantu have it here?

They won't get it here if *Contact* can stop it. The white capitalist must not be deprived of his cheap black labour. How could he batten and fatten without it?

All I say to *Contact* is shame on you for such a despicable attitude.

THOMAS BOYDELL  
Arcadia, Bay View Ave.,  
Tamboers Kloof, Cape Town

*I say, Tommy, that you, together with the rest of white South Africa, are to-day exploiting your non-white fellow-citizens. You have taken away their vote. Now that they are powerless you are forcing them to work for you in a unified South Africa for starvation wages. You prevent their young people from going to decent universities here, and when they win scholarships abroad, you take their passports away. You pull the hems of your pants away from them in buses, as if they were lepers. You threaten their jobs, their homes. You blacken their name abroad by telling other people that they are not assimilable in their own country which they share with you. In exchange for this brutal exploita-*

*tion you—and Dr. Verwoerd — promise (wonderful word in South Africa's mouth!) them freedom in the future in “their own areas” as if the whole of South Africa were not their own area now. This promise has not yet come true, and in the nature of white South African politics, I'll believe in a free Bantustan when I see one.*

*And you have taken it upon yourself to go round the world defending this inhuman system, blunting the edge of the honest dislike felt for apartheid by decent simple people round the world. That is why *Contact* criticises you and will go on criticising you, hitting you, Tommy, as hard as you have ever been hit in your long political career. *Contact* will go on fighting for political and economic equality for all South Africans irrespective of race as long as it is able.—Editor.*

## Nyasaland Ban

SIR,

The fact that Nyasaland is a police state as stated by the Devlin Report is true. That is what Dr. Banda said before the State of Emergency in Nyasaland. There was nothing wrong with *Contact*. We feel that that was the truth about the Devlin Report and why the Nyasaland Government should ban the newspaper is a thing which no person can understand.

People have already realised that the Government wants to put strict laws against anybody who will speak against the Federation. That is why it wants to nominate Africans into Legco and most of those, we know, shall be “Yes Bwana, yes Bwana” men.

When these laws will be put into Nyasaland, those Africans will be there so that that will be the Government excuse that Africans were there when those laws were being made. After their approval, then the Government will think of releasing those whom it thinks will be harmful to the Federation so that when they speak against Federation at that time, they will be arrested because they will break the laws.

R. C. SOWOYA  
Box 401, Blantyre,  
Nyasaland

SIR,

Residing in a temporary Police State as I am, I feel duty bound, regardless of all risks, to express my utmost appreciation to the Editor and all the staff of *Contact* who worked so hard to publish the summary of the Devlin Report in the issue of 22 August. Your task in doing this has not only obtained the Nyasas' eulogy, but has also quenched our five-month thirst of this Report which is unavailable to most Nyasas.

Passing from one man to the other, this issue is feverishly circulating from one Nyasa to the other. *Contact* is unique in fidelity and truth amidst these days when injustice seems to monopolize justice. May *Contact* see many more days until

(Continued on page 12)

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(Continued from page 11)

we tread in the sweet days of liberty, now drawing nigher and nigher. Saviour and patriarch, Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda, though behind bars in exile now, be ever blessed.

Mr. Editor, could you please let me know the subscription fees of *Contact* and at the same time please register me as your agent for this all-Africa newspaper.

Patriotically ever yours,  
**ALEX. J. MAPIRA**  
Box 7, Kota Kota,  
Nyasaland

## Afrikaner's Criticism of Contact

**SIR,**  
I read with much interest H.J.B.'s letter on the ill-treatment accorded to the Afrikaners, and I should like to comment on it. In the first place H.J.B. equates "Afrikaner" with "Nationalist" throughout. In doing so he has the full backing of the Nationalist Party, but that does not make it any more accurate.

There are thousands of South Africans who do not belong to the Nationalist Party — some belong to the Liberal Party, some not—who have as much right to the name of Afrikaner as anyone in South Africa and infinitely more than Dr. Verwoerd. I am one of these.

My Dutch ancestors came to South Africa in the 17th century, and I have the usual South African admixture of German and French blood, together with some Dutch Reformed Scottish. But the bulk of my ancestors were Dutch. I grew up in a DRC parsonage, completely bilingual. Yet I am no Afrikaner because I am not a Nationalist, and my case is typical of thousands.

Is not this form of condemnation, by what H.J.B. calls "his people", of Afrikaner non-Nationalists, a case of what he refers to as "the vindication at all costs of their own point of view"?

In any case, as I read *Contact*, my impression is that its criticisms are not directed wholesale against Afrikaners. They are levelled against those Nationalists who make and enforce, and those who approve or condone, unjust and discriminatory laws. The Nationalist Government has passed and enforced many such.

In the second place H.J.B. is entirely in the right when he says that Nationalist-Afrikaners are as much victims of circumstances as the non-Whites. This is particularly true of the younger generations; those who grew up under the impact of Christian National Education.

These young people have in a hundred subtle ways been so thoroughly conditioned to believe in authority (the CNE

doctrine is that "authority is of God"), that to them criticism of Church or State savours of sacrilege and treason. "Not all the water in the rough rude sea can wash the balm off an anointed" Cabinet Minister or Minister of the DRC and to criticise either is to invite chaos to come again, or, as H.J.B. more temperately puts it, the "disregard of law and order".

One must have some degree of sympathy with the sensitivities of these victims. But even an age that believed in the divine right of kings believed in a higher law and order than the king's, and if he violated justice, he sinned against the higher law, and lost the protection of God, and it was right to depose him.

But does H.J.B.'s learning and culture, as an educated white person, not arm him to break away from these conditioning circumstances? Or is he going to continue to be ruled by them?

H.J.B. also makes a curious statement to the effect that "more space is often given (in the English press) to the alleged misdeeds of the police than those of the persons being arrested".

But surely one expects that a person who is arrested should at least be thought to be guilty of some misdeed, or why else is he arrested? What one does not expect in a civilised country is that the guardians of the law, those who are entrusted with seeing that it is kept, should have so much contempt for it as to break it themselves.

A crime in a policeman is an exceedingly serious matter. To treat it as no more important than in anyone else is to bring the whole conception of law into contempt. The criminal is arrested and punished not because he has offended either the policeman or the man who made the law, but because he is an enemy of society. If then, the guardian of the law, and so of society, is a law-breaker and an enemy of society, the whole system must break down.

The present Minister of Justice does not appear to find the conviction of a policeman an unduly serious matter, since he has reinstated several after conviction. It is perhaps not surprising then that H.J.B. should, like so many Nationalists, adopt the attitude of his leaders, and be hurt that the English press makes a fuss about wanting policemen to be law-abiding, no matter in what language.

Which is the more pertinent question about a policeman; whether he is an Afrikaner or whether he has broken the law?

(Mrs.) N. J. MARQUARD  
Windrush, Draper Road,  
Claremont

**SIR,**  
I was interested to read H.J.B.'s frank criticism of *Contact* and the English press and I feel that there is much truth in what he writes. It does not help matters to antagonise Afrikaans-speaking people. As Liberals we claim that we accept and judge each man for himself, not for the colour of his skin or for the language he speaks.

It should be impossible for us to attack or condemn a group. And certainly there is a disturbing tendency to idealise the African, which, in an insidious way, is as bad as shallowly to

label 'the Native' as 'childlike'.

The African does not want to be idealised and what we should be striving for is to get people to recognise the man beneath the dark skin as a perfectly normal human being, albeit a human being living under abnormal conditions. We, above all, must recognise the individuality of each human being, African, Afrikaans or Hindu, and avoid the group loyalties which have so tragically split our country.

But when H.J.B. writes: "They (i.e. the Liberals and the English press) would gladly suffer the worst depression of all times and would joyfully see the economy of the country disintegrate . . . as long as the Nats are driven from power", I feel he is writing naively and lacks a clear perception of the situation. It is the Nationalists who, with their "job reservation", are driving the country towards an economic depression; who, by turning South Africa into an unsound investment with their *apartheid* policies, are losing the country thousands of pounds of foreign capital; and who, by attempting to turn the clock back to the merry days of tribalism, are heading straight for chaos. They fail to realise that the only way to achieve and maintain economic prosperity is by developing South Africa's potential manpower of fourteen million, and that we are already too far gone along the path of economic integration to retreat.

They also fail to acknowledge the tremendous potentialities of South Africa's home market which, little developed as it is, is already beginning to demonstrate its power.

No, it is not the Liberals or the English-speaking press, backed as the latter is by the financial support of big business, who are aiming at the worst depression of all times; but we recognise that the Nationalist government with its *apartheid* policies are already well on that road and we will use all our power to check them.

There are other comments I would like to make about this article, but you ask for letters to be kept short.

LIZ PALMER  
Box 15, Ladysmith

## ICFTU and WFTU

**SIR,**

The criticism of SACTU for "making it impossible for the ICFTU to assist them" which appeared in "Fair Comment" (*Contact* 22 August) fails to mention the terms under which ICFTU was prepared to give assistance.

It was the old story of "aid with strings attached", and the "strings" were, that SACTU first break away from the Congress Alliance. SACTU is not prepared to create a split in the liberatory movement for the sake of financial gain. Furthermore, any realistic trade unionist realises that the situation in South Africa is such that it is impossible to divorce politics from trade unionism. The only people that would gain from SACTU breaking away from the Congress Alliance would be the Nationalists.

The allegation that "some people are trying to use them (the unions affiliated to SACTU presumably) for their own ends in world affairs" could only be made by someone who is ignorant of how SACTU functions.

SACTU's policies and decisions are made only after consultation with the rank and file membership. This procedure precludes the possibility of dictation from above.

As for WFTU "remaining silent about imperialism in places like Tibet", I can only repeat what a Zulu worker said to me in this connection. "So he (the Dalai Lama) thinks he's a god, does he? Well, Tibet must be like South Africa, because we've got a fellow here who thinks he's a god and it will be a happy day for us when he gets kicked out."

And that, as far as I can see, sums up the general South African working class opinion with regard to Tibet. And I have a pretty shrewd suspicion that it also sums up the general opinion of the ex-serfs in Tibet as well.

MELVILLE FLETCHER  
70 Dayal Rd., Clairwood,  
Durban

Mr. Fletcher admits that SACTU is affiliated to WFTU —

that is the main "string" and he must know it. How can he expect ICFTU (the world's free trade unions, i.e. not trade unions that are the organs of communist states) to support WFTU? As to his remarks on Tibet, I am publishing his letter although it feels like a stab in my own body. Ever since childhood I have admired the Tibetans, the world's most harmless people. Mr. Fletcher's callous remarks will, I hope, show many the crudity and cruelty of the communist propaganda which poor Mr. Fletcher seems to have swallowed hook, line, and sinker.  
—Editor.

## Non-Racial Canvassing

**SIR,**

Allow me to congratulate the Cape Provincial Division of the Liberal Party for the sound idea of election canvassing by whites and non-whites.

The mere fact that white and non-white are canvassing together, will help to do away with the accepted South African cry, by the whites, "that there are very few non-whites who are capable of taking a responsible part in political affairs".

In any case, why should non-whites not take even a more active part at election times? The whole idea of being "Liberal" collapses if each section does not take on equal responsibility.

ROY A. COVENTRY  
Bergville, Natal

## Pointless Reportage

**SIR,**

Under the heading of "former messenger plans £20,000 hotel" you publish a success story which might serve as a model for the Government Information Service. Just what purpose such reportage can serve other than to substantiate the claim that under *apartheid* all things are possible, I am unable to say, except that for the white *baas* whose resplendent Cadillac is washed down by a black millionaire, it offers all that and heaven too.

A. J. STORM  
Rooi Dag, Forth Road,  
Rondebosch

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Vol. 2 No. 21

## **Christian National Education Exposed**

See PAGE 8

## **Big Audiences hear Liberal Views**

See PAGE 2



LUTULI — See Profile, Page 3

## Liberal election campaign

# News From Sea Point Front

THE provincial election at Sea Point, in which Dr. Jan Dommissie (United Party) is opposing Mr. Patrick Duncan (Liberal), has turned out to be well worth fighting. At the time of writing the result is not known. But whether won or lost it has given the Liberal Party an unequalled chance of putting across its message.

Some eighty volunteers have turned out to canvass, and approximately one half of the voters have been visited. Five public meetings have been held. Members of all races have spoken at the meetings, and have helped with canvassing, and it is quite clear that public opinion among the voters of Sea Point has moved a long way towards the Liberal point of view during the eighteen months since Mr. Gerald Gordon fought his campaign in the 1958 general parliamentary election.

The split in the United Party has done much to make traditional United Party supporters think again, though many thousands still support their traditional party in an unthinking way.

One of the pleasant aspects of the campaign is that neither side—with a few exceptions on the United Party side—have attacked the personalities involved.

Over £700 was collected, nearly all from members in small amounts, by the fund raising committee under the chairmanship of Mr. Jack Causton.

The Liberal approach to the voters has not consisted in an all-out attack on the United Party, but rather a suggestion that, whatever the value of that party might have been in the past, it was now out-of-date. Liberals have criticised the United Party for having no effective or clear answer to the great central question of the present day—the relations between the South African government and the non-white citizens, and for being unable to oppose the injustices of *apartheid* adequately.

The response in public meetings has shown that at least three times as many people, on an average, have gone to Liberal meetings as have gone to United Party meetings. In every case the Liberal speakers have obtained votes of confidence, usually by overwhelming majorities.



These pictures show (top) overwhelming support (280-4!) for the Liberal candidate, Mr. Patrick Duncan, at one of several similar meetings and (above) Mr. Duncan, Dr. Oscar Wollheim (in the Chair) with Mr. Joseph Nkatlo, speaking.

## AT SEA POINT MEETING



### Our Contemporaries

## Review of Periodicals

THERE IS A vast field of periodicals reporting the progress of Africa and other ex-colonial areas into the modern world. Last fortnight we noticed the excellent Cape Town quarterly *Africa South* (2 Vlam Gebou, Church Square, Cape Town).

This fortnight we bring a few more to the notice of our readers. We will continue from time to time to notice others. In every case where we can, addresses and subscription rates will be shown.

### TSOPANO

Pride of place must go to a most courageous and handsome venture, *Tsopano*, a new monthly produced in Nyasaland. No 1 is in respect of October.

Since *Contact* was banned in Nyasaland for publishing experts from the Devlin Report that the Government found embarrassing, Nyasalanders have been keen to get hold of a paper that is not just a Government propaganda sheet. This need was met recently by the publication of the first issue of this new Nyasaland monthly magazine.

Produced by a joint African, European, editorial board, *Tsopano* takes as its aim "to provide a true and genuine medium for the expression of African opinion in Nyasaland". The sales of the first issue seem to indicate that *Tsopano* is succeeding in its aim. The whole issue was sold out in one day and 400 copies were sold in one hour in Blantyre alone. Now copies are to be found throughout the country even in the remotest villages and orders are pouring in to the editors for the next number.

There was some apprehension that *Tsopano* too would be banned by the Nyasaland Government, as even the mildest criticism of the *status quo* can cause proscription under the Emergency Regulations still in force in Nyasaland. The editors, however, had taken legal advice to ensure that nothing seditious was contained in the paper and there has been no official reaction so far.

The publication of *Tsopano* was seriously delayed by the interfer-

ence of the Southern Rhodesian C.I.D. who visited the printers in Salisbury and asked to see the material before it was published. The printers refused as a matter of principle to let them see it, but decided it would be safer for them not to print *Tsopano*. An assurance was obtained (after considerable delay) from the Minister responsible for the police, that the visit was "of a routine nature and not intended to reflect discredit on *Tsopano*", but the printers could not alter their decision.

The issue contains an article criticising the Nyasaland Government for its suppression of *Contact* and there is a demand that all detainees should be released or brought for trial immediately. There is also an article by Guy Clutton Brock, one of the members of the Southern Rhodesian Congress detained in March, entitled "Nationalism—Nyasaland's big asset."

There is a mass of good reading in this beautifully produced monthly. Each number costs 6d. A year's subscription costs 6s. to The Editor P.O. Box 378, Blantyre, Nyasaland.

### TOWARD FREEDOM

"We believe that the peaceful elimination of colonialism—be it in Hungary or Angola—is essential to a free world". That is the slogan that appears at the head of the July-August issue of *Toward Freedom*, a newsletter on colonial affairs.

Homer Jack, veteran anti-colonialist, who attended the Bandung, Cairo, and Accra conferences, is one of the moving spirits in *Toward Freedom*. It is a newsletter of four pages, and can be obtained for \$ 3. a year (\$ 1. affairs, that is produced from Room 1119, 343 S. Dearborn for students).

(Continued on page 10)

## CONTACT

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## UN Witness to be President

From *Contact* Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: An Herero student who is now in New York waiting to give oral evidence before the United Nations, was elected as first president of the South West Africa National Union at a meeting in Windhoek recently.

The student—Mr. Jaireretundu Kozonguizi—slipped out of South West Africa after being refused a passport to travel overseas. He went to New York after a visit to Ghana.

The new organisation was set up as the result of a letter received from Mr. Getzen—another Herero student who is also in New York. In a letter written to several persons in SWA, Mr. Getzen said that the time was ripe for action and that all non-white organisations should combine in an effort against the white regime.

## PORTRAIT OF A GREAT LEADER

## ALBERT LUTULI OF THE ANC

WHEN CHIEF Albert John Lutuli, President-General of the African National Congress, was banished to his home village for two years under the "Suppression of Communism Act", the white press of South Africa extended a little finger and dabbed the news on to a bottom corner of a middle page. Two years later, when Chief was served with a further notice, banning him from all gatherings for two years, the same papers gave the story the space that they usually devote to the mailboat arrival of a British Major-General (rtd.). In May this year, the Chief was paid another visit by the political police, who served him with a notice from the Minister of Justice banishing him to his village and banning him from all gatherings for a period of five years. And the white press exploded into banner headlines and editorials.

This was partly due to a change in the white image of the ANC. Since 1952, the Congress had staged a Defiance Campaign that made even the whites in the political gallery edge forward a little in their seats, organised a number of "stay-at-homes" that had brought large sectors of industry to a stop, and reaped the reward of the successful bus boycott of '56-'57, when more than 60,000 Africans on the Reef walked twenty miles each day rather than meet a penny per journey increase in their bus fares and so forced the Government to meet their increased transport cost out of its own pocket. Above all, the Treason Trial arrests of December '56 had emphasised the swiftly growing strength of organised non-white political opinion.

White South Africa was feeling much less sure of itself in May this year than it felt in '52 or '54. With the arteries of *apartheid* hardening daily, white supremacy was clearly in for a coronary, and the mass movement of the non-white peoples was as a result more and more taking on the guise and prestige of an official opposition.

## Behind the Headlines

Yet there was more to the banner headlines in the white press than just this. The character of the Chief himself had slowly grown in the consciousness of white South Africa, quietly yet resolutely, to the point where banishment and banning seemed the act of a frightened tyranny against moderation, the banishment and banning of the whole culture of democracy. For the distinction of the Chief's personality had leaped over the colour bar. And when the Chief spoke in Cape Town for the first time early this year, the sleepy whites of the Peninsula roused themselves to pack his meetings and cheer his speeches. It was a new Christianity and a new Africa that they heard in his voice.

The Chief was born to the Christianity he images. His tribe, one of the scattered remnants of the once invincible Zulu empire, had adopted Christianity from the Congregationalist mission established in its midst; and Lutuli, nephew of the reigning chief, received from childhood the training that would fit him for his tribal responsibilities. From the local mission school, he went to Adams College, the American Mission Secondary School, where he graduated to become a school-teacher himself.

Staying on at Adams to teach Zulu history and literature, he was firmly settled in his academic amble when, fifteen years after his

By  
Ronald Segal

appointment, he was petitioned by the elders of his tribe to fill the vacant chieftaincy. It must have seemed at the time the abdication of all worldly ambition—suffoca-

breaking of discriminatory laws in protest at the rioting tyranny of *apartheid*. The Chief did not himself go to jail, but he gave his unequivocal support to the campaign and those who actively participated in it. As a Christian, he felt that he could not obey laws which affronted his essential dignity; as from Congress or abdicate his



LUTULI

tion in the cramped tribal world of petty litigation, Sunday preaching and the hopeless interminable struggle for the fruits of an exhausted earth. For two years he hesitated, and then he chose. Both his religion and the allegiance he owed his people persuaded him to accept.

For seventeen years he governed in Grootville, presiding at the councils and beer-drinks and patiently succouring the spirit of the shattered tribe. And all the while, the political surge of the African people was drawing closer, till it engulfed even the tiny tribal world of Grootville.

After a few years of service on race relations committees, the Chief joined the African National Congress in 1946, rising soon to the presidency of the Natal Provincial Division. It was a decision governed by his Christianity and racial allegiance alike.

In 1952, the ANC launched the Defiance Campaign, an organised

an African, he never for a moment believed that he could exist outside of his people, separate from their sufferings and struggles.

Like Gandhi, whose early career in Natal had left the footsteps of *satyagraha* behind it, Lutuli believes in non-violent resistance, not only as a tactic of political opposition, but even more as a spiritual force in itself.

The Government was not long in responding. By making disobedience to any law by way of protest a very serious crime, punishable by several years' imprisonment, heavy fines and even flogging, it broke the back of the Defiance Campaign. And in October, four months after the Campaign had begun, it summoned Lutuli to Pretoria and ordered him to resign immediately chieftaincy. The Chief did neither, and in the middle of November, the Government quietly announced to his tribe that Albert John Lutuli had been deposed.

In reply, the Chief wrote:

*"Who will deny that thirty years of my life have been spent knocking in vain, patiently, moderately and modestly at a closed and barred door? What have been the fruits of moderation? The past thirty years have seen the greatest number of laws restricting our rights and progress until today we have reached a stage where we have almost no rights at all.*

*"It is with this background and with a full sense of responsibility that, under the auspices of the African National Congress, I have joined my people in the new spirit that moves them today, the spirit that revolts openly and boldly against injustice and expresses itself in a determined and non-violent manner.*

## What of the Future?

*"What the future has in store for me I do not know. It might be ridicule, imprisonment, concentration camp, flogging, banishment and even death. I only pray to the Almighty to strengthen my resolve so that none of these grim possibilities may deter me from striving, for the sake of the good name of our beloved country, the Union of South Africa, to make it a true democracy and a true union, in form and spirit, of all the communities in the land."*

Soon afterwards, he was elected

President-General of the African National Congress.

It is a formidable alliance of forces, that of Chief and Congress. For Congress is rooted in the vast urban black proletariat; its world is that of the townships, of seething mass meetings among the shanties, of strikes and stay-at-homes. Chief with his unassuming grey-haired dignity, his quiet determination, his broad vigorous Christianity, represents the elders, rurally and still hierarchically rooted, slow but formidable in their anger.

If Chief's thick-shouldered moderation, his almost stolid statesmanship, reassures the African middle class, the clergy, the traders and the clerks, and the conservative farming communities, Congress itself, muscular with the millions who work in the factories and fill the shops, speaks the language of industrial revolution and street demonstrations. Yet each of the parties has borrowed from and blended into the other.

With Chief at its head, Congress has gained some of his glamour with the African people as a whole, much of his dignity his traditional strength, and has thus acquired with his popular image something of the national personality that any successful mass movement must emotionally have. And Chief himself, by suffering together with his people in their boycotts and stay-at-homes, by ban and by banishment, has grown towards political struggle from pronouncements and petitions, from anguish to aspiration.

## BANTU AUTHORITIES IN CAPE

## CHIEF KAISER'S BROTHER PUTS IT ACROSS

CHIEF George Matanzima, attorney of Engcobo, Cape, and younger brother of Chief Kaiser Matanzima of Tembuland, returned to the Transkei on 5 October after being sent by the Department of Bantu Administration and Development to put over the Bantu Authorities Act to Africans in the western Cape. Asked in an interview whether he had been told by the BAD Department to explain the Act as a step towards African independence in the Bantustans, his exact words were:

"No, the only reason why the people accept it is because it is the lesser of two evils—the Bunga which had far less Government backing than its alternative the Authorities Act." He said he thought that the system brought about by the Act had "definite weaknesses"

in not being democratic. "I think it could be improved by giving the people a greater say in the appointment of the Chiefs", he remarked.

He said that he agreed with the dictum "evolution not revolution", and estimated that the African would be ready to take a fully equal place next to the white man in 50 years.

## Ghana parallel

During Chief Matanzima's visit *Contact* received unconfirmed reports of his arguments used at Tembu gatherings in the Cape Peninsula. The independence of Ghana and India were said to have been stated as a parallel to the Bantustan plan. It was noteworthy that conservative Africans were receptive and said: "Even if the Bantustans are small, we can make them bigger."

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## "HEARTBREAK HOMES"



This picture shows the appalling conditions under which unemployed squatters have to live at Mandeni, Zululand.

## UNCERTAINTY AT MOSSEL BAY

From *Contact* Correspondent

MOSSEL BAY: Uncertainty, resulting from the inability of the Group Areas officials to make up their minds, often causes non-white residents great financial losses, and sometimes ruin. This emerges from the end-of-term report presented to the Mossel Bay Town Council by the retiring Mayor, Mr. H. Schapira.

He told Council that a scheme for 1,700 houses with churches, schools, post office, municipal offices, etc., is now ready, and that building could start to-day. The only thing lacking is a site, and this cannot be chosen until the Group Areas Board has made its decision.

Three-cornered discussions are interminably dragging out between the Council, the Group Areas authorities, and the Provincial authorities.

In the meantime, properties are not being maintained properly. Some non-whites have sold at a loss, and are trying to begin again in the recognised, and desperately overcrowded, "non-white" area of Sunnyside.

**The whole operation represents a fearful dismantling of human endeavour.**

In the suburb adjoining Sunnyside, Tarka, uncertainty reigns. This established non-white area is coveted by many of the town's white residents, merely because of the beautiful view that it commands.

This almost frivolous attitude

to non-white vested rights goes side by side with desperate overcrowding. Due to the uncertainty and suspense, and to earlier neglect, for some sixteen years no houses have been built in Mossel Bay for non-whites.

There is a thriving settlement of Africans here, mostly settled in the Junior Cape Corps Camp, and mostly employed in the canning industry, in industry generally, and in the municipality.

The Town Council some time ago planned to develop "Marais's Farm" as a housing estate for them. Plans were being made for a permanent settlement here, but these were all thrown out of joint by a visiting BAD official, who said that the expense of building new roads, etc. would be excessive, and that the Africans could stay where they were until the time for their removal had come.

This clearly shows the determination of the Government to press on with the total removal of Africans from behind the "Eiselen Line", and the fact that Mossel Bay is the wrong side of this line.

## HOW MANY S. AFRICANS ARE LIVING

# Ladysmith — Typical of Group Area Injustices

I GUESS Ladysmith is a fairly typical South African town, little better or worse than most other towns in this country. And I'm pretty certain that one could write a similar exposure about almost every other town in this country, which shows to the passing motorist only its café- and filling-station-lined main street.

Its white and African populations are roughly equal in number—about 9,000 each. In addition to this there are something like 3,500 Indians living in Ladysmith, and a few coloureds. It is a busy little town, rapidly and self-consciously becoming industrialised. Like many another South African town, it experienced a transformation from an almost purely English-speaking town to one where the two official languages are in more or less equal usage.

This Afrikaanisation was partly the result of the general movement of Afrikaans people from the rural areas to the towns which occurred as a result of the depression during the 'twenties and 'thirties; but it was also consciously fostered by the establishment of large railway yards, about one mile north of the town at Danskraal. The people employed there are almost exclusively Afrikaans-speaking.

### Spells ruin

Among the Indians, the traders are by far the most significant group and own about half the shops in the main street. Under the Group Areas Act it is proposed to move them across the river a good distance from the centre of the town, where they will be out of the way for European shoppers. At present they have a large white clientele. The proposed move will ruin a great many of them. Of those Africans not employed in domestic service an increasing number are finding employment in industry.

During the past ten years, attracted by cheap land, labour and favourable terms offered by the town council, factories have sprung up, the most important being cotton spinning, textile and clothing.

Africans not employed in domestic service are expected to live in the African locations of Jabavu and White City to the north-east of the town. For several years these locations have been unable to accommodate all the Africans employed in the town. The Town Council recognises the need for more houses and is prepared to build new houses, but there is one snag—at present the road to Helpmekaar runs past these locations. Perhaps the authorities consider it dangerous to have such a road passing so close to the location; or perhaps they consider it unhealthy or unethical, but whatever their reasons, the Roads Board is not satisfied with the present arrangement. So either the Helpmekaar road or the location will have to be shifted.

The Helpmekaar road question is due to come up before the Roads Board. It has been

By  
Liz Palmer

due to come up before the Roads Board for the past two years. When questioned about the matter the members shrug their shoulders and say, "perhaps it will be settled in two weeks . . . perhaps it will be two years . . . !"

Meanwhile the position is serious. The location is dangerously overcrowded and, at the same time, it is forbidden for any African not employed in domestic service to sleep in the town. The police make frequent raids to see that this regulation is not infringed. During a recent raid, an African was found sleeping in a lavatory in someone's back yard. He was paying the owner £1 a month for the privilege!

What is to be done? The location cannot hold any more people; yet these people are not allowed to sleep in town where they might find some form of lodging. So where do they sleep? They are driven out to sleep among the rocks and thorn trees on the koppies around the town; to live like tramps and hunted creatures on the outskirts of the town for whose present prosperity they are largely responsible. And around here the winter months are bitterly cold.

### True picture

Meanwhile the worthy white citizens of Ladysmith gather around their snug fires and talk fearfully of "vagabonds and thieving natives" sleeping out on the hills. The fact is that this vagabond way of life is forced on these people by the incompetence and muddle-headedness of a bunch of bureaucrats.

But even supposing there were no housing problem, life would be far from easy. At one of the factories the starting wage for an unskilled worker varies between 15/- and 19/6 a week. This works out at roughly £4 10s. a month, which at first may seem reasonable as compared with the £1 - £4 earned by the average domestic worker here. But the factory hand's wage includes the food, lodging and frequently working clothes which the worker in a home receives as a matter of course. The industrial worker also faces the problem of transport to the factories, which are all some distance from the location.

Even if one sleeps out on the hills it must be difficult to live on £4 10s. a month, and what if you are trying to support someone else on that wage as well?

To do Ladysmith industrialists justice I must say that at a factory where conditions are slightly better, the starting wage is £1 5s. a week (about £6 a month). Here experienced, skilled workers earn £3 10s. (say £16 a month)—just on the bread line, and the factory prides itself that at Christmas time bicycles are given away to employees of several years' standing.

At another factory, however, Christmas is celebrated rather differently. In theory, pay increases should be in accordance with the length of time a man has been employed. Considering this principle uneconomic, the employers have devised the following scheme. At Christmas each year the entire factory staff, with the exception of a few necessary skilled workers, are paid off. Then they begin a happy New Year by signing on an entirely "new" staff. Jobs are scarce and a man is so glad to get his job back that there is no thought of complaint.

### Helpless

This is possible because of the lack of organisation among the workers who, individually, are helpless to fight back, but also because the presence of a large number of unemployed allows the employer to behave in a cavalier manner towards his employees.

In no other country would sane men consider that a person could live and work in a town on £6 a month. That fact is made tragically clear by the following case which came to my notice. It concerns an African factory worker in this town. On the wage he was getting he could not afford to bring his wife and family to live with him in town. He himself, was living in the location, sharing a room with nine other men.

During the recent 'flu epidemic, he went to work on Monday but by the afternoon he was so ill that he was allowed to go home. His body was already weakened by lack of proper food, clothing and poor living conditions, and 'flu rapidly developed into pneumonia. Four hours after going home from work he was dead. He was a Roman Catholic, but he died before either priest or doctor could reach him. He was dead before his family even knew he was ill.

This is only one case that I happened to hear of by chance. How many similar stories could be told I cannot say and I fear to ask. But this case alone is a terrible indictment against those who are prepared to employ their fellow men for such a pittance.

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## JOHANNESBURG COLOURED COMMUNITY

# Angry Young Leader Arouses Council

From Contact Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: Johannesburg at last is waking up to the plight of its 47,000 Coloured people. Two men, one white, one Coloured, are largely responsible for this. They are Mr. A. J. Cutten, perhaps the most independent-minded of the city councillors, and Mr. Godfrey Beck, the "angry young man" secretary of the powerful Transvaal Coloured People's Progressive Association.

What Mr. Cutten had to say at a city council meeting shocked many citizens, and resulted in a leading article in the *Rand Daily Mail* calling for action.

Accusing the City of "shamefully neglecting" its Coloured people, Mr. Cutten, who is a housing expert and town planner in private life, said that of 7,666 families, 4,000 were without "proper homes."

He warned against complacency now that the council has embarked on two Coloured housing schemes—in Newclare and in Langlaagte. Even with homes built on these sites, there would be a shortage of 1,600 houses.

"The result of this neglect is that the Coloured people are today embittered, antagonistic, unco-operative and extremely critical of the City Council," he said.

## Radical suggestion

Mr. Cutten made the radical suggestion that the City should establish a "building society" to lend Coloured people 95 per cent of the money required for new homes. He also urged that Group Areas should be obtained for Coloureds in certain areas to the west of the city.

Perhaps his most important—and least publicised proposal was that the Council should establish a separate department of Coloured Affairs.

Speaking from years of experience on the present Non-European Affairs Committee, he said that this department is too busy worrying about African administration to give time to the requirements of the Coloured people.

Mr. Godfrey Beck, the lanky secretary of the Transvaal Coloured People's Progressive Association, has also been very active. He got the Bishop of Johannesburg, the Rt. Rev. Ambrose Reeves, and the Methodist Church leader, Dr. J. B. Webb, to lead a deputation to the City Council of Johannesburg to plead for better houses; and he has just announced that Transvaal Coloureds will boycott the Union Festival and the recently-formed Union Council of Coloured Affairs.

Very little is known of the private life of Godfrey Beck, but he has a habit of entering the news room of the English newspapers whenever something is happening. He is unknown to COD and is hardly known among liberals and progressives.

He is tough. He was recently expelled from a meeting between the city's Non-European Affairs Committee and Coloured leaders. The Chairman, Mr. Harry Goldberg, ruled that his behaviour was "unruly." But a councillor who was present said afterwards: "Beck had a legitimate grouse, but he became too worked-up about it."

## Old story

Mr. Beck's point in negotiating with the council is plain: he says "The Government says that it is your responsibility to house our people. You say the Government won't give the land. It's the old story about passing the buck."

Memoranda presented by Mr. Beck to the Mayor when the meeting attended by the clergymen was held include phrases like these:

"We are abandoned to oblivion.

"How can this state of affairs be reconciled with common decency?"

## Lack of amenities

"The lack of amenities—swimming baths, parks, playgrounds—make our children early in life aware of the social injustices and the degradation and shame of being coloured."

In an interview, Mr. Beck said that his people will not celebrate the Union Festival because "there is nothing except job reservation, third-class citizenship and low wages to celebrate."

At meetings held by his organisation in Johannesburg and in Pretoria, as many as 300 people have cheered plans to boycott the Festival.

## "Sham" Union

Mr. Beck is also certain that the "sham" Union Council of Coloured Affairs (the Government will nominate the majority of members) will be boycotted in the Transvaal when it is set up to co-operate with the new Coloured Affairs Department.

What does all this achieve? Mr. Beck is confident that the City Council, forced into action by the mounting outcry about shocking conditions, will give orphanages, an old-age home and other amenities to the Coloured community when it starts work on its Newclare and Langlaagte housing schemes. He also expects that a cinema and a

restaurant will be permitted in the city area.

But whether he gets this or not, Godfrey Beck and his committee will go on fighting—and they are rapidly winning over sympathetic and often powerful allies.

## SEA POINT TENANTS HARD HIT

# WORTHY RESIDENTS OF LONG STANDING MUST GO

GROUP AREAS greed has struck again—this time at Cape Town. In three of the most desirable suburbs of the town are small communities of Coloured people—Germantown in Tamboers Kloof, Tramway Road in Sea Point, and in Newlands.

These areas have been lived in by Coloured people right from the beginning. Now they have been given one month to leave. The people have nowhere else to go except to the bush round Cape Town. In the case of Tramway Road, Sea Point, a deputation went to see the Under Minister, Mr. P. W. Botha, and he told them that they might continue to live "among the Saps of Sea Point" for another year, and that they would not be moved unless new houses were available. No such pledge has been given to the people of Germantown or Newlands.

They, apparently, have to find themselves new houses. But there are 12,000 families waiting for houses in Cape Town, and they have very little hope of getting anything.

I went to see the people of Tramway Road. For them life has not been too bad. For generations they have built up a community that has been a little oasis of democracy and peaceful living. Some families have been there for over 100 years.

Now the Coloured people there—over 300 men, women and children—have been given one year to get out. Like thousands of Coloured families in the Peninsula, they are living in an area proclaimed "white" by the Group Areas Board.

What does this mean in human terms to the people who have to uproot their homes and their families and find their own alternative accommodation?

I went to visit them in their two and three-roomed cottages a few days after they received their notices to quit. It is a quiet, uphill street leading off Regent Road, near the bus terminus. Dilapidated outside, the houses were shiny and beautifully kept inside.

Many of the women were too stunned and shocked to discuss their eviction. All of them told me they had absolutely nowhere to go.

## A CHANCE IN BRAZIL

# BUSINESSMAN SAILS AWAY

THIRTY-YEAR-OLD Mr. Goolam Hoosen Mohamed Jajbhay, Johannesburg businessman and son of one of the wealthiest men in South Africa, has emigrated to Brazil with his wife and three daughters. Ladysmith-born Mr. Jajbhay sailed from Cape Town in S. S. Tegelberg on 1 October. He will settle in Sao Paulo, Brazil.

A close friend and associate, Mr. Moosa Essa of Cape Town, said that like all Indian South Africans, Mr. Jajbhay had strong feelings about the treatment of his people by the Government, and was emigrating to Brazil "to give his children a chance."

Asked why Mr. Jajbhay was not going to India, Mr. Moosa said: "He is a South African citizen—why should he go to India? He has a perfect right to move to whatever country he likes."

By  
Myrna Blumberg

The Rev. R. E. Tattersall, Rector of the Anglican church at the top of the road, told me, "I have been here almost 30 years. This is—or, has been—one of the happiest communities I've known."



HAZEL PETERSEN

"We have an almost unique congregation. A Coloured boys' choir sings for our regularly mixed services: Africans, Coloureds and Whites all come together happily.

"We have never had a complaint. We have no crime."

The congregation collected £120 to buy their own projector.

## ISRAEL AND SWA

ISRAEL abstained from voting when the application of the Rev. Michael Scott in connection with South West Africa was raised in the United Nations General Assembly, it was reported in the press. It was further reported that the Israeli Charges d'Affaires in Pretoria said that it was understood that Mr. Eric Louw leader of the Union delegation and Minister of External Affairs, had offered gratification on this resolution.

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WITH THE S.A.R. AT BLOEMFONTEIN

# Bad Food, Low Pay Poor Quarters

From Contact Correspondent

BLOEMFONTEIN: Africans working for the railway at Bloemfontein are being obliged to do so under most unsatisfactory conditions and often on starvation rates of pay. Food provided in the railway compounds is dirty or of inferior quality. Many of the living quarters are little better than shacks. Medical facilities leave much to be desired and general conditions on some compounds are more like those associated with prison or concentration camps than accommodation for paid labour.

Africans looking for work on the railway are treated as suspects and even though they can produce official permits or passes, are bullied by the police and treated more like criminals than human beings. Those without necessary permits are given the option of either going to gaol or to forced labour on the farms.

## Unappetising Food

As regards food, the porridge is often half-cooked, potatoes of third or fourth grade and often bad. Meat is of the poorest quality as are the vegetables. The cooks are insolent and fights at times break out between them and the workers. Complaints by the latter are seldom dealt with.

Because of unhygienic conditions, flies abound to constitute a constant danger to health.

With the exception of the houses near the staff offices and quarters, those in the compounds are badly built and the wooden sheds which house the labourers serve as dormitories, living quarters and stores for their belongings. There is no privacy and in cold weather, they afford little protection for those living in them. Stoves put

in for warmth are far apart and cracks in the walls more than off-set the heat given out.

Medical treatment for those who report sick is often accompanied by insulting remarks from the attendants. Complaints of inadequate attention are numerous and there is general dissatisfaction on the part of those who go for treatment.

The evil effects of job reservation are causing grave concern among the skilled and semi-skilled African employees, for the fear among the white workers that the non-whites may take over some of their jobs is reflected in the treatment of non-whites by the whites, with consequent frustration on the part of the African workers who see little chance of promotion and resultant higher rates of pay and improved standard of living.

Even wage increases promised by the authorities have not come into effect on the scale announced recently and a five shilling a month rise has taken the place of the ten shillings expected. Railway workers were to receive increases of five shillings

for casual workers, ten shillings in the case of permanent staff and £1 a month for all non-white employees with more than five years' service.

In respect of certain privileges and also over such matters as pensions, there is a great difference between those for the white employee and those for the non-whites. In fact little is done by the administration to encourage African employees either in their work or to provide for the future.

## SPORT

# Non-racial SA team may visit India and Pakistan

IT seems possible that India and Pakistan may arrange for a South African cricket team (non-racial) to tour those countries in 1961. It is understood that the invitation extended to India and Pakistan to visit the Union for short tours has been temporarily abandoned and the South African Cricket Board of Control (non-racial) has instead, expressed a keen desire to tour the two countries during 1961. The non-racial Cricket Board of Control is the body serving the interests of the Indian, African and Coloured cricketers and, of course, it is open to European affiliation as well.

Pakistan has already expressed willingness to accommodate the South Africans following the invitation of the South African Cricket Board of Control, but India, on the other hand has so far blankly refused to be a party to anything that savours of segregation. The Indian Cricket Board of Control has expressed its regret that such a tour is not possible owing to South Africa's policy of *apartheid* but promised to look into the matter at a later date.

Mr. Bob Pavadai, President of the South African Cricket Board of Control is reported to be in the process of opening fresh negotiations with the countries concerned.

Because of their views in respect of the West Indies cricket tour of

## PAPWA HAS £500 OFFER

From Contact Correspondent

DURBAN: "Papwa"—Durban's Indian golfing champion (winner of the Dutch Open on a recent trip overseas)—has been offered £500 by a Durban businessman if he can break any of the existing golf club records in South Africa. He is to be permitted two attempts on each course to allow for bad weather. The Durban Indian Golf Club is launching a fund to raise money to send Papwa overseas next year. It is hoped to raise enough to enable him to compete in the British Open, to defend the Dutch Open title and to play in other major European tournaments.

By  
Rajendra Chetty

South Africa (since cancelled), two prominent South Africans have been taken off the cabinet rolls of the Witwatersrand Indian Cricket Union. They are Dr. A. Kazi, President of the Transvaal Indian Congress and Dr. Yusuf Dadoo, banned President of the South African Indian Congress. Dr. Kazi

smoothly as one could wish. A breach in the ranks of soccer administrators occurred soon after Mr. Louis Nelson, a well-known sports administrator on the national level advocated its introduction among non-whites. This was followed soon after by a public announcement to the effect that well-known South African boxing promoter Seaman Chetty intended to introduce it. The effect of the announcement was immediate and a split was inevitable.

There are two schools of thought in Indian soccer. There are those who want it to be introduced and this group has the firm backing of Mr. Louis Nelson. The other group is led by the Secretary of the South African Soccer Fede-



VARACHIA

is a former President of the Witwatersrand Indian Cricket Union.

Mr. Ranchod Varachia, Secretary of the South African Cricket Board of Control (non-racial) the new President, has declared that



NELSON

the Union "has no place for politicians". Mr. Varachia strongly condemned the attitude of both these gentlemen as he felt that their approach to the matter of the West Indian tour did not serve the interests of sport.

\* \* \*

The future of Indian soccer seems ominous. There is trouble brewing already. Ever since professional soccer was first mooted, things have not moved as



SINGH

Mr. George Singh. Mr. Singh is also President of the South African Indian Football Association. Mr. Singh and his group are in favour of professional soccer but it would seem that they are not prepared to go beyond the stage of merely favouring its introduction and the matter ends just there.

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## WORKERS NEEDED . . .

# So Hostel goes up in White Area

From Contact Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: The normal rules of *apartheid* have been reversed near the White suburb of Jeppe, Johannesburg, so that the cost-of-living need not go up.

This is what is happening: Johannesburg City Council, at a cost of £337,000, is building a hostel for 3,000 African single men. And Dr. Verwoerd has given permission for the hostel to go up in a "White" area.

The 3,000 are very special Africans, workers in the "essential services"—butcheries, bakeries, dairies, nursing homes, hotels.

Their employers told the Government and the Council that if the 3,000 were forced to live in the black townships many miles away (as other urban Africans are), the cost of living would have to go up. The cost of transporting the workers to and from the townships would have to be added to the cost of bread, milk etc.

So the hostel is being permitted in the city area where no increase in transport charges is involved.

While the Government, aided by the council, is moving hundreds of Africans out of the "Sky Locations", it is soon to move thousands into the area known as "Eastern Native Township"

—where the hostel is to be built by African labour.

The name "Eastern Native Township" may give the impression that this is a "black" area. It is not. Only 615 properties are owned by Africans there; the total population of the area is about 5,000; and, until the need for the hostel arose and a cost-of-living increase was threatened, the authorities were adamant that no more Africans should be allowed in.

But the citizens of the surrounding White suburbs—Jeppe, Malvern, Kensington—are now informed that the population of "Eastern Native" is to become 8,000. Being good supporters of the United and National Parties, these citizens are not complaining; but they are puzzled, very puzzled by this new *apartheid* move.

## NON-WHITE FRIENDS GRAVE RISK

CAPE TOWN magistrate recently advised a European bus driver to discontinue his friendship with a Coloured family who said they fed and helped him when he was in financial straits.

The bus driver a Mr. Norman Brown, was charged under the Immorality Act. The only evidence against him was that he had been found playing cards with the Coloured family, late at night.

In court, a member of the family said: "Mr. Brown was very down and out and we used to help. There was a time when he had no work. We used to give him food and iron his shirts. He was a very decent person. We are all human. We must help one another."

Granting the application for acquittal the Magistrate said:

"For a white man to have social contact with non-whites as you apparently have, such as playing cards, is to run a very grave risk. I advise you to reconsider your position—whether you should continue your friendship with the family or not."

CONTACT

## VIENNA FESTIVAL EXPOSED

# OGPU Chief Heads Youth Movement

**A**FRICANS from many territories on the continent, including South Africa, went to the Vienna World Youth Festival, held recently in Austria. No doubt for the non-white people suffering under the oppression of white supremacy in the Union, they were greatly impressed by the colourful stories of Africans from Ghana marching with boys from Sweden and French youngsters dancing and singing with Indians and all proclaiming the solidarity of nations and their desire for peace.

Is there any reason, then, why we should not all join in the chorus of praise for the festival? Why the youth of Western Europe and North America boycotted it? And why many Africans themselves looked askance at the gathering? Of course there are reasons.

The festival was nothing more and nothing less than another communist-sponsored, communist-organised and communist-financed enterprise with the single purpose of advancing the aims of the Soviet Government by propagating international communism.

## Subterfuge

The fact that the festival was nothing else but a well-planned communist subterfuge will be quite naturally vehemently denied by communists everywhere. But what are the facts?

Invitations to the festival were issued by two organizations, the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY) and the International Union of Students, both universally known as tools of the Soviet Government and with their headquarters in Communist countries.

WFDY is presided over by an official of the Central Committee of the Italian communist youth organization and one of WFDY's vice-presidents is none other than Alexander Shelyepin, who was appointed head of the Soviet Secret Police last year. The IUS president is a former communist party member of parliament in Czechoslovakia.

Both organisations are financially dependent on communist countries and both have scrupulously followed the official line of Soviet foreign policy and all its tactical shifts depending on the moment. To name just two: in 1950 WFDY called the government of the world's leading neutralist country, India, an "instrument of war," and both organisations first expelled and then in 1955 re-admitted Yugoslavia in accordance with Soviet policy.

## Unsuspecting

Most of the banners, posters, placards and slogans carried by those well-meaning and often unsuspecting young men and women, as they are paraded at the festival, were curiously alike—all of them featuring some aspect of Russia's present foreign policy and proclaiming that it is only the Soviet Union, communist China and the eastern European satellite countries which believe in peace, international understanding and human decency!

The standing committee of the festival provides another striking example of communist control over this "world" youth festival. Of the 18 members of the committee, 14 were members of the communist party, or trusted

By a Special Correspondent

## TWO ASPECTS

**ON** this page we bring together the good and the bad sides of the Soviet Union's policies. On the one hand the Soviet peoples, together with the other branches of the human race, are busy making two blades of grass grow where one grew before, taming fearful deserts, and leading water to where it will be able to feed healthy people.

On the other hand you have the bad side — the Vienna Youth Festival. The Soviet Union is spending money like water on these youth festivals. They are often little more than factories of hatred, in which Afro-Asian youth are incited to hate the nations of the West who are accused of being capitalists and warmongers.

May the bad wane, and the good grow.

workers in various communist organisations. The committee's legal adviser was a Dr. Heinrich Durmayer, who was the communist head of the police in Vienna during the first two years of Russian occupation of that country.

Who paid for the festival? The budget of any function usually gives more than a good indication of who pulls the

strings, so let us look at the festival's budget. The income of the festival's preparatory committee was estimated at about £160,000 but the estimated cost of the festival itself ran to about £1,500,000.

And who paid for this deficit? None other, according to the communists' own statements, than Moscow.

## FACTS ON IUS AND ISC

IUS used to be the world student organisation. Then it was captured by the communists. ISC broke away in 1950, with about twenty national student unions. Now ISC is supported by sixty-six national students' unions which, between them, account for three-quarters of the world's students.

IUS can now only count on a handful of national student unions, nearly all from the communist countries.

Following the Vienna flop it is unlikely that another youth festival will be held by IUS outside the communist world.

At its recent conference in Lima, Peru, ISC invited all the communist unions. All the invitations were refused.

It is to be hoped that ISC will continue to invite all students' unions, and that, if the cold war continues to recede as it is doing, the IUS affiliates will accept future invitations from ISC, and that an honourable compromise will be reached which will allow the world's students once more to enjoy the privilege of all coming together in a world student body.



This picture shows some of the representatives from Ghana at the Vienna World Youth Festival.

## JAP VICTIMS SYMPATHISE WITH A-BOMB PILOT

NYACK, NEW YORK:

Leaders of "Yuwa Kai," Leaders of "Yuwa Kai," Japanese affiliate of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, have written a letter of sympathy to Major Claude Eatherly, former US Army Air Force officer who flew the aircraft that dropped the first atomic bomb on a civilian population on 6 August, 1945. The letter was published in the current issue of *Fellowship Magazine*, together with an article, "The Man who Dropped the Bomb on Hiroshima."

In the letter, the Japanese Christians said they were prompted to write to Eatherly after reading in the Japanese press that "after the bombing of Hiroshima, you have become

mentally ill and had to be hospitalised recently for treatment."

"With this letter comes to you our warm sympathy and earnest prayer that you recover speedily. . . . We wish you to know that we regard you as a victim of war in much the same way as those who were injured in the war, and are praying for your complete recovery and that the day shall come when you will join the forces of goodwill, forgiving any wrongs of the past on either part, and work for establishing a peaceful world, a world of reconciliation and love."

The letter was delivered to Major Eatherly by Mrs. Harold L. Lunger of Fort Worth, Texas, a vice-chairman of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation and wife of a well-known minister of the Disciples of Christ.

In the accompanying Fellowship article by the Rev. Curtiss Moody and Alfred Hassler, it was revealed that, following his participation in the post-war atomic bomb tests, Eatherly's wife had two miscarriages of malformed fetuses, and subsequent tests showed that "many of her husband's sperm cells had become peculiarly deformed." In 1950 and 1954, babies born to the Eatherlys had blood diseases, and these were attributed to Eatherly's exposure to radiation from the bombs he had dropped.

Haunted by his sense of guilt for killing over 100,000 people at Hiroshima, Eatherly successively turned to alcoholic binges and became involved in a number of attempted robberies, and once attempted suicide. During the past ten years, Eatherly has succumbed several times to emotional breakdowns and has repeatedly been hospitalised for psychiatric care.

## RECLAIMING THE BLACK SANDS OF KARA-KUM



"Indian deserts are nothing compared with this boundless ocean of sand. I can think of no sight more terrible than this desert." Thus spake a representative of the British East India Company after visiting the Kara-Kum desert in what is now Soviet Turkmenia. A local proverb says: "When a man walks over Kara-Kum he loses his legs." Now the Soviet government is building a canal 550 miles long which will carry water from the great Oxus River (now called Amu-Darya) to irrigate millions of acres of this desert. Pictured is a Turki tribesman who has brought his son on a camel to watch the excavators digging the big canal, which has now reached the Murgab oasis, 250 miles from the Oxus, after five years' labour.—(UNESCO)

# CONTACT

## Why Liberals Fight Elections

**WHY** does the Liberal Party fight elections?

On the white side the taunt is heard that the Liberal Party is "shadow-boxing". The theory is that it ought to be aiding St. George (the United Party in case the identification is difficult) against the dragon. Instead of this it is accused of holding St. George's horse back by its leading rein, and making it harder for him to fight the dragon. The trouble here is that St. George long ago put off his shining white armour, and dressed up in some old rags of discarded dragon's skin which he stole out of a disused dragon's lair. It is difficult for the Liberal Party to know which is St. George and which is dragon.

On the side of the Non-European Unity Movement the criticism is made that to contest any seats at all is to collaborate with *apartheid*. All seats are segregated, so runs the theory, and all ought to be boycotted. The answer to this is that it is sometimes possible to use segregated facilities to hasten the end of *apartheid*. When members of the Non-European Unity Movement travel to one of their meetings by bus and train they accept segregated seats, yet no doubt believe that they are thereby helping to rid the country of *herrenvolkism*.

A more subtle criticism is that since the Liberal Party boycotted the Coloured elections of 1958, it ought similarly to boycott the "whites-only" seats in the elections of 1959.

The reply here is that the Party did not boycott the seats in question—it just failed to contest them. And it refused to contest them because it refused to gather round the corpse of the 1853 Coloured vote. The decision was one of taste and of fittingness, and, in our opinion, was none the less correct for this reason.

Lastly it is held against the Party that its chances of electoral victory are so slight that it ought not to try. This objection really answers itself. A baby is very small when it is born: a thousand-mile journey begins with but a single step.

So much for the objections. What are the positive reasons for fighting?

An election gives a party a unique opportunity of reaching into the houses of the people with its message. Doors that would be locked at all other times to the democratic idea are opened in a warm and friendly way at election time. Hearts that would remain closed open themselves to the persuasion of democratic speakers.

In one of the current elections, hotels have allowed small house-meetings on their premises; a convent has done the same; and nearly two thousand white voters have flocked to public meetings and have listened to the voice of sanity and racial peace as though spellbound. Five thousand homes have admitted canvassers, to listen to the democratic message, put across uncompromisingly. These are no mean attainments.

In the current election Liberals of all races have collaborated in the canvassing and in the public speaking. On the platform the audiences have been told, with no sugar coating, what democracy would mean for South Africa in terms of integrated schools, beaches, and swimming baths. The Liberal speakers have not sought to dredge votes: where they have had to pick between carrying their vital message and getting votes, they have picked the former alternative. In some cases they have shocked voters into opposition, but the gains that have accrued from taking the public frankly into their confidence have outweighed such losses.

For the current election Liberals of all races have dug deeply into their pockets for the election funds; the Party machine has been oiled and put into top gear; from arduous duties shared has come the joys of companionship in a worthwhile struggle.

Above all nearly everyone who has taken part in these campaigns has felt growing in his companions round him the power of goodness. A young woman's face, pale with weariness after weeks of canvassing, shines with this power. Or a young man who for weeks has given up nearly all his spare time to the campaign, shows unmistakable marks on his face of quiet authority. These come from the consciousness, growing within himself, of the power of goodness.

It is this power that is destined to halt *apartheid*, and to restore our people to the ways of decency. To have even a small part in helping it to grow is a privilege. To fight elections like this is the best way yet discovered of making it grow.

## Fort Hare Dismissals

**THE** Government has not tried to conceal that the seven members of Fort Hare's staff who have been dismissed have gone for ideological reasons. When they go, the Liberal Party in Alice will have lost several of its strongest members. They would be the last to deny that they disapprove of what the Government is trying to do to higher education, and to the South African people.

Although *Contact's* readers will sympathise with those who are being dismissed, the uppermost emotion will be a salute to their steadfastness. The mere fact of having Mr. Maree as one's minister is to have a standing threat to one's independence of mind. These people have faced this threat and it has not alarmed or deterred them.

Every time the Government is forced to act tyrannously to shore up the rotten walls of *apartheid* it is forced to expend a little more of its waning stock of political capital. Thus the steadfastness of the seven is a notable blow for freedom, freedom for all, freedom from racial tyranny, and freedom for learning.

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"Potgieter was right. We did have to wait 2,000 years for independence in Bantustan!"

### "CHRISTIAN 'NATIONAL' EDUCATION"

## New Pamphlet Unmasks Nationalist Education Plans

**WHEN** DR. VERWOERD announced recently that he was preparing legislation for a national education policy for South Africa, many teachers and parents took this to mean that Christian National Education would soon be upon us. What exactly would Christian National Education mean? What are the facts behind the alarm so many people feel at the mere mention of the initials CNO (*Christelike Nasionale Onderwys*)?

An excellent new pamphlet called *Blackout* has just been issued by The Education League (*Opvoedingsbond*), a group of educationists and parents who were formed to publicise the dangers of CNO as they see them. They have published several pamphlets since 1949, called "Blueprint for Blackout". They feel the period of blueprints is now over, however, and that the blackout has begun.

An important part of the pamphlet is taken up with an abridged translation of the original proposals for CNO. This is a most valuable thing to do.

Many people who were shocked by the pamphlet issued by the Instituut vir Christelike Onderwys (ICNO) eleven years ago may have forgotten some of the details by now.

Others, like myself perhaps, were not parents then, and so didn't absorb the full significance of what was to come.

The ICNO, under the auspices of the Federation of Afrikaans Cultural Societies (FAK) published its manifesto on education in 1948.

At least ten years of "silent labour", we are told in the preface, went into its making. Its sponsors were men of the greatest influence and power in the country: Dr. Donges, Dr. Jansen; Mr. Justice de Vos Hugo, a former chairman of the Group Areas Board; Mr. Greijbe, former president of the Transvaal Afrikaans Teachers' Association; and professors of education from Stellenbosch and Potchefstroom universities.

When Mr. de Wet Nel was Min-

By  
Myrna Blumberg

ister of Education, he stated that CNO was the Government's education policy. Nationalist Party congresses throughout the country have voted that the ICNO manifesto be given immediate effect.

One has to read it again now, after eleven years of Nationalist rule, to savour fully the dark and dreadful promises it contains.

And no matter how often one studies it, one's amazement can only grow that so responsible and lofty a group of men could produce prose so thick with medieval meanderings and—occasionally—quite childlike outbursts.

The preface, by Mr. J. C. van Rooy, chairman of FAK, is revealingly defensive. It displays a sad insecurity, bitter with the memories of the insults to Afrikanerdom by the arrogant Lords Milner and Somerset.

"I congratulate the ICNO," he begins, "on formulating this policy as a guide . . . in our cultural struggle which is now also a school struggle. We shall triumph in the end."

Where is the sense and perspective he goes on to say:

" . . . in 1937 and 1938 . . . the old outworn dual medium idea was seized upon again in a renewed . . . attempt to anglicise our children . . ."

"There is too much at stake for us to relax in the struggle . . . Our Afrikaans schools must not merely be mother-tongue schools; they

must be places where our children will be saturated with the Christian and National spiritual cultural stuff of our nation . . .

"We want no mixing of languages, no mixing of cultures, no mixing of religions and no mixing of races . . ."

If this were just a plea to preserve the identity of one group by enclosing their children in the narrow limits suggested, it would be tragic enough. But when these proposals of one group are forced on a whole country it becomes a catastrophe.

What do the originators see as CNO? I have selected some of the most startling passages from the ICNO manifesto.

**ARTICLE 1:** All *white* children (my italics) should be educated according to the view of life of their parents . . .

By Christian, in this context, we mean according to the creeds of the three Afrikaner churches; by Nationalist we mean imbued with the *love of one's own* (my italics), especially one's own language, history and culture . . .

**ARTICLE 2:** The key subject in school should be religion, and the religious spirit should permeate all subjects and the entire school.

**ARTICLE 4:** Owing to the Fall, all children are born sinful; but the children of believers have inherited God's promise through Christ of redemption. Children of Christian parents, then, may not be brought up as heathens . . .

**ARTICLE 5:** It is God's will that man should master the earth, and rule over it, and he has given to each nation its own particular

[Continued on page 13]





Peter Brown, Chairman of the Liberal Party

ALTHOUGH the broad aim of this column has always been to take a fairly long view of events in and around South Africa, I have recently been struck by the modesty of its prophecies when they are compared with those of some of South Africa's leading white politicians.

A few years ago when, as Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. Verwoerd attended a Nationalist gathering at Greytown, Natal, he told his listeners that it might take three hundred years for the full *apartheid* dream to come true. Since then he has had his new vision, with its vague talk of semi-independent

## BOTH BIG PARTIES PREACH FANTASIES

Bantustans somewhere, sometime.

Talk of independence, however remote, has apparently rattled some steadfast Nationalist supporters and, in a ranting speech in Pietermaritzburg at the beginning of October, Mr. D. J. Potgieter, Nationalist MP for Vryheid, told an enthusiastically applauding audience that, under Nationalist trusteeship it might take 2,000 years before the "Native areas" became independent. Perhaps some of us can be excused for finding Dr. Verwoerd's Bantustans a little insubstantial when we must contemplate them at this distance!

I write before the provincial elections and I do not know what their result will be. Whatever it is, they have been a useful reminder of the realms of fantasy in which most white South African politicians apparently live and in which they spend a large part of their time persuading white voters that they also live. The most astounding thing about Mr. Potgieter's statement is not so much that it is as unlikely to be true as would have been a pre-Christian Roman Senator's prediction of the state of the Roman Empire in 1960, but that, having made it, his audience should then have passed a unanimous vote of confidence in him!

Mr. Potgieter's audience may have been gullible but, unfortunately, no more than many

others. The United Party has been seeking support on no less fantastic propositions. The main target of its provincial election campaign has been the Government's Bantustan plans. Nobody can quibble at that. What one can take most serious exception to, however, is the UP claim that, while Dr. Verwoerd is planning to hand over control of parts of South Africans, it will make sure that white leadership is maintained over the whole of South Africa apparently for all time.

I am not concerned with the precise distribution of votes between the Nationalist and United parties in the provincial elections. What I am concerned about is that both these parties should continue to persuade White South African voters to support them with promises of future security which I see no prospect of their ever carrying out. Their tranquillising potions may induce immediate, short-

term confidence in their listeners, but they lay up frightening prospects for those listeners' children.

When one looks at the events of the last 100 years, and especially at the events of the last twenty years, one hesitates to prophesy for 1969, let alone for 1959. White politicians have a duty to confront the people whose votes they seek with facts, not fantasy. The one overriding fact with which they must confront them is that their future is not going to be one of white privilege. They are a tiny minority in a country which detests such privileges and in a world which rejects it. They are used to their privileges and they like them. They have to be persuaded to relinquish them peacefully if all they have contributed to South Africa is not to be destroyed by racial resentments and rising and growing tension.

The abandonment of privilege may not be attractive election

material but it is the task of political leaders to lead, not to seduce with false hopes and dreams of no substance.

I am concerned to see survive in South Africa a democracy essentially of the Western type, even although it may be quite the same as those which function in Washington or Westminster. I am concerned that my children should live under such a system. The only reasonable hope I see of that society being established is if the rights and responsibilities at present enjoyed by white South Africans are extended, and extended soon, to embrace all South Africans. But Dr. Verwoerd and Sir de Villiers Graaff are doing their best to make this impossible, by presenting to white voters shimmering and seductive mirages instead of the hard, harsh facts of life in Africa in 1959.

It causes me concern that white South Africans should be led astray. But it causes me more concern that their children's future should be thrown away.

### FAIR COMMENT

by Patrick Duncan

POLITICS is no game for those with weak nerves. Mr. B. Muller (Dr. Colin Lang's opponent in the Pretoria East constituency) said at a meeting in the campaign that he was shocked to see the alarming rate at which Afrikaners were becoming members of the Liberal Party. "I was shocked," he said, "to find so many people with good Afrikaans names in the Liberal Party."

Fortunately for Mr. Muller, Colin is an excellent doctor who will be able to help with stimulants.

Another reason for Mr. Muller's shock might be the size of this Nationalist meeting. Nineteen people turned up.

DR. OTTO DU PLESSIS, Cape Administrator, has released to the press his plans for the celebrations of next year's Festival of Union celebrations. The main stunt (to rouse bored press photographers) is for "flag-bearing runners drawn from youth organisations" to link distant parts of the Cape Province with Cape Town.

Otto wants to include non-whites. In this he deserves praise, except for the fact that no non-whites worth the name of South Africans will have anything to do with these completely phony "feasts". Nor will many whites.

Everywhere outside the Nationalist Party the question has gone up "What do we have to celebrate? The bitterness of *apartheid* and economic stagnation after the promise of 1910?"

My bet is that the only non-whites who will participate will be the paid servants who will no doubt be hired by the white "flag-bearing runners" to carry the heavier flags along the longer runs, when no one is looking.

THE FORUM, in praising Mr. Harry

Oppenheimer, says he "is no starry-eyed liberal". I must confess that this cheap gibe, coming from *The Forum*, for so long regarded as a friend of justice, annoyed me.

No doubt when Henry Ford was designing his new factory which changed the world, *The Forum* would have called him "starry-eyed". Or Wilberforce, some ten years before the emancipation of the slaves. Or Lincoln, when the civil war began. Or Lenin, in about 1907.

If you analyse this gibe you see that all that it means is "unable to collect white electoral support in South Africa." In a Parliament which has been made "for Europeans only" and squared by the Nationalists that is a compliment. But it does

not mean that the Liberal idea will not succeed, and in ten or fifteen years.

If to see a mere ten years ahead is to be starry-eyed, then perhaps Liberals are starry-eyed. The compensation, of course, is that those using this taunt are those who cannot see ten years, or even five, ahead.

"ONLY Britain voted with Union" at the

United Nations on the question of whether the Trusteeship committee should hear oral evidence on South West Africa. So ran the headlines. What a distinction for Britain! Presumably Britain hopes that oral evidence won't be allowed against her rule in Tanganyika and elsewhere, and perhaps also that Dr. Verwoerd may be won over to love the Commonwealth.

In the meantime Britain does not seem to mind soiling her good colonial record with the tar of *apartheid*. I hope that the Nigerias of this world will let Britain know what they think of it.

It's interesting that the three young people who were to give evidence against South Africa were attacked by Mr. B. G. Fourie who alleged that "these three American youths had, on their own admission, been sent to South Africa to secure information for the purpose of prodding the United Nations and rousing world opinion against South Africa. They were part of a network for waging an organised political campaign against South Africa's policy of separate development."

Their names are Al Lowenstein, Emory Bundy, and Sherman Bull. They said they wanted to go to South West Africa "to study the fauna and flora". I hope they had a good look at the animals and plants, as they will probably not be allowed to go for a second look for some time. Well done all three of you.

MAURICE HOMMEL, one-time contributor to *Contact*, is back from Ghana, and has exploded in the *The World* against the corruption and poverty that he found there. It is a pity that Mr. Hommel has not been able to see the wof for the trees. The great issue in the modern world is the winning of dignity and status and freedom by the ex-colonial, largely non-white peoples. On this issue Ghana stands right in the clear: South Africa in the dock.

In all ages and all lands there has been poverty and corruption. Mr. Hommel has done the cause of freedom a great disservice by having allowed himself to exaggerate what he found wrong in Ghana, and to obscure what are the real issues.

SOUTH AFRICAN  
LOOKING - GLASS

First, there's the room you can see through the glass—that's just the same as our drawing room, only the things go the other way.  
—Through the Looking-Glass.

Verwoerd is giving the Kaffirs ground, and you give them the vote. What is going to happen to me, living next to the Reserves?—a United Party delegate to the "Progressives", in one of the closed Bloemfontein sessions.

"If I were dictator for one day", wrote a reader to *Die Burger* "no non-white would ever again see a drum-majorette."

The Deputy Minister of Labour and Mines, Mr. Marais Viljoen, has said that the time would come when England and the United States would send deputations to South Africa to get themselves out of a mess they had got into. He referred to England "with its Notting Hill and America with its Little Rock."

If the progressive group can find the answer to the problem for which the Nationalist Party has half a solution and the United Party no solution at all, and can escape the wild lack of realism of the Liberal Party and the ANC they will have done a great service.—Prof. P. V. Pistorius, Pretoria.

Under the Nationalist Party leadership it would possibly be 2,000 years before the Bantu areas obtained self-government, said the chairman of the party in Natal, Mr. D. J. Potgieter, MP for Vryheid.—*Cape Times*.

Let, therefore the Government of South Africa consider seriously the appointment of a Church of England priest who will answer Father Huddleston and the clerical critics. Let facts and figures speak for themselves and let the same Minister spend the rest of his time in good-will publicity on British soil. "Clericus", St. James, Cape—letter to *Financial Mail*.

LED BY FAMOUS SOCIALIST . . .

## INDIANS MOBILISE OPINION AGAINST AGGRESSION IN TIBET

**D**ELEGATES from all parts of India, meeting in Calcutta recently at a convention sponsored by a group of prominent citizens, set in motion machinery designed to mobilise world opinion on the Tibetan tragedy and to create an international commission of neutral nations to investigate violation of human rights by the Chinese Communists in Tibet.

A resolution adopted by the All-India Tibet Convention authorised its President, Jaya-prakash Nayaran, a leader of the Bhudan (land distribution) movement, an Honorary President of the Congress for Cultural Freedom, and one of the founders of the Indian Praja Socialist Party, to form an Afro-Asian Committee on Tibet.

This committee will have these purposes:

1. To mobilise world opinion, particularly in Asian and African countries, in support of Tibet's right of self-determination;

2. To arrange for appointment of an International Commission of neutral countries with a view to inquiring into the reported violation of human rights, including the destruction of monasteries and historical documents.

### Big convention

The two-day Convention, which according to press reports was attended by over 1,700 delegates, was prepared by a committee headed by Dr. Ramesh Chandra Majumdar, eminent historian and former Chancellor of Dacca University, and composed of prominent figures in India's intellectual and professional life.

In his Presidential address, Mr. Narayan stressed that, although "the vested interests" in Tibet were undoubtedly with the resistance, the character of that resistance "is national rather than class. The Tibetans are fighting to win their national freedom and not to defend the feudal rights of a few nobles and monasteries."

Mr. Narayan declared that the struggle for Tibetan independence was "not a part of Bloc politics" but "a fight for the Rights of Man." India, he said, must "not shirk her responsibility at this testing moment."

### Not part of China

In a special article on the subject Mr. Narayan writes:

The main elements of the Tibet situation have been clear enough from the beginning.

Tibet is not a region of China. It is a country by itself which has sometimes passed under Chinese suzerainty by virtue of conquest and never by free choice. Chinese suzerainty has always been of the most nominal kind and meant hardly more than some tribute paid to Peking by Lhasa. At other times Tibet was an independent sovereign country. For some time in the 8th century Peking paid a yearly tribute of 50,000 yards of Chinese brocade to Tibet.

After the fall of the Manchu empire in 1911, Tibet functioned as an independent country till 1951, when the Chinese Communist Government invaded it. In between there were attempts to re-impose Chinese suzerainty by the

treaty in which the British Government took a leading hand. Pressed from both sides by two powerful forces, Tibet had little choice; nevertheless nothing came out of these attempts and till the communist invasion, Tibet was a free country.

It is true that we could not have prevented the Chinese from annexing Tibet. But we could have saved ourselves from being party to a wrong. That would have been not only a matter of moral satisfaction, but it would

China was different: that it had an ancient civilization. Therefore Chinese communism was different from Russian. And so on and on. That illusion has been shattered to the great good fortune of the peoples of Asia, who have been warned in time.

China rants incessantly about imperialists and expansionists. But China herself has been revealed as a cruel imperial power. If communism had been a truly liberating and anti-imperialist force, the Chinese communists, on



The Dalai Lama (right) in New Delhi with Mr. Nehru and Mr. Nehru's daughter, Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

have also set the record right, so that world opinion, particularly in the Afro-Asian part of the world, could have asserted itself. That might have halted the Chinese.

### Communists anxious

The communists are anxious to present themselves as liberators, so when Afro-Asian opinion would have condemned their Tibet action as aggression they would have found it immensely difficult to go on with it.

India's acceptance of the suzerainty formula gave to the Chinese action a moral and legal sanction and prevented the formulation of an Afro-Asian opinion on the question. It thus prevented the true aggressive character of Chinese communism from being realised by the backward peoples of Asia, aggravating the danger of their being enslaved in the name of liberation.

Furthermore, we could have made clear that even though we were opposed to China's suzerainty over Tibet, we were, on our side, keen and determined to pursue our policy of friendship. India had strongly opposed recent Anglo-French aggression in Egypt, but on that account she did not change her policy of friendship towards England and France. Nor was India's action construed by those powerful countries as hostile, nor did they themselves on that account become hostile to India.

For years an illusion has been in the making. It has been said that

assumption of power, should themselves have proclaimed the independence of Tibet and forsworn the old imperialist notion of suzerainty and made a treaty with Tibet of equality and friendship.

But communism under Russian and Chinese guidance has become expansionist and aggressive, just as nineteenth century capitalism under the leadership of Britain, France and Germany had become aggressive and expansionist.

**Somewhere or other Marxism has gone wrong. Lenin wrote a famous thesis on imperialism as the last phase of capitalism. Someone should write another thesis on communist imperialism as the first phase of a new imperialism!**

### Outworn formula

Having annexed Tibet by invoking an outworn, imperialist formula, the Chinese were in no hurry to go on with their plans of subjugating the country. They also needed time to build roads and military establishments and to haul up arms to the roof of the world. When they had sufficiently entrenched themselves, they began to tighten the screws. It was not a question of reforms. The question plainly was that of the subjugation of Tibet.

The Chinese interfered in everything, in the matter of religion as well as administration. Revered Lamas were purposely ill-treated, humiliated, imprisoned, tortured.

The sanctity of shrines and images was violated. Monasteries were demolished and their properties confiscated. A new system of administration was imposed, in which Chinese were posted at all key points. Post and Telegraph, the Mint, the Hydro-electric plant were taken over. Printing of Tibetan currency was prohibited. Chinese postal stamps were introduced. The powers and functions of the Dalai Lama were clipped.

A vast scheme of colonisation by China was set on foot, so that large parts of Tibet should cease to be Tibetan and become Chinese. That was a process of stealing Tibet from the Tibetans that caused deep anxiety and aroused bitter resentment.

Centuries-old granaries, some of them with grain reserves to last for years, were emptied and the grain seized by the Chinese. Reserves of gold and silver bullion were appropriated on the pretext of taking it on loan. The so-called land reforms were introduced, softly at first, but later with the usual communist disregard for popular feeling. Forced labour, so foreign to Tibetan tradition, was

introduced on a big scale. The Press and all other means of information were taken over by the Chinese.

The true history of the Tibetan national movement has yet to be told. There are Tibetans now in India who can give the world an authentic account. But one does not know when they will consider the opportune moment to have arrived to tell their story. In spite of all that has happened they perhaps feel that a settlement with the Chinese might still be possible. One admires the faith of these brave religious people and prays that their faith may be vindicated. One necessary condition for that seems to be the unambiguous expression and assertion of world opinion on the side of truth and justice.

In whichever form the Tibet question is presented to the UN I have no doubt that the Afro-Asian bloc must present a common front. This is the least that the countries of Asia and Africa must do to defend the right of small nations to freedom and also to assure against the danger to their own freedom from both the old and new imperialism.

## SOUTH AFRICA

### PERIODICALS

(Continued from page 2)

Also published are the following excellent pamphlets: *Colonialism and UN*, 25 cents; *Bandung*, 35 cents; and *Cairo Afro-Asian Conference*, 30 cents.

In the latest issue is an authoritative article by Joshua L. Zake called "Uganda strives for freedom; Local autonomy."

### FREE LABOUR WORLD

The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions produces an excellent monthly in English, French, German, and Spanish. Containing some 50 pages of well-illustrated articles on labour problems right round the world, the August issue carried Mr. C. H. Millard's summing up of his South African experiences in an article called "Where the lash is law."

A year's subscription is 10/-. The address is: ICFTU, 24 Rue du Lombard, Brussels, Belgium.

South Africa, and Africa generally, figure near the top of the list of priorities in ICFTU thinking, and there is little doubt that international labour pressures can do much to solve the problem of apartheid.

### SOUTH AFRICA FREEDOM CALL

Mary-Lou Hooper, that faithful friend of the ANC and Chief Lutuli, is active on the West coast of the United States collecting for the Treason Trial.

A bulletin is produced, *South Africa Freedom Call*. The issue for August, Vol. 1, No. 3, contains the latest news of the Treason Trial, an article by Hutch (Alfred Hutchinson, who dramatically escaped from South Africa at the same time as Miss Wailer, whom he has since married), news of the farm labour scandals, and of the boycotts. It is obtainable apparently free, from: West Coast Division, South Africa Defense Fund, 157 Masonic Avenue, San Francisco 18, California, USA.

### SOUTHERN AFRICA: THE FINANCIAL MAIL

Still in its first year, this remarkable fortnightly produced in Johannesburg deserves notice here.

A joint enterprise of the South African Associated Newspapers of Johannesburg (*Rand Daily Mail* family) and the *Investors' Chronicle* of London, it looks a bit like the *Economist*. A distinguished editorial advisory council assists the editor, Mr. John Marvin, and the articles bear the stamp of authority.

What interests our readers is that two of the latest issues (4 September and 18 September) carry a pair of articles on "The Plight of the Unskilled" in which an unanswerable case is made for a national minimum wage for all of £20, to be reached in two years. This would not include workers for whom food or other benefits are provided in kind.

It is good to see a proposal for something approaching "a Pound a Day" coming from such quarters.

Each issue costs 2s. A year's subscription costs £2. 14s. from P.O. Box 9959, Johannesburg.

**NEWSLETTER OF THE SOUTHERN AFRICA WORK CAMPS ASSOCIATION, No. 1 (August, 1959).** This issue contains news of work camps in Tunisia, Maseru, and Newlands (Natal). The purpose of the Association is to bring together people of different races who are normally not able to meet each other on common ground.

This newsletter is obtainable from P.O. Box 506, Durban. Camps planned are:

Leribe, Basutoland: 15 November-20 December 1959.

Natal: Easter 1960. Bremersdorp, Swaziland: 2 January-31 January 1960.

Transkei: February-March 1960.

## CIVIL RIGHTS STAND

# NON-VIOLENCE SUCCEEDS IN BULAWAYO

From *Contact* Correspondent

**BULAWAYO:** The Civil Rights League, formed recently in Bulawayo, scored a major success against *apartheid* when Wilkie's Circus toured Southern Rhodesia, for whereas last year there was no segregation at the Circus, this year the Circus owners decided to impose racial barriers at the various entertainments. So the Civil Rights League took action—and won.

This victory was made possible because during the recent few months there has been an awakening among the small Asian and Coloured communities of Bulawayo. Despite the fact that the Federation has passed through a reign of terror in the form of mass arrests of African leaders, the hitherto docile minorities, whose position and views were never considered during the 1952-53 talks on Federation and who are nowhere mentioned in the Constitution of the Federation, have become more vocal about their grievances.

### Much patience

For the past fifty years, leaders of the two communities have shown a great deal of patience in dealing with the problems confronting them. As a result the government has more often than not disregarded their aspirations and feelings. Thus Asians and Coloured have been faced with a social and economic colour-bar just as vicious as that which faces the non-whites in South Africa. Now, however, a new hope has come in the lives of these minority communities.

By their recent actions for the removal of racial segregation at Wilkie's Circus, the League has brought about new hope among Asians and Coloureds.

When Wilkie's Circus visited Bulawayo last year, the officials of the League met Mr. W. H. Wilkie and were able to persuade him to remove racial segregation. This year however the Circus reverted to its policy of segregation. When the officials of the League came to know of this a few days before the arrival of the Circus in the city, several attempts were made to contact the Circus management. League leaders met Mr. C. Wilkie, and were given a very hostile reception by him.

Unperturbed, the League leaders persisted in their request that segregation should be re-

moved. Mr. Wilkie thereupon referred them to Mr. Carl Fischer, who he said was responsible for the sitting arrangements. Mr. Fisher also treated leaders of the League with contempt.

### Negotiations fail

Negotiations having failed, the League called a public meeting two hours before the Circus was to make its opening in Bulawayo. Members of the Asian and Coloured communities were asked to refrain from supporting the Circus. It was clear to league leaders, however, that such a boycott would not by itself bring success. Though members were keen, it was decided not to seek the support of Africans, in case such action might be misinterpreted by the Government. League leaders therefore suggested that members should demonstrate with placards at the Circus site. The meeting gave the suggestion an enthusiastic welcome. Thus in direct defiance of the Public Orders Act began these historic boycotts and demonstrations.

### Is it a sin?

That day, members of the Civil Rights League stood in a neat line at the entrance of Wilkie's Circus displaying placards carrying slogans such as: "Down With Colour Bar", "Equal Rights For All Civilised Men—Rhodes", "Is It a Sin To Be A Darkie?" etc.

The battle begun by the League became widespread. In In Gwelo, Asian men were joined by Coloured men. In Que Que, Asian and Coloured men and women took part in the demonstrations. Within two days of the demonstrations in Bulawayo, Circus opposition had evaporated. Leaders of the League received an urgent call from Mr. Fischer who was in Gatooma, telling them that he and his colleagues were now prepared to negotiate. An agreement was signed whereby all segregatory measures were to be removed at future performances of Wilkie's Circus, both on this and any future tours.

One thing must be stressed about this whole episode. In their attitude towards the Circus management not for once did the League members show bitterness. In fact the spokesman of the League and Mr. Carl Fischer were on such cordial terms that they were calling each other by their first names. Moreover after the Gatooma agreement was signed, Mr. Carl Fischer gave a personal donation of £5 to the League.

## GANDHIAN DEMONSTRATION



Asian and Coloured residents of Bulawayo took part in the campaign against apartheid at the Circus

### THREAT TO FRENCH COMMUNITY

# All African Leaders Demand Independence

**W**HETHER IT IS now possible for any African leaders to maintain power unless they offer their people complete independence is a question raised in its sharpest form by the threat of the Mali Federation (Senegal and the French Soudan) to break away from the French Community.

It is the same problem that General de Gaulle has had to face in persuading the Algerian rebel leaders to negotiate with France, and in Mali it is the most serious check so far encountered by de Gaulle in his ambitious attempt to evolve a new concept of French Commonwealth policy. For the interesting fact about the Mali challenge is that it comes from moderate leaders who are strongly pro-French.

### De Gaulle's concept

De Gaulle's concept of the French Community is of a family of nations none of which will be fully sovereign. While each is to have complete internal autonomy, all will surrender certain powers—such as foreign policy and defence—to a central authority. How this supra-national authority will be constituted has never been clearly stated by de Gaulle. It is on this point that the Mali leaders have come into conflict with the French Community.

Their idea is that each of the French Community should become completely independent, and that they should then combine as equals to form a federation of sovereign States, rather on the lines of the British Commonwealth.

So far only one French territory—the Ivory Coast—has wholeheartedly embraced de Gaulle's concept of limited sovereignty. Its Prime Minister, M. Houphouët-Boigny, is a formidable man. But in a struggle for influence over the remaining members of the French Community—Mauretania, Niger, Haute Volte, Dahomey, the Central African Republic, Gabon, the Congo Republic, Chad and Madagascar—he would be confronted by a powerful combination of forces including Mali, Guinea and Ghana.

By  
Colin Legum

France cannot overlook the danger of the Ivory Coast's losing in such a struggle for influence which could easily result in the complete disintegration of the French Community in Africa.

The President of the Mali Federation, Dr. Leopold Senghor, is himself a distinguished French poet with a great love for France, French culture and the attractions of Paris.

The controlling party which forms the government of the Mali Federation is the Parti Fédéraliste Africain (PFA). It is a popular front combining the educated elite, the traditional Moslem religious leaders, and a strong Socialist trade union movement.

### Force of emotion

The dilemma of leaders like Senghor is easy to understand. All around countries are achieving their independence—Ghana, Guinea and soon Nigeria, the Cameroons and Togoland. To accept a position of "independence-minus", with the major decision of foreign policy and international trade being made in Paris, goes against the grain of colonial peoples seeking to change their century-old status of inferiority.

The force of this emotion is something that African leaders—even those who thoroughly understand the economic and other difficulties which their present condition of under-development makes inevitable, once French aid is withdrawn—find it increasingly hard to resist. Nor is this true only of the French African leaders.

Precisely the same problem is arising in the Belgian Congo, now

preparing machinery for the first stage of democratic elections that will lead progressively to independence. The issues that divide the Congolese leaders are largely whether they should go for complete independence or whether they should accept a Belgian-Congolese Community.

It is also the main characteristic of the political situation in Britain's Central African Federation. In Nyasaland, for example, the appeal of the imprisoned leader, Dr. Hastings K. Banda, is that Africans should have complete independence rather than accept a form of independence in a minority partnership with Europeans.

### Heart of trouble

This conflict also lies at the heart of the present political conflicts in Kenya. The African political leaders in that British East African colony recently split into two parties. The Kenya National Party advocates delaying independence until 1968, and envisages a multi-racial government including Africans, Europeans, Asians and Arabs. The Kenya Liberation Party, led by Mr. Tom Mboya and his supporters, favour immediate independence on the basis of an elected African majority.

Thus the question of independence is proving to be the great divisive factor between African leaders from Algeria to Central Africa but, curiously enough, not in South Africa. There the African National Congress leaders are passionate advocates of sharing power with the Europeans. The continental cry of "Africa for the Africans and government by Africans" is not yet heard with any frequency or force in South Africa.

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## INTERNATIONAL CAMP IN TUNISIA

## S.A. STUDENTS REBUILD BOMBED SCHOOL

IN March 1956, Tunisia was granted full independence from France and admitted to the United Nations as a member state. Yet in February 1958 the French violated Tunisian territory and bombed the border village of Sakiet Sidi Youssef (which means "The Stream of the Holy Man Joseph") for allegedly sheltering Algerian rebels. This bombing caused worldwide protest. 55 villagers including 11 school children were killed.

The international student community was among the first to express its concern on this tragic action. Thus when this question was discussed by the 66 national unions taking part in the 8th International Student Conference in February this year, it was unanimously decided that an international student work camp should be held to reconstruct the school as a positive attempt to alleviate the situation caused by the bombing.

By  
Marc Boule

As a result a seven-week camp organised jointly by COSEC (Co-ordinating Secretariat for National Unions participating in the International Student Conference) and UGET (Union Generale des Etudiants Tunisiens) took place. 110 students from 52 countries participated in this project.

I was one of two South Africans, the other being Magnus Gunther from Wits. We were recommended as participants by NUSAS which participated at the last ISC. The project had the full support of, and was warmly welcomed by the Tunisian Government.

The French have not repented of this action and while preparations for the camp were in progress the French Government issued a communique saying that participation in this work camp would be an act hostile to the French Govern-

The two top pictures show students at work rebuilding the school bombed by the French as seen in the lower picture.

ment and that the participants would be in danger of attacks from rebels.

The village is only 500 yards from the border. During our stay there we witnessed frequent violations of Tunisian territory by French observation planes. To our great surprise the planes were never fired upon by the Tunisians although they came French searchlights along the frontier fanned both the Algerian and Tunisian countryside. The villas where we were staying were inaccessible to the searchlights but they fanned the hills behind us.

The camp included seven girls (two Tunisian girls), 16 Africans from South of the Sahara including two South Africans, others from South and Central America, North America, Europeans from all the countries of both Western and Eastern Europe, Indians and Chinese.

*Marc Boule is a student at Natal University, Pietermaritzburg. He is 24 years of age and is doing 3rd year science. He is majoring in Botany and Chemistry and hopes to teach afterwards. He attended a work camp organised by Pax Romana in Ghana in January 1958. He is on the executive of the Southern Africa Work Camps Association and has attended many of their camps.*

(Continued from Column 5) when it is realised that only 32 Africans are on the voters roll in Nyasaland and that the African members of the Legislative Council are nominated by the Governor.

It has been suggested in the camps that the Governor should be the first candidate for instruction in the meaning of democratic methods of government.

## IN NYASALAND

## Nyasas Boycott Commission

From J. S. Skinner

MLANJE: The boycott of the Kanjedza Commission of Inquiry now sitting in Blantyre is indicative of the consistent solidarity of African opposition to Federation. Only one of the detainees has given evidence to the Commission out of nearly 1,200 detained. Six Nyasalanders detained in Marandellas had volunteered to give evidence but retracted when the boycott was agreed upon. Three detainees were also brought from Zomba to see the Commission but refused to give evidence when they understood that the Commission was Federal not British.

The Boycott is also intended to express the exasperation felt by Africans here at the Government's refusal to accept evidence unfavourable to itself contained in the Devlin Report. The detainees feel that since the findings of an impartial British Commission were rejected by the Government it would be a waste of time to give evidence to a Federal Commission.

The Commission was appointed originally in July in order to investigate allegations of brutality in Kanjedza Camp in Limbe during the first few weeks after the State of Emergency was declared. There followed a two-month delay before any steps were taken to appoint members to the Commission. As a result of this delay the findings of the Commission will not be published until after the British general election has taken place.

It is thought that the Conservatives might have been

seriously embarrassed by an unfavourable report coming so shortly after the Hola massacre. As it is, the only evidence being given to the Commission is from the European warders of the Camp and the commandant, so that it will be difficult for the Commission to reach a balanced conclusion.

Meanwhile in Kanjedza and Marandellas where most of the ex-Congress members are still detained, life has settled down to a routine of study and discussion that will probably prove to be a valuable period of consolidation amongst nationalist leaders—hardly the intention of the Government. The attempts of Government "rehabilitation" officers to teach the detainees that they must try to change a government by constitutional means only are not proving very successful or popular it is understood.

This carries little weight (Continued in column 3)

## APATHY IN BAROTSELAND, BUT ...

## EXILED LEADER SHOWED STIR OF NEW MOVEMENT

From Contact Correspondent

LIVINGSTONE, BAROTSELAND: Backwardness and political apathy mark the present way of thinking in Barotseland, the large and fertile protectorate in the Western part of Northern Rhodesia. In this well-watered valley of the upper Zambezi, an alliance of missionaries, chiefs and administrators has so far succeeded in keeping "all quiet on the Western front."

But ideas travel, even to Barotseland, and some two years ago the government alliance met the most serious challenge to date to their medieval kingdom's unquestioned rule.

It happened when a dynamic leader, Sekeli Konoso, took over the secretaryship of the cultural and traditional Barotse National Society. For many years this society had merely kept alive the national feelings of Barotse in exile, wherever a small group of Lozi-speakers might be found, all the way from Cape to the Copperbelt.

These little groups had kept the Barotse apart from other tribes, and had nurtured the idea that the Barotse were a superior type of person. This idea was encouraged by the authorities. Naturally it led to the isolation of the Barotse from the great movements of thought stirring in the rest of the continent. It kept the Barotse at

home conservative, still thinking mainly about the fifty-year-old treaties signed by Lewanika and the British Government.

Under fiery Sekeli Konoso's leadership, the Barotse National Society pressed hard, some years back, for constitutional change. Many circulars were issued, and so much interest was aroused, that Konoso was summoned to appear before the *Saa-sikalokuta* (Barotse supreme court) on 18 January 1957.

When he arrived a huge crowd welcomed him, greeting him as "Mupulusi" (saviour). When he reached the capital, Lealui, there were some 2,000 to 3,000 people present. The chiefs had expected them to support them in their charges against Konoso, but when the people heard the charges they shouted out: "If these are the things you are accusing this man of he is right and we strongly support him."

The case went on for some

days. On 23 January the President of the Court found him guilty, sentenced him to six months in prison, and banished him from Barotseland for 12 years. The sentence has since been upheld on appeal, and Konoso is still in exile.

An indication of the backwardness of the land is the fact that the oldest mission, the Paris Evangelical Mission, has not yet established a single secondary school. There are only two schools in the territory which can bring children up to Standard 8 (two years before matriculation). There is no technical college in the country. The only way the men can earn ready cash is to go to the gold mines in the Union or to work for the Zambezi sawmills.

Incidentally this company has the right to cut out the best timber in the great Barotseland forests for a mere £24,000 a year, paid to the Barotse Native Government.



PEOPLE ARE WONDERING WHY . . .

## WELENSKY PREACHES NON-RACIALISM

From *Contact* Correspondent

SALISBURY: Sir Roy Welensky's speech in which he told senior pupils of a European school in Salisbury recently that, "When an African or a Coloured person reaches that level (i.e. of European standards of culture), one must accept him as a full citizen of this country with the rights and privileges, as well as obligations, which that implies," is being discussed by many Africans. It is believed that the speech indicates a new line for Sir Roy, who is generally felt to be unfriendly to Africans.

"Is it a change of heart or a change of tactics?" some Africans ask.

Most Africans suggest that this is merely a change of tactics dictated by the desire not to embarrass the British Conservative Party during its recent election campaign and the knowledge that in 1960, the British Government will be more inclined to grant greater power to broad-based and more representative territorial governments in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland than to the Federal Government.

This view is strengthened by the fact that Sir Roy's United Federal Party has been conducting an intense recruiting drive

for African members in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The idea is to present the United Federal Party as a party supported by both whites and blacks in Central Africa and therefore strengthen Sir Roy's hand at the 1960 Conference table.

Unfortunately this drive has not been too successful and although the Party now claims to have about 2,000 African members in Nyasaland, it is known that many of these people only signed membership cards after they had been told that this was the only way they could get jobs, and some of them have repudiated their membership after waiting in vain.

Thus seeds of future trouble are now being sown in Nyasaland. Constitutional reforms have been suspended till after 1960. In the meantime the Governor has nominated four Africans to the Legislative Council, two of whom are members of the Executive Council. The United Federal Party has already said that since it has 1,200 Africans names on its register, the nominated Africans should have come from its ranks. These Africans will eagerly support the UFP line in such matters as federalising European agriculture, knowing full well that the vast majority of Africans are against it. They will toe the party line, which will be dictated by Europeans, at the 1960 Conference.

When, however, elections are held and Africans have a say in the government, these UFP Africans will be defeated and all the things they supported, such as federalising European agriculture will be repudiated.

The sensible thing to do would be to let Nyasaland be represented at the 1960 Conference by people who are likely to be in power in post-1960 Nyasaland, so that whatever agreement emerges in 1960, it will be one which they feel is binding to them. It is true that such leaders may demand Nyasaland's secession from the Federation but that demand is better made now than made again later.

## "Christian National Education"

—Continued from page 8

national task in bringing about His will. Education should enable the young to take over from their cultural heritage . . . and develop it in accordance with their own gifts . . . This only a Christian-Nationalist school can teach them to do.

**ARTICLE 6:** . . . in no subject may anti-Christian or non-Christian or anti-nationalist or non-nationalist propaganda be made . . .

History should be seen as the fulfilment of God's plan for humanity. The turning-point of history is Jesus Christ—the history teaching must therefore include such facts as the Creation, the Fall, Life and Death of Christ . . . and history must be seen as the struggle between the Kingdom of God and the Empire of Darkness . . . (What on earth can that mean?)

Next to the mother tongue, the history of the Fatherland is the best channel for cultivating the love of one's own, which is nationalism.

**ARTICLE 7:** Discipline — All authority in school is borrowed from God. The Christian-Nationalist end should be kept in view.

**ARTICLE 8:** . . . The Church must exercise the necessary discipline over the doctrine and lives of the teachers. The vigilance must be exercised through the parents.

The State must ensure . . . law and right in school life. It may not, however, determine the directing spirit of education providing that, as judged by God's law, it is not harmful to the state . . .

Our ideal is the Christian-Nationalist school: but for the time being we must be content to leave the existing public schools.

**ARTICLE 9:** . . . the teacher does the parent's work as the parent would do it himself were he able. Unless, therefore, he is a Christian, he is a deadly danger to us. (My italics.)

Training College personnel should also be Christian and Nationalist.

**ARTICLE 11:** Higher Education—Secular sciences should be taught according to the Christian and Nationalist view of life. University teaching should be thetic . . . never purely eclectic and never reconciliatory. Science should be expounded in a positively Christian light, and contrasted with non-Christian science. (How can science be Christian or non-Christian?)

Universities should never give unintegrated instruction, merely choosing here and choosing there; there should be no attempt to reconcile or abolish the fundamental oppositions: for Creator and created, man and beast, individual and community, authority and freedom remain in principle insoluble in each other.

**ARTICLE 12:** C-N view of life can be applied in technical colleges, reformatories, schools for the deaf, blind and mentally defective . . .

*The teachers should be Protestant Christians and bilingual South Africans (My italics.)*

(When the manifesto gets on to Coloured and African teaching, it bares more of its teeth. It repeats emphatically that Coloured and "native education should not be financed at the expense of the white".)

**ARTICLE 15:** The welfare and happiness of the coloured lies in his understanding that he belongs to a separate racial group (hence apartheid is necessary in education) and in his being proud of it.

Native education should be based on the principles of trusteeship, non-equality and segregation; its aim should be to inculcate the white man's view of life, especially that of the Boer nation, which is the senior trustee.

In case anyone still had doubts, then, we should now remind ourselves who is the senior *baas*.

\* \* \*

Three important points are clear in this manifesto:

1. The peculiar definition of Christian (the three Calvinist Afrikaans churches).

2. The idea of nationalism is, rather, pure racialism.

3. In the Afrikaans version, **vorming** (forming) is the revealing synonym frequently used for educating.

Therefore, Christian National Education in South Africa would be Calvinist Racialist Formation.

Finally, as everyone has asked so often, what will happen to the Catholics, Jews, humanists and agnostics who pay their taxes like everyone else, and have up to now been able to send their children to school to mix freely and happily with children of other beliefs?

And are our children to lose all teachers who do not share all the views of Dr. Verwoerd?

The writers of *Blackout* believe that all teachers should have freedom of conscience, and that all government schools and state-aided universities should be secular.

"The objects of education," they say, "is in part to find out the truth (as far as we can see it) . . . We can never find out the truth if we are told beforehand that we must find it in **this** and not in that.

"We believe that to demand that teachers should have certain religious beliefs is to breed hypocrisy, cowardice and dishonesty."

They also believe that CNO is education for totalitarianism.

This is a clearly written and urgent pamphlet that every South African should read.

\* **BLACKOUT**—A Commentary on the Education Policy of the I.C.N.O. 2s. 6d. Issued by the Education League, P.O. Box 6475, Johannesburg.

## DEATH OF GEORGE PADMORE: A Tribute

**C**ONTACT records with sorrow the death, at the comparatively early age of fifty-six, of George Padmore, Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah's Adviser on Africa Affairs, and prolific author on colonial questions.

He was one of the most colourful and influential figures on the African scene. A West Indian who became a Red Army Colonel, a black man who became almost a typical Englishman, Padmore was a bit of a mystery even to his friends. To the Negro journalist Roi Otley, no less identified with the struggle against race prejudice than Abrahams or Padmore, Padmore appeared to be "a rabid revolutionary . . . forged in the crucible of US race relations . . . the most dangerous radical alive . . . first class conspirator, specialist in decoys, codes, and stratagems."

This man became, towards the end of his life, the most powerful critic of communism in Africa, the man who, above all others, succeeded in foiling the plan to use African nationalism to power the red bandwagon.

To his widow, Dorothy Pizer, *Contact* offers its deepest sympathy and to George Padmore, who has gone, a salute as one of the toughest, most devoted, and greatest of all fighters against the evil of race discrimination and for the unity of the human race.

## WILLIAM GORDON RELAXES



Mr. William Gordon, the American journalist, watching a girl give a hula hoop demonstration at a village near Pretoria. Back in the US, he said recently: "It is my feeling that African nationalism as it exists in the Union will eventually have to join forces with white liberalism in order to free itself from the problems that exist there."

## Mboya Defends His Scholarships

From *Contact* Correspondent

**NAIROBI:** On the eve of the departure from here for America of a contingent of eighty-one African young men and women for higher studies in various subjects, a statement made in a letter sent by the African-American Students' Foundation Inc., New York, to people in Kenya has led to a storm of protest.

The letter, signed by actor Sidney Poitier, singer Harry Belafonte and baseball player Jackie Robinson, asks for funds to help pay for the airlift, which is costing 39,000 dollars. But it also makes reference to the belief that "in Kenya today higher education is not available to Africans."

The statement that higher education was not available to Africans in Kenya was refuted by the British Embassy in Washington. The Embassy gave figures showing the number of Kenya African students now receiving higher education both in East Africa and overseas, including the United States, at Government expense.

Mr. Tom Mboya, meanwhile, has said that the students, who will be going to institutions like Harvard, Georgetown, University of California, Michigan State College, and Howard University, among others, were selected from a long list of applicants through a foolproof system. He was refuting charges levelled by certain African leaders that the majority of the students selected belong to the tribes of which he himself and Dr. J. G. Kiano, who helped get the scholarships, are both members.

Mboya said: "We have no say whatever in deciding whether a particular student is admitted to the scheme. All universities require students to fill in application forms and also to send testimonials and certificates. I am not aware of any tribal group consideration when selecting students and would strongly oppose such influences."



# SAM SLY'S CORNER

FORTNIGHTLY NOTES ON BOOKS AND THE PRESS



## A pretty woman

Samuel Johnson was born 250 years ago. Boswell's *Life* is one of the greatest of books and about one of the greatest of men. I knew a man who read it and Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* over and over, in turn. When Johnson is praised, his titles are always sung out: the Grand Cham of literature, the Great Lexicographer, the Great Moraliser. . . In all his grand array of might and frailty, there is the pleasing little touch of his eye for a pretty woman. He told Garrick: "I come no more behind your scenes, David; for the silk stockings and white bosoms of your actresses excite my amorous propensities", a fine Johnsonian remark, though the last words have since been done to death.

A sixteen-year-old bride who took his fancy was Fanny Wilton, whom he called "exquisitely beautiful". Others thought her the loveliest woman in England, but she was destined for great sorrow. She married his friend Robert Chambers, an Oxford don who was made a judge in Bengal and took her to India with him. What a fuss on the way! At the Cape she ran off with a fellow passenger, Mr. Lemaistre, to a cottage lent by a Dutchman, and here Chambers found them. He challenged Lemaistre to a duel, but the Governor stopped it in time, and they all went on to India, each in one piece. Poor Fanny Wilton sent her first-born son to England to school eight years later. The agony of parting was as nothing to the long-drawn-out horror of the years ahead. For this was 1782 and the little boy took passage in the East Indiaman *Grosvenor*. Not until some years after the ship was wrecked off our Wild Coast did Lady Chambers (as she had become) give up hope, and erect a monument to him in Madras. She was haunted to the end of her life by thoughts of how the child met his end on these inhospitable shores.

[There should be a scholar's account of Master Chambers and his parents in Professor Kirby's huge researches on the wreck of the *Grosvenor*, which I believe Oxford University Press are to publish in South Africa next year.]

## Other stories

The Chambers scandal at the Cape probably never happened. The story appeared in the gutter press, which at that time was openly malicious and untruthful.

Oddly enough, Chambers's cousin Charles Grant was mixed up in a duel in the Heeregracht some years earlier, when a half-mad Irish buck, "Tiger" Roche, killed a young shipmate with whom he had quarrelled on the way from England. Roche fled inland, but Grant finally tracked him down. His trial in England was the sensation of the day. This Grant was the father of Glenelg, whose 1835 dispatch to D'Urban regrettably sparked off part of the Great Trek. I do not believe it is generally known that Glenelg himself visited the Cape to recuperate from overworking at Cambridge. I expect that much-maligned humanitarian was the only Colonial Secretary who ever visited this troublesome British possession he had to administer. But these are several other stories.

## Out of his head

The press lied in Johnson's day, as I have said, and for years Johnson wrote parliamentary reports that were entirely imaginary. Of these he once said: "I took care the Whig dogs should not have the best of it", which partisanship was easier then than for the lobby correspondent of to-day, who can't write it all out of his own head. The effect would be the same, I suppose, except that Johnson's reports are readable more than two centuries later, where most local reports of last session are already dead and maggoty.

## Sniffs

I feel more kindly towards Mr. John Wain since reading his words on Dr. Johnson in the latest *Observer*. He made one share with him what he called Johnson's "greatness of mind (and) tragic and heroic stature, that we can feel across 250 years." To go from the sublime to the gorbliney, Mr. Wain "panned" Butler's *A Book of South African Verse* recently. His review opened with a sneer, then made an ignorant bloomer, praised faintly, sniffed loudly and ended with a slap on the back for Roy Campbell. Why quote the bloomer?—but the sneer should be diagnosed. Mr. Wain began: "Finally, the Oxford University Press, doggedly churning through the poetic Commonwealth, has got as far as South Africa. (Why, incidentally, is Canada taking so long to answer the roll-call?)" Poetic Commonwealth fiddlesticks! 300 million people speak English and point nought nought

something per thousand write verse in it. Our country has produced a little bit of this verse: here is a book of what one of us thinks the best of it. And in England there is a publisher who has published it to sell it to the English-speaking world. So why the terrible English littleness of Mr. Wain's joke about the publisher and the source of the verse? It reflects an adherence to snob values, in this case regional ones, which is the dreariest facet of the otherwise crazy and unpredictable English people. Johnson himself was tough on the Scots and Americans, but he tosed and gored them, with never a sneer. Mr. Wain is forgiven, and must learn.

## Makes me squirm

As journalists both Mr. Vernon Bartlett and Sir Christopher Chancellor would dispute the accuracy of *Contact's* calling Dr. Albert Hertzog "perhaps the most unpleasant person ever to be made a cabinet minister in South Africa." Bartlett, for one, found Mr. Eric Louw "one of the most unpleasant people I've ever met." Perhaps he didn't meet Dr. Hertzog. All who have heard Mr. Louw at UNO would at least concede Bartlett the right to his view. The manner and matter of his speeches there make me squirm with masochistic pangs, and I feel

(Continued on page 15)

## Colour & Class

WHITE AND COLOURED. By Michael Banton (Cape) 21s.

AFTER reading some of the things quoted in this book, I found myself almost beginning to pity the white man! For whatever he does seems to be wrong.

The author has studied the behaviour of British people towards coloured immigrants, and incidentally he shows how the coloured resent white patronage. Thus a West Indian at Oxbridge said: "In college they invite you to a party, so as to have it a bit unusual, and they think that they are doing you a favour. When you get there, you find someone who plays the flute and someone who stands on his head—and a coloured man."

Another complaint was against those people who seek out coloured students in order to befriend them. The attitude of such people was likened to that of the local aristocrat who initiates a conversation with a villager, graciously showing interest in the inferior person. All the time each knows that the superior person directs the conversation, asks all the questions and answers none, and terminates the meeting when he wishes.

Here is one of the difficulties about race relations in a class-ridden society like Britain: class distinctions can easily be mistaken for colour prejudice. Colour has in some eyes the same socially inferior connotation as English spoken ungrammatically, or without the correct accent, or of wear-

ing a muffler instead of a collar and tie.

"I see," nodded Dick. And they immediately go on to discuss something else.

Dr. Banton thinks that the working class show more hostility towards coloured people than do the middle class but are more readily induced to abandon it. I have my own doubts about this generalisation. In any case, it is a weakness of this work that little attempt is made to trace the relation between empire-building and the growth of prejudice in the nineteenth century and earlier.

The desire to "hold dominion over palm and pine" (in Kipling's phrase) had a lot to do with the stereotypes so deeply ingrained in the British mind.

It is well to recognise that colour prejudice is by no means found only among those who practise racial discrimination in Africa. It is a by-product of race relations in various parts of the world and it is usually rooted in a determination to profit by the use of cheap black labour.

From the days of the slave trade, the wealth and power of Britain has been partly derived from the continued poverty of Africans and Asians, who have for centuries been pictured as inferior races. Only in recent times has the falseness of the picture been realised, and even now only slow and halting steps are being taken to correct it.

Writing as a sociologist and drawing (but not deeply enough) on the more advanced American research in this field, Dr. Banton has produced a good book, bringing further credit to Edinburgh University's enterprise in the study of race relations in Britain.

JULIUS LEWIN

## Prig's Tour

THE YOUNG TRAVELLER IN SOUTH AFRICA. By Anthony Delius (Phoenix) 10s. 6d.

THIS is a puzzling book. The author, Anthony Delius presents a very different face, bland and affectionate, from the wry melancholy of Adderley of the *Cape Times* or the bitter satire of his recent long poem.

The Young Traveller series is very popular among educationists. The YT in South Africa, is according to the publishers, the most popular of the lot. It has just been brought up to date (including a mention of *Contact*) and the British School Library Association and National Book League have apparently recommended it to thousands of 12-16-year-olds in the United Kingdom.

In some ways it is clear why Mr. Delius's book is such a favourite. He has skilfully scattered a great fund of facts in a sprightly narrative. He deals with white, animal and native life in a clean and jolly way.

He seems to fight against any serious hints of disapproval—all very bad form. The SA Information Service, for instance would surely applaud this paragraph. After an allegedly liberal young lady (United Party type) has told our young traveller Dick that the Nationalists "want Africans to develop Parliaments of their own and rule themselves in their own little states—what we now call reserves. . ." young Dick asks brightly, "It's what they call apartheid, isn't it?"

"Yes, the policy of keeping Black and White apart to avoid racial quarreling," said Alice.

On the other hand, Mr. Delius does make many sound points. He

touches on the luxury and slum contrasts of Johannesburg; on disruptive family living caused by migratory labour; on the need for more African schools, and so on.

Although the young traveller asks pertinent questions on every other subject, he displays remarkably little curiosity when the South African (white) way of life is described to him.

Certainly he would not break out in long-winded criticism. But I felt he might, at least, have protested *once*—when, say, the Coloured children he and his young white hosts played with on a farm were not allowed to join them for tea inside the house, but were handed their banana, bread and drink, outside the back door.

In fact, I began to find Dick an insufferably complacent little prig. When someone on a Cape farm vaguely mentioned that Coloured labourers had a high incidence of TB ("Lots of white people get TB, too"), Dick watched the workers pass the farmer Oom Thys as they left work, crying, "Nag, Baas! Nag, Basies!" and it did not seem to Dick that they looked either unhealthy or unhappy.

I felt it would probably have helped the book, too, if Mr. Delius had decided whether black people were Africans, Bantu or natives. He uses all three in his own descriptions, rather like Springbok Radio: Africans in Kenya and Rhodesia, and then natives, mostly, down south.

Before recommending this book to my young daughter—and I would recommend it for the historical facts and anecdotes alone—I would insist, however, that she get an antidote to follow: preferably a Young Traveller in South Africa by, say, Lewis Nkosi.

MYRNA BLUMBERG

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## Tortoise Paradise

**THESE WONDERS TO BEHOLD.** By Lawrence G. Green (Howard Timmins) 15s.

"*THAT was one more page in the dark story of witchcraft, the black magic that dominates many events in Africa and casts its evil shadow over the lives of millions from cradle to grave.*"

It sounds like the end of a Technicolor travelogue. Or perhaps like someone giving a parody of the end of a Technicolor travelogue. But in fact it is a not untypical sentence of Lawrence Green prose.

Mr. Green is phenomenally successful. No one else publishing in South Africa in English can compare with his sales. His formula varies little. A vast collection of anecdotes about Africa is mixed with some "I-was-there" expertise, arranged in articles which are now called chapters, strung together on some flimsy theme, rather crudely printed and bound (this one is slightly better)—and there you have it, a most acceptable Christmas present for Aunt Mary.

In a sense Aunt Mary gets good value, for Mr. Green's researches have produced much that is extremely interesting.

The latest book is about mysteries and magic (though one chapter on place names could comfortably fit into any of his books) and it has produced some fascinating stories about fire-walking, snake charming, primitive telepathy, the odd migrations of birds and beasts, the strange behaviour of desert sand, and so on.

Mr. Green's virtues have often been described. I would like to make two complaints. First, there is the unevenness of his writing. At his best Mr. Green writes a very serviceable sub-editor's prose

that lacks wit or elegance but is

swift and uncluttered. But, as the quotation I began with shows, he has a discouraging tolerance for clichés ("dark story . . . evil shadow . . . cradle to grave"). And he is totally unafraid of banality. This is the concluding paragraph of his first chapter:

"Mystery takes strange shapes in Africa, and you never know when and where you will find it. I have accompanied many expeditions in my time. Though we seldom found what we sought, there was always some recompense for the hardships and effort and the incidental dangers. *Africa does give you plenty to think about.*" (my italics.)

I find it difficult to get past a sentence like that last one, however interesting the material.

Then there is his political attitude, or his lack of political attitude. He makes one or two generalisations which might offend *Contact* readers: "Black magic dominates every phase of life up and down Africa, and few Africans (whatever degree of education they reach) lose their belief in it." "It is difficult to live for long in Egypt without forming a lasting distrust of the Egyptian character."

But more significant is his absence of comment. Of course, it is not meant to be a political book. And people are entitled to write about migratory birds rather than migratory labourers if they wish. But Mr. Green goes further. He gives the impression of being totally unaware of the suffering and the struggles in Africa at the moment. To him it seems to be simply a continent full of sunny, quaint things, a jovial place for tourists on safari, botanists and snail connoisseurs. "Africa, you may know, is a tortoise paradise."

Two hundred and thirty-seven pages without a whisper of a protest seems to me to add up to a positive political statement in favour of things as they are.

KENNETH MACKENZIE



## Between the Myths

**OLD AFRICA REDISCOVERED.** By Basil Davidson (Gollancz)

**T**HERE are two contrasting myths about Africa. One has been served up for generations by history teachers in South African schools. It pictures Africa south of the Sahara as a land of savages and barbarians, people without a history until the white man arrived upon the scene. Before Bartholomew Dias rounded the Cape there was nothing worth recording except that the Hottentots kept fat-tailed sheep and a few Bushmen wandered about shooting buck with bows and arrows.

The other myth is not so well known. It has been created by non-European intellectuals of the ultra-left, in particular by the young enthusiasts who were inspired by the Unity Movement. This myth has been created by the simple process of taking the other myth and turning it upsidedown. Using a different analogy, we may say that if South Africa's picture of the past was painted in black and white, the radical intellectuals simply reversed the colours. That was easy enough, but some went further. They delved into the records and the history books (not the school ones) and found that black Africa was by no means without a past. They discovered the mediæval kingdoms of Ghana and Mali and the empire of Monomotapa. They proclaimed that black Africa had given birth to mighty heroes and amazing civilisations.

In this book Basil Davidson has tried tentatively and with great modesty (considering how much he knows about the subject) to

give us the truth about the history of Africa prior to the white man's arrival on the scene. And the truth is neither the one myth nor the other but something in between.

The fact is that the civilisations of mediæval Africa did not differ so markedly from those of mediæval Europe. There was a vast illiterate population of rural dwellers making some sort of living by herding or agriculture. There was a certain amount of trade in goods from the Near East and Farther Asia. There were the beginnings of towns and markets. There were feudal lords who fought with each other and whose kingdoms waxed and waned.

The white tribalist of northern and western Europe emerged from the dark ages to build a new and dominating civilisation. There were many factors favouring this, not least that their territory was in large measure the same as that of the previous classical civilisation of Greece and Rome. Furthermore the Arabs in Spain, southern Italy and the Near East offered a continual challenge and example.

The black tribalists of Africa were not so fortunate. They were subject to influences from the north and east and they responded in their own way to produce indigenous cultures. Timbuktu, Zimbabwe and Mapungubwe are evidence of that. But these indigenous cultures were too sporadic and isolated. They never merged to dominate the continent as a whole.

Arab influence at first was stimulating and helpful. With the growth of the slave trade it became a curse rather than a blessing. The Portuguese and later other Europeans came to plunder and destroy and they too engaged

in the trade in slaves on an even vaster scale. The slave trade was one of the most damaging things that ever happened to Africa.

Regarding earlier cultural influences, Basil Davidson places great stress on the spread of knowledge of iron-working. Originating probably in Asia Minor about 1500 B.C., iron-smelting gradually diffused into Europe and into Africa. Significantly enough some of the earliest exports from Africa (to Asia via the Indian Ocean) were gold and iron. Thus metallurgy was one of black Africa's earliest industries. Social changes connected with the manufacture and use of iron caused tribalism to develop in certain regions into a species of feudalism. This was associated with class differentiation and Davidson regards this as evidence of progress beyond the tribal stage.

The last portion of the book is devoted to a discussion on Zimbabwe and the kingdom of Monomotapa. Various theories of the exotic origin of the Zimbabwe culture (variants of the King Solomon's mines and Queen of Sheba romances) have long since been debunked by competent archaeologists, so that the author has little difficulty in showing that this culture was essentially Bantu.

Regarding Mapungubwe the famous hill on the south bank of the Limpopo, Davidson regrets that so little has been done to follow up the investigations which began there and at other pre-historic sites in the Transvaal. He speaks of the "strange silence" which "appears to have fallen upon the whole question of Mapungubwe, site of black achievement in a land that is ruled by whites". The implication is that even in the field of archaeology (which cannot proceed satisfactorily without appreciable funds) there is race prejudice. He may be right in this.

EDWARD ROUX

## SAM SLY

(Continued from page 14)

ashamed to be, in turn, a white South African, a white, and a human being, the only three labels I partly share with him. His recent attack on the Swedish government was his next best blunder since the brush with Ghana over diplomatic representation last year. With any luck his accusation that Sweden is pro-Moscow and ill-treats the Lapps will bring Swedish conservatives and big businessmen into line with liberals, churches, universities and the press against apartheid.

### Legendary friend

I mentioned Helander before: another friend we have in Sweden is the almost legendary Harry Martinson, Sweden's greatest literary figure since Strindberg. "As a poet he is acknowledged as the genius of Scandinavian literature in our century," writes Per Wästberg. "His personal popularity among all sections of the people is only threatened by Ingemar Johansson's! Martinson was abandoned by his parents, and brought up in a poorhouse. He visited South Africa many times in the 'twenties as a fireman on a Swedish steamer, and has been a tramp and a tobacco-worker. To-day he is one of the 18 members of the Royal Swedish Academy, and is burdened by all the distinctions you can think of." Harry Martinson has given his name to the national appeal in Sweden for the Defence and Aid Fund.

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## CORRESPONDENCE:

## Mr. Bishop

SIR,  
I refer to the letter in *Contact* of 19 September from Mr. Brian Bishop under the heading, "What has the ANC achieved?"

The Liberal Party handbook on page 15 states that the Party favours co-operation with the ANC and the SAIC, and regards simultaneous membership of either Congress and the Party as compatible.

Mr. Bishop clearly repudiates this policy, and there are only two responsible courses open to him, namely either to resign from the Party, or to use the proper methods to change the policy of the Party.

His present method is improper and undisciplined, and also, I consider, disloyal to his Party.

I do not intend to enter into any controversy with Mr. Bishop in the columns of *Contact*. The councils of the Party are the proper places for such discussion.

ALAN PATON  
Kloof, Natal

SIR,  
Mr. Bishop's views must gladden the heart of every Nationalist. His continued attack on ex-chief Lutuli and the ANC could have been inspired by Mr. Swart himself.

In his self-proclaimed crusade to save the African from communism, he seeks allies in the Catholic church and will no doubt be prepared to accept the Nationalists as well.

He should also remember that the communist government of Kerala was freely elected, the only one of its kind in the world, and was overthrown by methods that led to Mr. Nehru apologising to the Indian Parliament for his actions.

Mr. Bishop is the logical spokesman for the Cape Liberals, who wish to deny the African a vote. Mr. Bishop would like to see South Africa under the paternal care of the Catholic church. I wonder if the African people of the Belgian Congo, PEA and French possessions in Africa share his views.

L. ROBINS  
Johannesburg

I have never yet met a "Cape Liberal" who wished to deny the African people their votes. At this very moment the "Cape Liberals" are campaigning in Sea Point and making it quite plain to the white electorate that the Liberal Party's franchise policy is that all adults of all races should have the vote—Editor.

SIR,  
Before slating the African National Congress for its "long lists of unsuccessful strikes, boycotts and protests", Mr. Brian Bishop should tell us what he is doing to hasten the end of Nationalist tyranny in South Africa.

Making allegations is one thing; proving them is another. Will Mr. Bishop now give concrete evidence of:-

(a) the "other Congresses" being stooges of

the Congress of Democrats.

(b) the Congress of Democrats having as its ultimate objective the denials of freedom of movement, speech, worship and the right to express political opinions?

Calling the African National Congress "stooges of the Congress of Democrats" is a cry frequently taken up by timid academics for two reasons, firstly, because they haven't yet outgrown their feeling of racial superiority and thus cannot accept the fact that Africans are capable of forming their own decisions and taking their part at the conference table with Whites, without being dominated by them.

Secondly, because it is an excuse for not taking a militant part in the anti-Nationalist struggle, whilst at the same time professing the most liberal sentiments. Their line is, "I would do something if it wasn't for those 'extremists' in the COD . . ."

Mr. Bishop wonders why the Liberal Party hesitates to fight the "communist controlled section of the Congress Alliance." I would reply by saying that because no "communist controlled section" exists, and because to attack a "section" of the Congress Alliance, would be to attack the entire Congress Alliance, and therefore, the vanguard of the liberatory movement, which would discredit the Liberal Party completely.

M. J. FLETCHER  
Durban

SIR,  
Mr. Bishop's letter, (*Contact* 19 September), callow and ill-considered as it is, seems to express a point of view current among some Cape Liberals, and therefore demands some kind of an answer.

What has ANC achieved? A very great deal in organising and educating African opinion, preparing, gathering and shaping the immense potential force for sanity which is in the African people. By its association with SACTU it is also helping to build up a powerful and effectively organised labour force, and by its experiments with the boycott it has demonstrated most convincingly its capacity for economic bargaining power. And has the Liberal Party done so much?

As for COD—it is just possible that Mr. Bishop is merely over-estimating the devil. However, what I suspect he is really doing is to under-estimate his African victim. Neither the leaders nor the rank and file of ANC lack the shrewdness which Mr. Bishop seems to think they lack, thereby falling into the pattern of contemptuous paternalism which characterises some members of the Liberal Party as surely as it does all members of, for instance, SABRA.

Let me define COD for Mr. Bishop. COD consists of those whites who accept the demands of the people as expressed in

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the Freedom Charter—a document prepared by a large and representative group of people of all races, and much more truly indicative of popular and democratic opinion than anything which can be put forward by any other political group. The fact that, among the whites, only those of the left are prepared to accept those demands means, not that COD is part of a subtle plot to corrupt African opinion, but that African opinion is already too advanced for any but members of COD.

If Mr. Bishop cannot accept the Freedom Charter, he is free to represent a perfectly understandable point of view—that the South African disease must be cured by means of political reform, social integration, improvement in working conditions, and so forth, but that this must not in any significant way affect the privileges of the predominantly white class of industrial capitalists and large farm-owners.

He is perfectly justified in the attempt to convince this group of whites that such reforms are possible and necessary, and in attempting to convince non-whites that such reforms will satisfy their aspirations. But in doing so he must convince the whites that the security of their positions does not in any way depend upon the present system of political, social and economic discrimination, and at the same time convince the non-white that these forms of discrimination are not a direct consequence of the workings of the capitalist system.

If, on the other hand, he were to accept the Freedom Charter, he would be perfectly free to steer its policy along a more moderate and humanitarian course. But then, if he has gone so far as that, he will have no difficulty in seeing how moderate and sane, how humanitarian, just, and necessary, the policies of Congress are.

Meanwhile, let Mr. Bishop re-read Peter Brown's column in *Contact* (5 September) in which he writes: "There is one temptation to which I hope the

progressives will not fall prey and to which we are all susceptible. It is the temptation to attack anyone to the left of us and to dissociate ourselves from them in an attempt to acquire for ourselves a respectability they don't seem to possess."

ALLAN VAUGHAN  
Durban

## Defence of Sachs

SIR,  
The review of *South African Personalities and Places* by Bernard Sachs, coming from the pen of Peter Rodda, was so scathing, that I feel it is only fair to Mr. Sachs that your readers should know that, arrayed against Mr. Rodda, is some very formidable critical opinion, which includes two leading South African writers and four highly responsible publications. Let me quote from them:

*Bernard Sachs has many merits as a writer. He can write.*—[Sarah Gertrude Millin]

*Bernard Sachs's command of English is admirable.*—[William Plomer]

*This book can be recommended as one of the best South African studies by a South African writer to appear for a long time. Easy style and plain good writing.*—[The Star]

*Mr. Sachs has made a grand job of the enterprise. His persuasive prose achieves brilliance . . . Scholarly and continuously entertaining . . . unique of its kind in this country.*—[M.M.W. in Sunday Times]

*Bernard Sachs has suddenly thrust himself into the foreground of South African writing with this unusual and brilliant collection of essays . . . The title gives no indication of the gems in the book . . .*—[Rand Daily Mail]

*These essays, sincere and penetrating, capture the essence of life on the Rand, as no other writer has done, and so give to a unique parcel of mankind a concrete and almost Dickensian vitality.*—[Professor E. Davis (Head of the Dept. of English, University of S.A.) in S.A. Jewish Times]

Let me assure your readers that the above quotations are not out of context, but reflect the tenor of the reviews as a whole, as anyone

can testify.

S. JACKSON

Sydenham, Johannesburg

[The views of the two writers appear, slightly changed, on the wrapper of the book that was under review. They presumably refer to earlier books by Mr. Bernard Sachs.—Literary Ed.]

## CONTACT in Detention Camp

SIR,  
Thank you very much for the copies you are sending us. We enjoy reading them. We read every line of the articles in every issue.

My friends and I never knew that you too can be interested in the affairs of the oppressed people of Central Africa as you have at several occasions despised Tom Mboya.

Tom Mboya like Jomo Kenyatta is our worshipped hero; not those stooges "black Europeans" as we call them here. Your Comment on our "Doc" (Dr. Banda) was just the way we want it.

NEPHAS TEMBO

Detention Camp,  
Mongu, N. Rhod.

Thank you for this letter. I don't think Contact has ever despised Tom Mboya—on the contrary.—Editor.

## Against black markets

SIR,  
As a member of the Liberal Party I am concerned for our integrity and I strongly dislike the article in *Contact* on 5 September, entitled "Getting it from the Boys."

The writer not only describes black marketing with gusto but obviously approves of it.

It is difficult enough to steer a straight course in tangled commercial situations, but surely this is a clear case of civic dishonesty.

*Contact* may include rollicking articles on aspects of life in the slums, but do Liberals acquiesce in such social rotteness as definite cheating?

E. R. CUSSONS  
88 North St., Durban

17 October 1959

## CONTACT



# contact

**SOUTH AFRICA'S NON-RACIAL REVIEW**

Registered at GPO as a Newspaper

WEEK ENDING 31 October 1959

Vol. 2 No. 22

**“Peeping Tom” neighbours  
and apartheid inspectors  
fail to make mother  
give up child**

See PAGE 5



**Mrs. Beecher with her children. Rather than part from Thomas (centre), they will give up South Africa and go to live in England—page 5.**

# HOW THE LIBERALS FARED

SUPPORT for the Liberal Party in South Africa is gaining ground. That is the conclusion arrived at by candidates and others who took part in the recent Provincial elections. And while the four Liberal candidates failed to win through, facts connected with the elections have shown that the liberal idea is spreading, even among the ranks of the nationalists.

## HOUGHTON

Reviewing the Houghton election, Mrs. Marion Friedmann (Liberal candidate) found that Johannesburg Liberals and many others outside the party "are gratified by the results and all the more so because the electorate, whether sympathetic or otherwise, clearly accepts as familiar the desirability of African representation on City Councils and on other law-making bodies, once regarded as revolutionary."

Commenting, Mrs. Friedmann says "Liberalism is clearly more popular than it used to be, and although many uncanvassed voters came to vote for us (something new, in our experience) the fact remains that the Liberal case unlike the UP case, still has to be put across person-to-person. The propaganda which can take the place of *huisbesoek* has not yet been written — at any rate not by us.

"Pretoria's magnificent effort, makes us simultaneously hang our heads in shame and throw out our chests with pride: a difficult feat but we are doing it all the same.

"The Progressive split has already achieved one good thing: the Press is no longer wholeheartedly pro-UP and anti-Liberal. This alas! did not stop the *Star* (hitherto fairly impartial) from publishing an eve-election front-page scare story, phrased in such a way that the average Houghton reader must have thought that there was a Nat. standing in Houghton. Why Houghton rather than Langlaagte or Boksburg was given pride of place and timing is a mystery.

"My own private mystification was the apparent neutrality of the Progressives in the Houghton election. (Houghton is held by a Progressive MP if the Progressives are taking a

direction similar to ours and markedly different from that of the UP, then participation would have served their interests and those of the liberal movement better, it seems to me, than neutrality.

"I do not mean to suggest that the Progressives did not vote — most of them probably voted for us; nor would I have expected them, still finding their feet, to have launched a major offensive on the UP, but it is a pity, I think, that we did not find them among the envelope-addressers and the canvassers. Perhaps uncertainty and newness held them back, but I suppose we should be grateful that they are finally OUT of the UP."

## PRETORIA EAST

In Pretoria East (contested by Dr. Colin Lang) the same lack of vision was noted on the part of UP members, who, it had been anticipated, would have given either moral or even, possibly, practical support to the Liberal candidate in the fight to oust the Nats. from power.

The UP attitude to the Liberal stand, expressed off-the-record by a UP official at the outset, was that the United Party welcomed and were grateful for Liberal participation in the elections as it was felt that this would draw off some Nationalist effort from the two critical seats which the UP were contesting at Sunnyside and Rissik.

But in actual fact, official UP support for the Liberal stand was markedly absent. No directive was given to UP supporters to vote against the Government in spite of many

UP appeals in the past to everybody to "pull together to get the government out."

Sir de Villiers Graaff actually asked his supporters "to refrain from supporting dissenting groups."

What is more, at the Menlo Park polling booth, serving Waterkloof, Menlo Park and Lynnwood, organised UP workers instructed their voters to abstain from voting Liberal. In spite of that, at this station, the Liberal candidate polled over 900 votes and almost equalled the Nat. poll.

As it was, house to house canvassing revealed considerable interest and support for Liberal aims and ideals.

Reception from Nationalist supporters was almost invariably polite, often cordial, and occasionally very rewarding. Even those who stated outright "*Ek stel nie belang in die Liberale Party nie*" were usually prepared to accept pamphlets, and often to argue the case. Canvassers were fortunate in having some reprints from *Contact* of Afrikaans articles by J. J. Oosthuizen in the form of a pamphlet entitled "*Moet die Bloedbad Kom*", and in having a number (of canvassers) whose home language is Afrikaans.

The surprises of the day were the results from the other two booths at Silverton and Villieria serving solidly Nationalist areas, of 230 and 211 votes respectively. Liberal workers at the booths reported very cordial relations with the Nationalist workers and the polling was conducted in a good spirit throughout, except at Villieria where there was some tension.

An analysis of the results — Nat. 6,037, Liberal 1,448 — is interesting. In the general election the Nats. obtained 6,244 votes. If, as Mr. Muller, the Nat. candidate asserted, 400 UP supporters voted for him, then obviously well over 400 Nationalists must have failed to support him. This is substantiated by canvassers who found a number of Nationalists who stated that they were dissatisfied with the Government.

## IXOPO

In contesting the rural seats of Ixopo the Liberal Party was breaking new ground. "On the face of it," says Mrs. G. Ventress, the Liberal candidate, "we were severely beaten, but the low number of Liberal votes cast does not clearly indicate our impact on the electorate. It was a four-cornered contest. The entry of the Federal Party altered the whole picture. The UP candidate who won the seat, belong to the extreme reactionary wing of his party.

"On average our meetings were better attended than those of our opponents. We encountered very little hostility. On the contrary, people were



Poster-sticking at Sea Point. Neil Ross, who canvassed over 40 nights, Brian Bishop, and Joan Inglesby outside the election office.

sympathetic to our point of view.

"People often told us that although they were not voting for us, we were absolutely right and they agreed with everything we said with the possible exception of the concept of "one man one vote". The real countryman was astonished to discover that Liberals were pleasant, likeable people but we were at a tremendous disadvantage in not knowing the locals, particularly on polling day.

"Voting UP is a community tradition; that in itself was a major obstacle."

## SEA POINT

At Sea Point there was a "swimming baths" election. A United Party organiser asked at the last meeting whether the candidate was in

favour of a colour bar at the Sea Point swimming baths. Mr. Patrick Duncan replied: "I do not like the idea of a colour bar in South Africa, including the Sea Point swimming baths. Only in Southern Africa could such a question be asked (applause). In the countries that are admired most to-day, such as India, Israel, and Western Europe, you will find that there is no colour bar in the swimming baths."

That reply cost the Liberals many hundred votes. On polling day United Party agents went from polling station to polling station shouting: "Do you want to see our swimming baths full of BLACK BODIES? If you do, vote Liberal." The United Party concentrated on this issue, and exploited it as cynically as it is used against them by the Nats.

(Continued on page 3)

## CONTACT

South Africa's Non-racial Review  
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Polling-day at the Sea Point pavilion. Maureen Cohen and Désirée Berman. Mrs. Cohen's baby Michael was the only one kissed during the whole campaign.

(Continued from page 2)

The last week of canvassing is unforgettable. There was a superb turn-out; the election fund neared £750; good meetings were held at Camps Bay and Sea Point, and spirits were high. Although everyone was glad it was over, the last party on the day after the election was a sad last good-bye of a team that had gone through much together, and that had fought a good, clean, hard-hitting fight.

**The Liberals lost, but the final word remains with a high-up on the United Party side. He said: "I would like to congratulate the Liberals on the high calibre of their helpers. I have never seen so alert, presentable, and intelligent a band of young devoted workers. I wish we could get people like yours to work for us, but we can't. This augurs well for the future of your cause."**

## EAST LONDON

Great interest in the elections was also shown by big audiences of both whites and non-whites when Mr. Jordan Ngubane, National Vice-President of the Liberal Party, addressed meetings in East London and Grahams-

town at the invitation of the Cape Eastern Region of the Liberal Party.

Speaking in East London, Mr. Ngubane said that no one group in South Africa could solve the problems facing the country and that any attempt to rule the country on a policy of colour or creed could but lead to rule by dictatorship.

The day might come, he said, when an irresistible force would attempt to move an immovable object. This could lead to nothing less than disaster for South Africa.

"In South Africa," Mr. Ngubane said, "the present set-up must be changed by peaceful means. Evolution not revolution was the answer. Interest should centre on the rights of the individual rather than on an individual's race. This would open the doors to all and raise the standards of living for those at present living below the bread-line.

"To this end," he continued, "it is necessary to give every South African citizen over a certain age a common loyalty to the country and the right to vote."

Mr. Ngubane said that world opinion was on the side of the Liberals in this country and support for liberalism was increasing.

# "Whites, Africans are Compatriots" —PATON

From *Contact* Correspondent

**JOHANNESBURG:** "Apartheid is a repudiation of humanity" said Alan Paton at a Liberal Party election meeting in Oaklands, Johannesburg, at which about 300 people heard Alan Paton, the National President of the Party, Mrs. Friedmann the Liberal candidate in Houghton, and an African member of the Party executive put the Liberal case.

The basic philosophy of *apartheid* was that "I love my neighbour as long as he doesn't live next door." White South Africans would only have a future in South Africa if they accepted Africans as compatriots. Many of you fear to be just—you should fear to be unjust." If enfranchisement is torn from unwilling hands it means the end of democracy in South Africa.

Mr. Paton said that poor people keep a country poor. The country as a whole would benefit if the doors of opportunity were opened to the non-whites. There were no easy solutions—Liberalism offers a common society whereas *apartheid* corrupts all who come in contact with it.

Mr. Paton said that Liberal policies were the only realistic policies for South Africa. The destinies of 15 million South Africans were to be decided by the elections but only in a few constituencies which Liberal candidates were contesting would the electorate hear non-white speakers.

Those who wanted to preserve civilised standards

should seek the support of those non-whites who also believe in decent values. Yet Dr. Verwoerd imagines that he does not need the support of the Lutulis, Tambos and Ngubanes. The Prime Minister apparently believes that by some divine dispensation he knows what is good for us all. "He is busily setting up departments to control our lives. There isn't one for the English yet, but we must be patient!"

The United Party had a "Native policy" about which no African had been consulted. Despite the fact that white leadership produced the Group Areas Act and other iniquitous legislation, the United Party offered "white leadership with justice." The Liberals stood for best leadership with justice.

## "Vote Liberal"

—LUTULI

On the eve of the elections, the following message was received from Chief Lutuli:

"I welcome the appearance of four Liberal Party candidates in the present Provincial Elections. The Liberal Party has striven fearlessly for the extension of democratic rights and civil liberties to the African people.

"Its steady growth year by year, since its formation, has been a source of encouragement to African peoples in their conviction that more and more Europeans will come to share my belief in the need for a non-racial democracy in South Africa.

"At a time when the Nationalists and the United Party go to the electorate with policies based on identical principles of White supremacy, I would be most encouraged to see all persons who share Liberal convictions, consolidate in a single political front, dedicated to fighting the Nationalists and the United Party, for the purpose of discrediting and destroying the state of White domination.

"With this in mind, I would urge the voters in those Constituencies where Liberal Party Candidates are standing, to give them their vote to demonstrate to the African people, and to the world, that there are many South Africans who reject the policies of racial discrimination."

# AFRICANS MUST BE "SAVED FROM THEMSELVES" —Location Manager

**P**ROMINENCE was given in the Press last week to Mr. A. S. Rogers's presidential address to the Eighth Annual Congress of the Institute of Non-European Affairs. Blood pressure rose steeply among some leading members of the community at the receiving end of South Africa's bureaucracy-gone-mad.

Mr. Rogers, who is manager of "Native Affairs" in the Cape Town Municipality and is at the same time a servant of Mr. de Wet Nel's BAD Department in Pretoria, spoke on housing problems. Some African reactions were these:

Mr. Rogers: If rents are not subsidised, tenants will be forced to augment their incomes by legal and illegal means, like brewing and selling liquor, gambling, riding around in smart cars, luxuries they can least afford.

● *We'll let the crazy logic pass — but doesn't Mr. Rogers see that Africans are driven to these practices by their miserable pay and that bureaucratic action is no remedy?*

Mr. Rogers: "In the Western Cape the policy of encouraging migratory labour and discouraging the permanent establishment of Bantu families brings with it additional problems, especially if influx control of males is not applied with imagination."

● *How can any restrictive action be applied with imagination? Has Mr. Rogers never heard mem-*

*bers of his staff tell an African: "You have no right to be here although you are suitable for this particular job, therefore you must leave the Western Cape at once."*

Mr. Rogers dislikes suggesting the introduction of additional control measures": he does it "to save these people from themselves."

● *The only people who need saving from themselves are suicidal maniacs. The Africans have to be saved from Mr. Rogers. He knows very well that any African who commits a breach of his "suggestions" after they become law will go to gaol. Is the creation of more situations that will send more and more people to gaol "saving them from themselves"?*

Mr. Rogers: "Because they lack the necessary self-discipline one feels like suggesting that if migratory labour is to be the order of the day then the period of absence from their homes should be limited to about two

years, after which they should be compelled to return for at least three to six months."

● *If Mr. Rogers knows anything at all about Africans he should know that they do not lack self-discipline more than any other group. He is the expert on these things, after all. Doesn't Mr. Rogers even know that many employers refuse to re-employ Africans who have gone home to the territories for such long periods?*

Mr. Rogers, taking a leaf out of the Native Recruiting Corporation's book, aims to "reduce the possibility of their wasting their substance" by a deferred pay scheme, to be applied compulsorily to all Africans.

● *Does Mr. Rogers not know that many firms operate voluntary savings schemes for their employees, that the NRC scheme is voluntary, that Africans have no substance to waste, and above all that the Africans, about whom he knows so much, will definitely not accept compulsion?*

The consensus is that if Mr. Rogers and his kind still believe, as bureaucrats, that all troubles can be solved by legislation, and while carrying out official policy "with imagination", their victims hold the completely opposite view.



A pause in the Sea Point election office late at night. Cynthia Duncan, Ros Brodie, Stan von Arx, and Harry Brodie.

## ELECTION RESULTS

### HOUGHTON, TVL.

J. P. A. de Vos (U.P.), 5,397; Mrs. M. C. Friedmann (Lib.), 1,609; U.P. majority, 3,788; percentage poll, 625; spoilt papers, 35.

### PRETORIA EAST, TVL.

B. Muller (Nat), 6,037; C. M. F. Lang (Lib.), 1,448. Nat majority, 4,589. Percentage poll, 54.4; spoilt papers 49.

### IXOPO, NATAL.

W. M. Sutton (U.P.), 3,026; R. H. Mason (Fed.) 713; Mrs. F. G. Ventress (Lib.), 135; C. M. Hulley (Ind.), 117. U.P. majority, 2,313. Mrs. Ventress and Mr. Hulley forfeit their deposits. Percentage poll, 64.6; spoilt papers, 24.

### SEA POINT, CAPE

Dr. J. Domisse (U.P.) ... 5,981  
P. Duncan (Lib.) ... 1,505  
U.P. majority, 4,476.  
Percentage poll, 65.2; spoilt papers, 21.

1958 Parliamentary election: J. A. L. Basson (U.P.), 7,267; G. Gordon (Lib.), 1,642; U.P. majority, 5,625.

## ELECTION STORY

**S**EA Point on polling day. Old lady, settling down in the front seat of the Liberal car that had gone to fetch her: "I'm so glad it's you that have come to drive me. I can never vote for the United Party again — not after they said they wanted non-Europeans in our swimming baths."

To our shame I must add that no one put her right, and she voted Liberal. The calculations were that, counting her, the Liberals only lost 599 votes over the "swimming baths affair."

White Sportsmen Cold-shoulder SASA

# What About Mr. Honey's Olympic Pledge?

**A**S EXPECTED, no white national sporting body accepted the invitation to a conference to discuss problems of sport with the non-white sporting bodies. Members and officials of eight non-racial sporting bodies were present at the Conference opened by the President of the South African Sports Association, Mr. G. K. Rangasamy, who had convened the Conference.

By their failure to attend the national bodies which enjoy international recognition and are exclusively for white South Africans have proved that their protestations to the world that they are willing to assist and cooperate were insincere. Advance publicity was given to the press in July and on 1 August invitations were issued.

The President of the South African Olympic Association, Mr. Reg Honey, who had declared at the meetings of the International Olympic Committee this year that there was no racial discrimination in South African sport, was invited to open the Conference but replied that he was unable to do so. Others invited were Mr. Arthur Coy (President of the South African Cricket Association) and Mr. Clive van Ryneveld, MP

By  
Dennis Brutus

(former Springbok cricket captain). Both advised that they were unable to attend.

The Secretary of the South African Olympic and Commonwealth Games Association was also invited and was asked for the addresses of the national bodies affiliated to his association. After these were supplied all these bodies were invited. Some of them whose addresses were known had been invited earlier.

Of more than twenty bodies invited, all exclusively for white South Africans and all internationally recognised, the following replied:

South African Cricket Association — acknowledged.

South African Golf Union — acknowledgement from President. None from the Secretary to whom the official invitation had been extended.

South African Athletic Union — acknowledged, unable to attend.

South African Canoe Association — would try to be represented.

South African Weightlifting Union — unable to attend.

Others invited included the national bodies for Boxing, Cycling, Swimming, Fencing, Softball, Baseball, Hockey, Soccer, Judo, Gymnastics.

The Conference which had been called under conditions which no organisation could find objectionable proved its point: the exclusively white organisations are not sincere in saying that they are prepared to work with and assist the non-white bodies and the Conference came to the conclusion embodied in its resolution that the non-racial sporting bodies would have no option but to press ahead on their own to secure international recognition and to inform the international Olympic Committee and the International Sporting Federations that they were not receiving any co-operation from the white recognised bodies.

National bodies present were Weightlifting, Lawn Tennis, Soccer, Cricket, Softball and Baseball, Rugby, Boxing, Athletics and Cycling.

The organisations or supporters of the South African Sports Association have a membership of about 70,000. The Cricket and Rugby bodies—not yet affiliated to SASA—total a further 9,000 members.

## WINNERS AT P.E.



Top picture shows A. Valjee (S. Natal) with the cup after winning the Natal table tennis championship. J. Faroo, Cape Town (right) was runner up.

### WEIGHTLIFTING TABLE TENNIS CHAMPIONSHIPS

From *Contact* Correspondent PORT ELIZABETH: The South African Amateur Weightlifting and Bodybuilding Federation championships were held in Port Elizabeth recently. They attracted a great deal of interest as non-white lifters were eager to show their capabilities in the hope of being selected for the Olympic Games.

The championships produced three outstanding lifters in Johnnie Gedult (middleweight) (Western Province) who lifted 765-lb., thus beating the existing European champion by 5-lb.

Precious McKenzie (Natal) (featherweight) lifted the sensational total of 660-lb., 45-lb. above the winning total of 615-lb. by G. S. Gaffney at the



Pictured above is Johnnie Gedult, Western Province, outstanding weight-lifter.

white championships last month. The third lifter, Herby Dirks (Griqualand West) (light-heavy), also broke the existing South African record.

The table tennis championship was won by A. Valjee (Natal). He was followed by J. Faroo (Cape Town) who lost to Valjee in five sets. Valjee was unbeaten in all his seven matches.

## Review of Periodicals

### LA VOCE DELL'AFRICA

**T**HE Italian Institute for Africa (Istituto Italiano per l'Africa) in Rome has for three years been producing this excellent monthly. In the for-

tion to free sport from colour discrimination, and has ignored the government defence of apartheid.

The address is: Via Ulisse Aldrovandi 16, Rome. Subscription rates are: single copy L. 80; a year L. 1600 (L. 1800 abroad).

The Institute's director of studies is Dr. Teobaldo Filesi whose work "Comunismo e Nazionalismo in Africa" was reviewed in *Contact* on 10 January this year.

### TOWARD FREEDOM

"We believe that the peaceful elimination of colonialism—be it in Hungary or Angola—is essential to a free world". That is the slogan that appears at the head of the July-August issue of *Toward Freedom*, a newsletter on colonial affairs that is produced from Room 1119, 343, S. Dearborn Street, Chicago 4, Illinois, USA.

Homer Jack, veteran anti-colonialist, who attended the Bandung, Cairo, and Accra conferences, is one of the moving spirits in *Toward Freedom*. It is a newsletter of four pages, and can be obtained for \$ 3. a year (\$ 1. for students).

(We regret errors in publication of this review in *Contact* 17 Oct.)

## FORCED TO WORK FOR FARMERS IN SCHOOL HOURS

**T**HE restrictions of higher primary and post-primary education for Africans in towns and official use of African farm school pupils for private farm labour were referred to in the following statements made by the Minister of Bantu Education in the Senate at the end of the Parliamentary Session, but they appear to have escaped the notice of the public.

The Minister said:

"It is the intention to make lower primary schools available wherever this is possible, in order to supply the needs, the general needs in this connection, wherever there may be Bantu children of school-going age. As far as the higher primary and post-primary schools are concerned, it is the intention to give preference to the Bantu areas because this is in the first place where the Bantu development must be promoted generally.

"You may perhaps tell me that there is a great desire in the urban areas for post-primary schools in order to keep the children off the streets; that they should rather be brought into the schools than be allowed

to remain on the streets where they become tsotsis and so forth. I want to put it very clearly that the keeping of the children off the streets of our cities, the keeping of the children away from the tsotsi-gangs, is not a function of education.

"An educational function is a function which must be instituted for the development of the community, and for this reason you must give that higher education in the areas at the places where the process of development has to be stimulated, and this is in the Bantu areas. For this reason it is our policy to restrict higher primary, but particularly post-primary, education in the urban locations, but not in the Native areas; preference is given to the Native

areas in regard to the establishment of that type of schools."

"As regards the farm schools, we have made it compulsory that where the farmer wants these facilities, part of the school instruction of those children on the farm of the European farmer must be training in the normal activities on the farm, in order to encourage a feeling of industriousness on the part of those children and particularly, to sharpen in their minds the fact that education does not mean that you must not work with your hands, but to point out to them specifically that manual labour and also manual labour on the farm is just as good a formative and development level as any other subject is.

"In order to do this, we create the opportunity so that if there is any farmer who has a farm school on his farm and who wishes to make use of the school children under the supervision of the teacher to assist with certain farm activities, this can be arranged in a proper manner to fit in with the curriculum and the plan of development which is envisaged or provided for that farm school."

(Race Relations)



Dr. Teobaldo Filesi

mat of a newspaper, generously illustrated, it shows special interest in business and sport, as well as in politics and decolonisation.

It has given a fair amount of space to the efforts of the South African Sports Associa-

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CAPE TOWN

## Racial Removals in Johannesburg

# People Thrown on Street by Demolition Squads

From *Contact* Correspondent

**JOHANNESBURG:** More than 1,000 Africans are living in the open or staying temporarily and insecurely in friends' houses in Sophiatown, Johannesburg. Their homes have been demolished, and they do not qualify for rehousing in the Bantu Resettlement Board's areas of Meadowlands and Diepkloof.

Since the start of the "black spots" clearance scheme in 1954, nearly 60,000 Africans have been moved from the Sophiatown, Newclare and Martindale area. But some have remained, because they were not included in the original 1955 survey of the area, and therefore do not qualify for Government rehousing.

These people have for long been subject to the almost-nightly permit raids, and they have — and do — live constantly under the threat of arrest, fines and imprisonment.

On September 21, the *Rand Daily Mail* carried an eyewitness account of the plight of the homeless people. A reporter described finding four families, totalling 20 people, sleeping on the cement floor of a room measuring 15 feet by 18 feet. In a ramshackle iron and wood structure, he found two men — one of 67 and the other 57 and half-blind — lying on the ground.

Sleeping on the ground between four walls and with the roof gone was yet another family. They had sat through several nights of rain.

A further 23 families were reported to have been put onto the streets on September 29. Many claimed that they had received no notice of the demolitions. In some cases, the parents had left for work in the morning. They returned at night to find their homes broken down, and their furniture and clothing lying scattered in the street.

So it has continued, with house after house coming down. Demolition work has even been carried out at night. On October 15, workmen arrived at 9.30 p.m. By 1 a.m., most of their work was done — and another 30 to 40 families were in the open.

No-one knows any more exactly how many are with-

out proper houses. The figure of 1,000 is almost certainly far too conservative.

## Courageous

In a courageous and outspoken statement on September 19, a Progressive member of the City Council, Mrs. Kathleen Mitchell, said: "The citizens of Sophiatown are the citizens of Johannesburg." She said that the Council should, if necessary, set up a tent-town for the homeless.

On September 21, nearly 100 Sophiatown African women went to see the district commandant of police. They pleaded for the suspension of early morning raids, but were told that the police had to carry out their duty.

The next day, Mr. S. Ramokgadi, the ANC's Sophiatown secretary, was arrested by the Security Branch. He has played a leading part in arranging temporary shelter for the homeless. Mr. Ramokgadi is now appearing before a court under the Urban Areas Act. His right to be in Johannesburg has been questioned by the authorities.

At first, the City Council steadfastly maintained that it could not immediately help the homeless people.

On September 12, the chairman of the Council's Non-European Affairs Committee said that the clearance and resettlement of Africans in Sophiatown was the business of the Government's Resettlement Board — not the Council.

Two weeks later, after concerted newspaper reports about the homeless families, the Council announced that it would discuss the matter with the Resettlement Board. And on September 30, the acting chairman of the Non-European Affairs Committee, during a debate in the Council chamber, issued an invitation to those homeless not entitled to be rehoused by the Resettlement Board, but legally entitled to be in the Johannesburg area, to give full details of their situation, so that they could be rehoused "as soon as possible".

The qualification was added that this would be done subject to the prior claims of other Africans already on the Council's waiting-list.

The next step came on Octo-

ber 6, when the Council opened a special office near Sophiatown to consider applications for rehousing. A steady stream of people came forward to give their names. Within two weeks, about 500 families had been interviewed.

Unofficial — but reliable — estimates indicate that 80 to 90 per cent. of those interviewed are likely to qualify for Council rehousing.

So from a position of "no hope" six weeks ago, there is now some hope for the homeless people. But with the start of the summer rains, the situation of those in the open will daily become more serious. And as more houses are demolished, the number available to those already homeless becomes steadily smaller.

And the greatest problem of all: what is to become of tragic residue of 10 to 20 per cent. who are refused rehousing by both the Resettlement Board and the City Council?

What is their future?

## AT KIMBERLEY, THREATS OF FUTURE REMOVALS

From *Contact* Correspondent

**JOHANNESBURG:** About 11,750 people in Kimberley will have to move their homes as the result of a recent Group Areas proclamation. A total of 11,450 non-whites and 300 whites is involved. These facts are set out in a report by the South African Institute of Race Relations on the effects of a proclamation which was published on July 31.

The population of Kimberley includes about 25,000 Whites, 18,000 Coloureds, 1,250 Indians and 200 Chinese. The proclamation affects 55% of the Coloureds, all the Indians and Chinese and 1.5% of the Whites.

The Institute's report states: "Within five to ten years, the Whites will have to vacate two small housing schemes, and a few other dwellings. They will lose one small school."

All the Coloureds living in mixed areas will have to go within five to ten years. Others living in suburbs now proclaimed for future white occupation will have to leave at a date still to be determined. In the meantime, they may not dispose of their properties except to white persons.

"The present shortage of houses will be very greatly intensified in terms of the Group Areas proclamation", says the report. "Large numbers of Coloured people will be required to move from homes they cherish."

Many families have bought or built their own houses after years of scrimping and saving. They have made additions to their homes, and have planted trees and gardens.

### Bad alternatives

Within periods ranging from five years upwards, all the Indians and Chinese will have to move out of the town, to an area 2½ miles to the north. The poorest Indian families will be located on land occupied by Coloureds. The better-off Indians will be able to build their own houses — on land which is near the sewage farm, the smells from which are mingled with those from an abattoir and a brewery nearby.

The Asians are not only faced with the loss of their homes, but may also lose their livelihood, as the proclamation requires them to remove their businesses to their group areas. Those in the central city area must go at some future date still to be determined. The others will have to move within the next few years.

If the businesses as well as the homes are to be moved, the large majority of the Asians will undoubtedly be ruined. The Indian and Chinese areas are very much out-of-the-way, separated even from the Coloured areas by the main railway line. Very few White and practically no African customers would visit them.

Superimposed on the hardships caused by loss of homes, the report states that "there will be numbers of individual heart-breaks and tragedies caused by the simultaneous implementation of the Population Registration Act". The racial classification of people is still uncompleted in Kimberley, and the classification claimed by many is still being challenged by the authorities. Some members of a family have been classified as Coloured and others as White or as Indian — they are likely to be split up between different group areas, and the bonds of family life rudely torn apart.

Most of the community amenities shared by the Coloured and Indian groups are situated in areas now zoned for Whites, and will therefore be lost to the non-Whites. These include the only teacher training college, the only high school, eight of the eleven primary schools catering for three quarters of the primary pupils, practically all the churches, several mosques.

Race fanatics stop at nothing . . .

## try to take Child from Mother

(see front cover)

**T**HE STORY of two-year-old Thomas Joseph Beecher is not only one of the ugliest human indictments of *apartheid*. It is one of the most mysterious. Thomas is the foster child of Mr. and Mrs. Frank Beecher, of Cape Town. He came into their care, with full official welfare approval, a few months after he was found in a paper carrier by a clergyman.

Their home, which is a greatly happy and loving one, is the only one he has known. But suddenly welfare officials came to take Joseph away. They said he had been classified Coloured and could no longer live with the white family that had cherished him from infancy.

The mystery is: How did Joseph come to be classified Coloured?

He has never been seen by officials of the Population Registration Dept. in Pretoria or Cape Town. Welfare officials in Cape Town admit they know of no birth certificate for the child. His real parents have never been traced.

The District Surgeon who saw the child before he became a member of the Beecher family told Mr. Beecher that the child could be white; he added, however, that Thomas *may* have some Coloured, Portuguese or Italian ancestry.

Mr. Beecher first heard of the child's classification early this year when he made enquiries about not getting any income tax rebate for Thomas.

"We have never had any official notification from the Population Registrar," Mr. Beecher

By  
Myrna Blumberg

told me. "We just couldn't believe it."

But the family were tormented by gossiping neighbours and decided to move to another suburb and try to forget about it.

At the beginning of October this year Mrs. Beecher went into hiding with the baby to evade welfare officials who came to take the child away.

I spoke to welfare workers in Cape Town and was frankly shocked by the vigour of their dogmatic personal opinions.

An official of Child Life Protection Society told me, "That child is definitely Coloured."

"But what facts have you?" I asked.

"There is no doubt about it."

"Have you seen the child?"

"No."

"But I have, and I couldn't possibly guess the child's race. He is considerably fairer than a number of Europeans I know."

"My welfare workers have

seen the child and they know a Cape Coloured when they see one."

One of the officials of the Council Welfare Dept., however, directly responsible to the Ministry of Social Welfare, was more helpful, I thought, and ready to accept that there could be considerable doubt about this child.

And on all this flimsy nonsense a child was being torn from his family and his future ordered in a different direction.

The Beecher's lawyers have taken two important steps.

1. On Wednesday, 14th October, they cabled Mr. Naude, Minister of the Interior asking him to discharge the child from the provisions of the Children's Act and allow the Beechers, who are English, to return to England with the baby.

As a foster child, Thomas is a ward of the State and may not leave the country without permission from Mr. Naude. The family decided to petition Mr. Naude personally after they received the offer from the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers in Britain — Mr. Beecher's old union — to buy air tickets to London for all five of them.

2. The Beecher's have appealed against the child's classification. They have written to the Population Registrar and, I understand, are prepared to take the fight for their baby as far as the Supreme Court.

# CONTACT

## Progressives and Regressives

THE Progressives are to hold their first congress in Johannesburg in November. Policies will be laid down. An organisation will be established. *Contact* welcomes their advent, and hopes that they will do well in Parliament and in the country as a whole.

They face many dangers. Of these perhaps the greatest is that of a slide back towards the United Party. Mr. Leo Boyd, one of their leaders, in a formal statement has said: "Were we to (dishonour the pledge to buy land) we would be making a hollow mockery of the United Party's own policy of 'White leadership with justice'".

That means nothing more or less than that if the United Party had stood by the 1936 pledges, it would have been justified in calling for "white leadership with justice"—that self-contradictory absurdity.

*Contact* hopes that these dangers will be avoided, and that the ranks of the Progressives will swell with thousands of members, ex-members of the two great parties who have realised that the poison that is corroding our land is the poison of colour discrimination. Such people will have sensed the urgent needs of the times, and will have realised that such a forward move is now imperative.

By the same token it would be a tragedy if there were more than a handful of Liberals ready to throw in their lot with the Progressives. Obviously twelve seats in Parliament and the sort of support that has already been given to Dr. Steytler and his group, must cast a lustre on his movement. Some individual Liberals, it is certain, will fall under the spell of this lustre. But let there be no illusion: such a move will be a move away from the battlefield, and back to safer and more respectable base jobs. It will be a move away from the companionship of all races, and back towards whiteness and colour bars.

Let such Liberals also remember that in a turbulent age such as ours what succeeds in the long term is ideas rather than men. An idea rules to-day: the idea of white domination. That idea can only be cast out by another idea: the idea of non-racialism or of black domination. Their party, the Liberal Party, possesses the great idea of non-racialism, and is its only representative. Surely the tinsel of a few, temporary, seats in a gerrymandered parliament cannot compare, in the eyes of history, with the treasure that is the possession of a great idea?

The task before Dr. Steytler and the Progressives is to initiate, and to maintain, a move by white South Africans away from *apartheid*, and towards democracy. The benefits to be derived from this move may be cancelled out if many Liberals slide backwards from the forward positions which are occupied by their party.

Let such Liberals remember that by doing so they will weaken their own party, the hope of South Africa. They will not really be welcomed by the Progressives, who need, above all, the respectability that Liberals do not have.

Let them also not forget all that is implied in the word "Progressive". It would be a tragedy for people who believe in progress to become "Regressives".

## Lying Louw

MR. LOUW recently "reminded" the Assembly of the United Nations of "an historical fact not generally known; namely, that when more than 300 years ago the Cape of Good Hope was settled from Europe the first Bantu immigrants from central Africa had come down the east coast and were crossing the Limpopo River. Thus it happened that the Bantu immigrants from Central Africa, and the European settlers arrived at the Northern and Southern borders of South Africa respectively, at approximately the same time."

"This statement is not true." Professor Monica Wilson, of the University of Cape Town, author of *Reaction to Conquest*, perhaps the best anthropological work on South Africa, used these words in dismissing Mr. Louw's incredible statement.

Here are the historical points she made, in a brief statement to the Press, destroying the lie spread by Mr. Louw. The facts, first, from oral tradition and archaeological evidence are that:

1. Long before 1500 ancestors of the Sotho people occupied the Transvaal and Orange Free State.

2. Ancestors of the Zulu and Xhosa people stayed in the Transvaal and Orange Free State before moving south.

3. Xhosa, Tembu and other tribes lived in East Griqualand long before going to the coast and meeting the Portuguese from 1554 onwards. Secondly, Portuguese shipwreck survivors found:

1. In 1554 Bantu people from South of the Umtata River as far as Delagoa Bay, with a thick cattle-owning population in the interior of Natal.

2. In 1589 and 1593 more Bantu-speaking tribes south of the Umtata River.

3. In 1635, Xhosa people in this region.

4. In 1686, Xhosa, Pondo, Pondomise and Tembu occupying country as far south as East London.

The eyewitness accounts are not taken by Professor Wilson from recently discovered documents, but from such standard works as Theal's *Records of South-East Africa* and Bird's *Annals of Natal*, both of which have been in print and widely read in South Africa for some seventy years.

Mr. Louw thus lied to the United Nations.

CONTACT



"Laugh . . . but notice that I'm getting more every time."

## APARTHEID IS CRAZY ECONOMICS

IF WE LOOK at the idea of segregation of races from the purely economic point of view we cannot but be struck by the tremendous waste of resources it involves. The much-banded word "progress" can be satisfactorily defined in economic terms only as an increase in man's power over nature, with the result that we get more "material welfare" for a smaller expenditure of human effort.

Historically such progress has meant a change-over from a type of economic life where everybody, or nearly everybody, was engaged in farming—and had to be so engaged in order for the supply of foodstuffs and raw materials for clothing to be adequate—to an economic system where a smaller and smaller proportion of the population is required on the land to produce these basic food and clothing essentials.

In response to many requests, we have planned a series of articles on the economic craziness of *apartheid*. Here is the first. The series will continue regularly for some time. The author is Mr. Douglas Sloan, of the Department of Economics of the University of Natal.

African's output is worth more to the employer than the cost of his wages. Thus employer and



towns. ("Rural" does not exactly coincide with "farming" but the relationship is close enough for changes in "rural" to be taken as showing the order of size of change in "farming".)

Obviously thus already in our country the non-African racial groups (which make up one-third of our total population) are heavily urbanised, and any further substantial urbanisation must come from the African racial group (which makes up the other two-thirds of the total).

It seems clear, then, that as progress leads to urbanisation, progress in South Africa must involve a very big movement of Africans to the towns and cities.

The African who today goes to the town does so because thereby he expects to obtain a better life than on the farm (European or Reserve). A competitive economy squeezes people out of unproductive occupations by making it uncomfortable (because unprofitable) for them to remain in those occupations. The African comes to town because he finds town more profitable, and he finds town more profitable because he is more productive in town, i.e., he produces more economic goods or services in town and as a result is paid more than if he remained elsewhere.

The employer in the town employs an African because the

employee alike gain by the increase in African urbanisation. Any legislation, any authoritarian pressure which tries to stop this process or tries to reverse it is harming not only the African but also today's city white and the South African of the future. Such pressure and such legislation is trying to force resources (labour resources) away from where they will be more productive to where they will be less productive; it is trying to impose a maldistribution of resources, an uneconomic distribution of labour. The result must be a smaller real national income than otherwise would exist—with loss to both Black and White.

An analogy may highlight the argument. We can liken national income to a cake to be shared among our racial groups. The choice at present for the European group (as the finance-owning, managerial, power-possessing one) is whether to have for itself half of a two-pound cake or rather

(Continued on page 8)

# ALL DEMOCRATS MUST CO-OPERATE



Peter Brown, Chairman of the Liberal Party

THE Provincial Elections have come and gone, leaving the Nationalists stronger provincially than they have ever been before, the United Party better off in Natal than before, the Federal Party in eclipse, the Progressives claiming to be satisfied and the Liberals happy with their Transvaal and Cape results, but heavily defeated in Natal.

The general picture which emerges from the elections is not a particularly encouraging one for the immediate future. In some seats the Nationalists have increased their majorities since last year's General Election, in some they have lost a little

ground. The United Party is claiming that the tide has turned against the Nationalists and Sir de Villiers Graaff has told us that victory is inevitable. I am highly sceptical of both these assertions.

I see no prospect of the UP ever achieving the inevitable victory of which it is now talking by outvoting the Nationalists in an election.

Whatever one's assessment of the result of the elections—is it a stalemate? . . . Has the tide turned towards the UP?—I find its most depressing feature not that the Nationalists should have won more seats but that in many Natal seats the UP should have recorded more votes than in 1954 and that in both Cape Town and Johannesburg the vast bulk of its voting support should remain unimpaired, in spite of the Bloemfontein land resolution, and presumably therefore, quite prepared to follow any expedient tactic the Party may chose to adopt.

An anonymous correspondent has accused me of sophistry in suggesting in *Contact* that the UP Bloemfontein resolution opposed the further purchase of land for Africans. He argues

I do not myself regard a promise as something which one is entitled to put into cold storage to suit one's particular interest of the moment. Certainly one is not entitled to do so without the consent of those to whom it has been made. The UP did not even consult with, let alone have the consent of, the African people before going back on its 1936 promise. And whatever arguments the party may produce to defend its action, it is now in the position where it will have to oppose every proposal the Government makes to buy land for Africans.

The reason is simple. Dr. Verwoerd, in order to give some slight substance to his Bantustan vision, must insist that every bit of land he buys goes to make it up. Bloemfontein remains to me a broken promise.

One cannot divorce consideration of the provincial election results from the Bloemfontein resolution. Its clear purpose was to influence them, to draw wave-

rig Nationalists to the UP. It is questionable whether this purpose was achieved. In the Weenen constituency in Natal, where the threat of Bantustan was the main election issue, the Nationalists increased their majority.

However, I am not for the moment concerned with the practical, political results of the new United Party line in places like Weenen. What I am concerned about is that, in spite of what it did in Bloemfontein, the United Party increased its vote in Natal, managed with patently less able candidates to defeat those who had resigned at Bloemfontein, and commanded over eleven thousand votes in the two urban seats where it was opposed by the Progressives. The land resolution seems to have worried the average UP supporter not at all. He simply took it in his stride.

That, in the long run, is the most serious aspect of the election results. Not that the Nationalists should have won more seats but that their opponents

should have accepted with enthusiastic support an obvious capitulation to expediency. The moral criteria which are supposed to be the basis of Western society clearly command diminishing support in South Africa. A stand on principle is something which the bulk of non-Nationalist white South Africa finds unimportant. Otherwise how could it have failed to return Leo Boyd and Lester Hall?

The Provincial Election results reveal more clearly than ever where the real dividing line in South African politics lies. It lies between those who wish to spread and see preserved the real values of what is loosely called "western civilisation" and those whose concern is with its superficialities. Many of those who oppose the Colour Bar and who are interested in preserving the real values of western civilisation have no political rights.

The election reminds us that the case for co-operation between all those who oppose the Colour Bar, voters or voteless, remains as strong as ever, and that it is only through such co-operation that a movement sufficiently strong to defeat white domination can possibly be forged.

## An Appreciation

### MR. LIONEL FORMAN

LIONEL FORMAN, editor of *New Age*, and advocate, who died on 19 October in Groote Schuur Hospital, Cape Town, at the age of 31, was one of the most brilliant minds working in the field of anti-apartheid politics. His death removes from the scene one of the most formidable protagonists of South African communism.

As a child he had rheumatic fever, which left him with three leaking heart valves. All through the rest of his life he wrestled with ill-health, which constantly limited what he could do.

Recently doctors advised him to have his heart operated on as the only way in which his life could be prolonged.

Groote Schuur Hospital has a heart-lung machine, and has for some time been doing "open heart" operations. At the beginning of October Mr. Forman went into hospital and began resting and training in order to be able to bring as much strength as possible to his ordeal.

In the course of the operation one valve was repaired, but his heart, already weakened by the strain imposed on it over the years, would not take over when the heart-lung machine was stopped.

The evening before the operation he wrote a letter to his wife in which he envisaged the possibility of his death. In that case, he wrote, "I want it trumpeted from the roof-tops that Lionel Forman believed in communism for South Africa

with a burning passion till the day he died and in all his adult years that passion never once diminished."

He became a communist when he was sixteen, and joined the Communist Party of South Africa in 1945, remaining a member until it was dissolved in 1950. This year he received a notice banning him from attending meetings in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act.

His political standpoint was mellowed and humanised by a remarkable sense of humour, and he seemed to enjoy the company of those who, while opposing apartheid, were most unfriendly to his own ideas. I liked him for this, and admired his truly magnificent courage. One felt that his illness had purged him of fear, that he had no fear even of death, and that he looked down on people who were afraid.

Perhaps his last political act was to give me his vote in the Sea Point election — an act of magnanimity in view of the frequent political clashes between us. I went up to the hospital to get it, and did what I could to make him optimistic about his operation. I left knowing that he was under no illusions about the grave risk that he was running.

To his young wife, Sadie, with her two little boys and baby born a week before her father's death, all possible sympathy.

PATRICK DUNCAN

## FAIR COMMENT

by Patrick Duncan

SOUTH AFRICANS at the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference at Canberra are worried by what they call 'apartheid in reverse'. They are getting the cold shoulder from non-white delegates. "It's a new experience for us to get the cold draught of apartheid", said one, "but we'll keep on trying to mix with the others."

Perhaps the best way of succeeding would be to "try to mix with the others" here at home. *inside* South Africa.

THIS month a chill of alarm has struck the editors of *Bantoe/Bantu*, organ of the BAD Department, the magazine that has never called an African "Mr." It used to have solidarity with the *Fortnightly Digest*, the slick review that tells people inside and outside South Africa that apartheid means justice. That journal also used to call Africans "clerk Frans Molefi", or "Councillor Jack Mtembu" — never "Mr. This or That."

Now, in the latest issue, on page 7 is a photograph of "Mr. Obed Makapan". On the other hand, no doubt as a concession to the BAD Department, on page 5 occurs a photograph of "Frans R. Mikosi". but the editors of *Bantoe/Bantu* must be wondering how far this dangerous new tendency will go.

ONE of the most entertaining features of journalism in South Africa is the witty column that appears in *Die Burger* each Saturday over the name of "Dawie". Dawie hides his surname, but we learnt recently that he was a voter in Gardens. By a curious coincidence Mr. Piet Cillie, *Die Burger's* editor, also lives in Gardens. No doubt they are close neighbours.

The point of this comment is that for the first time since I can remember there was on Saturday not one laugh, not even one smile, in Dawie's column. Dawie mocks the differing vote-estimates which have appeared in the English press, but says sourly: "I hope

that it will not happen at the next election that so many Nationalists stay away from the ballot box as did on 14 October, 1959."

Whatever may have happened on that day every Nationalist knows that his party has taken the first fearful knock since 1948.

I'm afraid that there is no comfort for Liberals in this. The Nationalists were for the first time the victims of a "Black Peril" cry — see the *Sunday Times* cartoon we reproduce on another page.

A PORTUGUESE fisherman has just been sentenced to five months' imprisonment by Mr. S. N. Quy (pronounced Kwaai) of Cape Town. He was found guilty under the "Immorality Act". His comment: "I looked at her face, and she seemed whiter than I was."

The trouble with the Portuguese is that they come from Europe, and therefore must be "Europeans", or "whites". Yet many of them are as dark as South Africans.

THE World Bank has lent £50 million to South African Railways. How are they using it? To introduce apartheid in the airways! There really is to be a special service from Durban to Johannesburg "for Non-Europeans only".

This fabulous waste could only be exceeded if a decision were made to build an air terminal at Johannesburg for each race. Perhaps they will, if we are patient.

It would cost another £50 million. It would look like capital investment on the Railways' books. No doubt the World Bank would advance a further loan for this sort of thing. After all, capital investment in Africa is fashionable.

It's a pity Mr. Black, the President, doesn't come south to see how his money is being used.

## IN KENYA

## NEW MOVE TO OPEN WHITE HIGHLANDS

From *Contact* Correspondent

NAIROBI: For many years, far longer than most people here care to remember, the White Highlands, some 16,000 square miles of lush farming land in the heart of Kenya, have been the exclusive preserve of the European community. Helped by the Government, both here and in Britain, they have resisted every effort made by leaders of the African and Asian communities to have the old order changed.

Now, however, in a White Paper issued in London and Nairobi, comes the news that "the basis of tenure and management of agricultural land will be similar throughout Kenya, regardless of race or tribe, as far as local economic and agronomic factors will permit" and that "the determining considerations governing the ownership or occupation of land in the Highlands will be those of the economic use of land, sound agricultural development and good husbandry only."

This means in plain language that the exponents of non-racialism have achieved success at long last.

The Minister for Education, Labour and Lands, Mr. W. A. C. Mathieson, told a press conference that the Government believed a large number of European farmers desire to lease part of their holdings to farmers of other races. The Government does not believe that European settlers will sell out in panic; there is no cause for anyone to panic, the Minister stated.

Under the terms of the White Paper, which deals with agricultural land tenure and control outside the native lands, a European farmer who wants to lease his land to an African farmer will have to apply to a Divisional Board. If it approves, that is the end of the matter, but if it says "no" the application can go to a Regional Board and then on to the Governor, whose word will be final.

The land policy just announced in the words of the Minister, aims essentially at encouraging leases. The Government wants to discourage, at this stage, the transfer of freehold land as between members of one race and another, and with this aim in mind it has worked out a system for freehold land transfer which makes such transactions as difficult as possible.

The Highlands have hitherto been the trust of the Highlands Board, an all-European body, its primary function being to protect the interests of the inhabitants of the Highlands in the

land situated in the Highlands.

The White Paper provides that the Highlands Board and the present Land Control Board should be replaced by a system of Divisional and Regional Boards for the purpose of controlling land transactions. A Central Land Advisory Board will also be established, responsible for advising the Governor on the overall land policy to be applied throughout the Colony.

The Central Land Advisory Board will be a completely multi-racial body composed of one-third Africans, one-third Asians (including Arabs) and one-third Europeans, with the Minister responsible for lands as chairman and the Commissioner of Lands as his deputy. The members, who will not be members of either Divisional Boards or Regional Boards or be members of the public service, will be appointed by the Governor.

This body, bearing in mind the declared objective of the Government to bring about the progressive disappearance of racial land barriers will have the function of advising the Governor on all land policy and it will exercise this function in relation to all land in the Colony and not only to agricultural land.

The White Paper also provides for the establishment of a body called the Land Trust Corporation. Its existence will have to do with interracial transfers of freehold. The Government does not intend that there shall be a ban on the transfer of freehold between members of various races, but it feels that to start with, there should be a minimum of such deals.

## TANGANYIKA IMMUNE TO COMMUNISM

NEW YORK: The people of Tanganyika in spite of their diverse nationalities, religions and races, are able to advance together peaceably toward self government so that Communism is not a serious threat as it is in many parts of Africa. This was the conclusion of Father Sebastian Jongerius of the White Fathers in an address in New York recently. Father Jongerius said, Africans—Bantu, Nilotic and Hamitic—live peacefully with people from India, Pakistan, Goa and with Europeans of all nationalities. Because of these harmonious race relations "the country has been immunized against the virulence of communism which has infected, or threatens to infect, so many other parts of the continent."

## ICFTU ON ALGERIA AND PEACE

RESOLUTIONS on two matters of great topical interest—world peace and general disarmament, and the Algerian problem—were adopted by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) Executive Sub-Committee which met in Brussels recently.

The resolution on world peace welcomed recent efforts to ease international tension and looks forward to the speedy conclusion of an agreement on general disarmament under effective international control. It also

expressed the hope that reduction in armament expenditure would release funds for aiding economically underdeveloped countries.

The resolution on Algeria noted with satisfaction the recognition of the Algerian people's right to self-determination by the French President, and called again for opening of negotiations based on mutual recognition of the right to self-determination on the one hand, and of need to protect the political, economic and cultural interests of the entire population of Algeria on the other.

The meeting agreed on certain arrangements for the forthcoming ICFTU sixth world congress (Brussels, 3 to 12 December), and, in particular, on the speakers to introduce the programme items on the congress agenda.

## New Nyasaland Party Grows Fast

From *Contact* Correspondent

BLANTYRE: The news of the formation of a new party—the Malawi Congress party in Nyasaland, has come as a shock to settlers in Central Africa. To them, this can mean one thing: the beginning of another "Massacre plot of Europeans."

Already there are rumours that the settlers in Nyasaland on the advice of their leader, Sir Roy Welensky, are urging the Government to restrict the activities of this new party. "It is the duty of every European to work hand in hand with the Government and tell all nationalists that there is no room for them in Nyasaland," a settler said, at a meeting in Limbe.

## European hope

The Europeans have been hoping that, with the emergency going on and all congress leaders still in prisons, the Government, by force of intimidation, will succeed in making all Africans join the mainly European, United Federal Party. This has failed. African opposition is even greater than before March 3.

The new party, although only a few weeks old, already has over 40 branches. It is also understood that all ex-members of the now banned Nyasaland African Congress have declared their support for the new party.

The party is led by Mr. O. E. Chirwa, B.A., B.Ed., Barrister-at-Law, Nyasaland's only African lawyer, Mr. Chirwa was a member of the Nyasaland African Congress and its legal adviser before it was banned. He was arrested in March together with other Congress leaders and deported to S. Rhodesia where he was detained at Khami prison for six months.

## Apartheid is Crazy Economics (Continued from page 6)

less than half of an eight-pound cake. Anything which destroys productivity by using resources wrongly keeps down not only the size of the cake (to 2 lb.) but also the amount of cake consumed by the European sector of the community.

Our own attitudes in this country to the urbanisation of the African are naturally very much conditioned by our experience of the last twenty years. The wartime and immediate post-war demand for labour brought an unprecedented flow of Africans to our towns at a time when even those local authorities who recognised the permanence of the influx had available neither enough of the necessary capital goods nor enough of the technical skills to provide the recognised minima of services for their growing populations. Only with time has permanence of the inflow come to be generally understood, and only now are we beginning to get on top of the problem of our Edendales and Cato Manors.

Our experience has been not of African urbanisation at its best or even at what it might have been but at its very worst. The worst is never typical. Never again need the inflow of workers result in such unhealthy, ugly, sordid and shameful shack towns. The very acknowledgment of the inevitability of African urbanisation is a big step to avoiding a repetition of our recent experience—with its unnecessary wastes.

Furthermore, the scarcity of capital goods and skills, though still with us, is less severe than it was. The unnecessary nature of past African inflows to towns must be remembered when we try to estimate what future place Africans should have in our present "European" towns.

Because of the past social



evils, many people prefer the idea of all-African towns. This desire for all-African towns is rather odd because no one wants all-European towns. Little can be more abhorrent to today's South African white than the thought of having to do all the more lowly manual work himself (or herself). The all-African city notion seems to reflect the idea that Africans are something unnecessary, something extra, more than we need, and the all-Black towns will be a useful way of "storing" them till we do need them.

This weird "reservoir" idea certainly exists, even though the European farms, the mines and industry are feeling the scarcity of unskilled labour—despite the replacement of the "house boy" by the "house girl" in many European homes.

In fact, there seems to be no justification for the black city idea at all, particularly at present. Cities require skills of all sorts, and the bigger the town the greater the varieties as well as the quantities of skills that are needed. Past policy has not reared an African population with a distribution of city skills comparable to that of our European population. Furthermore towns usually develop in particular places for some good economic reason or reasons—not because of ideological claptrap. To force their growth in areas of no economic advantage is to waste resources, because the local industries will have to compete with others which have developed where the relative economic advantages are greater.

It is not physically impossible to process whales or build ships inland from sea and river—but it is wonderfully ridiculous economically to do so if you have good ports and coastal facilities. You get less whale oil and meat and fewer ships for the same expenditure of resources, because some of the resources have to be used to get the whales inland and the ships overland.

Similarly, it is not impossible to set up other manufacturing industries in many unsuitable places—but it is wonderfully ridiculous economically to do so if you have better places for them. The fewer manufactures also represent a smaller national income for the same expenditure of resources.

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The solution for the problem of white and non-white is

# VOTES FOR ALL

ONE OF THE great fallacies of South African political thinking is the idea that the extension of the franchise to the Africans must necessarily and unavoidably lead to Black domination. It seems to have affected those Liberals who wrestle with the problem of how to extend the suffrage without also bringing about this incidental consequence.

These people probably understand as well as anyone else the psychological forces of action and reaction that are at work in our society and they are, perhaps, fully aware that White domination evokes in the oppressed people a desire to counter-dominate. Doubtless it is precisely because they do appreciate this, and because they feel that we have passed the point of no return, that they think that Black domination is inevitable.

Those who react to this prospect by seeking to limit the extension of the franchise are trying to protect the Whites from the consequences of their own errors. It is not this that is disturbing, but the fact that again it is to be at the expense of the rights of Africans.

Whites and non-whites do have their own particular needs in this artificial racial situation, needs which have always been presented as conflicting. The whites need security which they are continually told can only be obtained at the expense of the Africans. Africans on the other hand need to be emancipated from the white domination which the whites so falsely see as indispensable to their security.

## The answer

We believe that non-racialism can provide the answer to these apparently differing needs, at one and the same time. The lifting of the burden of oppression by non-racialism is the very thing that would safeguard the minorities.

But if we discredit the policy of non-racialism in the eyes of Africans by racial bias, or *apparent racial bias*, then we have lost the African support for a policy without which we can no longer guarantee security to the minorities.

In regard to the pessimism of those who see us as beyond the point of no return, let it be said that it may well only be at a moment of crisis and impasse that white and non-white in the Union will finally realise that non-racialism will cater for their respective needs. But we would have been absolutely consistent and sincere in our espousal of the policy.

Besides, the policy that gains the respect and wins the support

By Patrick  
van Rensburg

of Africans will be the one that plays a great role in liberating them. That is why it is so vitally important for us, within the framework of the ideal just previously outlined, to engage as deeply as we can in extra-parliamentary activity.

Much of the concern about this policy, of those who support a qualified franchise, is due I think, to a conviction that the policy of "votes for all" would make our parliamentary task tougher.

## Unrealistic

To my mind it is entirely unrealistic to think that changes are going to come about in this country simply because the Liberal Party (or any other group for that matter) can effect such changes by persuasion. Very powerful external and internal pressures will be needed; we can facilitate the changes by presenting non-racialism as the answer to the needs of all groups, but such a role is dependent entirely on, and completely supplementary to, the creation of pressures.

I, personally, reject constitutional "checks and balances" as an attempt to safeguard minorities, because a constitution will last only for so long as it reflects the mood of the people. We must seek to create a state of mind—a mood of racial tolerance—which alone can effectively eliminate the prospect of group domination.

The true safeguard of minorities is the disappearance of race consciousness, and if Liberals concern themselves with the constitutional protection of groups, then they help to perpetuate this very group consciousness, in the final destruction of which, alone, lies our national salvation.

## Qualified franchise

I think that qualifications on the franchise would smack of an attempt to provide such protection for minorities, whatever real reasons motivated the attempt. The impression would unquestionably be created among those whom it would be proposed to exclude, simply because the whole history of South Africa is one of progressively excluding non-white people. White men have to prove their sincerity against an historical barrier of suspicion created by their confreres who have so often broken trust.

I referred earlier to an *apparent racial bias*. On the principle that justice must not only be done, but must be seen to be done, the consequences of

limiting the franchise must be carefully examined. It is probably true to say that those who would qualify the franchise, although doing so in the name of "good government", are also sometimes hiding their fear that the enfranchisement of "semi-literate", etc, would open the door to "demagoguery" and thereby to black nationalism.

I hope that I have already dealt adequately with this bogey. On this matter I would say only this in addition: let us point out to the whites that in their fear of this bogey, and in their attempts to avoid it by withholding the vote, they are only ensuring that it will come about. One of our functions is to put this across as often as we can and in the simplest possible language. But let us not, ourselves, fall into the same trap by seeking to exclude sections of people, whatever our reasons may be. There are enough stimuli of anti-whiteism without our adding to them.

But many of the attempts to qualify the vote are based on a genuine fear of "lowering the standards of government" and I want to deal with this argument from this point of view too.

## White man failed

For three hundred years, the white man has failed dismally to perform the task of a true "guardian"; the term is his own and it imposes the duty to have taxed his resources to the utmost to bring education to the African people. In the last ten years a policy of education has been designed for Africans, with the specific purpose of equipping them for an inferior status in society. Africans are unquestionably exploited in our economic life and job reservation is but one means of depressing their living standards.

I cannot see what justice there is in penalising the Africans for the errors and omissions of the white man.

Without universal suffrage, the African people will never be sure that they will be able to have compulsory education for all. The time for us to press for improved education and improved living standards for Africans is now. Under no circumstances should we allow the errors of the past to dictate to us what our policies should be. Franchise policy must be determined by the considerations already referred to earlier in this article.

## Founded on race

I want to make quite clear my own belief that all qualifications that were imposed would give the impression that they were founded on distinctions of race, I must repeat that this is how they would strike the people they would exclude, and I would

rather have, for a while, "lower standards of government" than allow any hint of racialism even to be inferred from our policies. I do not, in any case, believe that we would necessarily have lower standards of government than, incidentally, some of the most civilised states have produced even in this century.

To those who persist with the inevitability of any black nationalism idea, there must be put just one question: will adult suffrage at a later date mean "swamping" any less than at an earlier date?

I believe that if we had the chance to confer adult suffrage today, we would have our finest opportunity ever to avoid it, for we would have cut short another decade of the stimuli of anti-whiteism.

I believe that the natural reaction to Verwoerd's extremism is to drive people towards

the more radical formulation of our franchise policy. Many of those who today advocate "votes for all" once believed in "gradualism". Why arrest this natural development in the way the UP does, the Federals do, and the splinter groups with their "casual creeds"?

Let the Liberal Party at least, not defer to public prejudices in its policy-making, but enlighten public opinion along lines similar to those enunciated in this article.

The policy of "votes for all" is right and it is just. Because this is so, we must espouse it when we demand the extension of the franchise and let it not be because we have conceded to pressures exerted on us, but rather because of our belief that it is right. What is given under pressure is rightly seen by the recipients as the reward of extremism, and nothing succeeds like success.

## THE CHOICE



A modern African proverb is that if you want to be elected to the South African parliament you must show that you hate the Africans. This proverb appears to have been accepted by the United Party during the late provincial elections. It followed the lead of Major A. Z. Berman, MPC, who in July said: "The United Party will fight the Cape provincial elections on the slogan that had won the National Party the last five elections—the 'swart gevaar' (black peril) as there is no greater danger to South Africa than Bantustans." The United Party press agreed, and the above cartoon shows the cynical use made of anti-African prejudice by the biggest newspaper in the country—the Sunday Times (circulation well over 300,000) (11 October).

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## SAM SLY'S CORNER

FORTNIGHTLY NOTES ON BOOKS AND THE PRESS



### Shadow and Wall

South African publishers continue to publish poetry, which is the bookseller's despair in every country. They do it with such dedication that an Afrikaner firm will publish poetry in English and even by an ex-Afrikaner. Tania van Zyl's *Shadow and Wall* (Nasionale Boekhandel) contains some poems that I like very much, and, indeed, more lines I like than are in any of the other elegantly thin and austere books of verse published by Balkema, APB, or Nasionale Boekhandel. It is a pity it was unreviewed when it came out last year. Perhaps Nasionale Boekhandel lack the "knowhow" of putting these books before the public.

There was silence until a few months ago when copies were privately sent to *The Observer*, *The Times Literary Supplement*, and *Sewanee Review*. The last two have since reviewed it with real praise, but after the edition had been remastered, its price cut from 15s. to 2s. 6d.

I believe Professor Durrant, Nasionale Boekhandel's English poetry reader, urged them to publish the book as a service to literature. Why couldn't it have been welcomed at the time? Why didn't Professor Butler include some of it in his new anthology? Where was *Standpunte*? Yes, where was *Contact*?

### Actually read it

Tania van Zyl is married to Ernest Middlemiss, curator of the Rondevlei Bird Sanctuary in the Cape, and is the daughter of a former Judge-President of the Cape Supreme Court. She produced an earlier book of verse, *The Window* (African Bookman) in 1948. It fell on even deaf ears. Only *Die Burger* reviewed it, and with praise. A friend of a friend gave a copy to André Gide who actually read it and said how good it was. Peter Rodda says of *Shadow and Wall*: "Tania van Zyl writes neat, controlled though sometimes rather harsh and stilted verse. At her best she has an ambiguity and tough delicacy that recall the very fine American poet Stanley Kunitz, whose recently published *Selected Poems* have been enthusiastically received. She has, however, a distinctly feminine and individual tone."

### Press psychology

Psychology is very respectable in South Africa, where the Prime Minister, horrible to relate, used to be a professor of applied psychology. I believe the Press Commission once sent a questionnaire to newspaper and magazine proprietors containing some questions asking for their "psychological reactions" to certain words, like

"Malanazi", "Broederbond". The best answer was given by a non-conforming magazine owner who put a pen stroke through the whole rigmarole and scribbled next to it: "Does not apply."

### A nice bit of beadwork

"Let's look at genuine native life in the raw", urges Mr. Lister Hunter, proprietor of a curio shop and conducted tour business in Umtata. "Let me take you away from the cities, towns, and tarred roads on a journey into the land of the Primitive". Of all the attractions offered—"hut-studded hills", "take pictures of a most interesting nature", "all the customs are explained to you", "see the Primitive Herbs used by the natives as medicines"—only a "picture of a most interesting nature" is illustrated in Mr. Hunter's advertisement in the latest issue of a South African travel guide. It is of an extremely pretty, bare-bosomed girl and it carries the caption:

"A Pondo maiden. These people make exquisite beadwork. Why not see them for yourself?"

See what?—the people, the beadwork, or the bare-bosomed maiden?

In a sabbatarian country like this, where *Die Kerkhede* denounces two-piece bathing suits and long dresses are painted on to improperly clothed ladies in cinema posters, there is a roaring trade in postcards of African beauties, with special focus on the bare bosom. The tourists' shutters snap ceaselessly at them, when the special extra charge for dropping the blanket has been met. Mr. Hunter knows what he is about in giving more of his advertising space to this pretty African girl than to anything else. The only worrying thought is of the effect this instinctive hypocrisy has on the minds and subconscious of white people. Elsewhere the pretty girl is admired as such, and not camouflaged as "beadwork". Elsewhere, the Girl-Watcher (as in Nicolas Bentley's very funny *Guide*) employs his wiles so as not to be detected by the girl or the passer-by. Here if she is not "white", he must not even be detected by himself.

### Excellent References

**WORLD EVENTS;** the *Annual Register of the Year 1958* (Longmans)

**T**HE *Annual Register's* 200th issue contains an essay on its history by Asa Briggs. From Edmund Burke's day to the present it has supplied a sweeping chronicle of one year's events in many fields before the dust has

settled, before the perspective of time has focussed or blurred. In 600 pages, *World Events*, a paperback form of the expensive library edition, records all of 1958—in England, Commonwealth, international organisations, Americas, USSR, Eastern Europe, Middle East, North Africa, East and South Asia, Religion, Science, Law, Arts and Literature of the United Kingdom, and Economics.

Where is Africa? In pieces, among the Commonwealth, and elsewhere with bits of it missing. In 1811 the *Annual Register* most farsightedly changed its historical section from "the history of Europe" to "general history", in recognition of the new state of the world. Will the 1959 issue keep up with the new times by having an Africa section? If it does not, one must recognise the trend as being away from the brilliant, witty detachment of Professor D. C. Somervell on England to the backward-looking stodge (the UP: "committed to reasonableness in all things") of Mr. A. B. Hughes on South Africa.

**POLITICAL HANDBOOK OF THE WORLD 1959.** Edited by Walter H. Mallory (Harper & Bros. and Oxford University Press for Council on Foreign relations, Inc.)

Oh! To acquire this and *The Annual Register* every year. In 240-odd pages are given the Government, politics and press of 78 countries (1 to 10 pp. each) and 19 countries (a few lines each). Welcome to *Contact* on page 172. A surprising blunder in the South African section is the absence of any mention of the African National Congress, SA Indian Congress, or Congress of Democrats, while the Labour Party has six lines, ending "the Party is virtually extinct to-day".

Even if this makes one eye the political material for other countries doubtfully, the facts given are endlessly useful to the student of political or world affairs and suggest many revealing comparisons between countries, blocs and continents.

S.S.



### Basuto Diary

**1960 YEAR BOOK AND DIARY: BUKA EA TSA SELEMO.** (The British Red Cross Society, Maseru, Basutoland) 6s.

**F**OR the third year the Red Cross in Basutoland has produced a diary. A week-to-an-opening, this one, like its predecessors, contains special recipes, and some pictures of typical scenes.

Unlike the earlier issues it contains a most valuable series of eight route maps, the first ever published, of various districts of the territory, and an accurate folding map in colour at the end.

It is better than ever and will be of value to all interested in Basutoland. Profits go to the Red Cross which is doing so much for uplift in Basutoland. P.D.

### THE LIBERAL MIND

No. 2: William Ewart Gladstone  
1809-98

*WHAT do I understand by Liberal principles? I understand in the main this by Liberal principles — the principle of trust in the people only relieved by prudence; but by the principles of their opponents I understand mistrust of the people only relieved by fear.*

House of Commons, May 1865

### Rarest of all

**GIVING AND RECEIVING.**  
By Anthony Barker (Faith Press)  
18s. 6d.

**W**HAT a lot of things this book is! It is the story of the 15-year growth of a mission hospital at Nqutu, Zululand. It is a self-portrait of Anthony and Margaret Barker, both mission doctors, with a reasoned account of their function and calling. It is a startlingly, even painfully, vivid picture of a community—its old and young, sick and well, clever and stupid, and the mass who are between both states always.

It is a story of compassion, somehow not lost in the towering framework of our different orders of men — contemptuous rulers, philosophically self-contained subjects, with the awkward squad in between, namely those from both levels who are coming together and will father the inheritors of the homeland the others are both losing. It is a book about doctoring the poor and superstitious. It is several lessons in humility. It is a witty book. It is an unanswerable exposition of the brotherhood of man, the oneness of humankind.

In all these things lies the happiest quality of Dr. Barker's story—a quality that makes one want to rush out into the street and shove it under people's noses, to buy a hundred copies and give fifty to one's friends and fifty to one's enemies. This quality is the rarest to be found in books, and is rarest of all in books about our people—it is simply truth.

What could one quote to show it? Not properly from the hundreds of finely-written little stories out of the Barkers' 15-year "adventure in African medical service," nor from the dozens of just aphorisms drawn from Dr. Barker's deeply-felt experience, nor from the morals pointed or rejected, nor from the solid facts about the spiritual and physical ways of a people. It wouldn't do any good. From the story of Dr. Barker's life at Johnson Hospital, not from cracker-motto sentiments about it, can the truth be learnt about the differences among our people and our groups—differences that have to be calmly accepted before they can be understood, or, as difficulties, overcome.

Here is a book from a far part of Zululand, a remote, hard yielding reserve of African tradition, that is yet a mirror of ourselves and our times, of Africa, and of life. Why do his publishers call Anthony Barker "the Dr. Schweitzer de nos jours"? Because it is not Schweitzer that has gone, but his world?

As a final glimpse of the commonsense and universality of the book's lessons, look at Dr. Barker's acceptance of the white missionary's fate—the "change of roles" with his junior African

colleague. This must happen "before the turn of the century or possibly before", a change that will come "even though he thinks the people are not ready for it." Will this be the last example of the good missionary, perhaps the first that his sceptical white brothers will follow—his acceptance that this day has come, even though, in his Christian obedience, he must "leave the country of his willing adoption"?

L.F.H.

**Dirty Young Man**  
**OLD LETCH.** By Sylvester Stein (Faber & Faber)

**M**R. STEIN is one of the numerous talented *Drum* Old Boys, but on the evidence of this book he is either wasting his talents or is, as yet, incapable of realising them except spasmodically.

Last year his first novel, *Second Class Taxi*, was published—the first intentionally humorous book about South African racial politics. (There have been, of course, a number of the unintentional variety, and the Hon. Thomas Boydell promises to provide us with another shortly.) Although a harmless and in many ways superficial satire, *Second Class Taxi* enjoyed a certain notoriety when it was banned here after being on sale for some time. Perhaps some-

## NEW Race, Culture and Personality

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one remembered that the naughty word "boycott" cropped up rather frequently in it. Anyway all honour to Mr. Stein for pioneering the picaresque novel in South Africa.

Mr. Stein is living in England now and *Old Letch* has a contemporary English setting. In fact, very contemporary. It is about electioneering and may well have been launched as an antidote to post-election gloom, because it is supposed to be very funny. I know, the jacket tells me so. But where *Second Class Taxi* lapsed into perhaps pardonable flippancy *Old Letch* is openly facetious. Letchford, the main character is one of the numerous illegitimate offspring bred by Kingsley Amis's very successful *Lucky Jim*. Only he qualifies for the label Lusty or Dirty Young Man. (Yes, I loathe the cliché and its variations as much as you, but *Old Letch* invites it. It's that sort of book.)

In describing Letchford's pointless election campaign Mr. Stein seems to exploit almost every trivial feature of England's pop culture. Surely England today provides the satirist with more substantial material? In addition he fails to get inside any of his characters, and introduces the corniest literary gimmick I've come across for a long time, a performing kettle.

Allow me to commend the delightful cover drawing before I put you off completing my review by quoting Mr. Stein. It is by Malcolm Hart, who spent some time in South Africa and whose roistering farewell party in a Johannesburg township was featured in *Drum*. Mr. Hart's witty and touching drawings decorated the covers of *Second Class Taxi* and Mphahlele's *Down Second Avenue*, too.

Here's Mr. Stein in a passage

**D**ESPITE Disraeli's classic definition of the three degrees of untruthfulness — "lies, damned lies and statistics"—figures can be highly instructive.

The Folio Society, for example, has just pulled off one of the major successes of post-war publishing in increasing its membership by over sixty per cent. during the last twelve months.

To cap this impressive achievement, it is now making a remarkably generous offer — a magnificent volume of Van Gogh reproductions — completely free of charge! Entitled *Portrait of Provence*, this is a book measuring 11½" x 8½", containing thirty plates in full colour with descriptive text. Here are many of Van Gogh's most famous works, works into which he poured all his intensity of feeling, all his rebelliousness and all his passionate sense of colour.

The Folio Society, as you may know, was founded twelve years ago with the express aim of producing books as attractive to look at as they are to read. The success of this venture has been notable. Members have been able to buy copies of great and lesser classics, beautifully illustrated, finely designed, bound often in the

taken at random:

"You don't know them, Miss Letsfid. Last week I told my old friend Mrs. Carpenter, you can't trust these working people no mower. I ask her don't you ever remember anything abaht them times before the war—you know, the first war..."

"Oh lordy," thought Letchford, 'vich side vere you on at Vipers."

"I told her don't you ever remember we used to work six days of the week, full day Saturday, well it was a cleaning job, I recollect, we was..."

Letchford jacked his mind up and crawled out from under the conversation. He left a neutral look of semi-intelligence behind to answer him. "Jo Anna. Oh. Jo Anna, makes me despondent. Do love you Jo Annie. Why've I been so no good this morning? Don't mean to be. It's important to get things done, etc., etc. Okay, I agree. But when you don't have a deadline, etc., etc. Drives you locomotive..."

Do you like this sort of writing? If so, write me c/o *Contact*, for my review copy. I don't want it.

I am sure Mr. Stein can do much better.

PETER RODDA

## Armchair Safari

**THE MICHAELS IN AFRICA.** By George Michael (Muller) 18s.

**AFRICA, SLUMBERING GIANT?** By Michael McNeile (McAlan) 17s. 6d.

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**SCHOOL-CHILDREN AT MOSSAMEDES, ANGOLA—** An illustration from James Duffy's *Portuguese Africa* (Harvard University Press). Portugal has ruled and misruled Angola and Moçambique (together the size of Western Europe) for 450 years. Mr. Duffy establishes the realities of Portuguese domination from 1500 to Salazar, and discards the fantasies, in the first comprehensive history to appear in English.

is too tame, too safe, the throb of the tom-tom, the eeriness of the witch-doctor, the deadly stealth of cobra and leopard.

George Michael has discovered that Africa has box-office appeal, and he is exploiting the situation with great gusto. He makes few bones about it. Having found *What The Public Wants*—journeys into remotest Africa without leaving their armchairs,—he is setting about giving it to them, both on the "telly" in England and between book covers. And one can only say, "Good luck to him!" For his book reveals, however meagrely expressed, a genuine love of Africa and feeling for the wild.

Perhaps because it is so obviously written with an eye on *The Public and What It Expects*, the really interesting part is not its main theme—the adventures of his family on safari, narrow escapes, and all that—but the introductory chapters about his background.

Behind the sparse facts given here surely lies a story of hardship and resource which is the stuff of life. His father, a tenacious Lebanese, once a bull-fighter in Lisbon, symbolises the multitudes who have come here from lands where the struggle for existence is bitter, determined to carve themselves a niche and to give their children a chance. This colourful character spoke Arabic, French, Turkish, Greek, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese fluently, but somehow never quite managed English and Afri-

kaans! Nevertheless, his small foreign-food shop in Pretoria flourished until a friend let him down and he lost every penny. He started again from scratch, among other things dealt in gold nuggets, was nearly murdered for them, and must have been a considerable character in his own right.

Inheritance of his father's dash and resourcefulness has not, however, made George Michael more than a very middling author. His book is well enough until, in the last pages, he ventures to give a little South African history. He would have done better to stick to lion-hunting, which he knows something about.

Readers are warned that the suggestive if hackneyed wording of Mr. McNeile's title bears no relation to the collection of stories within, which might have been written by a Boy Scout for his Troop magazine. He has taken various anecdotes and a few more or less well-known historical incidents and made them into stories. Cheerfully unaware of the demonic, explosive powers which have always been at work in our continent, he takes us from South to North, and wanders about in the centuries, too. He never departs from the obvious, and his moralising reminds one inescapably of *Eric, or Little by Little*. But the comparison, I fear, does far less than justice to *Eric*.

FRANCES BOWERS

Dan Jacobson, in London, on

## THE END OF THE 'FIFTIES

*DURING* this month one of the leading members of America's "Beat Generation", Jack Kerouac, produced a new novel, *The Dharma Bums*; and one of the most prominent of the English "Angry Young Men", Colin Wilson, a new philosophical-literary essay, *The Age of Defeat*. In general, both books were received with neither much hostility nor much enthusiasm. Possibly this very mildness in the reception of the books is the truest sign that both the "Beat" and the "Angry" circuses are now over, and that these two writers, and the others who were associated with them, can now get on with producing whatever work they are capable of, each in his own way. Despondently, now that the 'fifties are almost over, one wonders what circuses are going to pitch their tents in front of us during the sixties. The decade is dying, long live the Decade!

## LETTERS

### CONTACT AND FREEDOM

SIR,

Although earlier I failed, I have now been able to secure a copy of *Contact* for the week ending 3 October, but it was the last copy in the bookshop. It seems many people are now reading *Contact*, for they have observed that it is the only paper in Southern Africa which is ready to voice our grievances. It stands for no racial ideologies, but for the freedom of ALL.

N.V.Z.  
Livingstone, N.R.

### Mr. Boydell

SIR,

One of the members of the ANC deputation which went to England at the close of World War I to protest against the enactment of the Natives Land Act of 1913, came back with the story that he had been invited to the house of an English family which had relatives in Pretoria.

In the course of conversation, he was asked if he knew the "relative" in Pretoria and he replied that in South Africa relations between white and black were restricted to the sphere of master and servant, for which reason they could never have met.

The daughter who appeared very much taken aback, observed "I am afraid my uncle has degenerated."

It is surprising that a man of Mr. Thomas Boydell's political stature and Parliamentary experience could so easily be taken in by so fantastic and obviously fraudulent an idea as to believe that a race however backward can "develop its own nationalism and find expression for its own language" in the air.

Mr. Boydell, I believe, was a member of Parliament in 1913, when the Natives Land Act was enacted and must therefore be aware that at that time Parliament recognised that the Native Areas scheduled under the Act were hopelessly inadequate and that provision was made in the Act for their augmentation.

At that time the density of population was given as 18 acres per person. Mr. Boydell knows that that solemn promise of additional land was put into cold storage for 23 years, during which period the African population increased by two millions. During this period of suspense large parcels of land which could have been used for easing congestion in scheduled Native Areas, were excised and disposed of to Europeans, thereby aggravating overcrowding and precipitating inevitable soil erosion.

The following official figures give eloquent evidence of the impracticability of any form of "separate development" or *apartheid* and the emptiness of the claim that under *apartheid* it would be possible for Africans to exercise "self-rule" or to have "a chance to stand on their own feet and to build up their own social and economic organisation" as suggested by Mr. Boydell.

(Continued on page 12)

# CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 11)

The figures are (taking three as typical examples):

- Bergville:** The extent of the Native Area is 89,180 morgen. The total population is 23,657; of the 89,180 morgen only 15,014 comprise arable land which gives a little more than one acre of arable land per person.
- Estcourt:** The extent of the Native Area is 53,217 morgen. The total population is 15,890; of the 53,217 morgen only 5,373 is arable land, allowing just a little less than 1 (one) acre per person.
- Msinga:** The extent of the Native Area is 219,542 morgen. The total population is 64,464; of the 219,542 morgen only 10,977 is arable land, allowing therefore just about 1/20th of an acre per person.

Can Mr. Boydell seriously and honestly suggest that under this type of land distribution it can be possible for Africans to develop their own nationalism other than such as is nurtured in despair, frustration and hatred whose outburst must inevitably spell disaster for all of us in this country?

**SALAYEDWA**  
Pietermaritzburg

## Mr. Bishop

**SIR,** My comments on the 'suffocation' of the ANC and its leaders within the Congress alliance appear to be regarded with disfavour by a number of your readers. Without exception, however, these persons have ignored the whole basis of my argument: That the Congress alliance (as an alliance) is very similar to the United Party and deserves the same fate.

Both these groups claim to represent opposition to the Nats and yet both have failed, and will continue to fail, to provide an opposition with a real alternative to racialism. Practising racialism in one's membership is hardly the way to fight racialism.

The views I expressed are, of course, my own and I do not seek to reconcile them with the feeling of any organisation to which I belong. Like the Liberal Party, however, I am opposed to all forms of totalitarianism including communism and am strengthened in my opinion regarding the Congress alliance by the following extract from a report of a speech by Professor Pistorius:

"He said that the COD was an extreme leftist organization, and that the alliance with it of the ANC had alienated the sympathy of tens of thousands of people. The alliance was responsible for the fact that there was no effective opposition to the Government."

Of the letters which you published, I found that of Mr. L. Robins particularly interesting. This gentleman drags in my religion, which I had not mentioned, to prove that I aim at the setting up of a Catholic Government. I play baseball, Mr. Robins, and I have no doubt but

that you will deduce from this, along the same lines of reasoning, that I am an agent of "American Imperialism."

It is enlightening to note that people on the other side realize that Christianity and communism are irreconcilable. Communists have used labour difficulties throughout the world to further the cause of their frustrated mixture of religion, politics, and economics. In South Africa they are using the racial position for the same purpose. They are not above using Christianity if they can get their hands on any gullible Christians.

Most unjust of all is Mr. Robins's reference to "Cape Liberals who wish to deny the African a vote". I have yet to meet a "Cape Liberal" to whom this could apply.

"Cape Liberals" of today have no connection with the early Cape Liberals and there is no need to defend them against the smug holier-than-thou contempt hurled at their memory by some smart "Young Turks" of today and yet I cannot help but feel that, had it not been for Union, the Cape would today be one corner of Africa that was proving, if proof is needed, that integration, economic, political, and social, is natural and does work.

I accordingly stand firm by my earlier letter but do not seek to force my opinions on others. Whites of liberal views can join organizations which admit only whites (such as the Nationalist Party, the United Party, or the Congress of Democrats) and/or which lean towards nazism, fascism, or communism, without interference from me. I would only say to them—"Use a long spoon!"

**B. BISHOP**  
Sea Point

**SIR,**

My old friend Alan Paton will not, I hope, mind my expressing the strongest objection to the tone of his letter in response to that of Brian Bishop. The other letters published by you last week were presumably not by members of the Liberal Party and the views expressed are not so surprising; although in passing I might mention that, while I am no Catholic, I find the references to Mr. Bishop's faith by L. Robins singularly offensive and unnecessary.

Mr. Paton is aware that during the years we spent together in the committees of the Liberal Party, I was a strong advocate of the view that the Party should seek to co-operate as closely as possible with the ANC in matters in which the two organisations could, in fact work together. I have no doubt that Mr. Bishop would wish the same.

Mr. Bishop's letter, and I agree with every word of it, does not suggest that no attempt be made to co-operate. It seeks to draw attention to the dangers of an apparent co-operation with the ANC, which is, in fact, co-operation with the COD.

Anyone with any experience of branch level activities over the past few years is aware of the diligent activities of a few

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COD and SACPO persons, with an obedient African stooge or two, who purport to represent the ANC. The result—a bunch of resolutions, many of which a liberal would find it difficult to support.

The contemptuous attitude to members of the ANC who are concerned at this state of affairs is readily apparent. And indeed stooge candidates are pushed relentlessly for branch office. The farce of the Congress of the People preliminaries will still be present to the minds of many of us.

It is, of course true that ANC leadership is aware of the situation, but given the organisational difficulties it is obvious that the much better equipped and wealthy COD has an influence far greater than its membership merits.

Mr. Bishop suggests that this influence should be fought. I agree with him. And any conversation with non-committed ANC leadership would reveal to doubters considerable agreement there as well.

In these circumstances Mr. Paton's comments are inexplicable. There does not seem to be any conflict with the Liberal Party handbook implicit in Mr. Bishop's views, nor is there any repudiation of policy or disloyalty.

For my part, I wish Mr. Bishop the strength and enthusiasm to put his view, both within the councils of the Party and without, with all the vigour at his command.

**J. T. R. GIBSON**  
Cape Town

## Pan-Africanists Complain

**SIR,**

A piece appearing under the usual column of "Fair Comment" by Mr. Patrick Duncan in your issue of 3 October, makes noteworthy and interesting reading for all genuine African Nationalists generally and for members of the Pan-Africanist Congress in particular.

In the first instance, your corre-

spondent, either from lack of respect for figures or from absolute ignorance—(or shall I say his "good information" misinformed him?)—states that the PAC publicly claimed to have enrolled a membership of 25,000. The number announced by our National Secretary, Mr. P. K. Leballo, is 24,664 and that was at the National Heroes' Day on 2 August, 1959; more than 8 weeks ago; and at which commemoration you were not present.

So you see your spies and good informers employed to the job of watch-dogs on the PAC records are not doing a good job at all.

Regarding the "promise" of 100,000 members made by the PAC I need only re-echo the words of the National Secretary on the day of the announcement of our figure: "We have fallen far below our target of 100,000 members. I am disappointed, but I am not despondent."

It is for you very naïve, but to us very significant that you advise South Africa to take comfort from the "apparent" failure of the PAC to reach their target of 100,000 members by 31 July.

The PAC, however, will not be deterred by such political claptrap. On the contrary we shall pursue our policy with vigour, determination and courage: without compromise, fear or favour. We understand your fear, together with the other foreign national minority groups. You have much to lose. After all, with the emergence of the PAC and its policies, you cannot expect any support when you stand as a candidate for the Parliamentary elections as a Native Representative, as you tried to cash in after the 1952 Defiance Campaign as a "price" for your so-called participation in the campaign.

Your "challenge" to PAC "to substantiate its claim with detailed

figures of branches" we regard as rank impertinence characteristic of *Herrenvolk* arrogance. And it is significant that no African has ever questioned this membership figure. Ronald Segal, editor of *Africa South* who quotes the same figure as yourself, together with other whites have repeatedly done so. This "challenge" therefore, is accordingly dismissed with the contempt it deserves.

After all this information—and much more—was given to members of the PAC all over the country on the 2 August 1959. It was meant for them and not for foreign national minorities.

**Z. B. MOLETE**  
Secretary:  
Publicity & Information,  
Pan-Africanist Congress,  
Johannesburg.

**SIR,**

With reference to your challenging remarks in "Fair Comment" (*Contact* 3 October) I sincerely hope that the leadership of the Pan African Congress will accept your challenge, so that they should state explicitly that they have 2,500 paid-up members. This is a question of public interest, and therefore the PAC must view it in that light. Many people are anxiously waiting to hear as promised a few months back that the membership of the PAC would reach 100,000 by July 1959. We demand to know from the leadership how many of our compatriots have accepted the policy of the PAC since their first conference.

Judged by any political standards the PAC is not truly representative of the African people.

**THOMAS NGWENYA**  
(Member, Provincial Executive, ANC, Cape)  
Cape Town

## LIBERAL PARTY FÊTE

The Natal Division of the Liberal Party is holding an all-day fête on Saturday, November 7 at St. Anthony's Hall, Centenary Road, Durban. There will be the following stalls:— produce: flowers & plants: knitting & needlework: tombola: second-hand clothing: second-hand books & records: jack pot: men only: cakes & sweets: side shows. It is hoped that all Natal members will make a very special effort to attend the fête and help to make it a financial success.

# contact

**SOUTH AFRICA'S NON-RACIAL REVIEW**

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WEEK ENDING 14 November 1959

Vol. 2 No. 23

**CONTACT  
INTERVIEWS  
ELIZABETH  
MAFEKENG**

See PAGE 2



**BANISHED TO LONELY EXILE — Elizabeth Mafekeng with the youngest of her eleven children**

A BUS TWICE A WEEK

# THE LONELY EXILE OF ELIZABETH MAFEKENG

TWO policemen and a Native Commissioner banged on the door of a small terraced cottage in Paarl a few days ago. They produced a scrap of paper. And that bit of paper, signed by Mr. de Wet Nel, Minister for Bantu Affairs, ordered the mother of that household to leave her husband, to whom she was married in a Christian ceremony 22 years ago, and to leave her eleven children, and go to live alone 600 miles away until the Honourable Minister gave her permission to return.

Mrs. Elizabeth Mafekeng, the first woman in South Africa to be served with a summary banishment order, has lived in Paarl for 32 years. The place she has been banished to — Southey—is in the north-west semi-desert of the Cape, about 40 miles from Vryburg. The area of her banishment has been described as a "concentration camp", a "political detention camp" and a "Native Trust farm".

The point is that she will live in a two-roomed, specially built hut on a desolate plot of land euphemistically called a cattle farm by the Vryburg Native Commissioner. She cannot move without Ministerial permission. Several other huts there, I am authoritatively told, are being prepared for other women considered "detrimental to good native administration" from other areas.

## No public trial

Who is Mrs. Mafekeng and what is she like? She has had no public trial. No one has heard what evidence, if any, the Government has against her.

What has she done?

Mrs. Mafekeng is president of the African Food and Canning Workers' Union, probably the most militant trade union in the country. She is also vice-president of the Women's League of the African National Congress. (The president, Lilian Ngoyi, is on trial for treason.)

A few weeks ago Mrs. Mafekeng led a large demonstration against the issue of passes to African women in Paarl. She was arrested, kept in gaol for three weeks, but the charge against her failed in court. One

By  
Myrna Blumberg

week later, coinciding with the official drive for women's passes in the Cape, Mrs. Mafekeng received her banishment notice.

Under that darkly despotic piece of legislation, the Native Administration Act, a number of African male leaders have already been banished to rot in remote and forgotten areas.

## Remarkable woman

At 41 she is a very handsome and compact woman, remarkably cheerful and calm. A fiery orator on public platforms, who always introduces her speeches with a song sung in a rich melodious voice. She spoke very gently and lovingly about the family she will leave behind her.

Her husband, a £4-a-week canning worker, will have to take care of the whole family, without the £5-a-week she has been earning as a full-time trade union worker. (She will get £2-a-month in Southey from the Government for her needs.)

Her household is probably the best organised in the Cape. Visitors to her small cottage have always been full of admiration at the way all her children have their special tasks, and the place runs like clockwork. Now the children are distraught at the loss of their mother's guiding and warm presence.

In the one week's grace given to Mrs. Mafekeng to organise her affairs before leaving for the wilderness, she was faced with the problem—a small, human one of no concern, perhaps, to the Honourable Christian Minis-

ter who has banished her but of great significance to any mother—of whether to wean her two-months-old baby quickly and leave it behind or take it with her.

"But what am I going to, and for how long?" she asked me. "Is it fair to expect a child to endure such loneliness?"

I asked Mr. Bourquin, Native Commissioner in Vryburg, what sort of conditions she would face in Southey.

"Her two rooms will be furnished—very simply, of course," he said. "She will be one hundred yards away from two white families, engineers on the farm. And a couple of miles away from some other native families. There is a bus that goes to the nearest shop—about twice a week, I think.

"She could probably get work"—and he laughed with apparent embarrassment—"as a domestic servant with one of the white families. But I don't know if it would suit her. Most of the deportees we get here are raw natives."

But the story of Mrs. Mafekeng and the possibility that more women will be treated so ferociously has been reported throughout the world press; overseas protests have joined the local pleas that Mrs. Mafekeng be left with her family.

In Paarl, the women workers, who adore her, call her Rocky. The Government might notice the connection between her nickname and the most popular current song among African women: "When you strike the women, you have struck a rock..."

## CONCERT FOR TRIALS FUND

CAPE TOWN: *INGOMA* is the name of a concert to be held in aid of the Treason Trials Defence Fund at the Temple Israel Hall, Green Point, on Saturday, November 14, at 8.15 p.m.

The concert, which will consist of African folk songs and dances with massed choirs, as well as a special jazz section, promises Cape Town something new and exciting in entertainment.

Admission 7/6 and 5/-, and tickets are obtainable at 2 Vlam Gebou, Church Square (phone: 3-3506) and at the hall on the night of the concert.

The TTDF is also organising a mammoth bazaar in the Cathedral Hall on Friday, November 27. This bazaar is also being sponsored by a number of organisations and church bodies and a large range of goods, with special emphasis on the Christmas shopper, will be on sale.

## DEPORTED MOTHER'S FAMILY



Only the baby can go with her into exile

## APARTHEID = GREED

# GROUP AREAS WILL FAVOUR WHITES

From *Contact* Correspondent

PIETERMARITZBURG: The recent announcement that Umzimkulu, a small town in the Transkei, is to be a white group area has been bitterly criticised here. Commenting, Mr. Peter Brown, National Chairman of the Liberal Party, referred to the fact that during the recent elections Nationalist speakers repeatedly assured their listeners that they need not fear that white interests would suffer through the application of Dr. Verwoerd's new Bantustan vision.

"This assurance," said Mr. Brown, "is confirmed by the news that the village of Umzimkulu is now to be declared a white group area."

"Since the disastrous floods of May," adds Mr. Brown "African residents of Umzimkulu have been living in great uncertainty. Quite apart from the fact that many of them lost their homes and most of their belongings and have been living in tents for some four months, persistent rumours have circulated to the effect that freehold owners would not be permitted to return permanently to their holdings. These fears have now been confirmed and Umzimkulu is to be declared a white group area."

"The Liberal Party is entirely opposed to the whole conception of group areas for any section of the population. Nevertheless, if Bantustan means anything at all, Umzimkulu should be part of it, and if the interests of any group are to prevail, then African interests should. Instead African landowners who have made great sacrifices to purchase land and security in Umzimkulu are now to be denied both and moved to a new site twelve miles away."

"Those whose homes were destroyed in the floods will be offered compensation which the European chairman of the village management board has described as 'farical'."

"The chairman has rightly objected to the Government plan and has complained of the

deterioration in racial harmony which has resulted from it. But, as the Liberal Party has consistently pointed out, such deterioration is an inescapable result of apartheid, for in no matter what glowing terms the Government may attempt to describe it, apartheid remains, in practice, white domination. Under white domination, white interests inevitably prevail over those of everyone else.

"The announcement that Umzimkulu is to be a white group area exposes Dr. Verwoerd's Bantustan vision for the farce it is. Is it too much to hope that this vicious proposal will be dropped and that the residents of Umzimkulu of all races will be left to live in the peace which they have enjoyed in the past?"

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## FREE STATE MEETING

# Job Reservation "Real And Serious Threat"

—Say Coloured Workers

BLOEMFONTEIN: The biggest meeting in the history of the coloured community in the Free State was held recently in Bloemfontein to protest against the very real and serious threat of job reservation. The meeting was organised by the Heatherdale Advisory Board, of which Mr. T. E. Barlow is chairman, and Mr. Platjies secretary.

It had been called as a result of the Government announcement that, with effect from next year, certain work now being done by coloured workers, would be reserved for whites only. This included work done by lorry drivers, builders, painters and in the furniture trade. In consequence, the coloured people throughout the Free State now live in fear of losing their livelihood.

Prior to the meeting the Heatherdale Board had met leading members of the African National Congress and other non-whites in order to draw up a plan of action and arrange the present protest meeting. At this, Mr. Barlow pointed out the grave injustice of job reservation and how the coloured people would suffer.

He appealed to the community to join in a protest to Government by taking the following action:

¶ by withdrawing their money from the Post Office Savings Bank.

¶ by stopping their children from buying Union loan certificates and

¶ by boycotting the Union festival celebrations next year.

Mr. Barlow said that by

putting money in the Post Office, or by buying certificates, it was providing the Government with funds with which to help its policy of *apartheid* and enabling it to bring in oppressive legislation against the non-white people in the country.

## Other Views

Several other speakers took part in the meeting, including Mr. J. B. Mofora, Free State president of the ANC and former treason trialist. Also Mr. Chatfield, one of the leading personalities in Bloemfontein, who said that South Africa was spacious enough and rich enough "for all its children to share in peace and prosperity" and that there was "no need for *apartheid*, job reservation and all other oppressive laws". He predicted that the present form of government would end "within the next five years."

The meeting unanimously adopted a resolution urging Government to reconsider its plans for job reservation. A petition to this effect was drawn up and signed by all those present.

The Liberal Party is also taking a serious view of the matter. In a statement on the

subject Mr. Peter Brown, the Party's national chairman says:

"The Party protests in the strongest terms against the growing threat to non-white workers contained in the extension of the "job reservation" provisions of the Industrial Conciliation Act.

"At the present moment a Government inquiry is being made into the desirability of reserving certain jobs in the building industry in Natal and the Cape for white workers. Recently the Minister of Labour announced a similar investigation among lorry drivers in the Free State. He has now assured white garage men that they will be protected from unfair competition from Africans working in African areas.

## Liberal Policy

"The Liberal Party is entirely opposed to the principle of protecting members of one group at the expense of others. Job reservation will lead to experienced and highly-skilled workmen being graded down to jobs which require neither the skill nor the experience they have spent years acquiring. It can mean their displacement by less competent white workers. It can also mean a serious loss of income to many non-white families.

"What employer can afford to pay brick-layer's wages to a man who was a brick-layer but who is now forced to work as a labourer?

"Job reservation is an evil device designed to extend white privilege and to protect white workers from competition which, if they can attain the necessary standard of competence, they should be able to meet through their own efforts. It is not only evil but unnecessary.

"As a young and developing country South Africa needs all the skilled workmen she can find. Her economy needs the skilled wages they can earn. Mr. de Klerk may produce expedient arguments to justify these moves of his. All he is really doing is condemning the whole South African economy to a stagnation which will be as ultimately disastrous for white South Africans as it promises to be immediately disastrous for non-white South Africans."

working knowledge of colonial affairs and feel that Mr. Alan Lennox-Boyd's exit from the Colonial Office and his replacement by Mr. Macleod is a move in the right direction. They blame Lennox-Boyd for the British Government's rejection of the Devlin Report and for covering up the Hola (Kenya) tragedy.

In the general election Oxford returned a Conservative candidate. Oswald Mosley ("keep Britain white") lost his deposit standing on a racialist platform, and an Indian candidate was successful in a constituency renowned for its "violent racialism".

These factors, and the knowledge that the new Colonial Secretary (Macleod) belongs to the "liberal" wing of the Conservative Party are hopeful signs of the liberal trend in Britain today.



## Liberals Support Boycotts

THE growing boycott of South Africa overseas was discussed by the Liberal Party at its recent National Committee meeting in Johannesburg. After the meeting the following statement was issued:—

While fully aware of the many possible shortcomings of and hardships caused by boycotts, the Liberal Party of South Africa affirms that this is one of the few non-violent means available of influencing white government in South Africa, and therefore approves of its use, both here and overseas, as a legitimate political weapon.

## Plans For New Church At Kwazakele

From Contact Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH: Plans for a new £23,000 church and community centre for African Anglicans in Kwazakele are almost complete and have been submitted for approval by the Port Elizabeth City Council. All that now remains is to raise additional funds to assure the success of the project.

Nation-wide support for the building fund has been helped by donations from the United States and among donors in the Union are Africans, Whites, Coloured, Indian and Chinese, some of them non-Christians.

Father H. F. C. Thorpe (pic-

tions of up to 1,000 are expected. The church itself will accommodate 800 people.

The Board of Finance of the Diocese of Grahamstown has made available an immediate grant of £7,000 and the Port Elizabeth Church Extension



tured holding a model of the church community centre) will be the priest-in-charge. The church and community centre have been designed as a unit to enable sliding doors to be used as part of the church during special festivals when congrega-

Board has promised an interest-free loan of £3,000. These sums, together with the £5,000 raised by the church appeal, bring the total to £15,000 and it is hoped public support will be forthcoming to raise the balance required.

## MINISTERS BACK APPEAL AGAINST GROUP AREAS

From Contact Correspondent

DURBAN: Eight ministers of religion have endorsed an appeal made to the City Council by the Durban Citizens' Committee to contest Group Areas proposals for the city.

The ministers are: Archdeacon Wade (Anglican), Archbishop Denis Hurley (Catholic), Rev. H. F. Yule (Presbyterian), Rev. P. Gordon (Congregational), Rev. J. Poorter (Baptist), Dr. S. Sudbury (Methodist), Rabbi Shroch (United Hebrew Congregation) and Rabbi Miller (Progressive Jewish Congregation).

Expressing their concern at the harsh treatment that will be inflicted on non-whites if the group areas plans are carried out, the ministers continue: "We need not emphasise the re-

ligious and moral issues involved. An injustice against a fellow-man is an offence against God.

"How can we, in conscience, turn to God in prayer knowing that by consent or our silence we are contributing to the misery of our neighbour?"

"No true prayer can rise from a heart unconcerned about the sufferings of others. Let us seek for ourselves and our rulers the will to respect in all our dealings the love and justice that are the attributes of God."

## AUDIENCE LAUGHED AT HIM

## VAN RHIJN'S FIASCO AT OXFORD

From Contact Correspondent

OXFORD: Dr. Van Rhijn, South African High Commissioner in England, did a lot to get Oxford interested in South Africa a couple of weeks ago. He held a meeting which turned out, from his point of view, to be disastrous.

He came to the University to put across the South African government's case. Unfortunately for him he has not been in England long enough to know how people are thinking here and he still uses language more suited to the Union Parliament.

He enraged the students by saying things like this: "The Bantu breed like flies". He said that his "boy" had been in his service "since he was a boy", and called him "Baas". He referred to the coloured people as "bastards".

He tried to show that the government's latest *apartheid* programme was benevolent. But each time he slipped into using contemptuous language about the non-whites there were shouts from the crowded audience of "Fascist!"

He tried to justify the Fort Hare sackings—this drew shouts of "Fascist!"—and by the end of the meeting the audience was laughing at him.

Oxford knows all about the Fort Hare sackings and is bitter about them.

The more "liberal" elements at Oxford also have a good

CONTACT

## TAXI APARTHEID

# GOVERNMENT IS RUINING COLOURED TAXI DRIVERS

ON 1 JANUARY 1960 an amendment of vital importance to the 1930 Road Transportation Act of May 1959 will come into force. When it does, it will mean that many non-white-owned taxi firms will be prohibited from accepting white fares, and even the choice they have at present of plying for either non-white or white fares, will be taken away from them.

This will mean the death-blow to the livelihood of many coloured taxi drivers whose families have, for generations, served the public of Cape Town to their satisfaction.

The Road Transportation Act of 1930 legislates that separate taxis shall be set aside for non-whites and whites. Until recently, however, taxi drivers have been able to take both whites and non-whites under the provision of a local municipal law which requires drivers to take an agreed fare anywhere without delay, "unless he is drunk, suffering from an infectious disease, or is wearing filthy clothes."

As a result of spying and trapping by the Road Transportation Board in a tightening-up campaign started last year, a number of taxi drivers have been summoned for carrying

European. Eventually I got a fare—it was for 2s. 6d.—my total takings that day". He said that this was a typical example of the hardship caused by the act.

Mr. R. Adams, another taxi driver said, "for years we have been peacefully running our taxis; now the government has turned on us, and everything has gone bad. I have a wife and family to feed. To do it at the moment I sometimes have to be on the rank for 8 hours at a stretch. God knows what I am going to do in the New Year."

The result of the Amendment of May 1959 will be that non-white taxi owners will be forced to take non-white fares only. This is in spite of the fact that the Minister of Transport, Mr. Schoeman, said in May that he had given the taxi men the opportunity to choose whether they wished to convey whites or non-whites.

### Insidious anomaly

An insidious anomaly of the Amendment is that if the taxi is owned by a white, then, with the permission of the minister, the driver, *even though he is a non-white*, may ply for white fares. This permission must be granted if the white-owned taxi firms are to stay in existence, as wages prohibit employing whites as taxi drivers. Having got the necessary permission, the taxi owners are in for a period of prosperity at the expense of the non-white owners they will displace.

The number of white-owned taxis is comparatively small, but they will be in constant demand by the white clientele which previously patronised the non-white taxi men.

## Malnutrition Main Problem at Durban Hospital

DURBAN: Malnutrition is the main problem in the African children's ward of King Edward VIII non-white hospital in Durban, states a memorandum issued by the Faculty of Medicine of the University of Natal.

Malnutrition is also increasing among Indian and coloured children, it adds.

£35,000 a year is the minimum sum which, it is estimated, will care for African children suffering from the disease. It costs the provincial medical service £45 a month to restore a starving child to health when a small part of that amount could have prevented the disease, states the memorandum.

From July, 1958, to June,

That is why white taxi owners will welcome the implementation of *apartheid* in taxis, and Mr. M. T. Bardien alleges that already one white-owned firm in particular is benefiting from the desperate position of the non-white taxi men. It was when the licences held by non-whites for operating taxi ranks controlled by the Railways and Harbours Police, in Observatory, Rondebosch and Salt River, were suddenly withdrawn and given to that firm in addition to a licence for a newly constituted rank in Rondebosch, that the Cape Taxi Owners Association became suspicious. Information was received that the firm in question had associates in the Railway Police, who obtained these ranks for it. This led to an application for an enquiry into the whole affair. The result was that before it could be held, two members of the Railway Police resigned.

Mr. Bardien adds: "At a subsequent meeting of the Cape Taxi Owners Association, held to protest against the Amendment to the Road Transportation Act, at the City Hall, a white taxi operator hired the room next to where the meeting was held and listened in to the proceedings of our meeting on a wire recorder."

### Oppressive Pattern

At a meeting of the Cape Taxi Owners Association in the City Hall, Cape Town, on 18 October, it was stated that "throughout the Union of South Africa taxi-operators are totally opposed to the idea of taxi *apartheid*, and are convinced that it is part of a pattern to prevent the economic advancement of the oppressed people."



M. T. BARDIEN

fares of the race for which they were not licensed. In Port Elizabeth and Durban two such drivers were found not guilty of the charge because of the existence of this municipal law. Subsequently another amendment to the act was passed obliging drivers to ply for one race of passenger only, regardless of any local law to the contrary. The consequence of this was that taxi owners found their profits cut immediately by nearly half.

Commenting on the injustice of the law, the secretary of the Cape Taxi Owners Association, Mr. M. T. Bardien, says, "this act creates terrific difficulties for us. We are now required to act as race classification officers in having to decide what so-called race a passenger is. If the government is finding difficulty in deciding what race a particular person is, how are we supposed to know? As it is we are losing many fares through having to cross-examine passengers as to what race they belong to."

One old taxi driver who had been driving a cab for thirty years said: "One day I waited in Adderley Street for seven hours and had to refuse every fare because it was from a

CONTACT

## AIMING AT S.A. TITLE



John Booysen (left)—who hopes to play at Wimbledon—with his coach Brian Bands (right).

## BORDER CHAMPION WANTS TO PLAY AT WIMBLEDON

From *Contact* Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH: John Booysen, 27-year old Eastern Province and Border non-white tennis champion, wants to play in overseas tournaments and at Wimbledon in 1960.

Without coaching, without stern opposition and the facilities enjoyed by more fortunate South Africans, he has won the Eastern Province and Border singles titles on several occasions and has reached the semi-finals of the national tournament twice.

His ambition is not a selfish one. He hopes that the experience he gains will enable him to return and coach the dozens of young non-whites who, otherwise, would continue to fall away from tennis for the want of expert guidance.

He is training conscientiously for the South African tournament to be held in Port Elizabeth early next year and hopes his results will prove he is worth a chance.

He is prepared to work his passage overseas just as Springbok Owen Williams did on his first trip. He peeled potatoes on the ship that took him to England.

Brian Bands, the Port Elizabeth professional spent some time playing with John recently and was surprised at his ability considering his lack of opportunity.

His employer, Mr. Ronnie Kaplan, said Mr. Booysen was given time off twice a week to practise and if he were to go overseas, they would keep his job for him.

### Trial of Strength

The Weightlifting Federation is being quite modest about the claims of its lifters, despite exaggerated press-reports. While two champions, Johnny Gedult and Precious Makenzie have exceeded

the totals put up by the white champions in their own championships in September, they did not break the existing records. But the non-racial Federation has great hopes for them and they have staked a strong claim for the Rome Olympics.

The real test will come when the Federation asks for an Olympic trial with the whites-only body which is stubbornly opposed to it. But the essence of weightlifting is competition on the same platform.

### Cricket Racialists

Sportsmen everywhere are disgusted at the failure of the Natal Indian Cricket Union to delete its racial designation. There is serious talk of secession, both in the Cape and elsewhere. It is difficult to understand why this should have happened in Natal, normally so progressive.

But it is in line with the racial ideas in the cricket bodies who prefer to chase the chimera of a racial tour of India and Pakistan in 1961 (!) rather than seek international recognition for all South African cricketers.

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## APARTHEID AND THE SASJ

# White Journalists Accept Racial "Kraaling"

TOWARDS THE END of August, a journalist on the *Rand Daily Mail* (Johannesburg) was selected for a bursary made available by the Imperial Relations Trust to enable him to stay in Britain for six months to study conditions of life. More recently, a young journalist, a member of the editorial staff of *The Friend* (Bloemfontein), left for the United States of America to take his chance at winning a £3,000 bursary, offered by the Ford Company from 30 teenage reporters from all over the world.

In both cases the journalists, selected with the cooperation of the South African Society of Journalists (SASJ), were White. Since no non-white journalists are members of the SASJ, which practises a colour bar, it therefore means that no non-white has a chance of being selected for bursaries of a similar nature.

During the month of October, the largest party of South African journalists ever to go overseas will fly to Germany on a ten-day visit. The journalists—20 representatives of South Africa's leading newspapers, magazines and radio programmes—will be guests of the Ford Motor Co. on a visit to the Cologne factory. Needless to say, all these journalists will be white because non-white journalists are not employed on the Union's leading newspapers, magazines and radio programmes.

The only newspapers and magazines that do employ non-white reporters are those which cater for the interests of the non-white population, the so called non-European press. These include the *Golden City Post*, the *World*, the *Leader*, the *Graphic*, the *African Reporter*, *Drum* and *Zonk*.

## No non-whites

The SASJ has no non-white members because it is a registered trade union, i.e. it is officially recognised under the *apartheid*

Henry Simmons  
By

provisions of the Industrial Conciliation Act. The SASJ cherishes and clings to this recognition, therefore it accepts the principle of *apartheid* and the racial *kraaling* of journalists and other workers into separate unions.

No non-white can become a member of the SASJ as long as it remains registered. Under the Industrial Conciliation Act Africans are not even recognised as employees and therefore never registered when organised into trade unions. In short, they are prohibited by law from becoming members of a registered trade union.

Some time ago several Coloured and Indian journalists from Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town applied for membership of the SASJ. Their applications were turned down because the SASJ could not accept them as members and at the same time remain a registered union. To get out of this embarrassing situation the SASJ has made plans to organise a "mixed union" with Coloureds and Indians as members—under the I C Act. It is presently awaiting the approval of the Industrial Registrar for such a "mixed" union.

Under such a mixed union the Coloured and Indian journalists

will have second-class membership as they will not have a say in the policy-making activities of that union. They will not be able to influence the union since it is illegal for Coloureds and Indians to be elected to the executive committees of mixed unions.

The only democratic course open for the SASJ is to reject the government registration of trade unions and to go ahead with the formation of a non-racial, democratic trade union of journalists.

Such a union would, of course, not be recognised by the authorities, but the strength of any union does not lie in Government registration, recognition and arbitration. It lies in unity, discipline and principled struggle.

If the SASJ deregistered, in terms of the *apartheid* clauses of the I C Act, it would lose nothing because it has gained very little, if anything, through recognition. And in any case why should journalists let the Government determine membership, organisation and form of struggle undertaken?

## How long

How long will the SASJ allow the Government to dictate to it through the I C Act? How long will it cling to recognition with its dubious advantages?

Perhaps the SASJ needs to be reminded of the history of the trade union movement. During the

## LUTULI AND ANC POLICY

Chief Albert J. Lutuli referred recently to the women's disturbances in Natal, and took the opportunity to define the methods which he and the African National Congress, of which he is President-General, were adopting to deal with the mounting oppression of apartheid. Inter alia he said:

"Congress has adopted the policy of using extra-parliamentary methods of struggle but strictly on the basis of non-violence. This policy has been adopted deliberately, following a profound study and experience of the South African situation. We believe that as conditions are in this country it is possible for the people by the use of overwhelming peaceful pressure to win all their demands for freedom. We are aware of the fact that people as a result of desperation at the terrible conditions under which they live and sometimes owing to deliberate provocative acts by the authorities may spontaneously resort to violence. But our task is to educate our people on the efficacy of Congress methods of struggle. We do not preach the use of non-violent methods for the benefit of our enemies but for the benefit of our own people and for the ultimate benefit of our multi-racial society. Under our conditions in South Africa violent struggle would probably leave a legacy of bitterness which would render it difficult to establish a firm and stable multi-racial democracy in the future."

period of the industrial revolution in Britain, workers were prohibited by law from combining or organising to fight for better conditions. The penalties for doing so were extremely severe. Workers had no vote, no say in Parliament, no say in the framing of the laws of the country. Did this daunt them? Did this prevent them from forming unrecognised organisations? No—the workers organised despite the ruthless and tyrannical policies of their oppressors. Eventually they got the franchise, the right to enter Parliament and also the right to form trade unions.

There is need for an organised, non-racial, unrecognised and unregistered trade union of all journalists to fight all attempts by the authorities to control and regiment the free association of workers in trade unions. Only such a militant union could withstand the depredations of the Nationalist Government and fight for the extension of democratic rights to all.

## Press not free

It is important to bear in mind that the Press in South Africa is no longer free. The prisons Act illustrates this most vividly. The deportation of Mr. Henry Barzilay, the Government's denial of official recognition to Mr. George Clay (former editor of *Contact* and now African Correspondent of the *London Observer*) and the denial of a visa to Mr. Sven Oeste, assistant foreign editor of the Stockholm newspaper *Dagens Nyheter*, serve to underline this fact.

In the face of these onslaughts on the freedom of the Press what has the SASJ done? Nothing really except to formally call on the Government to give its reasons for deporting Mr. Barzilay. The Association of Foreign Correspondents (AFC), on the other hand, disowned Mr. Barzilay because he was not a member of the AFC. Instead of facing the fundamental issue of the freedom of the Press and the right to free and unfettered criticism of State policies, the AFC allowed itself to be sidetracked into unimportant issues. The consequence of this was to split the AFC into two groups.

## Press heritage

Developments in South Africa make it essential for all journalists, and more particularly those who are among the disfranchised, to make the most searching appraisal

of the attempts of the Nationalists to muzzle the Press. The freedom of the Press is part of our heritage. The fight for the preservation of the freedom of the Press is part of our struggle to establish our right to equal and full democratic rights. Therefore journalists cannot but identify themselves with the forward progress of mankind.

In the meantime, democratic journalists should call upon the SASJ to open its doors to all journalists irrespective of colour. If the SASJ refuses to do this (i.e. declines to deregister) then it is the duty and task of all those journalists who treasure their heritage to come together and form a non-racial trade union which will take its place alongside those organisations that are struggling for a democratic way of life.

## PROFESSOR MATTHEWS' HEROIC SACRIFICE

"Professor Z. K. Matthews' decision to resign his position at Fort Hare rather than compromise his political and educational beliefs is an act of heroic sacrifice" is the view expressed by Mr. Peter Brown, National Chairman of the Liberal Party. "In taking this step" continues Mr. Brown, "Professor Matthews has decided to stand by his principles even though this has placed his own future and that of his family in jeopardy. He himself is within two years of retirement and pension. Three of his children have still to complete their education. It is almost impossible to over-estimate the extent of Professor Matthews' sacrifice. All one can do is pay humble tribute to an act of magnificent determination."

Mr. Brown says that the least that those who support Professor Matthews' action can undertake "is to try to spare him the anxiety he must now be feeling over the future of his children. Whether they need financial assistance to complete their education I don't know, but, if they do, a fund must clearly be launched to see that they do not suffer as a result of his stand. I am sure that such a fund would command wide support from sympathetic individuals and organisations throughout South Africa. This also applies to other members of the staff of Fort Hare who have suffered as a result of the takeover by the new regime."

## OUR CONTEMPORARIES

# Review of Periodicals

(III)

## RACE RELATIONS JOURNAL

NOW in its twenty-sixth year, this quarterly carries those articles which are too long or too important to be included in the monthly *News*. Authors do not have to reflect the views of the Institute.

The July-September issue contains valuable articles on farm labour, one on slum clearance, and some book reviews by writers of note.

This journal continues the high standards of the Institute. One past leader said of the Institute, that if it did not exist it would be necessary to invent it. 2s. 6d. for each issue, from: P.O. Box 97, Johannesburg.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN CRICKETER. Vol. I, No. 1 1959.

A WARM welcome to this annual which calls itself

## CONTACT

"the national cricket journal of Southern Africa". The Editor is Mr. S. J. Reddy. The articles are brightly-written and illustrated. One refers to the tour of East Africa and Rhodesia by Basil D'Oliveira's team.

Published from P.O. Box 644, Port Elizabeth. There is no indication of the price.

## RACE RELATIONS NEWS

THIS is the monthly produced by "the Institute". All along the Institute has played a valuable part in fact-finding on our complicated situation. But it seems to be doing better today than ever before. Not only is it publishing authoritative surveys on semi-slave systems such as the farm labour system, but its regular publications are more "newsy", of more immediate relevance than they have ever been. There can be few readers of *Contact* who would not find value in this monthly. 6d. for one copy from: P.O.

Box 97, Johannesburg.

The September issue contains articles on "Legal Aid in Danger", an obituary of Professor Jabavu by Professor Matthews. "Apartheid's impact on S.A.'s coloured people" and the usual valuable review of the non-white press.

## VENTURE

Journal of the Fabian Commonwealth Bureau.

THE "long-haired Fabians" have long been the nightmare of the white settlers. They have long campaigned against colonialism and colour-bars, and have done so ably and with a sense of direction that has enormously deepened their impact.

This is their monthly journal. The September issue contains articles by Bernard Chidzero, Dingle Foot, and James Callaghan, M. P. It is deeply interested in Africa.

A single issue costs 1s. The annual subscription is 13s. from The Fabian Commonwealth Bureau, 11 Dartmouth Street, London SW 1, England.

# CONTACT

## Effective Boycotts

**L**AST week, at its National Committee, the Liberal Party issued a statement giving its approval to boycotts, both internal and overseas, aimed against apartheid. Many people, who otherwise would approve boycotts, disapprove of overseas boycotts on the grounds that "they have never worked." It is true that there have been notable failures. But there have been astonishing successes.

A currently successful boycott is the boycott of Israel by the Arab world. Contact does not support this particular boycott, but mentions it to show how effective such moves can be.

Two weeks ago Renault, world's sixth largest motor car manufacturer, cancelled its contract with an Israeli firm to assemble cars in Israel because of this boycott. Other firms that have had to boycott Israel or lose all their trade with the Arab world are Philco, Standard Oil, Shell. Time reports: "The Arabs' economic blockade of Israel has probably caused Israel more injury than Arab armies did in two wars."

A boycott of apartheid is likely to be backed by a much larger part of the world. It is likely to be imposed much more enthusiastically, for apartheid treats with contempt the greatest movement of the twentieth century—the liberation of the non-white peoples.

By realistically working for such a boycott, the Liberal Party has served notice on the Government that it means business. It has also served notice on its muddled white critics that while it is idealistic it is not "starry-eyed." On the contrary, it has taken into its hand one of the weapons that is destined to destroy apartheid.

## A Greater South Africa

Contact in this issue comments favourably on the various boycotts directed against apartheid. There will be many who will criticise this stand, on the grounds that it is anti-South African. This is not so. Contact stands for a greater South African patriotism, including all on a basis of equality. Such a patriotism could not only unite the various South African communities into a truly great nation—it would almost certainly attract into our orbit as willing partners all the various peoples between the Cape and the Copperbelt.

The United States of Southern Africa could take its place among the greatest nations of the world. This has been the dream of some of the greatest South Africans. It is a vision which is within our grasp. It is, of course, unattainable except on a basis of equality and non-racialism. That is why those who can see far and clear believe in these things.

Now, in order to attain non-racial equality it is necessary for justice to be armed. The boycott is nothing but that arm, that weapon. We who wish to use it are thus the true patriots. Those who hesitate are the anti-South African, for apartheid is mean and small. Apartheid means small, broken South Africas, as Dr. Verwoerd has shown.

Forward, then, to a new South African patriotism based on non-racial democracy. A party that adopts this as its slogan has in its hands the key to greatness.

## Sorel and the Strike

**A** NINETEENTH century thinker, Sorel, put forward the theory that no movement could succeed without its "myth"; that is, a powerful belief, true or false, shared by the members of the movement. He believed that the "myth of the general strike" would enable the European working class to seize power. Not only would it excite the imagination of the people, but in its very nature it would separate the working class and its friends on the one side from its enemies on the other.

For one reason or another, Sorel's idea never succeeded in Europe. Is it not possible that it may in South Africa?

Our task is to destroy apartheid non-violently. We must carefully study all peaceful weapons which can succeed. One undoubtedly is passive resistance. Another is the strike, the political strike, frankly aimed at freedom. As this is so, it would be profitable if freedom fighters spent time studying Sorel and applying his theories to our South African situation.

## Keep Africa Atom-Free

**A**S an African fortnightly we have already raised our voice against the obstinate determination of General de Gaulle to detonate a French hydrogen bomb in the Sahara Desert. There have been many other voices of protest. But none seem to be listened to in Paris. For this reason Contact must protest again. There are many excellent reasons why the French should not go ahead with their plan.

Scientists are becoming more and more alarmed about the effect of atomic explosions on little children and the yet unborn. Africa has so far been almost untouched by the harmful by-products of bomb tests. As Africans we want it to stay that way.

Lastly, Mr. Khrushchev has said that he will not explode any more Russian bombs unless someone else explodes a bomb. The British and Americans have temporarily given up their tests in their respect for this decision. If General de Gaulle remains obstinate; if he explodes his bomb, he may well start a chain reaction that will set the great powers off again in a new, feverish competition. In such a competition all will be the losers.

CONTACT



"I'm not always optimistic, but I'm becoming more and more convinced of the existence of a great provider in the Union Buildings somewhere."

## APARTHEID IS CRAZY ECONOMICS (2)

**I**F YOU want to build a house you must get command of money—your own or a building society's or someone else's—in order to pay for the use of the resources needed to build the house. The amount of money you have determines the general limits to the sort of house you can build.

A great many different types of houses can be built for £4,000, but you cannot build a house costing £7,000 for £4,000. Your money enables you to get control over only limited amounts of labour (of various sorts) and of materials (of various sorts).

It may be possible to erect for £4,000 a building with twenty-three bedrooms, but if so the outside walls will probably have to be of corrugated iron or asbestos sheeting—because the resources at your command are limited. Again, it may be possible to face the outside of your £4,000 house with imported marble, but if so the number of bedrooms will have to be reduced to one or two. Parquet flooring throughout is obtainable, but only if you forego the

In response to many requests, we have planned a series of articles on the economic craziness of apartheid. Here is the second. The series will continue regularly for some time. The author is Mr. Douglas Sloan, of the Department of Economics of the University of Natal.

capital goods to make the things and provide the services that would most enhance our standard of living. We would build our "house" so that it should contain what we reckon are the most important amenities.

There are so very many things in South Africa that we would like to have, things which would make living here easier, fuller, more exciting, happier or richer in some way and which today we lack entirely or have only in limited degree—not because our resources will not stretch to them but because we use our labour

To get the one thing you must forego the other. Man with his many wants and only a limited amount of resources has to choose which of those wants he will satisfy. Some will not be satisfied and others only partly satisfied, but the intelligent man will try his utmost to use the resources he has to satisfy his most urgent wants, those that by being met bring him the most satisfaction.

And in this respect a community is just like a person.

South Africa, as a community, has at its disposal a certain limited amount of resources, some of which it can be regarded as owning, viz., its skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled labour forces, its mineral wealth, area, harbour facilities, etc.; and some of which are analogous to the private person's building materials which he has paid for by a building society loan. Among these are the capital goods such as mining machinery or railway engines or calculating machines which the South African community is able to acquire because foreigners lend us their money.

If we are an intelligent community we would use these limited resources to satisfy our most urgent wants. We would employ our labour, our land, our organisational ability, our



and materials to make other things.

If we take our working time and timber and glue and screws to make a partition in our local post office so that when we go to buy stamps we will not see the very same people we have mingled with on the footpath outside, then we cannot use those same working hours and timber and glue and screws to make something sensible that will add to our comfort and joy of life.

By running two buses, each half-empty because each is for a different "racial" group, between the same two places in a city (or from outside to inside a city) we ensure that instead of having one economic bus service, we have two uneconomic ones. (Continued on page 12)



second garage. You can incorporate a patio with gold-fish pond and braai-veis nook, if for dining-room you will accept an alcove off the lounge.

PETER BROWN takes . . . . .

. . . . . THE LONG VIEW



Peter Brown, Chairman of the Liberal Party

THE reception given to the representatives of the new Fort Hare regime by the students of that institution brings our attention back to issues of great importance which have recently been partly submerged in the froth of electioneering.

In recent months there have been at least three threatening developments in the field of education. First, there is the continuing attempt by the Government to force the appointment of Mr. Stander as Deputy-Director of Education in Natal. Second, there is Dr. Verwoerd's announced intention to introduce some sort of uniformity, as yet unspecified, into the Union's whole school system. Thirdly, there is the decision, clearly taken because of their private political views, to terminate the appointment of certain members of the staff at Fort Hare.

Taken on their own, each of these events would be bad enough. Taken together, they are a grim reminder of our steady march, under Nationalist direction, towards the joyless sterility of educational conformity. Yet, as Fort Hare reminds us, our conformity is not to be complete, for to each of us, according to our ancestry, a special social stratum is decreed, and it is for this predetermined place of ours that each of us is to be prepared.

When the Bantu Education Act was passed, not everyone saw in it the first step in a drive to take firmly into the hands of the Nationalist Party the control of all education. And although the Act was a clear intrusion into provincial rights and a blatant interference with free missionary effort, the protests against it were scattered and sporadic. They did not command great support from respectable, non-Nationalist, white South Africans, who apparently felt that African education was no great concern of theirs.

The Stander affair provoked much stronger reaction. Meetings of protest were held throughout Natal and every political candidate in the provincial elections, who was not a Government supporter, swore to oppose this assault on provincial and parental rights to the last breath in his body.

However far this promised

## NAT. ASSAULT ON EDUCATION

opposition may be taken, it seems perfectly clear that we can now look forward to greater efforts on the part of the Government to force its educational views on the only province which it does not yet completely control.

The action taken at Fort Hare against some of the college's ablest staff-members was only to be expected. The legislation passed in the last session dealing with non-white university education was a logical extension of the Bantu Education Act. And where, under Bantu Education, recalcitrant schools such as Adams College were closed down by the refusal to them of registration, in the new "Bantu" universities recalci-

trant staff-members will quickly be dismissed.

It would be pointless for the authorities to establish a firm hold over African education at its lower levels if, at university, the well-schooled student were to escape from this tight, confining grip into a world of new ideas. Every precaution will therefore be taken to ensure strict control of the new colleges by making quite certain that no lecturers likely to infect students with ideas foreign to their own prescribed role in life, will be allowed to teach there.

**The free interplay of ideas is the last thing the Government can afford to tolerate. Only the faithful need apply to teach at the Fort Hare of the future.**

The Nationalist attempt to control and direct thinking is

doomed to failure. But it is ironical that the failure is more certain in the field of African education, where the initial protests were restricted, than it is in the field of white education, where they have been so vocal. The Fort Hare students' demonstrations against their new Rector are an indication of this.

Despite their apparent acceptance of Bantu Education, the African people, almost without exception, reject it at heart. Dr. Verwoerd may go to great lengths in building up a system designed to steer Africans in the direction he has mapped out for them, but, in the end, he will not succeed, because Africans, and certainly all those who reach university level, have already decided that they want to go in a different direction.

They will take what Dr.

Verwoerd offers, simply because there is nothing else, but they will bitterly resent the fact that what he offers is different and they will be as determined as ever to achieve their full status as men in free competition with other men. In their resistance to indoctrination, passive though that resistance may often have to be, they will be sustained by the knowledge that their aspirations are shared by the rest of Africa.

Will the white opponents of Afrikaner Nationalism have the same determination to resist? Already in three provinces the Nationalists are in control. In Natal they are threatening infiltration. There is a very real danger that their own comfort and seeming security will seduce white non-Nationalists into an inadequate and ineffective defence of their rights, in this vital field.

## FAIR COMMENT

"AFRICANISATION to the utmost—there must be Africans right at the top of our organisations as soon as possible." This is the message left in Africa by Lord Heyworth, president of Unilever, the giant world oil and soap organisation.

And so the Belgian Congo, and the Federation, like West Africa, are expecting African directors to be appointed

Unilever have big interests in the Union, and I hope that Lord Heyworth will extend the same policy to us down here. After all over three-quarters of our population is non-white; the greatest area where soap sales can be extended is among Africans; and nothing could more surely bind Unilever to the heart of Africa than such a decision.

JIM GRIFFITHS is to step down from the Labour Party vice-chairmanship.

His going will be a great loss to the Labour movement, for he has been one of its most distinguished leaders for many years.

It will be an even greater loss to Africa. Ever since he was Colonial Secretary in the last Labour administration he has been deeply interested in Africa, and it is largely due to his wise counsels that the Labour Party has been so Africa-conscious.

His African admirers are many, and I am proud to number myself among them.

IF I had had to choose whether to vote for Mr. Douglas Mitchell or for an ordinary Nat. I would have voted Nat. The reasons? Firstly because Mr. Mitchell has been pretending that Dr. Verwoerd is more Liberal than the Liberals, and is doing too much for the Africans. Secondly because the United Party is nothing now but organised hostility to the Nats. It stands for nothing creative. It has nothing to offer the non-whites. It is now merely an encumbrance in the way of the many awakening progressives and liberals among the Afrikaners who will stick by the Nationalist party so long as there is a "Jingo-threat" on the horizon, but no longer.

When the United Party disappears, the wretched oppressed will be more able to wring concessions out of the ruling class—let the day come soon.

THE story that appeared in some newspapers that Mr. Louw's visit to Ghana is the result of American pressure is true. The Americans are more and more worried about the possibility of international race tensions, and the fact that although "the United States Government was doing all it could to advance the cause of human rights, South Africa was doing the opposite"—as the US delegate told the UN.

Apparently Mr. Louw was quite willing to go to Ghana, but lots of heat had to be turned on to Dr. Verwoerd to get him to reverse the attitude he took up earlier this year, when, in conversation with a friend, he said that no Ghana minister would be allowed here, nor would a South African minister go there.

It all goes to show that it's later than you think.

DIE Burger and Die Transvaler have been re-assuring their readers that everything is better this year at the United Nations. They say that there is noticeable a more conciliatory spirit.

This is quite untrue. What has happened, on the contrary, is that South Africa's refusal to heed the repeated calls by members of UN has reached the stage when many members are thinking of action.

This development comes at the same time as anti-apartheid boycotts are beginning to appear all over the world. It is a conjunction that should make Dr. Verwoerd think deeply, for ranged against him are the whole of the Afro-Asian world, the US and the USSR. This combination is powerful, as Britain and France learned at Suez.

AND it's not only at the UN that South Africa has been coming up against the harsh facts of the world's view of apartheid. At the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, now meeting in Canberra, we hear from Mr. R. E. Jajatilaka, leader of the Ceylonese delegation, "sparks are going to fly", and uncomfortable things which were not spoken of earlier, will be brought up.

One of these uncomfortable things will be apartheid.

As pointed out truly in a very recent issue of the London Economist, Dr. Verwoerd does not want to be pushed out of the Commonwealth. So for different reasons from those that weighed with General Hertzog, Dr. Verwoerd finds himself in the identical political posture—pretending to push for a republic, but actually holding on to the Commonwealth as strongly as General

by Patrick Duncan

Selby and the late Anti-Republican League.

Perhaps the cause of that League's decision to close down was the receipt of an application form signed "Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd", and enclosing the 2/6 entrance fee.

HOW traditional is apartheid? Is the Government trying to brainwash our young people?

In the Transvaal schools (for whites only) there has now been introduced a new subject. It is called "counselling". A lot of it is good—it is designed to teach the young people (age about 17) the elements of good manners. But this is South Africa. You have guessed! There is a catch. In the official syllabus occur the words: "Race Relations: whites and non-whites according to the legal and traditional South African point of view: how to promote this tradition."

So all you young people look out. The government has announced that it intends to brainwash you with the race hatred of apartheid, which to them is "traditional". Actually it is a neofascist phenomenon. South Africa's tradition is different. Remember the marriage of Eva at the Cape? Miss M. K. Jeffreys, who used to work at the Archives, and is perhaps the best-informed person on this subject, estimates that nearly all whites who have an ancestor among the Afrikaners who were here a hundred years ago have some non-white blood in their veins.

That means that about half the "white" South Africans are really non-white. Don't listen, you young people, when teacher says anything different.

IT'S almost unbelievable, but Swaziland is still celebrating Dingaan's Day, the anniversary of the Boer victory over Dingaan at Blood River. This holiday is one of the curious assortment of impedimenta that the little territory inherited from the Transvaal.

With a certain sense of humour the Swaziland Progressive Association (President Mr. J. J. Nquku) has passed a resolution asking that that holiday be scrapped, and that in place of it the Swazis celebrate the national festival of the incwala—the first-fruits festival perhaps the most colourful event of the year south of the Zambezi.

## NYASALAND

# Chirwa's Malawi Party Embarrasses Governor

From Contact Correspondent

SALISBURY: Nyasaland Africans, under the leadership of lawyer and educationist Orton Edgar Chirwa, have formed the Malawi Congress Party. Orton Chirwa was legal adviser to the now proscribed Nyasaland African National Congress and, together with his wife, was arrested and detained when most African leaders were locked up early in March this year. He was released a few weeks ago amid rumours that the Governor was offering him either one of the nominated seats in the Legislative and Executive Councils or a seat on the 1960 Conference Commission.

It is said that Orton Chirwa has declined both. Instead he has formed the Malawi Congress Party adopting virtually all the aims and objects of the banned Congress.

Malawi is the name Nyasaland African Nationalists hope to give to their country when they get independence. It means "the flame-like shimmer of the sun on water" and is associated not only with the lake but also with the Malawi people who entered present-day Nyasaland from the north about 500 years ago and fragmented into the main tribes that have settled in this part of the world.

The significance of the formation of this Party lies in the fact that it has embarrassed the Governor who has had to consider whether to ban it or not since it has the same aims as the proscribed Congress and looks upon itself as a caretaker party until Dr. Banda is released.

The Governor must have weighed and considered the advantages and disadvantages of

proscribing the Malawi Party. Banning it would have shown that Congress aspirations are illegal but would most certainly have driven the party underground. Yet allowing it to exist openly is providing the people with a political spiritual home to keep the fire burning, the very fire the Government hoped to put out when it declared a state of emergency in the country.

The existence of the party is further proof that the Congress spirit has not been broken and that people still look to Dr. Banda as their leader. The longer it exists, the more compelling it will be for the Government to have to negotiate with Dr. Banda, an eventuality which would be an admission that the policy of locking up Congress leaders was ill-conceived and has got the Government nowhere.

The Malawi Party will also affect the efforts of the United Federal Party and the Central Africa Party to recruit African

members in Nyasaland. People who would have considered joining, particularly the Central Africa Party, will now hesitate and probably throw in their lot with the Malawi Congress Party. If this happens the Central Africa Party Division in Nyasaland, whose leader is an African former Federal Member of Parliament, Mr. Clement Kumbikano, will have nobody but itself to blame. For instead of propounding a policy for Nyasaland which expresses the aspirations of the majority of Africans, what pronouncements it has made so far, are only just to the left of the United Federal Party.

## CALL FOR MORE POLICE

From Contact Correspondent

SALISBURY: The Reverend A. D. Kayira, one of the Governor's nominees to the Legislative Council, has had to resign before actually taking his seat in the Council. His house was burnt shortly after he had accepted nomination to the Council. The popular cry is that many intimidators—Congress sympathisers—are still at large and so the country needs a greater and stronger police force. What is apparently escaping these people's attention is that no police force will be adequate to quell the spirit of the people of Nyasaland and their determination to gain independence for their country.

## LITTLE CONFIDENCE IN CONSERVATIVES

From Contact Correspondent

SALISBURY: While most whites welcomed the result of the British election, Africans in Nyasaland expressed great disappointment with the Conservative win. Rightly or wrongly Africans have come to believe that the Labour Party is more sympathetic to their aspirations. It is being suggested that the result has shown that the British electorate is only interested in local affairs and would never throw out a Government because of its colonial policy.

One hopes that this is an in-

accurate assessment of the position, because, if it were true, it would mean that the British electorate is not fit to control the destiny of the millions of people in Britain's dependencies whom history and fate have made to look to London for political and economic salvation.

The Conservative Party should now take steps to win African confidence because in the long run this is what will count in Africa.

## Sorry Plight of Deportees

REPERCUSSIONS of the state of emergency in the Federation have thrown a strain on the missions in Nyasaland. At Likoma, Fort Johnston, Dr. David Stevenson and other members of UMCA have had to cope with a considerable influx of deportees from Rhodesia, many of whom have been away for more than twenty years, earning their living as clerks or in other ways. These men, with their wives and families, are now having to find new homes on Likoma Island, with no prospect of paid jobs by which to keep themselves. To add to their plight, many have arrived ill or undernourished. Most of them have lost nearly all they possessed. But the missionaries at Likoma are doing their best for them.

These pictures show (right) Dr. Stevenson at the door of Likoma Cathedral, with Mr. Edwin Elephant, who tailored the coat and waistcoat Dr. Stevenson is wearing. (Below left) Likoma with Portuguese East Africa in the background. (Right) part of Likoma Cathedral, built fifty years ago by Africans, but now badly in need of roof repairs. (Bottom left) a mission nurse and others, on the sand near the lake at Chisamulu and (right) mission helpers off-loading damaged furniture at Likoma belonging to some of the deportees.



## RACIAL ANTAGONISMS MUST BE COUNTERED

TWO HUNDRED PEOPLE from 23 countries recently attended an impressive conference in Austria organised by the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, among them individuals active in non-violent resistance in Europe, South Africa and the Deep South of the United States of America.

Welcoming the members, who represented all the main denominations of the Christian church, Kasper Mayr, of Austria, said that it was good that they should feel united and renew their vision never to take arms.

Prof. Hannes de Graaf, Chairman of the European Committee of the FOR, referred to the Fellowship's meaningful beginnings in August 1914. "The positive content of non-violence is nothing else than love," he said. "The programme of this Conference is based on this conviction that there is no situation, no department of personal and collective human life in which the beneficial, healing and regenerating action of love would be in principle inapplicable.

The Rev. Arthur Blaxall, engaged for 36 years in multi-racial work in South Africa, spoke on "The Ways and Power of Love in Race Relations." The

great task, he said, was to awaken understanding, break down apathy, and develop the reign of love where there are only tension and fear. Christians must be humble and try to train their hearts and minds not to use violence. In an emergency there could be great strain; hence the need for study and preparation.

Speaking on "Love and Conflict in Africa," the Rev. Michael Scott, Hon. Director of the Africa Bureau, said that at the present time things appeared to be getting worse and he hesitated to hold out false grounds for hope or optimism in a situation which was rapidly deteriorating.

Referring to the growing competition between the newly emerging African states, Michael Scott told of unscrupulous arms dealers who offered surplus, out-of-date arms and ammunition, disposing of this at cut prices, as in South America 20 to 30 years ago. Latent conflicts existed, and there was competition for leadership and struggle between violent and non-violent forces.

Referring to South Africa, he said the state was actually fostering racial division and so leading that country into ever-mounting racial antagonisms. Nothing less than the truth would suffice in face of this. They must see themselves as a nation of variety in unity, in which all could share; this would not come without a hard struggle.

## STRUGGLE FOR POWER IN MIDDLE EAST

# Communist Danger Growing In Oil-Rich Iraq

THE three recent attempts to assassinate Brigadier Kassem, the dictator of Iraq, have highlighted the methods which the Iraqi communists have followed in their attempt to eliminate or intimidate their principal opponents. The communists are not in control, but are using all methods to seize this oil-rich, strategic land.

Some months ago there was a fearful massacre at Kirkuk. Incited by communists the Kurds in this city turned on the Turkmenians who live there. Owing to the fact that many Turkmenians live inside the Soviet Union where they have no freedom, the Turkmenians in Iraq are solidly anti-communist, and it was for this reason that they were the victims of this massacre.

Other less violent methods of intimidation are used. For instance, there is no state-operated theatre in Baghdad, but there are three amateur groups which occasionally stage public performances. Of these three groups one is composed of communists; another is at least willing to subject itself to communist

This report comes from Arnold Hottinger, who reported for the Swiss newspaper *Neue Zuercher Zeitung* on what is going on behind the scenes in Iraq, as Arab nationalists, communists, and Kassemites struggle for the control of one of the world's key areas.

newspaper dared print its announcement. During the week in which the performances were being staged, the communists carried on a whispering campaign in the university and intellectual circles, the essence of which was something like this: "The members of this group are Baathists. Rioting might break out during the show; in any event, it would

"convert" anti-communist groups among the professors and students.

Early in the morning of 17 July a group of "demonstrators" assaulted the printing shop of the small anti-communist daily *Baghdad*. The guard that had been posted for the protection of the establishment fled. Printers and editors employed in the workshop escaped across the roof of the buildings. The "demonstrators" then smashed all the machines in the shop. A quarter of an hour later troops arrived but made no arrests. A police inspection was carried out in the afternoon. The Government promised the paper indemnification of 20,000 francs—which still remains to be paid. Khudr Abbasi, the publisher of the paper, was forced to hide with some friends. He hopes to be able to resume publication, but so far has not been able to find a printer.

On the same day there was an attack upon the house of Colonel Sham ed-Din Abdallah, president of the First Military Court. According to the report of an eye-witness in an adjoining building, the cause of the attack was two individuals having taken refuge in the Colonel's house. They left the house later, unmolested. In the meantime, "demonstrators" gathered in large numbers in front of the Colonel's house and would probably have entered it by force if the officer had not defended himself, shooting at least one of the "demonstrators". Later, troops arrived at the scene.

### Is hated

To throw some light on this event it must be remembered that Colonel Sham ed-Din is hated by the extreme left. As president of the Military Court he will have to pass judgement on the pro-communist Colonel Jenabi, who was caught and arrested in June, when as commander of the Second Division of Kirkuk, he prepared for a putsch.

The events at Kirkuk have proved that the communists were aggressors. Eye-witnesses who came to Baghdad a few days later reported such details as the red flag waving over the city for two days, a loudspeaker car cruising through the streets issuing commands to the inhabitants in the name of the "National Front" (constituted by the communists and not recognized by the Government). A committee composed of six Kurd communist officers, the communist mayor and the secretary of the local communist party, decided which of the Turkmenian houses were to be sacked. The first victims were the Turkmenians who had occupied leading positions in the trade unions.

Thanks to the solid anti-communism of their Turkmenian

## THE WEST AND AFRICA

*If the western world genuinely wants to retain the African as a partner it can only be on the basis of the complete equality of friends. This demands an entirely new effort in understanding and active participation in the African revolution. . . . There is no longer any place in Africa for the old imperialist and colonial concepts. The imperial powers have a straight choice. Either they can assist the African revolution by lending their technical skills and capital to its African protagonists in their efforts to overcome centuries of primitivism and human inequality; or they can stand along with the white racialists of the continent in trying to stem the flood. If they accept the former choice, they may establish a new relationship based on mutual and equal respect with the new African world; if they take the latter, they will be swept away in the dustbin of history along with the refuse of a bygone age [from Everyman's Africa by John Hatch.]*

members, the unions of Kirkuk had often resisted communist ventures. The prelude to the massacres was an assault by the forces of the "people's resistance" upon police headquarters. The station was stormed and robbed of the weapons stored there. The Second Division, about 70 per cent of which is composed of Kurd units, had shortly before undergone an anti-nationalist purge under Jenabi, the communist commander. Jenabi himself having been arrested while preparing a putsch, the Government had not yet appointed a successor to the command of the Second Division. Kurd units of this Second Division terrorised Kirkuk for more than two days.

### People's resistance

Even before the assault of the "people's resistance" upon the police and before the intervention of the communist elements of the Second Division, fighting had taken place between the Kurds and the Turkmenians of the city. The Turkmenians were about to celebrate the anniversary of the revolution with particular fervour, and had set up 133 triumphal arches with inscriptions—many of them in Turkish—in honour of Kassem. In their turn, the communists throughout the country had decided not to celebrate 14 July. The Party was ranking at the government's most recent anti-communist measures, and decided to demonstrate its displeasure.

Signs of this decision also became evident outside Kirkuk. Until the evening of the 13th the communist-oriented students of Baghdad refused to assist the professors in any way in preparing for the festivities. "It is not our revolution that is to be celebrated", they are said to have repeated on every possible occasion. Only the appointment of three new Ministers chosen from the National Front on the evening of the 13th induced the communists to participate in the celebrations.

### The background

One must be aware of this background in order to understand why the Turkmenians sought to express their anti-communism by paying homage to Kassem, and why the triumphal arches of the Turkmenian population aroused the wrath of the Kurd-communist groups. The unrest began as a communist attack on the Turkmenian parades and symbols.

These facts are known to the Government. Nevertheless, the Chief of the Press Section of the Foreign Ministry, speaking to foreign journalists, said: "The communist party as such does not exist in the eyes of the Government". This argument is also used

to justify the prohibition of mentioning the Party in press dispatches. The Government is simply not prepared to break with the communist party as such, because it does not believe that it can stay in power without its support.

### Some "errors"

The communist party of Iraq has published a voluminous document in which, buried under a heap of self-complacent phrases, a few "errors" are admitted to have been committed. The document declares that the party had nothing to do with the atrocities of Kirkuk, especially since such methods "are incompatible with the basic principles of Marxism". The document goes on to say that by pressing for the establishment of a National Front it had put itself in opposition to the highest authorities of the country. It further admits that its organ *Itihad es-Sha'ab* frequently published news without making sure that it was "correct". The communists explain the "mistakes" by their having erroneously assumed the Iraqi revolution to have been a revolution "of the people", whereas in reality it turned out to be a "bourgeois-democratic" one. By this error of judgment the party had occasionally allowed itself to assume "false positions", the document declares.

The error was apparently recognised by the Iraqi communists the moment they realised that despite their most gruesome activities they had no success with their pretended "revolution of the people". They would now like to correct their tactical error by placing themselves more loyally than ever behind the "bourgeois-democratic" revolution of Kassem, and if possible let themselves be carried along by it to a success of their own later on. In other words, having failed to seize power quickly by force because of Kassem's resistance, they are now falling back on the tried tactics of the communists in the Middle East, which is to get themselves accepted by the national forces and rise to power within a "National Front".

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## STUDENTS CONDEMN DISCRIMINATION

ST. LOUIS, U.S.A.: At the National Congress of the National Federation of Catholic College Students, in the United States, the students adopted a strongly worded resolution endorsing "all legal efforts to combat racial discrimination of all kinds." Another resolution on race relations condemned denial of higher education to non-whites in the Union of South Africa.

control—but the third is not. When this third group had finished rehearsing a play for public performance, the executive committee of the para-communist "peace partisans movement" demanded a share in the sale of the tickets, and demanded that the printed programme carry a remark to the effect that the performances were to benefit the "partisans of peace". When the group rejected this demand, it was informed that it would have to pay for using Faisal Hall for its performances.

The stage of this Hall, which used to belong to the King but which was nationalised in the wake of the revolution, is available free of charge to groups that enjoy the favour of the Ministry of Propaganda. The Ministry of Propaganda in turn is controlled by officials in sympathy with the extreme left.

When the group in question wanted to advertise its show, no

be wiser to stay away." As an inevitable consequence the group lost so much money that it will hardly dare repeat its effort for quite some time.

Such campaigns are effective only if the threats are carried out, at least occasionally. For this reason the communists like to give loud publicity to the brutalities they commit here and there. As members of the "people's resistance" or the "democratic youth movement" the communist students went to Mosul after Shawaf's revolt was suppressed, to help square accounts with the Nationalists of the defecting city. It is hard to determine how many of the atrocities reported to have taken place in Mosul really did happen. It is certain, however, that the students of the left wing boasted loudly of their misdeeds when they returned. Blood-stained ropes were brought to the university lecture rooms. Terror was systematically applied to silence or

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## SAM SLY'S CORNER

PORTNIGHTLY NOTES ON BOOKS AND THE PRESS



### New Toad

I am honoured to print an extract sent to me by Mr. Timothy Holmes from *An Anthology of South African Verse* published for the SA Information Service by Dongas & Beriberi, Bloedrivier, at R25. The piece quoted is from a long ode commemorating a tour made overseas by the Minister of External Affairs (since resigned to become Poet Laureate):

*In Parliament are Great Great Men,*

*(As a glance at Hansard will show)*

*But never a name to win such fame*

*As that of Eric Louw.*

*The clever man from Holland*

*Knew all there was to know*  
*But he only knew one half as much*

*As intelligent Mr. Louw.*

*The Bantoe sit in their "stans" and cry,*

*Their tears in torrents flow:*  
*Who was it said, "There's Hope ahead"?*

*Encouraging Mr. Louw!*

*The Pressmen all saluted,*

*Their pens up, row on row:*  
*Was it Oom Henk? or Jan de Klerk?*

*No, it was Mr. Louw!*

*The wife of the Chairman of UNO*

*Sat at her window to sew:*  
*She cried, "Look, who's that handsome man?"*

*They answered "Mr. Louw!"*  
[With apologies to Kenneth Grahame]

### New titles

Libraries and booksellers may be pestered for these few forthcoming English books on Africa that are recommended to the faithful:

Of literature, only *King Lazarus* a satire by Mongo Beti, translated from the French; *Friday's Footprint*, short stories by Nadine Gordimer; *The Long Dream* a novel by Richard Wright (this will be banned); Vol. III of Roy Campbell's *Collected Poems*, all translations, prefaced by Dame Edith Sitwell, the poet's godchild.

Of African politics there is W. M. Macmillan's *The Road to Self-Rule*; a revised edition of Leo Marquard's *The Peoples & Policies of South Africa*; *The Unification of South Africa 1902-10* by L. M. Thompson, which Dr. Edgar Brookes will review for us; *Ghana and the New Africa* by Douglas Warner; and a 2s. 6d. paperback, *Kwacha! or Dawn in Nyasaland* by Guy Clutton-Brock.

Elizabeth Pakenham has written *Jameson's Raid in the Woodham-*

Smith manner. Must we now stop looking forward to one Le Roux Smith le Roux was writing about the Raid?

*Alienation*, a symposium, tells what settlers in England feel about transplanting themselves from South Africa (Dan Jacobson), West Africa (Abioseh Nicol), Rhodesia (Doris Lessing) and other places.

Jane Meiring is a talented writer only known for a heavyweight history of the Sundays River Valley. Her first novel, about the coloured poor, is due, called *Candle in the Wind*. Further off are biographies by David Lytton on Rhodes, Kruger and Smuts. Lytton has been broadcasting and acting in England for ten years.

### New glossy

"Which is superior to which?"

Asked the snob as she came to the city.

"I want to know people to kick,

"I want to know people to pity."

wrote Vachel Lindsay. This perennial but none the less grave problem may be partly solved by a new monthly, *The Johannesburg Tailor*. But the snob issues are clear in South Africa—money and antisemitism, are the best credentials, and much lower down pigmentation plays its part.

## Moral Collapse

**THE TEN PAINS OF DEATH.**  
By Gavin Maxwell (Longmans)

AFTER staying for some years in Western Sicily, Mr. Gavin Maxwell has produced an extremely useful report on that island. While carrying substantial material on the sociological background of the Sicilian natives, this work also handles the present human predicament in Sicily, the pressing poverty of the island, its crime, its religiousness, its power, politics and its illiteracy.

Mr. Maxwell has compiled a series of semi-biographical stories from Sicilians of various social stations. A prostitute tells how she set up practice (prostitutes are permitted and registered in Sicily). With great feeling, this woman explains how her father procured clients for her until she became pregnant.

"It was he himself who got me the clients—every evening there were some fifteen of them—and think, I was only 17! I was the disgrace of the town and everyone's gossip was about me. Then I was registered publicly as a prostitute. I didn't know what was happening and I felt highly flattered.

"But I understood when I found myself pregnant—I could have died of shame. Where was I going to give birth to my child? And what would the people say? I couldn't really know whose my child was, but I've always had a terrible suspicion that it was the parish priest's. My father used to bring priests to me."

The moral collapse of this society, as reflected in this girl's piece, comes up throughout the book. The Mafia, the famous Sicilian crime syndicate, sends two thugs to persuade a professor to see that some student is passed regardless of his ability or lack of it. In order to protect his life, the professor does pass the student, who subsequently goes to practice as a medical practitioner. Morality is simply pushed aside in instances like these.

"More than a third of the inhabitants are illiterate, and another fifteen per cent are semi-illiterate, which usually means that they can write—or rather draw their names", writes Maxwell. Stage by stage, as Maxwell brings up this picture of disaster, one can't help seeing the shadow of our own Union.

Like so many poverty-stricken communities, Western Sicily is tight in the grip of religion—Roman Catholicism in this case. Mr. Maxwell shows clearly how the Church has long been the Government's propaganda machine in Sicily.

"There's the Government to look after us too", a nun tells Mr. Maxwell, "The Christian Democrat Government—and what we owe them! The benefits of the Christian Democrat Government are very precious to us, specially at election time."

It is easy to imagine what conflict there must be when individual Sicilians stand up to assert themselves, defy this collapsing social frame and try to introduce order or purpose into their lives. It immediately means clashing with the Church, the State and the Mafia criminals. Trapped by these powers, and demoralised by poverty, how can the people save themselves?

NATHANIEL NAKASA



## The Message Shines Through

MAHATMA GANDHI. By Reginald Reynolds (Muller) 8s. 6d.

THIS is No. 70 in the series of "True Books" on all sorts of subjects that could interest young teen-agers.

The author is the late Reginald Reynolds, friend and disciple of Gandhi.

Being for young people the accent is on Gandhi's youth, and we are nearly two-thirds of the way through the book before we come to his return to India in 1916, with the greatest and most important part of his life still to come.

The book is a simple narrative, with little description of the ideas and theories that underlie the in-

credible career of this incredible man. But perhaps the author is right, and perhaps, for his young readers, this is the way to hold their interest.

Nevertheless the great message shines through, the message to modern man that in order to defend one's rights it is not necessary to threaten the opponent; that where there is no constitutional remedy the only way forward is through non-violence, that truth-force, *satyagraha*, must replace military and political violence.

PATRICK DUNCAN

## Labourled Missions

1

THE JOURNAL OF JOSEPH TINDALL. Edited by B. A. Tindall (Van Riebeeck Society, No. 40) 21s.

I AM afraid this book on the 1840's and 1850's in South West Africa left a disagreeable taste in my mouth. It is extraordinarily dull. I found it so, at least, although I am a devotee of old things, and especially of old South Africa and South West Africa.

The personality of the author is unsympathetic. Time and again he complains about the people among whom he went (uninvited) to live: "A stupid, ignorant, and yet conceited people" is his description of the Afrikaners (a Hottentot people), under Chief Ameral, at his station of Wesleyvale at Naosanabis on the Nosob River.

Tindall made a habit of "seizing by the throat" servants who persisted in whipping an ox when ordered to stop—and in this is quite reminiscent of our Prime Minister in his threatening moods.

His missionary services seemed to be a perpetual round of collections of oxen and sheep given by the people to their missionary. Living outside the Colony as they did, the people had no taxes to pay, but after one of Mr. Tindall's services one of the people said: "Must we pay taxes here too?"—a not surprising remark.

His son Henry, too, seems to have lacked the common touch, and once their old Damara sheep-watcher, "on being spoken to by Henry about his neglect of the calves, became so enraged that he foamed at the mouth as though mad, rolled himself upon the ground, and actually got into the fire, and burnt himself severely."

I believed, and still believe, in the healthful influence of missionaries in our history. But my belief has been somewhat shaken by this book.

Joseph Tindall established himself like a typical farmer. He had his cattle farm. And in his house there were servants. He disliked them entertaining. "An existing inconvenience had now to be removed. When our servants were at their meals, the kitchen was invariably crowded. I reasoned calmly with the intruders. First, by making this a coffee drinking place you hinder my servants and cause confusion . . ." His intervention was unsuccessful, as his congregation told him that if he went on interfering he would "drive them from the place."

What happened in the end was that he himself withdrew, exhausted after labours enough to break two normal men, as a protest it seems at the lack of appreciation which he had evoked from the people.

There are several indications of the rising tide of hostility on the part of the white South Africans: in 1839 he was told that near the

Berg River "many of the Dutch farmers did not suffer their servants to worship with them." In 1842 he found that the Hottentots had . . . "imbibed the tenets of the Dutch inhabitants of the Colony, that black people are designed of God for slavery." And, towards the end of his life, in 1857 he founded a new chapel at Robertson for the coloured population as "the prejudices of the white inhabitants of this new and rapidly increasing village against the coloured people" made such a step necessary.

I nevertheless feel awe for the quite superhuman efforts of Tindall and his wife, braving furnace-like summer, malaria, droughts, deserts. It is a heroic story. It tells much that is otherwise not known about the extraordinary peoples of South West, the Orlams, the Topenaars, the Red People, the Berg Damaras, the Bastards, the (Hottentot) Afrikaners. I am glad that the Van Riebeeck Society has published the book, edited as a work of piety by Tindall's grandson.

But I hope that next year's volume will be more interesting and less depressing.

P.D.

2

"THESE VESSELS . . ." By Iris Clinton (Stuart Manning) 6s.

MISSIONS IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA Compiled by Paul S. King (Inyati Centenary Trust) 6s. 6d.

THE histories of missions, like the waiting rooms of convents, all have a subdued sameness about them. Miss Clinton's story of the Inyati Mission in Southern Rhodesia, which is now celebrating its centenary, is no

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exception. One would have to be very missionary hearted to persevere in reading to the end of this little book. And yet the story, imaginatively told, should have been enthralling. For this was the first Christian mission to Southern Rhodesia. Indeed, the little band of men and women and children who set out 100 years ago under the auspices of the London Missionary Society formed the first Christian settlement there since the obscurely-chronicled days of the Portuguese.



ROBERT MOFFAT

William Sykes, Morgan Thomas, Robert Moffat—the names of these early missionaries are still by-words in Rhodesia. Their experiences, sufferings, fears and hopes as they made the fearsome trek up Africa from the Cape could have made a first-class adventure story. Why are missionary chroniclers invariably so ultra-modest? Why are they content to give lists of names, dates, and events, with scarcely a sentence to suggest that these brave, dedicated, and perhaps rather singular people were really flesh and

blood?

We read that "while Robert Moffat was on a visit to England, David Livingstone heard him preach, and though destined for China, changed his mind and came to Africa, where he married Mary Moffat, and was stationed at Kolobeng". A sentence charged with destiny and history! But what a missed opportunity.

The same criticism applies to Mr. King's book. It is unexceptionable and dull. It gives brief accounts of the work of 18 missionary bodies in Southern Rhodesia. Controversial subjects and human interest are carefully excluded, and we are left with statistics which tell us everything and nothing.

It is to be hoped that these little books, so earnestly undertaken, may provide the basis for a livelier and more full-blooded volume later on.

FRANCES BOWERS

## White Baby Plan

ONLY IN AMERICA. By Harry Golden (World Publishing Co., New York) \$4.

FOR many months this book has been a best-seller in the United States. The author lives in the South where he edits a small, personal monthly, *The Carolina Israelite*, that makes fun of bad prejudices with good humour. The book consists of extracts from his paper.

One of the best pieces offers a triple plan to improve race relations.

First comes the White Baby Plan. It began, he tells us, one afternoon when several Negro school teachers, eager to see the film *Hamlet*, hit on an ingenious idea to get into the white cinema. They asked some white friends to lend them two small children and, holding these by the hand, they obtained tickets without any difficulty.

(Cont. in col. 3)

DESPITE Disraeli's classic definition of the three degrees of untruthfulness—"lies, damned lies and statistics"—figures can be highly instructive.

The Folio Society, for example, has just pulled off one of the major successes of post-war publishing in increasing its membership by over sixty per cent. during the last twelve months.

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lavishly gold-tooled style which was once the prerogative of royal libraries—and all at a price no more than ordinary books.

In its list are none of last year's best-sellers. Instead, the Society concentrates on the great books of the world and on some of the more fascinating byways of history and literature. Herodotus, Defoe and Jane Austen rub shoulder with Dostoevsky and de Maupassant; *The Golden Ass* and *Father Brown* are there, as are an eye-witness account of *The Trial of Charles I.*, a *Burmese Life of the Buddha*, and that classic compendium of crime, *The New Newgate Calendar*.

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# THE POETIC VOICE OF TANIA VAN ZYL

By Anthony Delius

*attitude of disillusion  
unable to strip the gaze from  
that magnetic  
surface . . .*



TANIA VAN ZYL

TANIA VAN ZYL'S *Shadow and Wall* seems to me to be the most impressive book of verse ever produced by a South African. It has a contralto fullness and a deeply glimmering quality which I find in Kathleen Raine and Marianne Moore. But this book is Tania van Zyl's own voice, and her own identity murmurs continuously and with astonishing clarity in all the closely packed thought, imagery and feeling of her lines.

The compact richness of the poetry is its most immediately striking quality. Both Campbell and Van Wyk Louw seem a little thin in texture by comparison. The richness is in everything, in the rhythms, the sounds, the experience of this work. It imparts a feeling of organic growth to nearly all the poems, of unhurried budding and ripening and decay.

I can illustrate this most easily from one of the loveliest of the poems—and one of the more quickly comprehended—"Day and Night."

*"At the carved  
entrance desire stands winged  
to meet,  
where sea and river rise, the  
day; and lead  
her here. Bells from copper  
towers like*

*gold persimmons, let flow their  
notes:  
fire-stripped forests shiver:  
while warm  
as bees, stars cluster over the  
abyss."*

THE word "strip" or "stripped" seems to fascinate this poet. For instance she uses "bark-stripped" twice, and on each occasion with magnificent though dissimilar effect. The first time in a poem called "The Past":

*"Those symbols  
carved on post  
of snake, pig and crocodile.  
Those skulls  
that were death's  
trophy. A bark-stripped soul  
was nailed  
to mango tree."*

On the next occasion she refers to:

*"boys pale  
as bark-stripped trees,  
with smooth unfruitful loins."  
Again in "Mirror" she shows her mastery of placing and suggestion:  
"Trapped that image postures  
with tired*

The plan would also solve the baby-sitting problem. After a mutual exchange of references, the white folks could pool their children at a central point in each neighbourhood, and every time a Negro wants to go to the movies, all she need do is pick up a white child—and go.

Eventually the Negro community can set up a factory and manufacture white babies made of plastic. When Negroes want to go to a concert or theatre, all they need do is carry that plastic doll in their arms.

The second is Mr. Golden's out-of-order plan. Americans are accustomed to getting a drink of water in public places by bending over a small fountain. Mr. Golden persuaded the manager of a big store to cut off the water from his "white" fountain and put up

IT will be seen from this that no word becomes tired in Tania van Zyl's hands; it does not slip into a groove, or become a drug. Always there is the re-infusion of energy, giving her verse the rounded power of a compressed coil. In "The Hunter" the opening verse runs:

*"The hunter tracks invisible  
steps  
through mountains,  
over slate peaks  
where bearded cloud cascades  
in reckless speech."*

Even where familiar phrases are used by her they are simply counter-point to what is coming, as in her picture, "The Old Woman":

*"The rounded cheek  
and gentle face,  
dim grey eyes  
and kindness  
conceal a craftiness  
beware."*

A familiar scene is cunningly set to illumine the presence of two women:

*"In the corner the fire made a  
place.  
It chuckled and purred alive  
and content  
with this fragment and that; it  
ate of this  
and ate of that."*

THIS poet is greatly concerned with shapes—more so, I should say, than most poets. Four of the poems have the titles, "Shapes", "Creative Form", "Form", "Dual Shapes". One poem opens "Tall as a tree, thought-shaped". Her work is filled with a strong sense of sight, the reader's eye is almost able to discern after-images lying behind the words, forms overshadowing whole poems. There are presences like trees, and more than trees.

But there is nothing static about this work. It is always moving, glittering like dust in sunlight, sounding with "the bell-note of the stream." Nor is it unbearably intense—her judgment is too good for that. Here is a breath-takingly brutal bit of "realism" there is the occasional flash of humour—such as "the white-collared crows":

*"cursing  
are cemented by common  
design  
to invade the house."*

And she can handle a story in verse brilliantly. Her "Voices From The Dark" is a reconstruction, a revivification of the home-coming of Agamemnon and his murder by Clytemnestra. She writes a novel in six pages, and certainly no South African novelist has done better, nor lived out a theme more fully.

THERE should have been rejoicing in the land the day after *Shadow and Wall* appeared. Instead, such is the state of public taste and criticism in South Africa, the book was greeted with a couple of lukewarm notices and then lost in silence. Now, as a final shame, a year later we learn that the best bit of writing South Africa has produced in a generation has made so little impression on our "reading" public that it has been "remaindered" at a city sale.

To those who possess this book I say, hold on to it. Whether it cost the original 13s. 9d. or the present 2s. 6d., it is worth a fortune. And one day, when taste has at long last spread in the land, this first edition will be worth a material fortune as well. Even at that distant time it will still be cause for wonder that such a book had to be presented by Nationale Boekhandel because, apparently, there was no English publisher in South Africa with the necessary feeling for the language to publish it.

will not find it very inconvenient to stand during lessons in the class room."

An enterprising British publisher ought to bring out a cheaper edition of Mr. Golden's delightful book.

JULIUS LEWIN

## REVIEWS

Thomas Boydell's  
MY BELOVED COUNTRY  
by "Sam Sly"  
Etienne le Roux's  
DIE MUGU\*  
by Jan Rabie  
George P. Murdock's AFRICA  
by Hilda Kuper  
Novels: Beryl Bloom, Olga  
McDonald Meidner, Peter  
Rodda

\*The "Square"  
NEXT CONTACT

# Correspondence

## UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE

SIR, I notice that Mr. Duncan in one of his speeches at Sea Point repeated the statement that "universal suffrage" was the objective of the Liberal Party.

Would it not be wiser to aim at qualified suffrage first. When that has been obtained, one could proceed step by step to a wider goal?

It is sometimes claimed that it is wise to ask for more than you expect to get, but in my opinion one only scares away support by aiming at what at present is impossible.

To win the co-operation of all races one must state a definite and practical policy.

As far as I know the National Party is the only one which has done so and even in that case the Bantustan areas have not been clearly defined.

M. N. SEGADLA  
P.O. Mooiplaas, Cape Town

Until the oppressed people of South Africa unite on a programme such as the Liberal Party has formulated, it is my view that the white voters will accept neither a qualified nor an unqualified suffrage for the non-whites. So let us do first things first. Let democrats unite by calling for adult suffrage with such power that they compel respect.—Editor.

## BANTUSTAN

SIR, In a statement to the *Natal Mercury* (7 October) Senator Cowley is reported to have said that "the Natives back Bantustans." On whose authority was he speaking?

The Chiefs are silent on this matter and it is difficult to assess public reaction on Bantustans, Bantu Authorities, Bantu Education and similar problems, and statements such as the one made by Senator Cowley have been challenged by a number of newspapers including *ILanga Lase Natal*, without reply.

The Government and Senator Cowley regard illiterate chiefs as leaders of the African people, but that is a thing of the past.

Our leaders are people like Chief Lutuli, Moses Mabhida, P. P. Duma Nokwe and others like them. These men have expressed their views on Bantustans, Bantu Authorities and Bantu Education and rejected them. Thus Senator Cowley's statement is irresponsible and not an expression of the true

state of African public opinion.

What we want is freedom in the land of our birth, proper education for our children and not education as envisaged by those in authority at the present time but similar to that enjoyed by other races.

In this connection why is it educated Africans are leaving South Africa to settle elsewhere?

GABRIEL  
Mandeni, Zululand

## EDUCATION

SIR, I am as strongly opposed to the ideals set out as Christian National Education as anybody else, but I feel considerable embarrassment at some of the criticisms made of it.

When the original pamphlet became known, the late Dr. M. C. Botha published a strong criticism of it in the daily Press. This seemed to me to be in some respects nearly as bad since it seemed to confine the pursuit of knowledge to the study of the physical, completely ignoring the metaphysical, or "the imponderables."

He condemned the conceptions with which he, like many of us, disagreed, on the ground that they were "theological". It would have been safer to have condemned them as based on bad theology. But in fact some of them were not theological but political and philosophical.

There is something of the same attitude on the part of your contributor in *Contact* on 17 October, with some of whose criticisms and all of whose conclusions I am in entire agreement.

It seems to me that the fundamental error is the conception of the nation as a religious unit. For many centuries political and racial divisions were subordinate to the idea of a United Christendom. Men thought of the church state. The new nationalism which appeared with the Renaissance, and lent impetus to the Reformation, substituted for this the idea of the state church. This conception never succeeded, whereas the former held the field for many centuries. Its attempted application led to the savage religious wars in Europe.

The modern State proceeds along a policy of toleration of the various religious groups. Its educational systems are planned on these lines.

The CNE policy is an attempt to revive a seventeenth century ideal which never succeeded and

had disastrous results. Do we want it here?

There is enough racial, political, and much other friction without claiming for one point of view a religious sanction. It is suspected that the Calvinist bodies are by way of claiming to be the state church in South Africa, with privileges in the educational world. The taking over of the mission schools by the then Native Affairs Department was a sweeping and determined step in that direction.

A. PIERCE-JONES  
Cape Town

## ANC AND COD

SIR, Perhaps I am hopelessly liberal and humanist in outlook, but really, the attitude of people like the Bishops and the Gibsons is very distressing.

Following Mr. Bishop's patronisingly contemptuous "the ANC has some very good people in its ranks", we have Mr. Gibson's comic operetta version of the activities of the Congress Alliance: "the diligent activities of a few COD and SACPO persons, with an obedient African stooge or two, who purport to represent the ANC."

Will Mr. Gibson undertake to write an open letter to Chief Lutuli, Professor Z. K. Matthews, Duma Nokwe, Oliver Tambo and their like, requesting them to cease "purporting to represent ANC", and telling them how they have rendered the ANC ineffective by passively acting as "stooges" to SACPO and COD?

As for the alleged "racialism" of the Congress Alliance—one of its greatest strengths is the way in which constant contact and co-operation between members of different groups are possible, while at the same time each group is able to feel that it has its own organisation dedicated to the cause of its own community group.

To use an analogy—Trade Unions have always found it more efficient to have separate organisations to represent workers in different branches of industry, while combining together federally in a larger organisation for co-operation and consultation.

The greatest need at present in the liberatory movement is similar to the most basic need of a Trade Union movement—that is, an effective popular organisation. In order to achieve this, it is necessary to recognise the conditions in

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which the people live, work, and feel.

Among these conditions, unfortunately, is a separation of the races which is not only an artificial result of oppressive legislation, but is also controlled by real factors such as differences of language, social organisation, and community needs. As a result of this the different communities have widely differing preoccupations, and need to adopt different methods to organise themselves and express their needs.

Even if Mr. Bishop is completely fluent in the African languages, even if he can get a permit to go from house to house in Nyanga location, he can't be very effective in organising opinion there unless he has lived and worked among Africans for many years—which he has certainly not been allowed to do. (This apart from the fact that not many Africans could be prevailed upon to listen to anyone holding Mr. Bishop's declared views.)

In short, the structure of the Congress Alliance is a means of combining the greatest possible efficiency with the greatest possible harmony.

Go to any meeting of ANC and see how real this harmony, and how natural this co-operation is. The warmth and spontaneity with which ANC members greet fraternal delegates from other Congresses is very impressive—and for good reason. The African people know that members of COD, SACPO and SAIC have completely identified themselves with their demands, and are prepared to work as one with them without attempting to dominate, control, or to cut down their legitimate aspirations to conform with a *parti pris* concept of democracy based on the need to preserve the control of international capital and the *status quo* of an oppressive and heartless economic and industrial system.

ALLAN VAUGHAN  
Durban

## Apartheid is crazy economics

(Continued from page 6)

mic ones. We are wasting capital goods (the buses and depot buildings), land (depot sites), manpower (drivers, conductors, maintenance workers, supervisors). It is to be noted that users of each bus service suffer: each has to be subsidised from some source.

One wonders how much of the railway deficits in this country have stemmed from the segregation policy.

And now we are having another outstanding example of

wasted resources in the proposed new "universities" to provide education for student bodies numbering a few score, when the necessary staffing and equipment facilities are already available at existing universities.

It does not matter to which sphere we turn: segregation taxes our resources. And this remains true irrespective of the real reason for advocating and practising segregation, whether that reason be fear, arrogance, inferiority complex, ignorance or stupidity.

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WEEK ENDING 28 November 1959

Vol. 2 No. 24

*Exclusive to Contact*

## **REVIEW OF UNITED NATIONS REPORT ON SOUTH-WEST**

See PAGE 2



**Matthews of Fort Hare — (page 5)**

EXCLUSIVE TO CONTACT

# UN EXPERTS PROBE SWA

**"I**F non-European drivers of vehicles are employed, and a European applies for such a position, a non-European driver shall be discharged in order that the European may be employed". The Windhoek Town Council debated and passed this resolution early this year.

This item of news is taken from the latest Report on South-West Africa compiled by a committee of the United Nations. In New York they know much more about what is going on in SWA than we do here in the Union. This fact no doubt helps to explain why the Union Government has recently reversed its previous policy of refusing to submit to UN an annual report on SWA.

In the face of the repeated refusal which goes back to 1948, the UN Secretariat, a well-informed and highly qualified

By Julius Lewin

20,000 acres. Since 1955 the Administration has opened up more and more blocks of land for white settlement, even extending the "police zone" boundary when necessary for this purpose. In 1959, twenty-six farms were offered to Europeans, in 1957 seventy, and in 1958 eighty-eight.

The consequences of this transfer of land are serious for the Africans affected by it. Under the land laws, Africans living on land allocated for white settlement have either to work for the new white farmer or to move away into the crowded reserves. The Government is even considering the removal of the Bushmen beyond the boundaries of the mandated territory in order to make more land available for Europeans.

(In SWA there are 452,000 Africans, 21,000 Coloured, and 66,000 White. A total of 93 million acres has been set aside for the white and about 50 million for Africans who number nearly seven times as many as the white).

### Help for whites

The white farmers receive every assistance from the paternal Government, elected by whites only. An exceptionally severe drought occurred during the past year over most of the territory. Strong financial measures were introduced to help the white farmers, who were relieved of their debts for some time to come. In addition, the Legislative Assembly voted for further relief the sum of £2,400,000, of which £1 million

would be divided among the four commercial banks—an unprecedented form of "relief" for banks which do most of their business in the Union and elsewhere in Africa.

### Serious loss

In two Native Reserves alone, 25,000 head of cattle were reported to have died as a result of the drought. The UN Committee drily remarks that since "drought knows no racial barriers it would be interested to know what steps, if any, have been taken to provide African

farmers with relief similar to that received by the Europeans."

Some of the people of South-West Africa continue to enjoy the fruits of an economy expanding at a very rapid rate. In 1947 the total revenue amounted to only £3 million; ten years later it was £17 million. Government expenditure has likewise increased, but for whose benefit? Of £1 million spent on education, £800,000 is for white education; £79,000 on Coloured; and only £126,632 on African schools, which are now threatened with "Bantu education" on the Union's model. At the same time the Government is building up substantial reserve funds in its treasury, while getting financial aid from the Union.

The distribution of the increasing wealth of SWA blatantly ignores the claims of the Africans, without whose labour the highly profitable farming and mining could not be carried on. Wages range from 20s. to 65s. a month, usually with rations. Such a "shortage of labour" is alleged, that contractors are

allowed to bring Africans all the way from the Union. (The Railways pay their labourers about 40s. a month.)

The authorities seem to be anxious lest arms and ammunition fall into non-white hands. For the crime of supplying any arms to non-whites, the maximum penalty was last year increased from a fine of £50 or six months' imprisonment to ten years without the option of a fine.

Since the Report under review was published in September last, a South-West African National Union has been formed. The Secretary, Mr. Nataniel Mbaeva, a Herero from the Epikuro Reserve, has already has 600 members drawn from all tribes and races. Its aims are "to fight relentlessly without violence to put SWA under the UN trusteeship system and to abolish all forms of oppression and economic exploitation."

The new SWANU should find plenty of work to do in this neglected territory, where wealth accumulates and men decay.

No previous survey of the latest UN report on South-West has yet appeared in the South African press. Our correspondent has succeeded in obtaining one of the only copies in existence in the country, and here reviews it for our readers.

body—has every year compiled its own Report for the General Assembly of 82 nations.

Reading the 1959 Report, one can understand why Mr. Eric Louw must now feel that, after all, UN will discover less about South-West Africa if the annual report is drafted with care and edited with official discretion in Pretoria rather than by international civil servants in New York. For the trouble about UN, from Mr. Louw's point of view, is that it gets hold of far too much accurate information.

Here are some of the things recorded in this revealing Report:

*The SWA Government continues to grant extensive farms to Europeans, although Africans are short of land for their stock. The size of these farms averages about*

## CHURCH CHIEF BACKS PASSIVE RESISTANCE

**L**EGALLY it may be right but morally it is wrong. This expression is often heard in South Africa to-day. What do we mean by it? To ask this question is to open an immense field of discussion on the intricate problem of conscience and state law.

We would all agree that conscience is our personal interpretation of the moral law. We would find it harder to agree on what the moral law is. For religious believers the moral law is God's law for man. The most celebrated formulation of it is the Ten Commandments.

The non-believer has no such ready answer. He must seek his moral law in an instinct of human nature, in group subconscious or social convention. Whatever his view on the matter, he would nevertheless be in agreement with religious people, if he was not a fascist or a communist, on the proposition that the state does not make the moral law.

**In other words, the moral law is antecedent to state law, transcends it, outweighs it and gives it foundation, meaning and validity.**

### State law

State law presupposes a community of free men who recognise a moral law and because of that are prepared to respect each other's rights and the lawful claims of authority. State law is (or should be) an interpretation of the larger and more general demands of the moral law and an application of them to the particular circumstances of a community.

Only too often, unhappily, it is not. And when a state law conflicts with the moral law we have the situation in which people say: legally it may be right but morally it is wrong.

*What should citizens do under such circumstances? Should they obey unjust laws? This is a question that has tortured the conscience of mankind ever since it came to the clear realisation that the state does not make the moral law.*

This contribution by "Gregory More" comes from one of South Africa's foremost religious leaders.

No complete answer can be given in a short article like this, but a few points can be touched upon.

In the first place, if the state commands a man to do what is clearly contrary to the moral law, like blaspheming God, or inflicting misery on others, or lying, or indulging in sexual offences, or sending his children to schools designed to pervert their religious and moral ideals, he is bound in conscience to refuse and, if necessary, die rather than obey.

If, however, the unjust law is not a command to do evil but rather an unjustifiable limitation of human rights, the position is somewhat different.

A man is never bound to claim his rights, unless in renouncing his claim he would injure a third party. He can freely abdicate his rights unless those rights are connected with obligations to others. Then a man can renounce his property rights if he is the only one to suffer, but if his renunciation would impoverish his family it would be reprehensible.

### Not binding

In regard, therefore, to unjust state laws that unjustifiably restrict the rights of citizens, the latter are not bound under all circumstances to disobey them. They can tolerate the unjust law.

But another question arises— not whether citizens may obey unjust laws of the kind under discussion, but whether they may disobey them? It must be noted that we are discussing here not active resistance or out-

and-out rebellion but passive resistance or civil disobedience.

The answer to the question must be in the affirmative as long as two conditions apply: firstly, that the laws are clearly unjust, and secondly, that there is no hope of constitutional redress.

A third condition can also be mentioned, namely, that there should be some proportion between the issue at stake and the consequences likely to flow from disobedience. A man would be a crank to risk the welfare of himself and his family for the sake of protesting by disobedience against some trivial state enactment.

The big question is to decide:

- ¶ (1) is the law clearly unjust?
- ¶ (2) is there hope of constitutional redress?
- ¶ (3) is it such a serious matter as to warrant recourse to civil disobedience?

### Burning issues

These questions usually become burning issues, not in isolated instances but when a whole system of government results in persistent, irremediable injustice. When this is the case, civil disobedience may be the best answer. Allowing the situation to go on festering may lead ultimately to violence.

Justification of civil disobedience is based on the conviction that the state is not above the moral law, that the state does not make the moral law, that the state must obey the moral law and that when the state's enactments are in conflict with the moral law, they are not laws at all: they are a denial of law: of that law written by God in the mind and heart of man, on which all human laws depend.

## CONTACT

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## Chief denies "Sunday Times" report

A REPORT published in the Sunday Times (November 15) alleging that a Basuto Chief "had forced Mrs. Mafekeng to leave her hide-out" is denied categorically by Chief Alexander Maama, Chief of Qhubosheaneng, in a statement received by Contact.

Chief Maama writes:

The Sunday Times report ("Basuto Chief Forces Mrs. Mafekeng to Leave her Hide-out") by Mr. Oscar Tamsen is completely false regarding me. It defames my name, my four villages, and the Basuto. I intend to seek legal redress and damages.

1. I deny that I have ever been contacted by Mrs. Mafekeng or anyone on her behalf. How could I have ordered her to leave?

2. I am not supporting any political party in Basutoland. I can serve my people best by staying out of party politics. None of the four villages in my area is dominated by any political party.

3. How could I threaten "to make this a major plank . . ." when I am not even remotely engaged in a "pre-election vote-catching campaign"?

4. Mafefoane "Mamama" (should be "Maama"), my father, turned over his chieftainship to me in 1956. Neither he, nor I, have received any request to grant asylum. How could I have "adamantly refused" a request that was never made?

The Basuto are known for their hospitality, friendliness, and helpfulness. It is regrettable that politicians (if they are responsible) should invent stories for party gain at the expense of their people's reputation. It is even more regrettable that a journalist should print such invented stories.

## HOW PROGRESSIVE ARE THE PROGRESSIVES?

From Contact Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: How progressive are the Progressives? Having now seen the full text (not merely the press summaries) of the congress resolutions, I can assure the Liberals that their own political integrity shines by comparison.

1. Although the Progressives want to repeal the Group Areas Act, they are in favour of residential and social segregation. Their policy is careful to make no provision for mixed suburbs in which all races could live.

2. On the franchise, the new party has not yet committed itself clearly. The question of voters' qualifications is referred to an independent commission. This body will, I predict, hedge political rights about with such safeguards (designed to protect white supremacy) that only a very small number of non-whites would ever reach the voters' roll. The present balance of political power would not, in fact, be altered.

3. Although the Progressives are in favour of free trade unions, they definitely exclude all unskilled African workers from the right to form trade unions on the same basis as other workers. Unskilled workers are to remain under Government control.

This distinction between different classes of workers is evidently made in order to deny to African mine-workers the right to have a trade union.

## "Will Provide Separate Amenities"

[From another Correspondent] A further cause of disillusionment to those Liberals who hoped that the Progressives would take a bold anti-apartheid course is the published policy statement on "Social, Residential Aspects" (Progressive News No. 2, November). "The Party recognises the social conven-

tions which exist in South Africa. It will not force residential or social integration upon any, and it will continue to provide separate amenities as desired by the different races. The Party will repeal the Group Areas Act, simultaneously making provision for those who so wish to live among their own people, but opening the industrial and commercial areas to all races." (my italics).

Liberals are puzzled by this reference to their "own people" in view of other statements that the Progressives seek to build one great nation including all races in a single patriotism. They also feel that happier wording might have been chosen than "separate amenities", especially as there is no guarantee of equality in separation.

The most disappointing feature, though, is the arrangements made by the Progressives with regard to membership. A spokesman for the Party explained to a Contact representative that applications for membership might be made by anyone, but that such applications would be accepted or refused by the Party in the light of the probable final decision on the vote qualification—membership being limited to such people as would be qualified for the vote.

But the voting qualification was not decided on at the recent congress, and the question was remitted to a commission, headed by Mr. D. B. Molteno, which is expected to take from six months to a year to make its findings.

Prospective members, thus, of all races, will not know for a considerable time whether they are qualified to be members of the new party.

## South-West debate at UN

# MAJOR U S POLICY SHIFTS AGAINST S A

UNITED NATIONS, NEW YORK: There has been a dramatic, but unpublicised, switch in United States policy here toward South Africa. It was first shown in the South-West Africa issue. Hitherto the United States has tried not to offend South Africa, while showing friendship towards the emergent African states.

Now, as reported by Donald Grant in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, "United States policy on Africa is moving to a perceptible degree away from a cautious desire to please the Union of South Africa and the colonial powers who are our European allies. It is moving toward positive support for the emerging peoples of the African continent."

Mr. Mason Sears, the chief United States delegate on the Trusteeship Committee, has been working closely with the escapees from South-West Africa, Mr. Jariretundu Kozonguizi, and Mr. Hans Beukes, and has emerged as a considerable figure on the African scene.

A Boston patrician, he has been personally arguing for years inside the State Department for the new policy, and its adoption is in some aspects a personal triumph for him. "He is becoming a symbol", writes Donald Grant "in African eyes almost as powerful as the Rev. Michael Scott, the Anglican priest who has been fighting for the people of South-West Africa for thirteen years."

The African countries succeeded (52 for; 17 abstentions, 4 against) in pushing through

their resolution, which seeks to invoke the World Court against the Union on the South-West issue. Sears threw American influence in to back the African countries to the hilt—the only power to do so, as both India and the USSR have reservations about calling in the World Court. It was almost certainly this powerful backing that brought success so easily.

Donald Grant writes: "Africans and Americans who have been working together believe new World Court action could result in a decision as significant for Africa as the United States Supreme Court school segregation decision was for this country. In the end, as a result of such action, these diplomats believe South-West Africa may be removed from the control of the Union of South Africa."

"So great" writes Grant, "is the influence of the United States that what might seem a small change in policy on a minor issue has resulted in a profound shift in the alignments of powers and peoples. The Union of South Africa has taken violent alarm and is conducting one of the most vigorous campaigns ever witnessed here."

## From Michael Scott

"Donald Grant's articles give a good account of what went on and of the new trends, particularly on the part of the US. Time is not on the side of the Union Government. It seems to me the longer they postpone coming to an agreement the more difficult it will get for them. World opinion is growing both in extent and strength and it is obvious that South African policies are an ever-increasing embarrassment to her friends. Only France, Portugal and UK can now be found to vote against the resolution condemning apartheid, and that for procedural reasons."

## YOUTH

## ANCYL Congress Stalemate

From Contact Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: The conflict between the national leaders and the Transvaal Province of the African National Congress Youth League burst into the open again at the annual conference of the Transvaal held in Orlando, Johannesburg, on November 21 and 22. Delegates spent so much time at the meeting criticising and defending the Transvaal president, Mr. Stephen Segale, and in debating the dispute, that the conference had to adjourn without electing a new executive or discussing its resolution. A special meeting will be held on November 28.

On its second day, the conference could not go into closed session as planned. Eleven Security Branch detectives, acting on a warrant produced at the start of the proceedings, remained inside the hall throughout the day. They heard the 160 delegates spend hour after hour wrangling over points of procedure. The conference finally became completely bogged down in trying to decide whether it was entitled to challenge a directive from the National Working Committee of the ANC which sought to settle the dispute.

## PAC, ANC React to Progressives

From A Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: The newly-formed Progressive Party has met with a mixed reception from African political organisations. The African National Congress has given it a qualified welcome, while the Pan-Africanist Congress has rejected it outright.

The ANC's press statement on the Progressives was seized by Security Branch detectives—together with other documents—during a raid on the Johannesburg office of leading Congress member Mr. Robert Resha, on November 17. But ANC officials have said that the statement, while welcoming the emergence of the Progressives, added that the ANC did not fully approve of all their policies, especially in regard to the franchise.

The ANC believed in universal franchise and hoped that in the future the Progressives would realise the necessity for this.

The action proposed by the Progressives for abolishing the Pass Laws was regarded as particularly important, as the passes were "Enemy Number One" to Africans.

It was hoped that those who still remained in the "reactionary" United Party would not stay there for long.

The Africanists stated that the Progressive Party was no different from the Liberal Party "except that it has more white parliamentarians to grace its ranks than the Liberal Party has. Both parties fulfil the traditional role of the liberals, to impede the genuine liberatory struggle of the African People by attempting to divert the attention of the people from their own programme and fixing it on white 'spokesmen' of the African."

The Progressives would make no impact upon African politics "because today African politics are inextricably bound up with African nationalism."

The PAC added: "The concessions the Progressives claim they are prepared to make might have taken in the African people twenty years ago but today Africans will be satisfied with nothing less than the right to manage or mismanage every inch of Africa."



## FIRST TIME IN WESTERN CAPE

## COLOURED PEOPLE FORGE UNITY WITH AFRICANS

"THE COLOURED people of Paarl have realised that the lot of the Africans is also theirs. They have seen that the time has come for us to stand together as only on the basis of this, can the future be ours."

So spoke Mrs. Rhoda Mditjana, sister-in-law of Mrs. Elizabeth Mafekeng, banned trade union and women's leader.

We were sitting in the neat little home of Mrs. Mafekeng and the proof of her statement was right there—three African and three Coloured women.

"These people", she continued, "are not here because I have called them. They come daily to help Sophia (21 year old daughter of Mrs. Mafekeng and herself a Defiance Campaign volunteer) in the running of the home. This is what Elizabeth taught us—that colour is only skin-deep; that underneath that lies the broad humanity which

BY  
ABE SCHOLTZ

friendship between Africans and Coloureds. This is not something new. It has been there for years."

Mrs. Ellie Jacobs; "We are sorry about what happened. But the rioting had nothing to do with the demonstration of solidarity between Africans and Coloureds against an inhuman act by the Government. We have been living here for years and there has not been a single instance of inter-racial strife."

Was the riot not perhaps a blessing in disguise, I wanted to know.

"We do not need disguises," said Mrs. Mditjana. "The authorities themselves have forced us to live together here. They should have known, that however prejudiced some people may be, living together, lending a helping hand at a sick-bed, loaning a cup of sugar, or giving a child a slice of bread when there is none in his own home—these things compel you to forget differences of race and colour. The only thing the riots did, was to show up the unity between the Africans and the Coloureds to those who were unaware of it."

I spoke to tens of people from all walks of life—postmen, butcher boys, factory hands, bricklayers and even members

of the CID. All of them condemned the riots.

"The demonstration of unity between the Africans and Coloureds at Paarl, is the finest thing that has ever happened at the Cape", said Councillor Eric Viljoen of the Unity Movement. "Naturally we condemn the rioting because we have consistently advocated that issues should be fought with political ideas and not demonstrations. But the display of unity between the people gives hope and with this fine achievement we can go forward into the future with confidence."

Dr. R. E. van der Ross: "That the Coloured people rose in defence of an African woman, speaks volumes. It is all the more laudable in that it was a demonstration of the working class. For the first time in the Western Cape, the Coloured worker has looked across the street and seen the African not as a "Kaffir" but as an equally exploited fellow worker.

"People who have striven for the unity of the working class have always been asked: where is the proof of your work? Paarl has given the answer in no uncertain manner. And it is this which encourages us as our problems in South Africa can never be solved until we have breached these racial barriers."

## "Unity Conferences" For ANC

From Contact Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: "Unity conferences" will be held by the African National Congress in the chief centres of the Transvaal during this coming weekend, aimed at bringing all Africans together against the Nationalists. The conferences will also mark a turning-point in a campaign intended to place local grievances and needs before the authorities.

Linked with this is an intensification of the economic boycott of "nationalist goods." The names of various brands of tea, coffee, cigarettes and tinned fish are being circulated with the appeal "let us hit the Nationalists in the stomach."

Since the beginning of the month, ANC volunteers have been going from door to door in townships with a "unity appeal", stating that "unity of the people of the country against the tyranny of the Nationalist Party is essential if we are to win our desires."

The appeal calls for the nomination of delegates to the conference.

The appeal lists such needs as higher wages, better transport, free hospitals, cheaper and better houses, trade unions. Also such grievances as passes, permits, increased taxes, group areas, mass removals, race classification, assaults, farm labour schemes, police raids and mass arrests.

At the coming conferences, seven of which are planned, decisions will be taken to place needs and grievances before the authorities.

Conferences are also planned for the rural areas at the end of December. The rallying points will be cattle-culling. Bantu Authorities and Bantustans.

## APARTHEID COMES TO SOUTH-WEST

## WINDHOEK REFUSAL TO MOVE

From Contact Correspondent

WINDHOEK: A serious collision took place on 4 October in Windhoek Location between the people and Dr. Verwoerd's apartheid policy. Windhoek Location, though containing many slum-like houses, lies conveniently near the town.

Now, as in so many South African towns, the Africans are to be moved to a distant area, to be laid out as a township and called "Katutura".

On 4 October the Superintendent of Locations, Mr. Potgieter, addressed a meeting at which some 480 people were present. Detectives of the Security Branch attended the meeting although the conveners, the Non-European Advisory Board, had not invited them. A large force of armed police was assembled at two points nearby.

The purpose for which the meeting had been called was to appoint a valuator to assess compensation for those who would lose property when the move took place. But the meeting strongly condemned the idea of removal itself.

Mr. Potgieter warned the people not to make trouble and called for good relations between white and non-white.

Speakers said forcibly that if the move were forced on the people there would be trouble. One speaker said that if Mr.

Potgieter were to force the people to move they would not be peaceful, and that he should go and tell the Government this.

In a statement on the subject the Action Committee authorised to assist the Advisory Board said that the move was not acceptable because it was the result of extending the Union's apartheid policy to South-West. It was part of a thorough plan to unify the "Native policies" of both countries.

Excuses had been given that the new houses could not be built in the existing location because of the sites of certain cemeteries. But this was a mere pretext for moving the Africans to a great distance from the white town with a buffer strip in between. "There is no doubt that the Africans are despised and are regarded as objects which can be pushed about so as to facilitate the expansion of the so-called white areas."

The statement ended with these words: "Our decision to refuse to move to the new township is firm and final."

## ANC To Boycott Beerhalls

From Contact Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: Transvaal women have decided that their husbands should boycott beerhalls if the local authorities refuse to allow home-brewing of beer. This decision was adopted unanimously at the annual conference of the African National Congress Women's League, held in Western Native Township, Johannesburg, recently.

The "home-brewing or boycott" call follows a similar decision made at the national conference of the league on September 6. Since then, the call has been endorsed by Natal women. It is also due to be discussed by the other Provinces.

The Transvaal plans to hold widespread house-meetings in townships to explain how the demand for home-brewing should be carried out. Women will be told that home-brewing of beer is a traditional African custom and that beerhalls in residential areas can contribute to crime.

The next step in the campaign will be to send deputations of women to local authorities with a request for home-brewing. If this is refused, husbands will be urged to stop patronising the beerhalls.

Other decisions of the more than 110 delegates from thirty branches included:

Condemnation of the Government's banishment of Mrs. Elizabeth Mafekeng.

Rejection of next year's Union Festival celebrations. A week of mourning will be held instead, during which women will take part in "funeral processions".

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## NATAL LP FETE SUCCESS

From Contact Correspondent

DURBAN: The all-day fete held recently by the Natal Coastal Region of the Liberal Party in Durban was a great success, both financially and socially. Opening the fete, the National President of the Liberal Party, Mr. Alan Paton, said that it was "a symbol of the only kind of country that any sensible person could ask for."

He said that it was the first

time in the history of Natal that a political party representative of all sections of the people had held such a function. People of all races had contributed to its success and people of all races were equally welcome to attend it.

Mr. Paton said in the course of his otherwise appropriately humorous speech that the Liberal Party "stood for the removal of all racial discrimination enforced by law. This did not seem to be a popular election cry in South Africa and some people thought it never would be. But the world is on the side of those who stand for decent racial behaviour and there can be no doubt that world disapproval is increasing day by day."

People from all sections of the community, many of them not actually members of the Liberal Party had contributed enthusiastically to the success of the fete, both in the weeks of preparation and on the day itself, when a diversity of attractions ensured a thoroughly good and profitable time.

At the fete, £425 was raised.

### BOOKS — RECORDS

The Liberal Party is running a Books and Records Stall at the Treason Trial Defence Fund all-day fete in the Cathedral Hall, Cape Town on November 27th

Please send all the material you can collect to the Liberal Party office, 47 Parliament Street, Cape Town.

**Come and Buy Too**

## NATAL GOLFING SENSATION



"Papwa" on his triumphant return from Europe.

## "Papwa" Issues Challenge

WHEN Commonwealth golfers met at the Royal Johannesburg Golf Course recently, they had before them a letter in the form of a challenge from the South African golfing sensation and reigning Dutch Open champion, "Papwa" Sewsunker Sewgolum. Golfers from all parts of the Commonwealth took part and the challenge from "Papwa" was been thrown open to any member of the participating countries. "Papwa" has indicated his willingness to meet them anywhere at anytime.

In the meantime "Papwa" is going great on local courses in Natal. He has broken the course record at St. Michaels on the South Coast and pocketed £100. The previous record of 72 was held by Mr. Bassoon and "Papwa" carded in 67 to break it by 5 strokes. He very narrowly missed adding another £100 when, playing at Southbroom (on the South Coast), he carded in 69 (2 above the course record of 67 held by Gary Player).

Moreover "Papwa" turned in a convincing 69 at the Isipingo Golf Course to win the Diwali Trophy.

### Trust fund

Mr. Louis Nelson, vice-president of the Durban Indian Golf Club and acting chairman of the newly created "Papwa Trust Fund" stated in an interview that "Papwa" would shortly accept a recent course-record-breaking £500 challenge. Meanwhile he is getting ready for the South African non-white Open due to be held at the Cape in January next year.

"Papwa" the calm, easy-going, home-loving former caddie boy will go down on record as the man who has done most for non-white sport in South Africa. His success has apparently caused a change of heart towards the non-whites and the Durban City Council has promised to observe fairplay and justice in making available sporting amenities and facilities for all races.

It was only three months ago that into the hands of this caddie boy was thrust the responsibility of blazing a new trail for non-white sportsmen. Speculation was rife at that time as to whether this small, rather shy father of three, who had left these shores without big match experience, would measure up to his task. But there were three white sportsmen who believed the task possible

By  
Rajendra Chetty

and they were confident he would "knock 'em over" overseas. One of them was Mr. Graham Wulf who employed "Papwa" as his caddie. One day his partner failed to turn up at the Beachwood Golf Course so he asked "Papwa" to partner him, and got a drubbing.

"I then began to groom him" Mr. Wulf told me, "for I never saw better material than in that fine, lean frame of a man."

Then followed a job at Mr. Wulf's establishment—a chemical firm. Partners Anderson and Lowe had already had the pleasure of meeting "Papwa" before and were glad to have him with them. His success is largely due to their sound advice, plus the enormous amount of working practice he got through with these three men.

Messrs. Wulf, Anderson and Lowe were good friends to "Papwa". They bought him all his equipment and did everything possible for him. They knew this trip overseas was needed for he had the skill to meet opposition of the highest order. They wanted him to cross the Mediterranean Sea and bring fame, not as an Indian, but as a South African.

"Papwa's" arrival in England electrified the newspaper world and his fame as an unorthodox left-hand-below-right grip got the golfing world talking. Then followed his practice rounds over the tough Gullane course in Scotland. Then he put in some really pretty impressive stuff over at Muirfield and astounded golfers Peter Thompson of Australia, Bobby Locke and Gary Player of S. Africa in the British Open a few weeks later when he qualified in rounds one and two.

ZACHARIAH KEODIRELANG MATTHEWS

# What Manner Of Man Is He?

ALTHOUGH the University College of Fort Hare is being systematically dismantled by professional racials under remote control from Pretoria, its name will be long remembered. And with it will ever be linked that of Professor Zachariah Keodirelang Matthews, Treason Trialist, former acting principal, Fort Hare, author, politician and brilliant scholar, whose recent resignation from the staff has dramatically spotlighted the passing of an era. (SEE FRONT COVER)

Professor Matthews, as is well-known, was a month ago offered renewal of his appointment on condition he resigned from the African National Congress. He refused, and was forced to resign from his post. That he was not dismissed before, was a grudging recognition by his enemies of his influence, as well as being an attempt to give the new institution respectability and to confuse its critics.

The vocabulary of heroics is somewhat tarnished today, but the life of Z. K. Matthews and his recent spectacular resignation can be described in no other terms. His sacrifice is both

personal and symbolic; he represents all those South Africans who have suffered for their political convictions — the teachers who were sacked or resigned over the Bantu Education Act, the workers and trade-unionists victimised, the deportees. His refusal to collaborate even temporarily has meant the loss of thousands of pounds; had he been dismissed he would have benefited to this extent from various pension schemes and gratuities. So at 57 one of Africa's greatest academicians is out of a job, with children still to be educated.

Born in Kimberley of Bec-

huana stock—his middle name means in Tswana "O God what have I done for you?"—he was educated at Lovedale a mile out of Alice, and at Fort Hare, a mile away on the other side of Alice. He was the first black South African to graduate in his own country. There followed Yale University in America, the London School of Economics. After becoming the first black South African to be headmaster of Adams College, near Durban, he was the second to be given a professorship, in Social Anthropology, at Fort Hare, where he was appointed a lecturer 25 years ago.

### Meeting place

Of his time at Fort Hare Anthony Sampson writes in *The Treason Cage*: "He was established in dignified surroundings at Fort Hare, with his wife, who taught music and was librarian at the college, and a family of five children. His house was a cosmopolitan meeting-place for foreign visitors. The fruits of respectability fell thick about him—a Royal Commission in East Africa, the Committee of the Institute of Race Relations, the Union Advisory Board on Native Education."

His many academic honours culminated in his appointment as Visiting Professor in 1952-53 at the Union Theological Seminary in New York, the leading institution of its kind in the world.

Although never a politician by choice or ambition, Professor Matthews has served terms on the National Executive of the African National Congress and as its Cape Leader. He has played an important part in its evaluation to a new militancy and in building it into the country's second most powerful organisation. His personal conservatism has been tempered by an understanding of the stern task to be performed, and inspired by the teachings of Dr. Du Bois, founder of America's National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People.

### Great personality

A man whose immense stature, massive intellect and immediate impressiveness go with personal reserve and a complete lack of ostentation, it is ironical that only the end of his career at Fort Hare brought to many white South Africans the name of their compatriot who had long had an international reputation.

One feels that this will not be the last time that the name of Professor Matthews will make banner headlines on the front pages of our national dailies.

## CAMPAIGNS AGAINST ALEX BOARD

From Contact Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: Continued propaganda against the Alexandra Township Liaison Committee, appointed by the Peri-Urban Areas Health Board to serve as a link between residents and the board, has brought about the wholesale resignation of the nine-man African committee. The members took their resignation decision when one of them received an anonymous letter warning him to tell his colleagues that if they did not resign and leave Alexandra, "they would be killed before December 25."

Within a week, all nine members tendered their resignations. Said one of them: "We are resigning because we do not want to take any chances. We know that such things can happen in Alexandra."

But long before the threatening letter, a strong campaign had been under way to undermine the committee. Behind this campaign was the Anti-Peri-Urban Areas Committee, in association with the "Movement for the Reconquest of Africa."

This movement was an offshoot of the "Democracy of Content" organisation, led by Vincent Swart, a former lecturer in English at the University of the Witwatersrand.

Swart's organisation consists of six to twelve devoted followers. Although only a splinter group in the 1957 Alexandra bus boycott committee, they seized control at a vital stage and were instrumental in the rejection of the original offer to settle the boycott.

### Basic premise

A basic premise of the organisation is that the "consciousness of the people" in any struggle must rise to a certain level before any effective action can be taken. When this level is reached, the "natural leader-

ship" has to seize the opportunity of "directing" the masses.

There is also talk of "Africa for the Africans" with racialistic overtones.

The Anti-Peri-Urban Areas Committee has been active for some time, organising meetings over weekends and distributing circulars. At the meetings, calls were made for a total boycott of liaison committee members. This was repeated in the widely-distributed circulars, which read: "We have no recourse now except to institute a boycott of every member of this arbitrarily-appointed committee in every respect. Most of them are businessmen. We must make it a point of political consciousness not to buy from them. Other traders have refused to sell to them—no food, no credit—in order to starve them out. We must get rid of them."

Allied with this was a call for complete rejection of the Peri-Urban Areas Health Board which took over control of the township from the semi-elected Alexandra Health Committee.

Aware of the need for consultation with the township's residents and of their resentment at losing their right to partly elect their governing committee, the board had appointed the Liaison Committee three months ago.

## OUR CONTEMPORARIES

# Review of Periodicals IV

## THE OBSERVER

**I**N the field of our contemporaries one periodical towers above all others in all lands. This is the London Sunday paper, *The Observer*.

One of the world's great newspapers, its liveliness has caught the imagination of the younger intellectuals in Britain. Under its editor, Mr. David Astor, its circulation has nearly trebled. Its corps of foreign correspondents is the best in the world. In India, Cyril Dunn (well known in Africa), and in Africa, George Clay, first editor of *Contact*, represent the Observer Foreign News Service. In the London office Anthony Sampson and Colin Legum hold important posts—they, too, are not unknown in South Africa.

If there is one characteristic of *The Observer* that stands out above all others it is courage. Political courage was shown when it took the unpopular line at Suez. Its truthful and strong castigation of British-French aggression lost it many friends and advertisers. Courage of another kind was shown when the text of Mr. Khrushchev's speech on Stalin to the Twentieth Congress reached the West. The whole text was published in one issue of the paper, leaving almost no space for other features. A few readers were infuriated, but most would now say that the decision was a correct one. More recently the Devlin Report got the same treatment, and took up about half of one whole issue.

*The Observer* represents all that is best in the rich, powerful West. Conscious of the acute

problems ahead of the human race in the fields of poverty and race relations, it spares no efforts to increase understanding by East and West of each other.

*The Observer* is closely associated with Michael Scott and the Africa Bureau. Africa is indeed fortunate in having such friends. The address is: 22, Tudor Street, London E.C. 4, England. A copy costs 5d. Postage on a copy is 5½d.

## AFRIKA; Monthly review of politics, business and culture in the New Africa. (German)

**O**NLY five issues of *Afrika* have so far appeared. We welcome this newcomer. Large and glossy, containing 36 pages, nearly all of editorial matter, well-illustrated and mapped, this journal speaks with authority.

On South Africa there appears an impartial assessment of the impact of the Bantustan policy and the advent of the Progressives. There has been some public sympathy with *baasskap* in Germany in the past, and it is refreshing to note its complete absence here.

George Padmore's death is mentioned, and his career is spoken of with appreciation. His time in the communist camp is mentioned, with this comment: "He left it, after he had discovered behind the facade of the myth of social solutions, the merciless dictatorship of a totalitarian party."

*Afrika* is a notable addition to the swelling flood of African periodicals, now rising in every

part of the world.

Editor-in-chief is Dr. Lothar Lohrich, of Cologne. It costs DM 2.20 (or about 4s.) for one copy. Remittances should be sent to: Bayerische Hypotheken- und Wechsel-Bank Munich, Germany, quoting "Konto 405812". The editorial address is: Afrika, Köln 5, Postfach 162, Spichernstrasse 55, Germany.

## PEACE NEWS; The international Pacifist weekly.

**O**NCE banned in South Africa but now freely allowed in, this lively illustrated weekly finds much space for the struggle against colonialism and *apartheid*.

In two recent random issues, for instance, (23 and 30 October there appear the following: Report (illustrated) on the front page, on the Cape Town University bus boycott, taken from *Contact*; Ghana protest against the French atom bomb; Fenner Brockway on Kenya; support for South Africa boycott; "Alan Paton urges—boycott S.A. test team"; Durban group areas threat; "Arms and the Gandhians" (full page); and a feature, illustrated, on the struggle by CORE (Congress of Racial Equality) against colour bars in Miami.

All this for only 1s., for *Peace News* costs only 6d., or £1. 10s. a year. There is also a special airmail edition on india paper for £1 18s. a year (S. African rate). The address: 5 Caledonian Road, London N. 1, England.

## PRÉSENCE AFRICAINE

**T**HE latest issue of *Présence Africaine* is just to hand. This periodical is published very second month in Paris, and is sub-titled "cultural review of the black world".

The new issue is a special number, devoted entirely to the second congress of Negro

## NO LOOKING BACKWARD

*GIVE us o God the power to go on,  
To carry our share of thy burden through to the end,  
To live all the years of our life  
Faithful to the highest we have seen,  
With no pandering to the second best,  
No leniency to our lower selves,  
No looking backward,  
No cowardice. Give us the power to give ourselves,  
To break the bread of our lives to starving humanity,  
In humble self-subjection to serve others,  
As thou, o God, dost serve thy world.*

JOHN HOYLAND

Writers and Artists held in Rome between 26 March and 1 April this year, and contains papers the theme of which is "The unity of the Negro-African cultures". It is nearly all written in French.

It would be impossible to convey the content of this issue in a few paragraphs, but a glance at the table of contents shows the diversity of papers presented, and at the same time illustrates the concern of African intellectuals for the place of man in society, and more noticeably, the place of the Leader, whether political or intellectual, among his people.

Political development has played, and is still playing, an important part in the cultural life of Africa, and political issues underlie the discussion in nearly all the papers, with continued stress laid upon the relationship between the imperialists and the colonial peoples, in effect between Europeans and Africans.

The papers of Sékou Touré and J. Rabémananjara give a clear exposition of the question from the African point of view.

Touré speaks mainly of the role of the political leader, and sees him, if he is democratically chosen, as the representative and defender of the cultural values of the people who chose him. He goes on to argue for two goals: the elimination among the élite of cultural values which are essentially European, and their replacement by values essentially African. And also the integration of the present African élite (educated mostly in

European institutions into the new "communaucratic" Africa.

He sees this change as a spiritual journey towards the ideal of the new African man, capable of taking his place in the world beside the imperialists of old, not however through imitation, but by participating in an "African personality."

Rabémananjara discusses the same question, but lays more emphasis on the debt of Africa to the imperialists, who not only gave her a *lingua franca*, but united the various peoples of Africa in their ideal of independence and pan-africanism.

We find Touré's thesis again in the South African context, in Ezekiel Mphahlele's paper on "Black Culture in a Multi-racial Society."

In other papers we are given a glimpse of Negro-Brazilian writing, of vernacular literature in Africa, of religion in Africa, both Christian and African.

This excellent special issue of *Présence Africaine* contains more than 400 pages and costs 1200 francs.

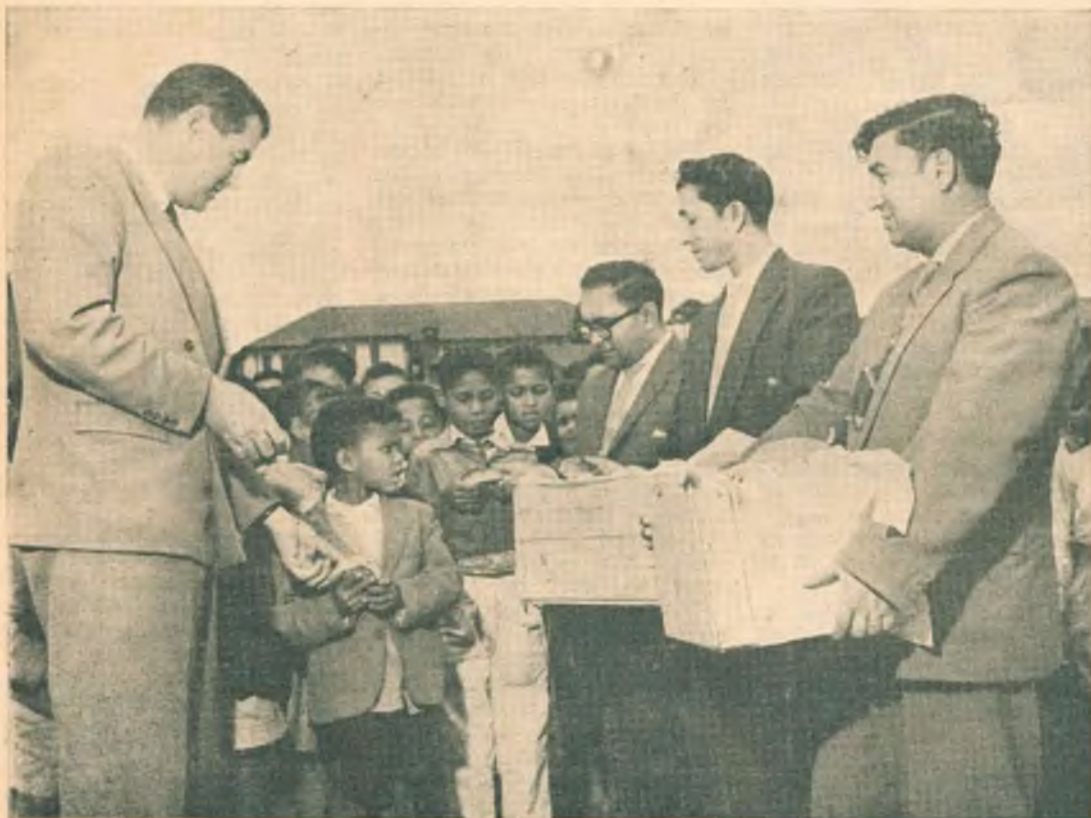
Annual ordinary subscription: 2,300 fr. (23 new francs) to: *Présence Africaine*, 42 rue Descartes, Paris (5e) France.

## THE DRC MONTHLY NEWSLETTER

**I**NFORMATION on the relationship between the DRC and the non-white peoples forms an important part of the contents of this newsletter, obtainable on request from:

119, De Korte Street, Johannesburg, S. Africa.

## WELCOME DIWALI FESTIVAL TREAT



Members of the Port Elizabeth Yuvak Mandal Indian Youth Society distributed buns and milk to more than 1000 African and Coloured school children recently. The gesture followed the celebration of Diwali, the Indian New Year. The Youth Society members were accompanied by Mr. G. A. Gillet, Secretary to the Mayor's School Feeding Fund. The Society plans to make this an annual affair. This picture shows some of the members handing the buns to pupils of the Salem Moravian School, Schauder Township. Left to right are Mr. R. Gillet, Mr. D. Daya, Mr. C. Raga and Mr. S. Parshotam.

## CZECHS SNUB ANC BOYCOTT

**JOHANNESBURG:** While reports stream in of growing overseas support for the African National Congress call for an economic boycott of South African goods, the government of the "people's democracy" of Czechoslovakia has sent an official delegation with the duty of furthering trade with the Union.

The ANC had asked the international community to implement the boycott as a means of protesting against the *apartheid* policy of the Nationalists. The boycott is viewed as "support and solidarity for the freedom-loving peoples of South Africa."

Organisations in countries ranging from the United Kingdom to Ghana and Kenya are already responding to this call. But Czechoslovakia, a member state of the Soviet bloc, wants to expand its £1½ million a year export trade to the Union and also wants to buy more South African goods.

The seven-man trade mission, led by the director-general of the Czech ministry of foreign trade, is the first one ever sent to the Union. During its three-

weeks' stay in the Union, it visited the major towns and met businessmen, industrialists and bankers.

Questioned about Czechoslovakia's desire to increase trade despite the Congress boycott appeal, a member of the mission was frank and open. "We have few raw materials in Czechoslovakia" he said, "and we have to import almost all such materials and many foodstuffs as well."

He added: "Our aim is a two-way flow of goods."

Czechoslovakia wants to increase the sale of industrial and mining plant equipment, jewellery, textiles, beer and motorcars. The trade mission hopes to buy greater quantities of South African wool, citrus fruit, hides and skins and chrome ores.

## RACE RELATIONS EXPOSES SCANDALS

# New Platteland Serfdom

**S**ERF-LIKE conditions under which Africans work on the farms of South Africa are dealt with in a recent memorandum produced by the S.A. Institute of Race Relations. (RR 153/59) The memorandum points out that the influx control system virtually closed the towns to African farm workers, tying them down to rural work, whatever the conditions of work may be. "This leads to abuses such as serious underpayment, inadequate rations and housing, wasteful use of labour, and so on", says the memorandum.

Dealing with people known as "labour tenants and squatters," the memorandum continues:

"The Institute has noted that Chapter IV of the Native Trust and Land Amendment Act is now being applied, and that Labour Tenants' Control Boards have been set up to determine the number of families of labour tenants that may be employed on each farm within their areas of jurisdiction.

"According to the (then) Minister of Native Affairs, speaking in the Assembly, 11 July 1958, those labour tenants who are considered to be surplus to requirements are being assisted by labour bureaux to re-settle on other farms where workers are needed. Squatters requiring employment are being assisted to obtain work as full-time farm workers.

"It is clear that the implementation of Chapter IV of this Act is inevitably causing the uprooting and serious dislocation of the lives of many African families. Particularly difficulties are likely to be experienced by aged and infirm persons, and by families who own stock."

The pressure on Government by the white farmers, its voting backbone, to supply labour, is well-known. The power to uproot these

**Most readers have seen convicts working on South African farms. Contact offers a prize of £5 5s. 0d. for the best photograph to illustrate the use by farmers of prison labour. Glossy prints should be submitted, and the closing date is 31 December, 1959. The decision of the editorial board shall be final.**

people will certainly be used to direct labour to where the employing classes need it, and thus to take away from Africans, in one more respect, the freedom to sell their labour where it is best-paid.

The above deals with "free" men — i.e. those Africans who live in the "white" farming areas and work for a white master, either for cash or for the use of plots of land.

Much more sinister is the use of unfree labour—i.e. of people convicted in the courts, or pressed by threats into entering into contracts with white farmers whom they do not know and have not chosen to work for.

**One of the worst measures taken to supply farmers with labour and thereby to depress the level of agricultural wages is the farm prisons scheme.**

In very many areas farmers have been allowed to build privately-built prisons. These prisons are filled with prisoners — always, of course, non-white prisoners. The prisoners are hired out to farmers at 9d. a day.

The system is attaining vast proportions, and it is safe to say that, with the possible exception of communist slave-labour systems, no more intensive use of convict labour exists in the world.

The Institute, in the memorandum, urges that the use of prison labour by private employers should be discontinued.

### Three schemes

Further ways in which farmers co-operate with the prisons department are disclosed by the memorandum, which says:

"There are three schemes whereby a farmer may recruit prison labour. Firstly, he may interview Africans who are serving sentences in lieu of payment of fines, and, should he find a man who is willing to enter his employment at current rates of pay, may apply for suspension of the sentence on condition that the prisoner remains in his employment for the unexpired portion of his sentence or until he has earned enough to pay the fine. Secondly, a prisoner serving a sentence of three months or less may, if he is willing, be released on probation and enter into an approved contract to work for a farmer for the unexpired portion of his sentence at a wage of not less than 9d. a day. And thirdly, a first offender serving a sentence of from one to two years may be invited after completion of half of his sentence to work for a farmer for the remaining portion of locally-prevailing wage rates.

### Malpractices

"It is appreciated that the Prisons authorities make every effort to ensure that their conditions are observed; but malpractices do occur. For example:

(a) A farmer, G. S. Lourens, of the Standerton District, was during May 1959 found guilty of assaulting convict labourers, and was sentenced to a fine of £50 (or four months' imprisonment), a further two months' imprisonment being conditionally suspended for three years. (*Rand Daily Mail* report, 28 May 1959).

(b) A *habeas corpus* application was made by Rachel Madeira, during June 1959, for the return of her husband Gabriel from the farm of C. F. Grobler in the Trichardt District. She stated that Gabriel had been retained on the farm beyond the date when his sentence expired to make up for a period when he was ill. Gabriel was in hospital at the time when his application came before the Supreme Court, Pretoria: it was alleged that he was assaulted on the farm after he had

## Methodists Slate Unjust Laws

THE annual conference of the Methodist Church of South Africa was held recently at Kimberley. In a statement on public and political issues in the Union, the following view was expressed:

*It is with increasing concern that we note the continued application of the policy of enforced separate development (apartheid). The Extension of University Education Act, the creation of so-called Bantu "homelands", the elimination of the Natives' representatives from the House of Assembly, and the Senate and the continued implementation of the Group Areas Act, with all the suffering, havoc and confusion involved, are part of a pattern which we regard as inimical to the highest interests of South Africa and its peoples. Even though some benefits may result, this does not blind us to the inherent wrong of forcing upon an unwilling people policies which are often in complete conflict with their legitimate aspirations. We shall continue to press for the repeal of all discriminatory legislation which results in the withholding of fundamental rights and freedoms.*

visited a police station to request that he be discharged. (*Star* reports, 24 and 25 June 1959).

(Two other cases are quoted.)

Perhaps the worst scheme is one which was so scandalous that it was suspended, temporarily, a few months ago. It involved pressing into labour contracts men and boys under arrest for petty offences. The implications are fearful: firstly it involved the authorities compounding the offence—i.e. that instead of the police handing alleged wrongdoers over to the judicial authorities, they allowed them to escape punishment on condition they took service with a white farmer.

Secondly it degrades the police from being officers defending law and order into kidnappers and blackbirders. Thirdly, it allies the police with one class, the employing class, and makes them into enemies of the working-class.

In all likelihood the scheme will be revived, as soon as the criticism has died down.

### Petty offenders

According to the memorandum "of 14,154 petty offenders brought by the police to the District Labour Bureau in Johannesburg during 1958, 2,337 were placed in employment on farms. During the first three months of 1959, 1,025 men out of 4,180 brought to the Labour Bureau accepted such employment."

"There have been fair numbers of allegations of ill-treatment of these men while they were on the farms." The memorandum quotes ten *habeas corpus* applications and gives references.

"A serious case of ill-treatment of petty offenders was reported in the Press during August and September, 1958. Thirty-two Africans had been sent from the labour bureau to the farm of C. L. S. Botha in the Heidelberg area, and, following alleged thrashings, they decided to leave and report back to the authorities. As they walked along the road a van overtook them, warning shots were fired, and they were rounded up and taken back to the farm, where they were cruelly beaten. Botha was later found guilty of assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm, and was sentenced to 4½ years' imprisonment and seven strokes with a cane. Two of his white and seven of his African staff received lesser sentences for participating in the assaults."

It is by no means suggested that all, or even any considerable proportion, of the petty offenders who accept to work on farms are ill-treated there. But what does become clear is that the system has been very inadequately controlled. A farmer, P. J. Potgieter, of the Heidelberg District, who had been "blacklisted" by the Department of Prisons, was permitted to employ petty offenders, as admitted by the Minister of Justice in the Senate, 11 May 1959.

### Inadequate control

The memorandum continues: "Quite apart from the inadequate control that has been exercised, however, the system has highly undesirable features.

"Firstly, it is undisputed that petty offenders who accept work on farms are kept at the labour bureau until the farmers come to collect them, and are given no opportunity of informing their relatives of their whereabouts, or of fetching their clothes and money. Officials state that if the relatives make inquiries they are given the addresses of the farms to which the men have been sent. But these relatives are often ignorant of the whole procedure, and at a loss to know where to inquire. Furthermore, the names of the men may have been taken down incorrectly by the officials, and it is likely then to be well-nigh impossible to trace them. There is no need to dwell on the anxiety that the relatives feel, or the practical difficulties that they experience when the breadwinners suddenly disappear.

### Men bewildered

"Secondly, it is highly probable that misunderstandings take place when bewildered, frightened men, who have often spent a night in gaol, are hauled before officials at the labour bureau. The interpreters provided may not always be fluent in the necessary languages. It is doubtful whether many of the men fully appreciate that the penalty for the type of offence they have committed is unlikely to exceed a fine of £1 or 7 days' imprisonment. It is open to doubt whether they understand that the period for which they are required to contract to work on a farm, if they wish to avoid prosecution, is not three months, as would appear at first sight, but is 90 working days (which may be considerably longer than three months, as Sundays, days when the worker is off sick, and days when work is impossible due to adverse weather conditions, are not included).

### Anti-African Slander

## COMPARED TO "WILD ANIMALS"

### LETTER TO THE EDITOR:

## REPLY TO SAM NUJOMA FROM WHITE MAN

Dear Sir,

I would like to reply to the letter of Sam Nujoma, especially his list of alleged grievances, wherein he gives a very distorted view of facts, in the following order:

He states that after 39 years of Administration of South West Africa, the Natives have no vote and have no representatives in the Councils of the State.

Mr. Sam Nujoma knows perfectly well that the overwhelming number of Natives in South West are quite unqualified to vote and will be incapable to do so for many years to come. They understand as much about the vote and governing a country as the wild animals in the Etosha Pan.

### WHITES PROVIDE

He also should know that, were it not for the White people who have established industries and businesses and thus given employment to the Natives in numerous ways, they would all starve and would revert to making war upon one another, and to cannibalism.

*This is a facsimile of part of a letter to the editor of the Windhoek Advertiser which appeared on 18 August this year.*

*The rest of the letter is a lengthy defence of benefits brought to the Africans of South-West by the white people — and incidentally quotes with pride that wages in Windhoek are as much as £3-£8 per month for Africans.*

*The references to wild animals and cannibals shocked many people in the territory, and the attention of Contact was actually drawn to this letter by a reader from Ovamboland who could hardly write. Despite difficulties he wrote in and protested at the monstrous suggestions contained in this letter.*

*We are indebted to him for his vigilance.*

# CONTACT

**T**HE Progressives have held their congress, and have achieved a triumphant public meeting in Johannesburg. Now they will have to settle down to the less exciting, but essential, routine of building their party.

Will their relations with the Liberal Party be good? This depends largely on themselves, for, from the side of the Liberals has come little but rejoicing, to see so many influential people begin the journey away from white supremacy. The Progressives, unless they go out of their way to attack the Liberals, are likely to continue to enjoy this goodwill.

It must immediately be said that Dr. Steytler, their leader, enjoys the liking and admiration of many thousands. The hour demands men who are strangers to fear; and Dr. Steytler, by one reply he gave in Johannesburg, has shown that he is one of them. When asked for a guarantee that there would never be a non-white majority in Parliament, he said: There will be a non-white majority.

That is realism. That is courage. His reply places him almost precisely where the Liberal Party stands, and all Liberals will applaud him for having said it.

It is unfortunately not possible to view as uncritically all that his party has done. For instance, the party has decided that it will adopt a qualified franchise: but it has not yet decided what the qualification is to be. A commission is to sit, taking "six months to a year" to report, before a decision will be reached. Until then the public will not know whether it is dealing with a party nearly as reactionary as the United Party, or nearly as democratic as the Liberals. It remains to be seen how many people will be willing to throw in their lot with a party which, for the first year of its life, is not able to say with greater precision than this just where it stands between white supremacy and democracy.

Again, parts of his party seem to be making decisions that do not harmonise with Dr. Steytler's magnanimity. A report from Natal speaks of a decision not to allow non-whites even to attend meetings until the franchise qualifications are decided. This is an astonishing decision, and contrasts unfavourably with the practice of the admittedly reactionary United Party, which, during its provincial election campaign, allowed non-whites to attend its meetings.

A further point which needs urgent review is the arrangement, mentioned on another page, for dealing with membership applications. No one is lightly going to risk being blackballed, and the arrangement described will ensure that few, at any rate among the non-whites, will apply.

It is in any case going to be difficult for the new party to recruit non-white members. It has been founded exclusively by whites: at the great Johannesburg public meeting no non-whites were seen in the audience or on the platform. Interracial suspicion is unfortunately so strong that it is always difficult for whites to join non-white movements or vice versa, and it is a pity that the Progressives have, by adopting a blackballing technique that lacks frankness, made it even more difficult for non-whites to join them.

Perhaps the tendency that needs most careful watching is the tendency to base policies on the concept of "civilised persons". The new policies are full of such references. This is unfortunate, as the word "civilised" has no defined meaning. A person may be more, or less, acculturated to western European customs. He may be more, or less, well behaved. Or he may be more, or less, educated; more, or less, rich. But the word civilised, which some people use to suggest some of the above concepts, has no definable relationship with any of them, and is never used by sociologists, or, indeed, by anyone whose speech has precision. Let the Progressives therefore beware of this word, and not have the unwisdom to base their policies on it.

It is a pity that in so few weeks they have found it necessary to make so many slighting references to the Liberal Party. Even Dr. Steytler, in a reference that marred his otherwise fine Johannesburg speech, slated the Liberals for their policy of "surrender". That word was undeserved. If by it he meant that the Liberals are working for a non-white Parliamentary majority, he picked a curious moment for his attack. For, only a few minutes before, he had replied, as mentioned above, that Progressive policies, also, led on to a non-white Parliamentary majority.

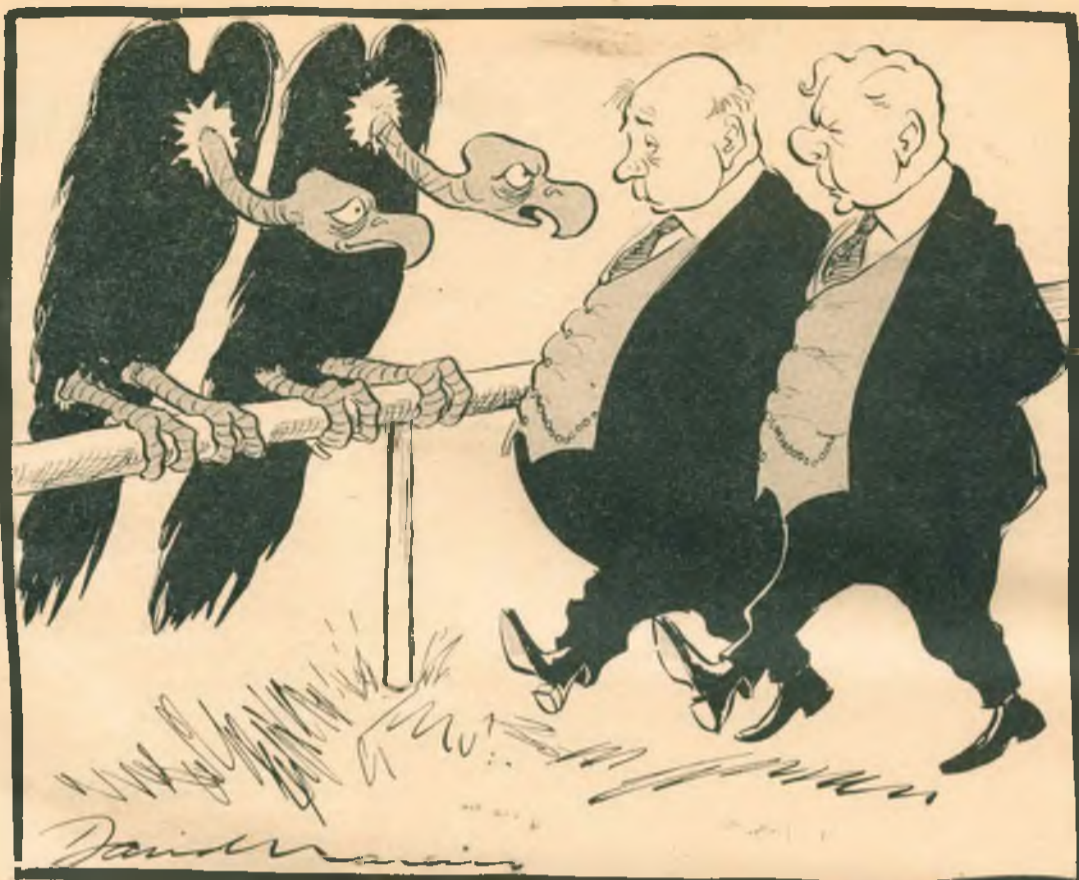
His attack showed further that he does not understand the Liberal Party. He appears to think of Liberals as a group of whites, busy selling-out to black nationalism. But Liberals are not white. They are a racially-mixed party, building the non-racial nation that South Africa is destined to become. They are selling-out to nobody.

The Liberals have sincerely welcomed the advent of the Progressives. They have, after all, worked for many years for this very thing to happen, and for the tide to turn in white politics against the colour bar. The Liberals have thus no reason to fight the Progressives. But it is in the nature of politics that a party defends its stand. If the Progressives continue to snipe, then they are going to find themselves involved in a running fight with the Liberals—a situation that only Dr. Verwoerd could really enjoy.

At this stage it is evident that there is room for both groups. The Progressives have the immediate advantage of having eleven MPs in Parliament with perhaps three years to run. They have, in addition, Mr. Oppenheimer's backing, with all that that means in terms of respectability and business support. They have important friends in the newspaper world. The Liberals have the longer-term advantage of representing the determination of the resurgent oppressed peoples to win justice—one of the only two sources in South Africa of political power. There is no reason here for any clash.

It is therefore to be hoped that, in the interest of our democratic future, Dr. Steytler will call off his party's attacks, and that he will respond with wisdom and generosity to the welcome which the Liberals have extended to his party.

CONTACT



"What do you mean the British Government can have Mrs. Mafekeng? This is a fine time to become humanitarian!"

## APARTHEID IS CRAZY ECONOMICS (3)

**S**TUPIDITY is *not* a bar to a high degree of efficiency in a great many walks of life. If it were, most of us would go hungry. In all sorts of jobs, from office boy to company director, from clergyman to crook, from counter-hand to university professor, workers will be heard wondering at the stupidity of a particular colleague, who is nevertheless able to carry out the work expected of him.

The clever man is not clever by virtue of his own doing. The cleverness (or stupidity) potential is inherited. Nature endows us with a range of possible cleverness, and environmental influences determine where within that range a person "settles".

Environmental influences also determine a person's productivity. Indeed we could turn the wording about here and say that



environment gives us a range of possible productivity, and our natural cleverness level determines where within that range we "settle". This is immediately obvious if we take a simple historical comparison as an example. A highly intelligent worker of 1859 using a shovel could not in a week move anything approaching the amount of earth a much more stupid man could move today, with modern earth-moving equipment. The modern "stupid" is thus much more effective as a mover of earth, i.e., as a pro-

ducer of output, as a producer of goods or services. Again, today's run-of-the-mill physicians can with today's drugs cure diseases before which the 19th century medical genius was helpless. Today's somewhat dull physician is thereby a better physician than the clever one of 1859. We could go on multiplying such examples in sphere after sphere of activity.

Nor can we profitably separate all today's "stupid" and all today's "brightness" into two groups. Separated, each group will produce less. The stupid need the clever to guide them, to organise production for them, to pull them out of difficulties. The clever need the stupid to save them having to waste their cleverness on routine clerking, machine-tending, manual labour, etc. Thus the high output of the essentially dependent on the assistance of the stupid workers—just as the output of the skilled is dependent on the assistance of the unskilled. Each is essential: neither can be dispensed with. Split them and you reduce total output.

Any artificial segregation of people reduces productivity. Thus take the Africans and shove them into segregated reserves and "African only" areas and you reduce not only their productivity potential but also that of the white skilled workers. This would be true even if we accepted the argument (which so many uneducated whites do

believe) that the Africans have a lower level of intelligence than the white South African.

It is perhaps a bit upsetting to white pride to admit, but it is nevertheless important to realise, that in South Africa today, with modern equipment, modern industrial organisation and modern technologies, the ill-educated, under-paid, ill-nourished, badly-housed and contumaciously-treated dark-skinned South Africans are able to produce more goods and services than were the 19th century farmers, artisans, transport workers, etc., whose names are found in our local history books. White Grandpa may have been an excellent transport rider and, between bouts of malaria, may have cut quite a dashing figure, but compared with today's non-white bus-driver or lorry driver he was a mighty poor economic unit.

The implications of this importance of environment in determining productivity are



immense. It means that nearly all the "economic" arguments based on the "stupidity", the "ignorance", the "lack of education" of the Africans are ephemeral in so far as they have any weight at all. Tomorrow's

(Continued on page 16)



PETER BROWN takes the...

... LONG VIEW



Peter Brown, Chairman of the Liberal Party

## Mafekeng Case: World Anger Reaches New Pitch

family at Umbumbulu, near Durban, to say good-bye to them, and to get back in time to catch the train on which he had been ordered to leave.

*Mrs. Mafekeng's story has rightly reverberated around the world. Mr. Mnyandu's may not, but it should. So should every other story of every other banishment. They remind South Africa and the world of just what kind of regime holds office here.*

Neither Mrs. Mafekeng nor Mr. Mnyandu has been found guilty of any crime. In Mr. Mnyandu's case, fact, he had, a short while previously been found *not* guilty, in a Durban magistrate's court, of incitement to violence during the Cato Manor upheavals. No reason has yet been given for Mr. Mnyandu's banishment.

AS I write, Mrs. Elizabeth Mafekeng is reported to have reached some "unknown destination" in Basutoland. Good luck to her! I hope she continues to evade the clutching tentacles of the Special Branch.

There have been frequent banishments in South Africa in recent years but too often they have taken place so silently that few people, apart from officials and relatives and friends of the unfortunate victims, have known anything about them. Occasionally a case has come to light which has made front-page news but none has provoked such a violent reaction, in South Africa and beyond, as has the case of Mrs. Mafekeng. Quite rightly too.

Mrs. Mafekeng is the mother of a large family from most of whom her banishment would have separated her. She was to have been sent to an area some seven hundred miles from her home and in one of the least attractive parts of the country. Having been an active worker in the service of her people for many years she was to have been placed in a position where her only avenue of employment would have been as a domestic servant.

A few days after Mrs. Mafekeng's banishment had been announced, Mr. C. Mnyandu, a member of the ANC in Durban, was ordered into exile in the Sibasa area of the Northern Transvaal at ten hours' notice. He barely had time to visit his

ment's action against them.

The Prohibition of Interdicts Act provides that they must first be exiled before they can challenge whether they *should have been* or not! So, those who are banished must go and they must go, not only in ignorance of their offence but in ignorance of the length of their sentence. They do not know when they will return home or, indeed, whether they will ever return home at all.

Mr. Eric Louw has just come

back from UNO where, he has told us, hostility to South Africa is on the decline. Mr. Louw is deceiving himself and us. The reaction to the Mafekeng banishment shows that quite clearly. Nothing has done so much to turn the world's anger against South Africa as has this one action. Even the banning of Chief Lutuli did not carry the same impact.

The world is very angry, but will it do anything? Indications from Britain are that weighty words of condemnation of the

Union's racial policies are no longer regarded as sufficient by a growing number of people. South Africa is providing more and more of an embarrassment to the Commonwealth and to those who, officially anyway, must still pretend to be her friends. Unofficially the campaign to isolate South Africa culturally and economically is gaining more and more support.

Despite Mr. Louw reassuring patter, South Africa drifts increasingly into an isolation all her own. That is good. It is time that those who support white supremacy in South Africa and its attendant evils should begin to feel and not only hear about the weight of world hostility towards them.

Perhaps they will then start to question where they stand.

### Fair Comment... by Patrick Duncan

DR. OTTO DU PLESSIS, Cape Administrator, has pleaded for architecture to take from the past what is good, and not to be dominated by merely financial factors.

I strongly agree with him. I hope that South Africa will do something to develop its own style of big-city architecture with healthy roots in the past. It was possible for colonial Spanish, Dutch, and English towns to be beautiful in the eighteenth century. Why is it that our modern cities are nothing more than nightmares in concrete and steel?

The ugliest architecture is improved — or at least concealed — by trees. So let's firmly tell our city engineers that there will be trees, and they must make their plans round this fact. Otherwise we will have nothing but tangles of telephone and power wires to give us shade and shelter.

ON another page we record an interview with Dr. Leslie Rubin, who is off to Ghana as a result of *apartheid* here. A great and growing country attracts skills, intelligence, and capital. Under *apartheid* we are repelling them.

Dr. Rubin's going means that South Africa as a whole is poorer. But none will feel the loss more than the Africans. As clients and as constituents they have learned to know in Dr. Rubin a tough, fearless fighter, who has many Government scalps — among them Mr. Swart's — nailed up on his wall.

A tip to Monty: When you were winning at Alamein, the liberals in South Africa didn't pepper you with ignorant, unasked advice. If they had, you'd have known how to deal with them. That's the way they feel about you now.

You say it is not the job of the United Nations to "interfere in the internal affairs of another member country". That is doubtful — and the International Court is perhaps better qualified than you to express an opinion. What is certain is that it is not *your* job to do this until you know a bit more than the experiences of one day, and after-dinner chats with your friends, have given you.

FOR nearly a century Cape Town has had a racially integrated railway station. Now, when the new station is built, a second unnecessary "non-white" segregated station is to be built, at a cost of £300,000. The World Bank has already lent the South African Railways £50 million. Does it know that much of this capital is going into unnecessary, new, segregated facilities? There is this station, and there is also the new lunacy of a segregated air passenger service.

Please, Mr. Black, couldn't you use your scarce capital resources for building dams in starving Asia and Africa? Why should they help extend *apartheid*?

WHEN he spoke recently in London Mr. Oppenheimer said that over the last few years, the wages of Africans in South Africa had increased more rapidly than wages of the whites. It now is clear that Mr. Oppenheimer was wrong. In the November issue of *The Standard Bank Review*, at page 5, are shown authoritative figures. These show that, since 1953, white people's hourly rates of pay have increased by 11%, while Africans' hourly rates of pay have increased by only 1% — i.e. that they are practically the same as they were six years ago. And in the mean time all prices have risen, so that the same money cannot buy as much as it could — i.e. *the real wages of Africans have fallen*, while those of the whites have probably increased.

I welcome the forthcoming visit of the British Prime Minister and Lady Dorothy Macmillan. I hope that, unlike Monty, he has heard of Chief Lutuli, and that, unlike Monty, he will take steps to meet non-white leaders in the Union.

Unless Mr. Macmillan takes the initiative he will meet none of them, and the impression will be created that Britain has no interest in South Africa's non-whites. That would be unfortunate, as Britain has probably no warmer friends anywhere.

TWO dreadful suicides have happened lately at the Cape. In each case the person concerned had been threatened with the uprooting of his life through the application of the Group Areas Act. In each case the person was "coloured".

Must the machine grind relentlessly on, over the bodies of poor broken people like these? Has Dr. J. F. J. van Rensburg, local Group Areas chief, no conscience?

The pathetic thing about Mr. Mitchell, one of the suicides, is that only a few months ago he held a happy twenty-first party for his son. A photograph was taken showing the father giving the son the traditional key. Traditional, yes, western Europe's traditions; guarded and kept by a man many of whose ancestors came from western Europe. We know that most of the white people in this country have some non-European ancestors. How in the name of God can they go on persecuting their own kith and kin, whose only crime is that they were born on the "wrong" side of an imaginary fence?

SOUTH AFRICAN  
LOOKING - GLASS

First, there's the room you can see through the glass — that's just the same as our drawing room, only the things go the other way.  
—Through the Looking-Glass.

The dynamic Government policy of apartheid is very good indeed.—from letter to *Bantoe/Bantu* from F. N. Mpanza, Johannesburg.

The Bantu Education Department drives us nearer to the light of progress.—from letter to *Bantoe/Bantu* from Sam M. Muhlar, P.O. Shiluvanc.

I thank the Department of Bantu Administration and Development for having been so kind to we black people.—from letter to *Bantoe/Bantu*, from Glisco G. Sekoailo, Johannesburg.

CONTACT

28 November 1959

**"WE OUGHT TO HAVE AN  
INTEGRATED VIEW**

**OF OUR CULTURE"**

**T**HE reason why I attend public lectures that are organised quite often in Johannesburg is not, unfortunately, because of any desire to be informed, educated, stimulated, or whatever it is that draws audiences to these dismal affairs.

It is rather the little chit-chat with friends, just before the chairman introduces the speaker, that makes these evenings memorable and worthwhile. The profundities that flow from the speaker's mouth can hardly equal in value the warm, congenial atmosphere which surrounds the small cluster of friends near the door or in the foyer while they speculate on the prospects of the evening's entertainment... just before the speaker mounts the rostrum.

One evening we had these few minutes for chatting about one thing or another while waiting for the visiting British author, Richard Church, to address us on the process of writing a novel. The Jewish young man sitting next to me was quite appropriately, discussing South African writing as a sort of preview.

Not that any of the would-be writers expected to acquire the ability to write that magnificent novel through listening to one man's lecture on how he does it. The truth is that people who want to write always desire to hear from established authors how they do it, vaguely hoping to stumble on some strange insight, some wonderful clue, that might provide a short cut to achieving authorship without the sheer menial toil that accompanies the process.

Anyway I am quite fed up with writers who offer benign advice to young hopefuls. They always end on this note: "You either have it or you don't!" A fine advice to hand out to a

young man or woman who still has agonising doubts as to whether he or she has it or not. I suppose this observation strikes

By Lewis Nkosi

these successful writers as terribly profound.

As I was saying before I was carried away by my feelings, this young man was saying something about South African writing. He turned to me and said, "Lewis, I think the best writing of this country is going to come from you people."

To put it mildly, this was a bit startling. I have become a little cautious of people who believe that Africans are special



LEWIS NKOSI

animals who have all sorts of innate rhythms and unusual capacities for doing things that nobody else can do. People seem to draw strange anthropological conclusions from any number of social facts. So naturally I pursued the subject further.

"What do you mean the best writing is going to come from us?" I enquired.

"Well take me for instance," he said. "What can I write about? I haven't had the kind of experience that you have. I

was brought up in a good home and was never exposed to the kind of things that you were exposed to. Sure, during the war we had our little organisation of Zionist youth and that sort of thing, but it isn't something deep enough to form a good base for writing."

This young man expressed for me the dichotomy in our culture, and it seems that this condition is going to persist until there is a drastic change in the basic social structure. It was perhaps unavoidable that one time or another during the development of this country we should suffer from this lack of a shared nationhood. Our writing so far, with the possible exception of Miss Gordimer's *A World of Strangers*, has not merely pointed at the imposition of an artificial morality upon us, but it has continuously and agonisingly examined and seemed to accept the premise that we are profoundly different and separate.

I realise that this was to be expected since we have never as a nation quite accepted the premise that we are here together and that we are stuck with each other. Those of us who say we accept integration as inevitable do not want to face up to its social consequences, whether or not we preach such a belief on political platforms. The things we share have, therefore, not been celebrated in our national literature. Our writing has lost its affirmative values through this open-mouthed wonder at our "profound separateness."

The result has been a spiritual penury such as no other country has experienced, not even the United States. The dichotomy of our culture represented by Houghton and Sophiatown is implicit even in our attitude to the theatre. When a "township play" is put on, the Houghton establishment turns up to see it because it expects to see an exposé of the lurid, seamy, bitchy, vital side of life which the township has come to symbolise. When the characters in the play seem to behave like people; when they fight for the same human identity that any young lady from Houghton would fight for, as happened in Athol Fugard's *Nongogo*, Houghton is disappointed. Then it turns out that that is not what it was looking for. Houghton was merely questing for the old stereotyped image. The price you pay for not showing it is a solid flop! That is the price Athol Fugard paid.

I am one of those who think that the pallor of life in the genteel white suburbs like Houghton can do with a little township vitality. If you doubt this, get Lemmy Special to play his pennywhistle at some of the parties they organise in Park Town and Houghton. I've seen it happen. The house is turned upside down. But the same is true of Sophiatown, although many people who romanticise "township life" do not seem to suspect this. In spite of all its vitality, the township is impoverished because of its lack of contact with the other side.

For instance, the township is wasteful of much life, of its energy, because of its lack of the Houghton kind of discipline. The enthusiasm for life and the (Continued at foot of next col.)

**World Backs Segal  
Ban Protest**

**L**EADING intellectuals and democratic organisations in Europe, Asia, and Latin America, responding to the appeal of the Congress for Cultural Freedom, have asked the South African Government to rescind the ban imposed upon Ronald Segal, the Editor of Africa South. The Congress Executive Bureau protested to Dr. Verwoerd, that Mr. Segal was being "victimized for exercising a basic democratic right—criticism of Government policies" in his journal, and has called for a large-scale campaign on Segal's behalf. Statements supporting the Congress move have been made by individuals, organisations and the press in Sweden, Denmark, Iceland, France, Britain, India, Argentina, and Mexico. The Manchester Guardian strongly supported the position taken by the Congress, saying "the protest is well founded". The Guardian noted that Mr. Segal had been penalised under the "Suppression of Communism Act", although he "is not and never has been a communist, and has strongly criticised communist policy in his journal."

**CHAMBER IS AGAINST  
COURTESY CAMPAIGN**

From Contact Correspondent

**JOHANNESBURG:** "Private and Confidential. Not for Publication." The Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce uses these phrases in a circular which tells its many members that it has reservations about Mr. E. D. Bodley's African People's Courtesy Campaign.

Readers of *Contact* will remember how the enterprising Mr. Bodley has shaken Johannesburg's business world by campaigning for the courteous treatment of black customers in "white" shops.

Now comes circular No. 22, of 1959, from the Chamber of Commerce to its members:

"The Chamber has received a number of enquiries from members as to whether they should take part in this campaign.

"The final decision in matters of this kind must obviously rest with members, but there are one or two general considerations which the Chamber feels should be taken into account."

What are these "general considerations?"

"Firstly, probably most firms already endeavour to ensure courteous treatment to cus-

tomers of all races by briefing the members of their staffs, and these firms may prefer to continue to accord such treatment in a practical manner, without the use of external manifestations such as badges and window stickers."

The circular says that these badges and stickers "may lend themselves to differing interpretations in the minds of customers of various groups." This, to my mind, is a polite way of saying that supporters of *apartheid* will view the scheme with disfavour and that this could be bad for business.

The second "general consideration": "... there may be some practical and legal difficulties involved in regard to such matters as the use of restrooms and lifts by customers of all races."

**Nat. Paper Attacks  
Airport Apartheid**

From Contact Correspondent

**JOHANNESBURG:** The time has come for Mr. Ben Schoeman, Minister of Transport, to do something about the treatment of non-whites at Jan Smuts airport, says the influential columnist of *Die Vaderland*.

On October 19, the columnist complained that he was not happy about the way that visiting non-whites had been treated at the airport.

The tone of his column conflicts sharply with the Australian statements on Senator Hayward,

abounding energy is fine, but it achieves nothing until it is disciplined and directed into creative channels.

In short the persistence of the schism in our national life is responsible for the over-glamourisation of the township, which, in turn, is responsible for making people believe that the township is going to produce the real, vital culture of this country.

I don't agree with this assumption. I think the township is going to add an important dimension of vitality and an arresting sense of the world to our culture. But it will need the techniques of Houghton.

We ought to have an *integrated view* of our culture.

who repeatedly claimed that the West African M.P., Mr. Johnson, had not been slighted at the airport when he left on a Commonwealth Parliamentary tour of Australia.

The columnist says that Jan Smuts is a "show window" of the Union — and is "international" territory. "At this airport to the outside world, (we) cannot afford to make mistakes that can do our name harm overseas," he writes.

Three cases are specifically mentioned in the column: the manner in which a Japanese business man was forced by officials to eat in the non-white restaurant; the case of Mr. Johnson; and the treatment of the Chinese Consul-General.

"To refuse a cultured Japanese entry to a European restaurant, is an unforgivable mistake," is but one sentence in the column that must have shaken Nationalists.

"At no other airport in the world is *apartheid* enforced", he adds.

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## NEW LEGISLATURE FOR B.P.

# But Whites Are Over-Represented

THE 275,000 square-mile Bechuanaland Protectorate, with its 300,000 inhabitants, is to get its own legislature soon. This huge dry land, nearly, *but not quite*, surrounded by the Union and South-West, has played a part already in the history of Southern Africa.

This new development, by transferring a considerable amount of power to the largely African inhabitants, will influence events in the whole region no less than will the new Basutoland constitution.

A report by a committee of the Joint Advisory Council which was published on 2 November makes recommendations for the formation of a Legislative Council and an Executive Council.

The background to the report is as follows: in 1920 two advisory councils representing respectively the white and African inhabitants were established in the Bechuanaland Protectorate.

In 1950 a Joint Advisory Council was established consisting of eight members of the African Advisory Council elected by that Council, the eight members of the European Advisory Council and seven government officials.

In 1958 the Joint Advisory Council passed a resolution "that the time had come when a Legislative Council should be formed and empowered to assist in the Government of the Territory."

## Law-making powers

The report recommends that the present Joint Advisory Council should be reorganised as a Legislative Council. It would have law-making powers, subject to the assent of the High Commissioner. It is recommended that the present membership should be increased to 35 to allow for 21 elected mem-

bers, 4 nominated members and 10 official members; that the African and white communities should be represented on the Council in equal numbers, as at present, and that one seat should be provided for the small Asian community.

The report recommends that the white members of the proposed council should be elected



by a secret ballot system similar to that employed for many years in the election of members of the European Advisory Council, and that the franchise for whites should be similar to that now in force for them. The report also recommends that the Asian member of the proposed council should be elected by the Asian inhabitants of the territory.

The committee considered that the time was not yet ripe for African members of the Council to be elected directly by the inhabitants of the territory and they recommend that the African elected members of the Legislature should be chosen by the existing African Advisory

Council, a body consisting of eight Chiefs and 31 ordinary members representing all the tribes. The ordinary members of the African Advisory Council are at present appointed in accordance with traditional tribal procedures, but the report recommends that the Tribal Councils now being established should in future elect the ordinary members of the African Advisory Council and that the establishment of these councils should be developed as rapidly as possible.

In addition the committee have recommended that an Executive Council should be created to advise the Resident Commissioner and High Commissioner in the discharge of the executive functions of Government, and they recommend that four leading unofficial members of the Legislative Council should be appointed to this body. Of these four members, two would be African. Other members of the Executive Council would be officials who would form a majority.

It is virtually certain that the British Government will accept the recommendations.

## Short of democracy

In several respects these proposals come far short of democracy. The High Commissioner, for instance, has power to override the new legislature and executive. But, in practice, it will be very difficult for him to do so. Again, the tiny white community (2,500) has been given representation far beyond its size and true importance. This again is not as bad as it looks, as, with British policy moving steadily nearer the African viewpoint, it will not be possible for the settler communities of the Protectorate to challenge the African majority on any point of substance. Again, the whole concept is based on the same distasteful distinctions as is the present multi-racial constitution in Tanganyika.

In other respects, however, what is to be given represents a welcome advance. It is increasingly genuinely elective, and is thus in sharp distinction to the Bantu Authorities system. And it will provide a framework in which democratic movements can grow and flourish.

What is remarkable, and to be admired, is that in Southern Africa such proposals have been made jointly by Africans and whites. Such a degree of co-operation, in this region, demonstrates, by contrast, how much damage and destruction has already been caused by *apartheid* in the neighbouring areas.

## Our local correspondent writes:

Politically Bechuanaland must be one of the quietest places in Africa. The only body to place a memorandum before the Committee was the Bechuanaland Protectorate Federal Party which has a few members in Serowe. There appear to be no other political parties and Bechuanaland must have been one of the few unrepresented countries at the Accra Conference. A more advanced constitution will presumably not be proposed until the Protectorate becomes more politically conscious.

## LOSS TO SOUTH AFRICA

# New Appointment For Sen. Rubin

IT WAS recently announced that Dr. the Hon. Leslie Rubin, Senator representing the Africans in the Cape, had written to the Governor-General resigning his seat in the Senate, and that he is soon to go to Ghana to take up an appointment there.

In an interview with *Contact*, Dr. Rubin gave some details of the new appointment. "I shall be a Senior Lecturer on the staff of the University College of Ghana, and shall be loaned by them to a new organisation—the Institute of African Law. This institute is backed by Ghana Government funds, and I shall be the director".

Dr. Rubin explained that there would be a large library, and a large staff of legal experts, both Ghanaian and from other African and Commonwealth countries. The Institute would not be a teaching institute, but would be devoted to pure research.

"At first", Dr. Rubin said, "the Institute will concentrate mainly on local Ghanaian problems, in the fields of land law and constitutional law. But fairly soon I hope that we will be able to be of use to other African countries. In East Africa for example there are tough problems of this nature, and I very much hope that we will be equipped in time to help them. I understand that I shall be expected to do a great deal of travelling."

I asked Dr. Rubin about his private arrangements, and he told me that he and his wife would move, taking with them

their younger son, Martin. Neville, the elder, will remain behind to complete his degree at Cape Town University. Dr. Rubin told me that he had had some surprising reactions from colleagues and their wives, some of them ostensibly liberally-minded. One woman commiserated with Mrs. Rubin on having to 'go and live in a location'. It had to be made plain to her that the good suburbs of Accra were like Johannesburg's northern suburbs. Both she and Dr. Rubin look forward to sharing in the exciting business of building in Ghana into a modern progressive state.

In reply to a question about South Africa, Dr. Rubin said that he was going to miss it a great deal. As to the future, he said that he was optimistic in the long term, for he could not believe that *apartheid* could possibly prevail. Against it were working economic forces, the increasing awareness of its shortcomings among the Afrikaners themselves, world opinion, and pressures here.

"But in the short term I am not optimistic" he said. Until the white man can face up to the fact that *apartheid* has to go, all we can look forward to is more outbreaks such as Cato Manor and Paarl."

# Kanjedza Commission Boycotted

From *Contact* Correspondent

SALISBURY: The squalid and chaotic story of Kanjedza prison camp has come to a sad and highly unsatisfactory ending. The report of the Commission of Inquiry into conditions at the camp fails to reveal the real facts of the case and there can have been few reports whose conclusions were less logically drawn from their contents.

This commission which was first announced in London was appointed by the Federal Government after a Salisbury broadsheet *Dissent* had been quoted in the House of Commons alleging that Nyasaland detainees had been ill-treated at Kanjedza during the early days of the emergency.

The detainees refused to give evidence before what they called a "phoney commission". Only one man agreed to give evidence on oath and his evidence was immediately declared 'unreliable' by the commissioners.

Two other people came before the commission. One asked whether the commissioners had come from London. On being told that the commission had been appointed in Salisbury, the man refused to give evidence. The other man told the commissioners that he had just come to see what they looked like. He refused to give evidence.

The commission in its report admits minor cases of assault but completely exonerates the authorities from charges of cruelty.

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## FEDERAL LAWS

# R.C. PRELATES PROTEST

LUSAKA: The Roman Catholic bishops of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland have issued a joint statement of the federation experiment.

In their statement the bishops protest "against the disparity which exists between the ideal of partnership so greatly publicised and the practice of it in all three territories, a disparity which regrettably seems to stem from statutory law based on race distinction, and cannot too greatly insist on the necessity of according to all men, irrespective of race, the rights due to them as human persons and citizens.

They view "with much concern the legislation recently en-

acted for the preservation of public order and hope that it may not be regarded as a permanent feature of the law as administered in this country."

The Federal Prime Minister, Sir Roy Welensky, in his reply to the statement says that the Government is "not unmindful of the emotional opposition to Federation amongst certain sections of the African people, and of the need to allay their fears and apprehensions about the future.

"The Federal Government" he adds "considers that it has exercised responsibility for the subjects entrusted to it in the best interests of the multi-racial community, and done everything possible within its sphere of responsibility to promote the spirit of partnership."

Sam Sly

# HOW TO SELL YOUR COUNTRY

MY BELOVED COUNTRY. By the Hon. Thomas Boydell (Nasionale Boekhandel) 21s.

I put down Mr. Boydell's book with a sense of relief. The uneasiness I have felt about his much-publicised speaking tours abroad is quite dispelled. Here is no convinced apologist, undoing all the SA Information Service's blunders with subtle, meaningful arguments to men in high places, or with homespun oratory to the uncommitted masses. Instead picture an endless series of Rotarians' luncheons, meetings of middle-aged American ladies, and, until the Church stopped him, but most important, compulsory school lectures in Australia.

The speaker is a garrulous, likeable, retired politician with an embarrassing weakness in the form of an insatiable craving for public recognition and admiration.

Some years ago the craving was momentarily sated by his appearing in the lion's cage when Messrs. Pagel's Circus came to Cape Town, after days of the sort of press ballyhoo that is his greatest delight. In 1954 he hit on the defence of *apartheid* in a hostile world as a way of putting on the same act before bigger audiences. This gave him the added kick of writing a book about it afterwards, telling everyone what he had said and what nice things everyone said about him.



The book that has resulted is a loose account of Mr. Boydell's visits to America, West Africa, Europe and Australia, which tells where he went, what he said, and what his audiences thought of him. I can recall nothing of interest concerning where he went (except for a whole chapter on the late Bernarr MacFadden, in which his good opinion of Mr. Boydell is repeated several times.)

What he said only adds to my feeling of relief. There is no shrewd insight, no independent vision.

Only the same old load of mischief that the *apartheid* barkers have been selling all along. Mr. Boydell's "line" is the best yet. Some of it is so fast that you can hardly catch him, except that in this endlessly repetitious book every one of his tricks is performed at least twice, and you can see through them all in time. Here are a few of Mr. Boydell's best:

*Apartheid*: the English equivalent is "partition"; . . . certainly not a scheme for white domination . . . three-quarters of the Bantu have voluntarily accepted it.

*Racial legislation*: acts as a

shock absorber . . . tries to cushion the tension.

*Group Areas*: only legalises grouping that takes place in other countries voluntarily.

*Separate amenities, cafés, cine-*



BOYDELL

*mas*: this discrimination invariably operates both ways.

*Churches*: all churches have separate places of worship . . . racial affinity induces spiritual affinity.

*Church Clause*: kept out those who went to demonstrate or be a nuisance.

*Passes*: To what extent passes are valued is reflected in the frequency with which they are either forged or sold . . . £5 to £20 is paid for a forged pass . . . Europeans must all possess Identity Cards.

*Bantu Education*: immediate control and administration of all the Native schools has been placed under complete Native control (*sic*).

*Communism*: the Natives lap up communism like mother's milk.

*Racial differences*: can never be bridged by a university degree or a school-leaving certificate . . . 50 to 60 years ago one never saw a Native wearing a pair of boots or a suit of clothes.

With the self-advertising motive and the dishonest arguments, his ignorance about the past and present destroys his claim to authority. It is a big mistake to say that the Griquas lived on the East Coast 300 years ago. It is a big mistake to complain that the Press found "the blacks in the wrong" in Nyasaland, or that the world would hail Sir de Villiers Graaff as a hero and our race policies would be condoned if he won an election. The facts don't count—Mr. Boydell is a good speaker and knows that blarney baffles brains. The third strand is "what they thought of him."

One is supposed to assess this from the scores of thank-you letters quoted in the book. But

when a student at Adelaide University blew the gaff, Mr. Boydell had to admit (p. 136) that the thank-you letters, or some of them, were touted for.



One wonders why they are so similar. Does he actually suggest the points they might mention? Or show them other letters to give them ideas? It doesn't really matter, but it does complete the picture of the retired politician who lives only in the admiration of others. And the admiration must be recorded, put into this book, and kept for posterity, for we are told (twice, as usual) that the originals of the letters are already safe in the Government Archives.

Granted, an exhibitionist can still be a patriot, and half-truths and distortions can come as second nature to a politician who may still have a real case. Yet Mr. Boydell, one learns, has no case. His view of South Africa is based on the conditions he found here in 1904, and on the white labour policy of the long-dead Labour Party he joined in 1909.

Though everything that has happened here, in Africa and in the world has since proved his view wrong, one cannot hope that he will change his habit of mind after nearly a lifetime. His viewpoint is that three million whites and eleven million non-whites can never form a common society. Like Verwoerd, he says: suppose white and black cannot live together, *therefore* white and black cannot live together.

Mr. Boydell has no case, and his lectures are absurd rather than pernicious. But he does harm to South Africa by feeding the complacency of whites here who eagerly infer from the press that Mr. Boydell is winning support for their claim to continued domination. Does he do no harm to his own conscience, which, he tells English audiences, is "his only sponsor"?

The Australian executive of the World Council of Churches, he tells us, found evidence in his speeches of "(i) half-truths, misrepresentations and inaccuracies (ii) arguments based on expediency rather than on truth (iii) out-of-date statistics."

Can Mr. Boydell's conscience, not his tongue this time, rebut such a charge? Can it allow his cause to be just if he admits that the cause can only be made acceptable by falsifying it?

which become fraught with double meanings as the plot thickens, and thickens, and thickens.

If it were possible to simplify the story, it is a tale told by an old woman of the murder of her now adult charge, and of the attempts by his four surviving children to find out why and how he died. But that hardly does the plot justice.

Using a wide-screen cinerama technique, Miss Drummond has managed to focus on the whole of South Africa—the quest for truth taking in the four provinces, all the main towns of those provinces, and the main streets of those main towns. Her characters too are a thoroughly representative cross-section—politically and racially—and they all get tied up in multiple murder, robbery and cloak-and-dagger situations over a rare, and terribly symbolic, black pearl.

However, if the plot cannot be summarised, the principal characters can. They are:

*MAX*—an enigmatic Liberal who loves Africa and hates

*OLIVER*—an ex-Communist confidence trickster who is in love with

*CAROLINE*—Max's daughter and sister of

*PAUL PIETER* and *CONRAD*—Max's sons by

*ROSE*—his neuroathenic wife who is on the verge of an affair with

*GERVASE*—a shady neighbour and antique collector, who is anathema to

*NANNY*—the narrator, a woman of great age and formidable memory.

Both Laurens van der Post and Daphne Rooke, two well-known writers, have added credits to the jacket cover. To this reviewer, however, the merit lies not in the "steady piling up of suspense" claimed by the publishers (the situations are not at all spine-tingling) but rather in the fresh and enthusiastic way the author has written up the South African background. With discipline this enthusiasm, coupled with her writing skill, could make an important novelist of Miss Drummond. *The Black Unicorn*, despite its more obvious faults, is most promising for a first novel.

BERYL BLOOM

## New Wine

THE ROAD TO YSTERBERG. By Jack Cope (Heinemann) 18s. 6d.

THIS is a good story about a young wine-farmer in the Cape, Tim Brand, who hopes for fame as a maker of new types of wine, and who wants to tunnel into a mountain side on his land through a solid rock barrier to open an inner cave which will make a fine natural wine-cellar. For this work he illegally engages a black miner without a blasting certificate, who, it turns out, is also wanted by the police for political offences. Tim and his younger brother help the fugitive, with very sad results. Because of this, and perhaps because of his relations with a coloured woman, Miemie, with whom he grew up, he is refused a passport when he wants to go to England.

His reason for wanting to go belongs to another story, far less successful, about Miriam Greeff from the nearby village, who loves Tim (and he loves her) but she cannot submit to him or reconcile herself to the prospect of a life spent on a remote country farm. She dithers about, goes whoring

after strange gods, and comes home only to die. So Tim marries her sister who has adored him all along.

When this novel deals with country people and wine-farming in the Cape I find it far better than when it deals with South African students in Cape Town and in Europe. This is partly because I know far more about the latter topic, but chiefly because it is a far more intellectual topic. Jack Cope writes good descriptions of Cape landscape, and there are descriptive fragments in the London chapters as effective as those about the Ysterberg; also his attempt to suggest Afrikaans does significantly colour the language of the Ysterberg scenes. But he cannot create complex characters, and his handling of language is inadequate to express highly civilised personalities.

For example, Mr. Greeff is supposed to be a trained linguist, with a professional interest in how people express themselves, but all we ever see of this is his comic but easy joke about Tim's names for wines. Similarly in London Miriam is once described as "laughing and quipping to keep her end up with the ready-witted Londoners", but no word of the conversation can the author invent for us.

Tim, a simple man, is well portrayed. The contrast between him and the older people at Ysterberg, Mr. Greeff and Grandma Murray, is shown with wisdom and humour; his countryman's habits and temperament, and his dealings with the upstart lawyer and the police superintendent are convincingly described. The incidents involving Longwan the strong black miner are exciting. One sympathises deeply with Tim and his ambitions.

But the three young women do

(Continued on page 13)

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## The plots thicken

THE BLACK UNICORN. By June Drummond (Gollancz) 14s.

IN 224 pages of complicated machinations, June Drummond makes her debut as a South African writer. Around the corpse of Max St. Cyr she has woven as tangled a yarn as ever came out of the Detection Club—involved, devious, confused and packed with all sorts of facial expressions

not come to life. They are all surrounded with outdated rhetoric and romanticism. What a bore Miriam is in her frequent talk about herself and her vague aspirations. How stilted her pretentious conversations with the young men.



COPE

In what kind of life a particular woman can be happy, and whether the things a young creature thinks she wants are what she really needs, are matters not only of sexuality, but of background, mental habits, temperament, training, opportunity, money and like influences, whose imaginative treatment is the very stuff of characterisation in fiction. That Tim would not have seen his Miriam clearly or analytically is likely enough; but while an inarticulate, idealising vision of a woman may satisfy Tim Brand, it does not satisfy me and should not satisfy Mr. Cope.

OLGA McDONALD MEIDNER

## Spades and Non-spades

CITY OF SPADES. By Colin MacInnes (Ace Books) 3s. 3d.

DESPITE Disraeli's classic definition of the three degrees of untruthfulness — "lies, damned lies and statistics" — figures can be highly instructive.

The Folio Society, for example, has just pulled off one of the major successes of post-war publishing in increasing its membership by over sixty per cent. during the last twelve months.

To cap this impressive achievement, it is now making a remarkably generous offer — a magnificent volume of Van Gogh reproductions — completely free of charge! Entitled *Portrait of Provence*, this is a book measuring 11½" x 8½", containing thirty plates in full colour with descriptive text. Here are many of Van Gogh's most famous works, works into which he poured all his intensity of feeling, all his rebelliousness and all his passionate sense of colour.

The Folio Society, as you may know, was founded twelve years ago with the express aim of producing books as attractive to look at as they are to read. The success of this venture has been notable. Members have been able to buy copies of great and lesser classics, beautifully illustrated, finely designed, bound often in the

ABSOLUTE BEGINNERS. By Colin MacInnes (MacGibbon and Kee) 15s. 6d.

I would feel unqualified to judge whether Mr. Colin MacInnes was "one of the dozen best novelists writing in English today", even if I did believe in literary hit-parades. I just have not read that widely, and I doubt if Charles Causley, who pontificated thus in *The London Magazine*, has either. (Perhaps this was one of those British parochialisms that implied that our writers use the South African language, US writers American, etc.)

This was from one of the most extravagant of the many laudatory reviews that Mr. MacInnes's third book *City of Spades*, received; his fourth *Absolute Beginners* is currently reaping vast critical acclaim. It gives me almost as much pleasure to join the mbongos as it did to read his books.

It is often said that contemporary British novelists have abandoned the attempts of their great predecessors to encompass the whole of life and society in their novels. Instead, with a justified modesty, they isolate a segment of society, explore, analyse and attempt to communicate it. Mr. MacInnes selected for *City of Spades* the impact of black migrants on Britain and their relationships with the non-black natives. This is a secondary theme in *Absolute Beginners* where his main interest is in that modern phenomenon, "the teenage thing."

Despite serious structural weaknesses both books have a rare verve and vitality. If his characters are sometimes too "loveable" or too caricatured, his mastery of dialogue and his acute understanding and observations make one forgive these flaws.

There is a great deal of rollicking humour in *City of Spades*, now available in a cheap paper-back edition. The story is related in the first-person by the two chief pro-

lavishly gold-tooled style which was once the prerogative of royal libraries—and all at a price no more than ordinary books.

In its list are none of last year's best-sellers. Instead, the Society concentrates on the great books of the world and on some of the more fascinating byways of history and literature. Herodotus, Defoe and Jane Austen rub shoulder with Dostoevsky and de Maupassant: *The Golden Ass* and *Father Brown* are there, as are an eyewitness account of *The Trial of Charles I*, a *Burmese Life of the Buddha*, and that classic compendium of crime, *The New Newgate Calendar*.

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tagonists, Montgomery Pew, on his own confession a "futile, persistent, middle-class" English Liberal, and Johnny MacDonald Fortune, in England from Lagos to study meteorology. Their adventures in pubs, dance-halls, gambling dens, court and beds all but spill out of the pages, so hectic is the pace. If the book has a moral it is that "race relations" are human relations, and that human relations can be fun. Trite as that sounds, Mr. MacInnes is one of the first to say it. It even holds true for South Africa.

*Absolute Beginners* has only one narrator, a free-booting pornography-peddling Londoner of eighteen years with a startling vocabulary. His happy-go-lucky attitude is coupled with a surprising maturity that accounts for his response to the race-riots in which he becomes involved. Among the yobbos, oafos, oldies, serfs, spades, chiclets, sperms, taxpayers, cats, there are even Marxists, of whom our hero/author says:

"But I saw I was breaking one of my golden rules, which is not to argue with Marxist kiddies, because they know. And not only do they know, they're not responsible — which is the exact opposite to what they think they are. I mean, this is their thing, if I dig it correctly. You're in history, yes, because you're budding here and now, but you're outside it, also, because you're living in the Marxist future. And so when you look around, and see a hundred horrors, and not only musical, you're not responsible for them, because you're beyond them already, in the kingdom of K. Marx. But for me, I must say, all the horrors I see around me, especially the English ones, I feel responsible for, the lot, just as much as for the few nice things I dig."

PETER RODDA

## Afrikaners: old and young 1

DIE MUGU. By Etienne Leroux (HAUM) 15s. 9d.

A young writer to watch is Etienne Leroux. A few years ago he erupted into the staid dam of Afrikaans prose with *Die Eerste Lewe van Colet* and *Hilaria*. Now he has affirmed the experimental brilliance and robust invention of his writing with *Die Mugu* — ducktail word for the square peg in a round hole which modern man certainly is.

A man, Gysbrecht, wins £50,000 in a lottery. Within a few hectic days his life is completely changed. He gets entangled with rebels against "normal", adult society, a gang of ducktails — disastrously, in the sense that he can never again accept or oppose life as it is.

Etienne Leroux is the only completely modern South African writer to embarrass the critics and the public without sounding the drum of colour. He has no opinions, he is only an observer. Not of South African man, of Man. Relentlessly he tracks his characters along the tiny spirals of their vanity or the futile flutters of escapism inside the hollow world-cage made by Man. Only to conclude: man is the eternal pointless victim, unable even to resist. Man is crucified, but he has no message.

Even the ducktail in his violent rejection is only passing through a larval stage. For the ducktail, too, becomes Chicken, becomes Mugu. "*Die lewe is presies 21 jaar*;

*die res is nabetraging, 'n opgepofte anti-klimaks*". Gysbrecht finds no escape in his £50,000; the gardener dreaming of a baobab will never plant one in Cape Town gardens; Juliana Doepels, the witch-like anarchist, will never find a virgin to celebrate her Black Mass of Damnation.

"*Die mens is Mugu.*"

One feels that Mr. Leroux is haunted by his pessimistic conclusion. That his pace increases and his words whip whenever he comes face to face with his own negation. And one feels tempted to point out a possible reason.

*Die Mugu* contains passages of intense *joie de vivre* — especially in childhood reminiscences. The writer is an epicurean making his hero dream of fish at Prunier's, and declaring that the function of the writer is really to study the surface. Above all he is an observer. And is it not in the nature of observers to see mainly — however clearly — the surface of people or things, and then through non-participation to suffer from pessimism?

Man, as Etienne Leroux observes him, is an abstraction, a statistical nonentity clothed only in an average unloveable face. And one wonders whether he would uncover only pessimism were he to recognise Man as his fellow-man, with puny misery as well as love and hope on his face.

Perhaps to write without participating as well as observing, is to end up in a brilliantly-lit, spotless asylum.

JAN RABIE

2

KOPERKAN. By "Mikro" (Van Schaik) 14s. 3d.

THE title of the book is misleading, since the copper jug referred to plays a very significant part in the novel. Except for its colour, that is. According to the novelist, this resembles the colour of the Cape coloured section of the South African population.

From the novel it is clear that the writer is an apostle of the ideology of *apartheid* as a means to "racial harmony" in the Union of South Africa. He is an old-established Afrikaner novelist, who acquired with an early novel, *Toiings*, a reputation as a faithful portrayer of Cape coloured people. Many readers hold it to be an insult to the people it deals with.

In this instance he limits himself to the relations between the whites and coloureds. The educated and cultured coloured is placed in perspective with the whites, who believe that both groups will benefit if *apartheid* is embraced by the coloured. The latter must be prepared to suffer all the insults, inconveniences and even outrages. To acclimatise this group to such unchristian treatment, christian principles of tolerance and love must be inculcated in them.

Better still if the whites can succeed in indoctrinating a section or even the whole of the coloured intelligentsia to accept and spread *apartheid*. Opposing coloured opinion must be swayed by showing what the white man has done during the past 300 years to uplift the coloured. And upstarts who dare to point out that the coloured must always be satisfied with the crumbs, must be branded as communists (page 23).

Against this background the story of the Booysen and Touwa families is woven. Derk Booysen is the principal of a high school for coloureds, the father of four children, and is busy studying for a

doctor's degree. He is the representative of the ideal, indoctrinated, christian, educated and cultured coloured who accepts *apartheid*. He has a devout respect for his superior race promoter, Professor Louis Beeg, and is the tool to suppress the aspirations and logical reasoning of his son, Frankie, and John Orlep, who represent the coloured group desirous of "*n ordentlike plek en nie 'n smerige hoekie nie*" (page 23).

Contrary to Derk's belief in *apartheid*, he brings up his eldest daughter, Petro, as a white and she obtains a white identification card. Another son, Hayward, goes out with white women.

Situations such as these must be corrected and, in applying *apartheid*, only the christian indoctrinated coloured is prepared to suffer the degradation and deprivation. Petro ably performs this duty and even convinces her father that the vestige of antagonism in him towards the whites must be eradicated.

To create characters to suit one's purpose is an easy task; but to deal with real human beings in practical situations calls for more undiluted humanity.

The aim of this novel is propaganda for *apartheid*.

J.P.H.A.

3

WIMPIE EN WATWOU. By Leo van den Heever (Afrikaanse Pers Bpk.) 7s.

A NICE little book about a nice little boy and his dog — a well-bred collie to him, but a mongrel to others. It is meant to be read by children, one imagines of from 7-10 years of age. It is for Afrikaans children only and makes sense in South Africa alone.

For this book shows the amazing blind spots in the field of morals from which white South Africa suffers, shows them, and also, of course, helps to perpetuate them.

Look at this situation:

Wimpie and Askoek (his African friend) are tussling over who is to ride a horse first. A figure appears.

"Askoek looks up. He goes nearly yellow with fright. 'Gosh, it's Baas Bill. I thought he was on holiday', he said". Then Askoek, who apparently knew a thing or two, ran away towards town.

Baas Bill called the little white boy over. They introduced themselves. "If that little kaffir (*daai kaffertjie*) wants to fight again," said Baas Bill, "you must give him a crack — or you mustn't fight." "I will try", promised Wimpie", (speaking to a total stranger about his playmate).

As a result of boxing tuition by Baas Bill, Wimpie is able next time he and Askoek have an argument to bash one of Askoek's eyes shut and to win the argument.

Such is the way of life put before white children of 7-10 years of age by the older generation.

And the fearful thing is that the book is meant well. There is no attempt to awaken hostility to Askoek or the other non-white servants.

The book is by a humane person. Has he, one wonders, ever tried to put himself in Askoek's shoes? One doubts whether the idea has ever crossed his mind. This is a measure of our task over the coming years.

P.D.

ANXIOUS EYES ON FRONTIER

# Chinese Threaten Indian Development

NEW DELHI: Ever since the Chinese communists took over Tibet and began their speculative probing southward, it has been natural to think of the Himalayas as a mighty wall protecting India against invasion. But for the Indians, now striving to rid themselves of poverty and hunger, these mountains and the wide foothill tract on the Indian side are much more than mere battlements.

If one thinks of the Indian sub-continent as a huge economic machine now under construction, then the Himalayan ranges form a kind of cylinder head for the whole Northern region—the economic and political heartland of India. In these foothills are sited some of the biggest projects on which India's hopes of material salvation are based. If they were hindered in completing them or deprived of them altogether, the millions who live on the vast level plains of the Indus, the Ganges and the Brahmaputra, would find these hopes diminished. And the Third Plan, affecting the whole sub-continent and already recognised as inadequate for all India's swelling needs, would have to be reduced in scope.

From one end of the Himalayas to the other, the rivers that run down into the Indian plains are being taken under control and put to work on raising India's present pitiful standard of living. Of the many projects in this region, the four biggest alone account for an investment of more than £300 million, mainly from foreign aid sources.

Chief among these is the great Bhakra river-valley project, already far advanced. Centred upon the highest dam in the world, it is expected to produce by irrigation another million tons of food each year in the Punjab and Rajasthan. The power from its generators is intended to transform farming and industrial methods on the plains below, to electrify the main railway and to help to meet the growing demands of Delhi, the capital.

Next comes the Rajasthan Canal, designed as the world's longest irrigation waterway and as the main artery in the most dramatic of all India's schemes. It will take abundant water into a desert now so desolate that a smaller canal had first to be built for supplying water to the workers on the main canal.

Already two men who strayed away from the site and got lost in the sand, have died of thirst. Yet Indians hope to see this lifeless territory converted into their country's biggest granary and a new home for its landless multitudes.

Westward, in Northern Bihar, is the plan for taming the Kosi River as it emerges from the hills of Nepal. A barrage four miles long has been joined to embankments running for eighty miles on either side of a river which for centuries has continuously changed its course, lashing about like an angry tail and causing widespread devastation.

And, finally, there is the Damodar Valley scheme, designed to check flooding on the plains of Bengal, but also supplying power and industrial water to a long and immensely

from Cyril Dunn

profitable stretch of India's new Ruhr, a vast complex of new factories, steel plants and mines based on the richest deposits of coal, iron ore, copper and mica in the sub-continent.

All these projects depend on head-waters which might come under Chinese control and on works which could scarcely proceed if Chinese aggression made a battleground of the Himalayan foothills.

These giant schemes are not important to Indians solely because of the material benefits they must ultimately deliver. Their success is vital to Indian morale. The Bhakra Dam is well-nigh worshipped as the greatest single symbol of India's national resurgence; countless thousands of modern pilgrims go there regularly to stand and stare.

If the military necessity is now to disrupt these activities, the effect on morale might well be serious. The faith of the people in themselves has already been shaken, at Damodar and Bhakra, by staggering failures.

In each case the root of the trouble has plainly been human failure. Although disaster overtook Damodar almost a month ago, and Bhakra two months ago, inquiry has not yet fixed the blame with any precision. The danger in these failures will be evident. The energy and spirit with which Indians have faced them and the courage with which they have fought back at the risk of their lives, must in themselves help to restore Indian morale. It therefore becomes entirely accurate to apply the word "outrageous" to

Chinese communist activities along the Himalayan frontier. And—for communists surely a most peculiar pursuit—they menace the wellbeing of all those impoverished millions on the North Indian plains for whose sole benefit the Himalayan projects are designed.

## MR. NEHRU

And how do the Indians regard Mr. Nehru's handling of the crisis?

Today, in response to the latest act of Chinese aggression on the Himalayan frontier, articulate Indian opinion is taking a new and disturbing turn. When the Red Chinese first attacked India, the favoured objects of Indian anger were the Chinese. Later those Indians were criticised who had so recently been shouting that the Indians and the Chinese were immortal brothers, and finally, the Indian communists, forced as local communists always are by events such as these, into a position of open disloyalty.

But today, crestfallen and deeply alarmed, some Indians are turning to attack Mr. Nehru himself. Several newspapers are abusing him without restraint, and ridiculing his "civilised behaviour" towards the Chinese. One has a cartoon showing two bestial Chinese soldiers breaking in through a wall of Nehru's office while the Premier says to his secretary "Take down a strongly-worded, polite Note." In those papers, where Nehru and his policy might conceivably be defended, there is now ominous silence.

### Blame for dilemma

Many Indians now seem



These pictures show (top right) Mr. and Mrs. Touré, in London, with Mr. Harold and Lady Dorothy Macmillan. The one (above) shows Mr. Touré with President Eisenhower, in Washington.

anxious to deposit all the blame for their current dilemma upon "a one-man foreign policy". Yet six months ago they were obviously proud to have Mr. Nehru running their foreign affairs single-handed. It is true that he has dominated the life of India, and often seems to be running the whole show alone. But it has been difficult for an outsider to suppose—until now—that Indians in general have desired a different arrangement. The common people, at all events, seem rather to have thrust this isolated eminence upon him, because they are still too unsure of themselves to accept a leadership less personal. Moreover, if Mr. Nehru has taken too much of the responsibility, it is at least equally true that many of his lieutenants have gladly taken too little.

If some Indians are now bent on pulling him down, one hopes

they have assessed the danger there may be in diminishing Mr. Nehru's stature in the world and more especially at home. The chances are that by so doing they might serve the obscure purposes of Red China.

It is, after all, notoriously the fact that India has no obvious successor to Mr. Nehru. Were he to go, or even more so were he obliged to hover continuously on the brink of going, India's present uncertainty and self-doubt would surely increase. Needless to question the wisdom of a leader for whom inarticulate millions feel a deep emotional attachment, and upon whom they utterly rely, may well bring about exactly the kind of internal instability the communist aggressors like to see in any country within the scope of their imperial enterprise.

## Red Carpet In UK And US For Touré



WASHINGTON: Washington, which at least geographically is a city of the South, and which can boast its fair share of racial prejudice, has been laying out a red carpet for an African Negro, Sekou Touré. Mr. Touré is 37 years old, and President of Guinea. He led his people to vote themselves out of the French Union hardly more than a year ago. He has come to Washington, an official State guest, as confident and uncompromising as his predecessor here, Mr. Khrushchev.

He has had some hard things to say, which, only a few years ago, would have had him dismissed as a fellow-traveller and a natural enemy of the United States. It is a measure of how greatly things have changed here that he has been met with sincere sympathy and even some enthusiasm.

His appearance helps. He looks a ruler. He is handsome enough for the heroic suffering roles that Hollywood now accords to coloured actors. He dresses in a somewhat flamboyant French manner. His wife is photogenic. He speaks, in French, with a passionate intensity.

He has had the full treatment: met by the Vice-President, a State dinner off gold plate with the President, a speech to the National Press Club, dinner with the Secretary of State, wreath-laying, monument viewing, police escorts, a salute of guns and his country's flag on the Washington lamp standards.

He has made the purpose of his visit quite clear. He wants

the US to help in hurrying the last traces of colonialism out of Africa. He describes colonialism as the worst of the evils that have afflicted mankind. This is not the fashionable view here, and the determined neutralism shown by most African leaders still discourages many Americans.

It is not yet known whether Mr. Touré has asked for financial aid. Very grandly he has admitted that he would welcome genuine non-political investment. The State Department has let it be known that, whether he asks for financial aid or not, it will be offered to him. They have even persuaded the South to abate its ancient convictions. Mr. Touré, at his own request, went to North Carolina. This is part of the deep and segregated South, although it is admittedly the most liberal and progressive part of it. Governor Hodges gave a banquet for the Guinea President in Raleigh and asked local Negroes as well as white to it. Such a thing has never happened before, and no one has so far protested.

## SOUTH AFRICA'S JAZZMAN



"He is an acknowledged piano genius, adored by both non-white and white jazzmen."

## DOLLAR BRAND: MASTER OF PIANO

LONG, sensitive fingers plunked aggressively on the piano: his rounded shoulders stooped low over the key-board . . . a far-away gleam in his eyes . . . Seasoned jazzmen, who for long had dominated the scene, stood by in hushed admiration. Dollar Brand, erstwhile infant prodigy and *enfant terrible* of the piano, was giving his own version of "Abide with me".

Who is Dollar Brand? One may well ask, for in spite of the fact that Dollar was playing serious classical music on the piano in his Kensington, Cape Town, home when many of us were content to play with clay-oxen, he is still unknown to the man-in-the-street.

A man who can, in the middle of as jazzy a song as "I got it bad", or "It might as well be Spring", include the opening bars of a favourite church hymn in his solo, is not far from being a bit of a musical freak, according to local standards.

But Dollar is no freak. He is *The Jazzman* in South Africa. He is an acknowledged piano genius, adored by both non-white and white jazzmen. Right now he is in Johannesburg preparing what is believed to be the cream of jazz in the country for a Cape tour.

Dollar was born some 25 years ago "somewhere in Cape Town, but I don't myself know where", and when he was seven he was playing for the upper-crust of the coloured community in some of the posher Cape Town suburbs. A keen church-goer at that time, Dollar was a kid who knew hundreds of church hymns from memory. Add to this the fact that his is

## By Vezi Musi

said to be the widest jazz repertoire in the country . . .

Add to this also the fact that there are very few people in the country with as accurate a technical knowledge of music as Dollar, and you have in your hands the best thing ever to have happened to the local jazz scene.

Playing to admiring dowagers in Cape Town, or playing alone to an empty, dusty warehouse—it's all the same to Dollar. He is always brooding, and thinking up new sounds. The other day he came up with an extraordinary idea.

"Look", he says. "We accept that there are seven basic notes in music. Is there not another one different in sound from all?" That is zany. But to other players, this is the real Dollar; always experimenting and coming up with newer ideas.

It was church or classical music that he played until the age of 15 when he attended the Trafalgar High School in Cape Town where he matriculated. After school he would hang around the local community hall where the local musicians

assembled. This was the scene of many a knife-battle in those days, and though the very best men played there, it was not the kind of place that serious parents encouraged their children to frequent.

Then it happened. One Saturday night there was an important concert and the leading hand in the township was scheduled to play. The band-leader was beside himself with worry and disappointment—the pianist on whom everything depended had failed to turn up, and after a long search was nowhere to be found in his known hang-outs.

## "Just sit there"

Somebody spotted the tall, non-smoking lad with the dreamy look in his eyes. "C'mere sonny," he drawled, "and sit up on that piano. We know you can't play, but just sit there—the audience won't smell a rat."

Who said he couldn't play?

Well, he sat, and asked ever so innocently what number was to be played. Then he came in with a solid introductory phrase which set the band into the groove all night long.

It was a memorable night for all. This youngster had executed his solo-work with the perfection of a maestro. But when, at the end of the session, they looked for this sensational new "find", there was no trace of him. Modest Dollar had slunk away as unobtrusively as he had made an appearance.

That was Dollar: a man with a great capacity for work. Now

## MACHOBANE MASS AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE

## New Methods To Fight Hunger And End Poverty

LERIBE, Basutoland: The Machobane Mass Agricultural College is revolutionising farming techniques in northern Basutoland while the Government watches its progress with a mixture of scepticism and envy. Mr. James J. Machobane believes that it is his mission in life to end poverty and hunger among the Basuto. His agricultural college is really a privately-run extension service, and its Sesuto name, "mantse-tlala" means literally "banishers of starvation".

Basutoland depends heavily on farming, but backward and careless techniques, severe soil erosion and insecurity of land tenure have always restricted crop yields.

Department of Agriculture officials are impressed with the dedication and careful farming of Mr. Machobane's followers. They remain very dubious about the value of the system he teaches and are running extensive experimental comparisons with more orthodox methods.

The Machobane system involves, in particular, a scheme of intercropping—planting crops between rows of other crops—in a sequence so that one plant is always going into the ground as another is ripening.

Mr. Machobane claims that this enables the Basuto farmer to produce a surplus for sale and guard against the possibility of frost, drought, or pest destroying his only crop and

causing famine. And he argues that by keeping the ground covered, his scheme checks erosion. Agricultural officials feel that his scheme will deplete plant nutrients, and can only function with an excessive use of fertilizers.

Simple teaching methods and a gift of showmanship give Mr. Machobane his success among the Basuto. "He has the most extraordinary knack of lending a religious fervour to agriculture", commented Mr. Peter Hughes, Commissioner of Local Government, in Maseru recently.

His first group of twelve students has gone into the country to teach the system. They are known as "disciples". Each year more students come to his headquarters at Nqechane, and by now he has more than 1,000 followers in the Leribe and Buthabuthé districts.

They harvested a large potato crop this year, but their profits suffered from large crops in the Union and the ANC boycott.

Mr. Machobane is 44 years old and was born, of Zulu parents, in the Frankfort district of the Free State. He grew

up in Basutoland and was educated through secondary school at the Morija Training Institute of the Paris Evangelical Mission Society. He is married and has seven children.

After working as a clerk, he came to this district in 1944. Chief Lelingoana permitted him to settle to do research in business, social anthropology and agriculture.

He lived during this time on the royalties from two Sesuto novels he had written, and, after developing his system, he started the agricultural college in 1957. In addition to intercropping, he teaches use of fertilizers, maternity care, citizenship, soil conservation and sanitation.

The Government has given him considerable financial aid and organisational help for his college and affiliated co-operatives.

Mr. Machobane hopes that his scheme will spread throughout Basutoland and then possibly elsewhere in Africa. He has no immediate political ambitions, but might enter politics "in a few years' time", he says, "to counteract racial bitterness."

he sits and plays the whole day long. With deep-set concentration he plays anything from Paganini to Parker with ease and equanimity.

And so to our jazz mecca in Johannesburg the offices of the Union of S.A. Artists, in Dorkay House, Eloff Street where Dollar has been a new force. Almost every other player there has doubled his hours of practice. For Dollar has brought with him ideas.

Girls like Tandi Mpambani—saved from the very verge of musical extinction by a timely "King Kong"—Abigail Kubeka, Thoko Mgcina, to mention only a few, have benefited already—directly and otherwise—from Dollar.

He has a weird sense of humour—as weird as he looks. "Is your mother still alive?" he was asked. "No", he replied. "We never had a mother. We couldn't afford one". And with that he giggled in his own peculiar manner, as though he had

quoted the leading joke of the year.

He plays solely for the love of playing. That is why he never refuses an engagement. That he should be paid fees is purely incidental. His wife, a piano-teacher, is someone very dear to him.

Right now he is experimenting, doing a series of works to be called "Township On A Saturday Evening". In this he is using the "poetry in jazz" idiom, writing poetry and setting it to jazz music. This is the craze among the top-flight American jazzmen, and somehow Dollar has mastered it.

"The trouble is, I can't get anybody else interested in it. You see, our boys shun classics, don't care for poetry. That's why we are so behind in musical conception . . ."

That is Dollar. And those who don't dig Dollar are as far behind the times as he is ahead of them.

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# CORRESPONDENCE

## Reply to Hommel

**SIR,**  
I am an ex-colonial Civil servant, who spent 27 years in the Gold Coast. Your comment on Maurice Hommel's articles on Ghana in "Fair Comment" in *Contact* of October 17 is fair. I think I know why he was disgruntled after reading his three articles in the *Star*.

After Ghana achieved independence, Mr. George Padmore, the foreign Secretary of African affairs, told the world that Ghana was THE land of freedom and encouraged all allegedly oppressed non-Europeans to come to Ghana and get good jobs. They rolled in, particularly teachers, and Padmore got them jobs.

The Ghanaian teachers soon found all the best jobs held by foreigners like Hommel, and promotion blocked for years. Then the balloon went up and things became rather too hot for Padmore's imported strangers.

Hence Hommel's articles shriek the cry of a man with a grievance as he seems to have been manoeuvred out of a plum job. In consequence, he became sour and blamed the Government of Ghana for his personal misfortune, with some little justice, it must be admitted.

There are some amusing blobs in his articles. He says that Nkrumah never flies but a few lines previously says that Nkrumah has his own plane, which is true. He accuses Nkrumah of sneaking away regularly to a place just outside Accra called Half Assini, which however, is nearly 400 miles away along such bad roads that a journey there would take several days.

His criticisms are a damnation of our old Colonial governments, which built up the Gold Coast and trained the people for self-government. The Ghana Government found a solid foundation laid by us. Unlike the Sudan, the Ghanaians had the sense to continue building on

this foundation and to retain highly skilled European officers to continue the development we initiated.

In the poorer Northern Region, so damned by Mr. Hommel, for many years we initiated and developed agriculture, veterinary, medical forestry, education, water supplies, etc. and since then, the Ghana Government has greatly extended the road system, hospitals and schools, while continuing the other activities.

It is a fact that Ghanaians have no experience of democracy as the Colonial Government was a paternal dictatorship. When the Governor deported such agitators as Wallace Johnson, it was not news then but now, when the rather crude Krobo Edusei deported "Mr. Snagsby" of the *London Growler*, it is headlines everywhere.

I have my correspondents in Ghana, mostly Africans, who write to me regularly. Some are C.P.P., others Opposition, but all are at least tolerant of the new regime and respect Dr. Nkrumah.

**J. C. STEWART**  
Magoebaskloof

## Islam and Christianity

**SIR,**  
Through your paper I would like to reply to Rev. Joost De Blank who was reported by the *Sunday Tribune* correspondent (*Sunday Tribune* November 1) as saying that *Islam is the greatest threat to this country because Islam preaches the Brotherhood of mankind*. He is further reported in the *Sunday Tribune* as saying that the followers of Islam and the Muslims claim: "*We serve man of Colour, Christianity only for White man.*"

What is shocking is that Dr. De Blank condemns *apartheid* on one hand and Islam which preaches equality on the other! Let it be remembered that the Muslims have been kept to-

gether for the past fourteen hundred years by the language of the Quran—Arabic.

As regards to Dr. De Blank saying that the Muslims claim that "Christianity is for the Whites only", one begins to doubt, for on July 6 1959, the following article written by a non-Muslim, Mr. A. Lloyd appeared in the *Rand Daily Mail* under the heading: "Islam Means Peace:"

Christians need not fear Islam and the translation of the Koran into Zulu and the Afrikaans. Islam means "peace". Belief and practice can do much to reduce the ills of this world. Brotherhood is real. Go to any mosque and see how believers stand side by side, worshipping one God with one mind. The Pilgrimage completes the "oneness" of mankind.

In South Africa, Christ's message "Love thy neighbour as thy self", has become meaningless. How many Africans can worship with Whites in a church?"

Please do not think, Dr. De Blank that Islam is a threat but it is a solution to the problems of South Africa and the whole world. The Quran was sent down for the whole of mankind to study and live according to its teachings.

Muslims and Christians must work hand in hand to wipe out communism.

**ISMAIL PATEL**  
Durban

## Nyasaland Stooges

**SIR,**  
Nyasas, beware of stooges, quislings and sellouts.

A search is taking place for a non-Congress African willing to co-operate with the Federal Government and Britain but sufficiently respected by his fellow-Africans to rise to leadership in government. But there is a general belief that such stooges would compromise with Government if they could be assured that Dr. Banda would be locked up for a reasonable length of time and would not be allowed to make a new bid for political power.

Nyasas, you must reject such people and stand by and support the Chiefs in demanding the release of Dr. Banda and all others until Nyasaland is granted independence outside the Central African Federation.

**R. W. MKORONGO**  
P.O. Moroka

## Book Review

**SIR,**  
The review you publish of Gavin Maxwell's book *The Ten Pains Of Death* gives a very misleading impression of Catholicism. The writer infers that the Catholic church in Sicily is defending immorality and opposing reform.

I am not in a position to say whether specific charges made against individuals in Sicily are true or false, but I can affirm categorically that the Catholic church always condemns any form of immorality and encourages moral and social reform.

We have to be careful to

differentiate between individual members of the church and the church itself. The individual, who has free will, can fail to live up to the church's teaching at any time or in any place, but the church itself cannot fail to continue fulfilling its mandate from God to teach the truth, for God Himself has guaranteed that His Church will never fail in its mission of salvation to mankind.

**V. G. DAVIES**  
Camps Bay, Cape Town

## Mr. Bishop

**SIR,**  
It is a great pity that Mr. Bishop seeks to cloud the issue with his cries of religious persecution. He does not answer the question on how Africans are treated in the territories where Catholic Governments hold power.

As for the Cape Liberals and the franchise, I would refer him to the leader of the Cape Liberal Division Dr. Wollheim, who has stated his opposition to an unqualified vote for Africans.

Mr. Bishop follows the usual pattern of right-wingers by attempting to hang a communist label on anybody opposed to his views.

Perhaps Mr. Bishop should study the history of Europe between the world wars, when the attempt to stifle liberal thought ended in the gas chambers.

**L. ROBINS**  
Johannesburg

**SIR,**  
The reason why the Liberal Party should have no truck with communist front organisations is that although some of their aims seem to be similar, in fact they are almost diametrically opposite.

First, one must remember that communists will do and say anything that furthers their aims. In their eyes any lie that will serve their purposes is held to be justified.

What communists say should always be compared with the actual state of affairs in communist lands. The Freedom Charter for example sounds fine in South Africa but many of the things it advocates are unheard of behind the Iron Curtain.

In South Africa, communists campaign against inroads on civil liberties, but communist countries are the most ruthless police states the world has ever known.

In South Africa, communists pretend to be democrats, but communist countries are ruled by one-party dictatorships.

In South Africa, communists champion freedom of the press and free speech, but such things are unheard of in communist countries.

In South Africa, communists campaign against forced labour, but in communist countries forced labourers are used in their millions.

Communists everywhere profess deep concern for the poor, but nothing infuriates them more than non-communist lands where the people are comfortably off.

The Liberal Party and *Contact* stand for good-will and co-operation among all men: communists pay lip service to these ideas but actually they are working for class war and class hatred.

I do not deny that there are genuine idealists among communists, but they are the first to be liquidated when a communist regime comes into being.

Genuine Liberals who think there is no harm in alliance with communist front organisations are dewy-eyed political innocents walking straight into a trap.

**ANDREW J. J. MURRAY**  
Cape Town

*NB. The writer is not Professor A. H. Murray, of Cape Town University.—Editor*

## Apartheid is crazy economics

(Continued from page 8)

"ignorant" African with tomorrow's equipment will be more efficient as an economic unit than today's "educated" white worker. As an indication of the rate at which changes are occurring in techniques we can note that in 1937 South Africa had 6,000 farm tractors and today has 100,000.

Segregation on grounds of different levels of skill thus becomes obviously nonsensical. We do not segregate our white retired workers—who produced with old techniques—from white current workers. This "economic" argument for racial segregation fails to hold water.

Again, even were the argument of different levels of intelligence pertinent, it would be an argument for integration. It is now a standard town-planning criterion overseas that each community should be composed of members of many economic levels and that towns should not

be planned with purely unskilled worker areas, semi-skilled worker areas, skilled worker areas.

In the past the high rate of immigration into the United States from non-English speaking Europe gave rise to "little Turkeys", "little Hollands", "little Italies", etc., in the American cities as the new arrivals sought the sociability and security of their home languages and customs. While American statesmen, educationists and social philosophers recognised the value of these congregations to the immigrants themselves, they made every effort to ensure that the American-born offspring of these people would not perpetuate these social enclaves. There resulted an ardent Americanism of the next generation. The same policy could be used in this country to develop an ardent South Africanism.

## CONTACT

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