

CONTACT

INDIAN SOUTH AFRICANS: Natal Group Areas

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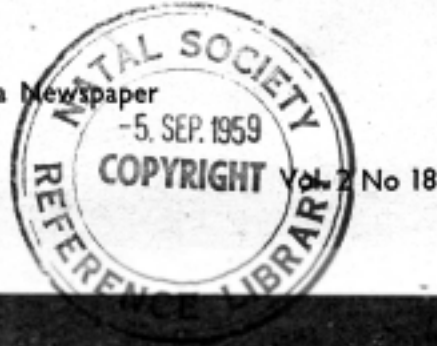
Lazarus on Education

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SOUTH AFRICA'S NON-RACIAL REVIEW

Registered at G.P.O. as a Newspaper

WEEK ENDING 5th September 1959



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.

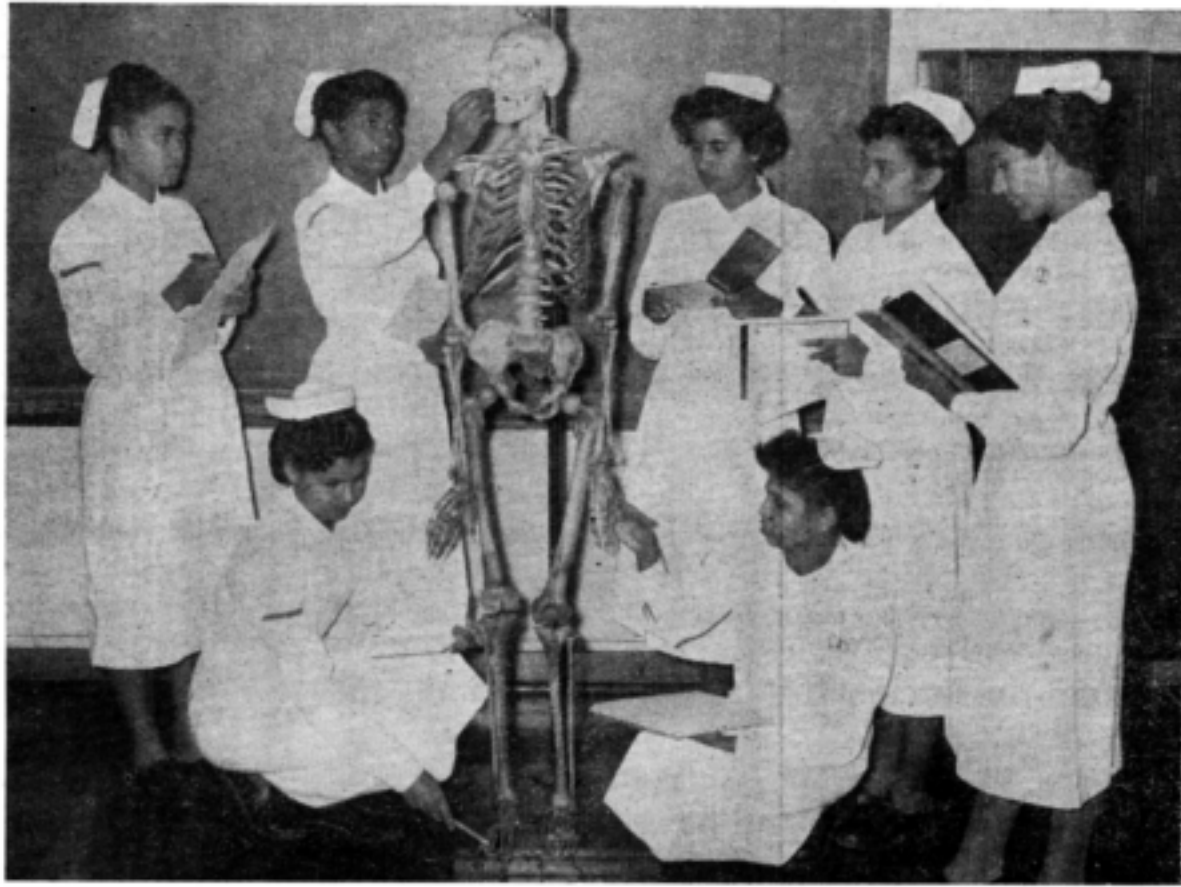
The policy envisages a change-over in the Reserves from tribal to individual tenure. It also makes provisions for the eventual and gradual disappearance of the Reserves.

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

BENONI 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.

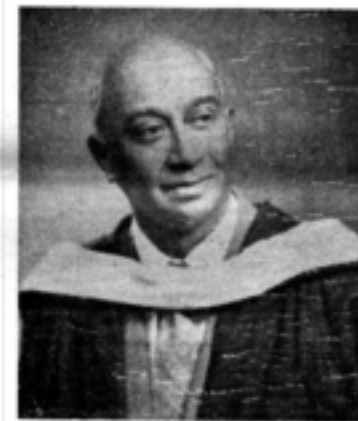
"These then are the various problems facing the Indians in the education sphere in Natal. We are doing all we can to help ourselves. In 1950 I launched a scheme to raise £150,000 for our schools, the first £25,000 of which the teachers would provide from their own pockets, by a six per cent levy on their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

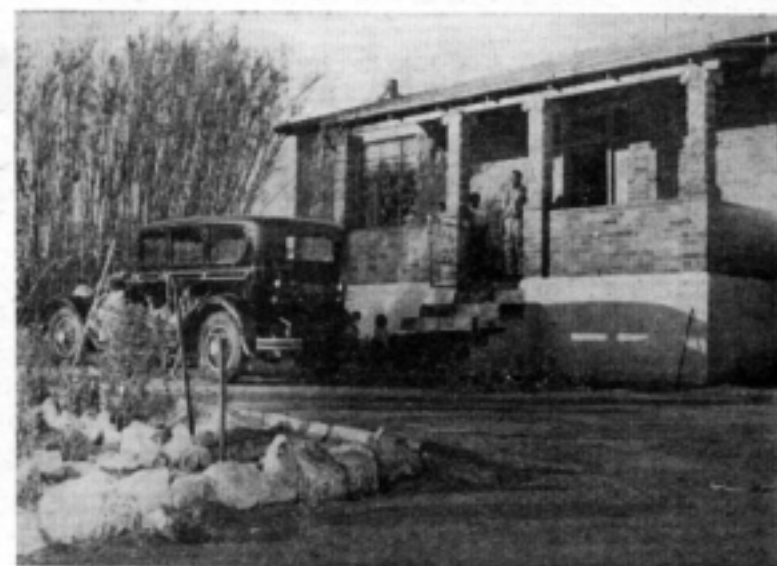
His property is estimated to be worth £8,000, but nothing like this amount has been offered to him by Government by way of compensation.

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.

lition 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.

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.

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

IN 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, *baarskap* 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 manoeuvre 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.

DURING 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

LAST 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.

IT 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 . . .

IT'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.

WHO said the United Party was dead? They have just adventured 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 Mitcheillites 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.

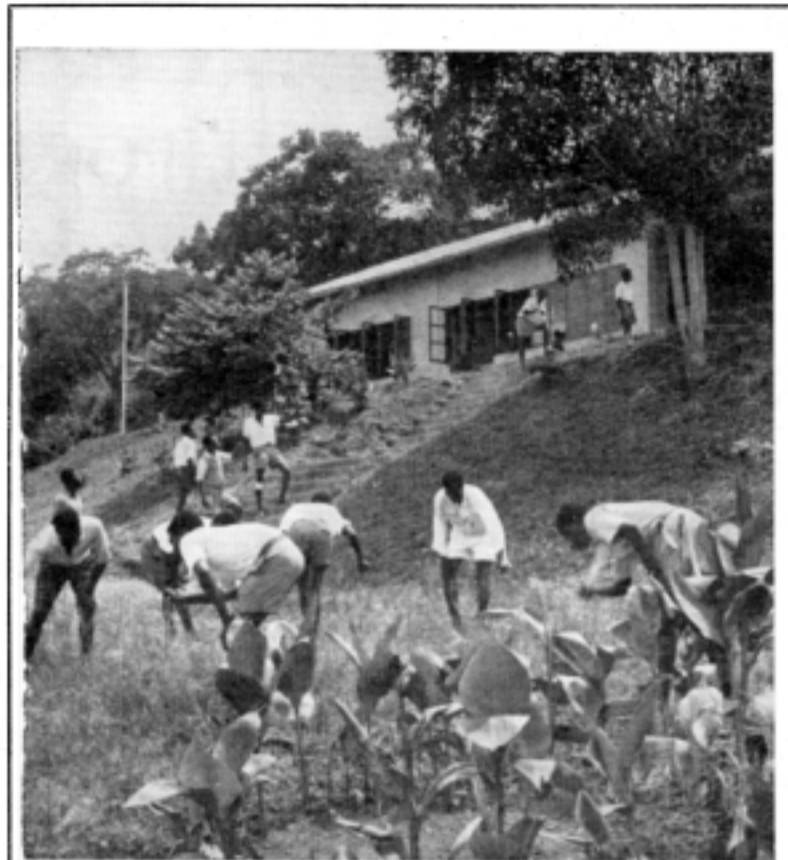
It is a thriving, go-ahead community where the village people on their own initiative have built a market place and a park for the lorries which come in daily laden with passengers and produce.

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



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

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 at 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

Africans at a conference of this nature was symbolic of the political confusion that prevails in this sixth year of the "great experiment" of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

The three African delegates who attended this conference of a party dedicated to the ideal of white supremacy are hardly representative of any great mass of African opinion. But that they can find a place in such a party, and that the party can find a place for them—in spite of remarks such as those of one settler who, with due apologies to the three, said that the prime qualification for the franchise should be a white skin—is a measure of the political naivete that still persists in the Federation.

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 Msapulji 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.

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.

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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 bowls. 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 dewyed 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 Socialist 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 rugger 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 meanness 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, sugard 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

Racialism and the Trade Unions

by Muriel Horrell — 4/6

The Betrayal of "Natives' Representation"

by Donald Molteno Q.C. — 2/6

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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 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.

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.

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 Lipsitz, 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 bating 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

Algeria: the realities

GERMAINE TILLION

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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 discrimination.

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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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, poney-skin 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; Emgwali; St. John's College, Umtata; Tiger Kloof; Emfundisweni; 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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