

# contact

**SOUTH AFRICA'S NON-RACIAL REVIEW**

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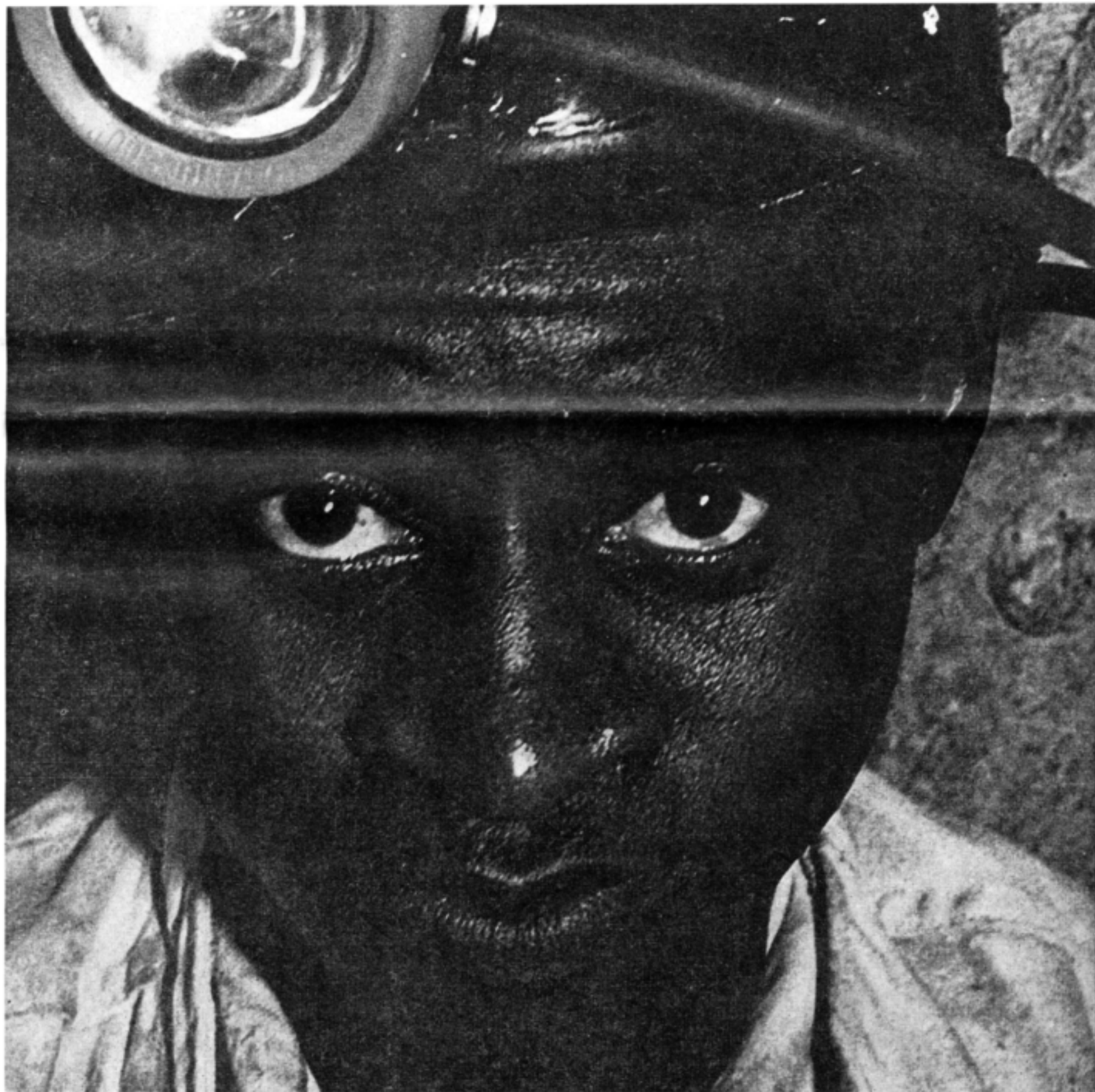
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Vol. 3 No. 5

**BISHOP IN UNITED  
CAMPAIGN**

**AGAINST PASSES**

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A South African miner. Is a White miner worth 40 times as much as a Black miner?

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## FOURTEEN ORGANIZATIONS IN ...

# Action Against Passes

From *Contact* Correspondent, Johannesburg

THE Bishop of Johannesburg's Committee of 14 political organisations, set up in April last year, has begun its first major action: a campaign aimed at abolishing the pass laws. During the past week, the Committee's campaign has hit at the public through a memorandum to the Johannesburg City Council, leaflets and a mass poster demonstration.

The Committee members include the Liberal and Labour parties, the Black Sash and the Congress movement. At five meetings held during the past ten months, the detailed plans for the anti-pass campaign were prepared.

On 22nd February the campaign was publicly launched.

A memorandum on the pass laws was handed to every Johannesburg City Councillor with a covering letter from the Bishop, the Right Reverend Ambrose Reeves. The memorandum carried the question: "Do you not believe that a City Councillor is responsible for ALL the citizens of his city?"

## Consequences of pass laws

Urging the Council to make "immediate representations" to the government for the abolition of pass laws, the memorandum listed these consequences of the laws:

The cost to the country in loss of manpower spent in pass

cause of bitter relations between most Whites and non-Whites and the marked increase in racial tension. This tension must find its outlet in riots and uprising."

## Distribution of memorandum

Nearly 5,000 copies of the memorandum have been printed. They will be sent to prominent citizens throughout the country.

The next step in the campaign came on 23rd February, when more than 90 Indians and Africans, most of them women, held an hour-long silent demonstration during lunch-time on the steps of the Johannesburg City Hall.

Security Branch detectives were on hand to take notes of the posters.

After the demonstration, nearly 30 non-Whites went into the City Council galleries to listen to Mrs. M. K. Mitchell, a Progressive Party Councillor, argue for the abolition of passes.

With only one other Councillor supporting the six Nationalists on this issue, the Nationalists stalked out of the Council chamber.

The A.N.C. stated that one million Africans are sent to gaol each year because of the pass laws, and that "cases of injustice and insecurity, of broken homes, loss of livelihood and untold hardships and suffering at the hands of the influx control system are too numerous to mention—men whose permits are cancelled through some minor technicality, men sent to the reserves because they are physically ill, widowed women who are forced to leave the area to live with their legal guardians in the reserves, often a complete stranger.

"The bitterness and resentment and frustration thereby engendered will not remain dormant forever and when it does erupt, the responsibility for



Mr. L. Cooper, prominent member of Liberal Party, and Bishop Reeves visit lunch-hour poster demonstration.

## Nat. Councillor walks out

The Nationalist leader in the Council, Mr. Eben Cuyler, first asked that the Council go into committee. When this was turned down, he proposed that the Council suspend its business and ban the non-Whites by applying the Separate Amenities Act. "Only when there were proper apartheid facilities for non-Whites should they be admitted," he said.

what follows will rest with the government and those who have co-operated in the implementation of these inhuman policies."

Describing the pass laws as "a medieval form of slavery", the A.N.C. asked the Council: To take the feelings of Africans into account and inform the government that influx control is oppressive and that the legislation should be abolished.

To help to replace the compulsory labour bureau with one of a voluntary nature.

To abandon the practice of accepting revenue derived from fines arising from prosecution under the pass laws.

# A White Miner worth 40 Black Miners?

Is a White miner worth 40 times as much as a Black miner?

Not, of course, judged by what he produces. That would be a silly question to ask. But, judged by what his widow gets if he dies, it appears that he is.

This became a live issue after Coalbrook, where some 440 African miners and six White miners died.

Here are the facts: a White miner's widow gets a lump sum of £75. Then she gets £30 a month for herself, and £6 for each child. In addition children qualify for educational grants.

In 1959 733 African miners died in mine accidents. According to figures given in Parliament the average amount of compensation given to the dependants of each miner was a lump sum of £248, payable in instalments.

The lowest amount an African miner's widow can get is £120.

Leaving out of account the lump sum due to White dependants, a widow with two children would get £42 a month, or £504 a year. This also leaves out of account the educational benefits.

If the average amount given to African dependants, £248, were invested at 5%, it would yield £12 10s. a year.

This amount is one-fortieth the annual amount given to White dependants.

**IF ANY FIGURES EVER EXPOSED THE NAKED EXPLOITATION ON WHICH THE WHOLE SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMY IS BASED, THESE ARE THE FIGURES.**

# Govt. vs. Teachers CLASHES IN PRETORIA B.E.D.

MORE schools are being closed by the Bantu Education Department. An order has gone out that all Night Schools in Pretoria must be stopped.

For many years adults have helped with elementary education in night schools run by voluntary associations up and down the country. But the attendance of Africans at these schools is not easily controlled by the Department. They have clearly incurred the hostility of the Minister.

The night schools for Africans at the Ferguson Coloured school and at the Good Shepherd school have been closed by order of the Department. At the closing of the Ferguson Coloured school members of the Special Branch and armed police were present.

The Atteridgeville school board, under the chairmanship of the Rev. S. S. Tema, has sacked Mr. Isaac Rammopo. It appears that Mr. Rammopo was sacked because he was chairman of a local Discussion Club. At this club "Bantu Education has been criticized by the members—most of whom are students and teachers.

Mr. Bob Leshoai, author and principal of the Selborne High school, has fared little better. The department instructed the school board to dismiss him; but this was not carried out by the board as they feel that he



Photo "Bantu" TEMA

It is understood that at the end of this school term there will be 17 vacancies for teachers; but how these vacancies will come about is not yet certain—whether 17 teachers will be sacked or whether 17 new posts will be created. One thing, however, is certain: the Bantu Education Department has instilled fear into the minds of African teachers.

offices, courts and gaols, and the cost of administration.

The African's inability to sell his labour in the best market, and the restriction of his opportunity, which keeps wage levels and spending power low.

A migratory labour system which is inefficient and wasteful, and the destruction of family life through arrests and the migratory labour system.

The growth of crime, arising from frustration and lack of security; frequent convictions which lead to a lack of respect for the law and breed an unhealthy familiarity with gaol.

"The consequences of the pass laws are the greatest single

# Attempt to Brainwash Children

## OFFICIAL BOOKS PREACH RACISM

By a Special Correspondent

**T**EACHERS, parents and educationists have been shocked by some textbooks which are being used in Transvaal high schools. These books openly preach racial hatred and intolerance and spread untruths about the non-White population of South Africa.

These books are being used to teach the two new compulsory subjects, "Guidance" and "Race Studies". These subjects were introduced when all Coloured, Indian and White high schools in the Transvaal changed over to the different syllabuses for each group.

A study of these textbooks shows clearly that these subjects were introduced not only to propagate the myths of the racial superiority of the Whites and the inherent inferiority of the non-Whites but also to maintain the traditional colour bar and social relations in South Africa.

For "guidance" or "Counselling" there are two Afrikaans textbooks. The one is entitled "Voorligting vir Standaard VI—Ken Jousef" and the other "Voorligting vir Standaard VII—Beplan Jou Plek".

The authors are L. C. Bekker, head of the Psychological and Counselling Services of the Transvaal Education Department, and G. J. Potgieter, principal of the Pretoria Afrikaans Boys' High School.

In "Voorligting vir Standaard VI" there is a chapter on race relations where the writers maintain that:

"It is necessary that you (the White child) should acquire the right knowledge and develop the right attitude in respect of non-Whites."

Another passage reads: "In some countries where Whites settled, they soon intermarried with the non-Whites and a bastard population originated. In South Africa this did not happen."

### No intermarriage in S.A.

"Although our forefathers since the time of Jan van Riebeeck had been in daily contact with the non-White inhabitants, there was virtually no inter-marrying. Our forefathers believed, and we still believe to-day that God himself made the diversity of peoples on earth. It is therefore bad for White and non-White to intermarry . . ."

"It has become the traditional standpoint that although White and non-White share a common fatherland, there should be no mixing of races, and that there should be no eating, drinking and visiting together. This viewpoint is also set down in various laws. Inter-racial residence and intermarriage are not only a disgrace, but are also forbidden by law."

### Communists in Trade Unions

"It is however not only the skin of the White South African that differs from that of the non-White. The White stands on a much

*This is the first of two articles on the racial indoctrination of Transvaal schoolchildren written exclusively for Contact. The second article will appear in the issue of 19th March.*

higher plane of civilisation and is more developed. Whites must so live, learn and work that we shall not sink to the cultural level of the non-Whites. Only thus can the government of our country remain in the hands of the Whites." (pp. 30-31.)

More space is devoted to the subject of trade unions in the Standard VII textbook for guidance:

"Before the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1956 came into operation, mixed trade unions were the rule in South Africa. Communism infiltrated into certain trade unions and later secretaries and leaders were 'named' as Communists, thereby putting their activities under control."

"In these trade unions which had Whites and non-Whites, social mixing at their meetings was common. They ate and drank together. Sometimes they had parties together. The Industrial Conciliation Act of 1956 put an end to many of these wrong things. Henceforth no mixed trade unions may be established. The existing mixed trade unions must split into separate branches for Whites and non-Whites." (p. 23.)

The writers conclude this section by suggesting this topic for a class debate: "What characteristics will epitomise a true South African trade union?" ("Watter eienskappe sal 'n eg-Suid-Afrikaanse vakbond kenmerk?") Four possible characteristics are then suggested by the authors. They are:

- There will be White leaders only.
- It (the trade union) will adopt a Christian standpoint.
- Readiness to serve (diensvaardigheid) will be its motive.
- "White South Africa first" will be its motto.

Implicit throughout the discussion on trade unions is the idea that all those who advocate non-racial trade unions are Communists.

Job Reservation is also discussed and here again the writers distort the truth:

"One of the most important benefits that the Industrial Conciliation Act brings for the White is job reservation. The non-White has, especially in the years following the Second World War, gradually squeezed the



Mr. C. M. Kobus, one of the N.E.U.M. leaders present at the meeting.

Whites out of certain avenues of employment.

"Equal pay for equal work, which sounds attractive if a person does not think about it, forced the Whites to make a living with the same wages paid to the non-Whites. This was impossible for most Whites since the non-White's way of life demands less money than the White's. Non-Whites were employed on an equal footing with Whites. The result was that the Whites had to leave their jobs and more non-Whites took their places. This is where the Industrial Conciliation Act comes into operation. ("Die Nywerheidsversoeningwet gryp nou hier in.") Henceforth jobs will be reserved for each racial group so that one group does not squeeze out the other." (p. 24.)

### Booming sales

Reports indicate that thousands of copies of these two books have already been sold by the publishers (Voortrekker Pers, Bpk.) to Coloured and White high schools. Apparently the publishers are soon going to publish a similar book for the use of Standard VIII pupils by the same authors.

For the other compulsory subject, "Race Studies", there are separate textbooks for each of the following Standards: VI, VII, and VIII. The textbooks are available in English and Afrikaans.

These books are obviously designed, not to emphasize the common humanity of all the population groups in South Africa, but to accentuate their differences and to spread and intensify racialistic ideas. Instead of setting out to kill racism, these textbooks perpetuate false racial ideas in a country that is already race-obsessed.

In "Race Studies for Standard VI", no account is taken of the existence of the urban African. The writers merely describe the way of life of a "primitive and tribal people". Tribalism is presented as the ideal, perfect and natural social system for the "Bantu" and not as a stage in the development of man. No mention of the fact that there is no tribalism in South Africa because the whole basis of tribalism has been destroyed by

(continued next column)

# N.E.U.M. Burst Apart: Fracas at Cape Protest Meeting

From our Cape Town Reporter

**"T**O HELL WITH SOYA — LET SOYA SPEAK — POLITICAL HARLOTS — PIMPS OF THE HERRENVOLK — HOOLIGANS — THUGS." Frenzied booing, yelling, thunder of stamping feet — vituperation — accusation and counter-accusation, eddied and swirled into a thunderous roar of shrieking insensate hate and bitterness as the "United Soya, N.E.U.M., T.L.S.A., N.E.F." front smashed into smithereens on the rock of internal division at a "united" meeting to protest against "tribal colleges" in the banquet hall on Sunday, 21st February.

The meeting, called jointly by T.L.S.A., N.E.U.M., Anti-C.A.D., The Combined Fellowships, and Soya, was to form a united opposition to the establishment of tribal bush colleges. Before the meeting could even get under way, squat, dynamic, forceful secretary of Soya Mike Nkonyeni, with his followers, jumped on to the stage, and attacked N.E.U.M. and Anti-C.A.D. for falsely stating that Soya was part of their organisation. Bedlam ensued, with about 20 people shouting and screaming from the stage, orators hysterically addressing the crowd of 200 from the floor, scuffles, booing and catcalls creating an inferno of meaningless sound.

Forty minutes later, the police, summoned by the Anti-C.A.D., marched in and forcibly

ejected the Soya group. They were not gentle, especially with the women, who were sent staggering and reeling to the door, and thence chased away from the City Hall. It was not pretty.

A remarkable feature of the meeting was the strong anti-African feelings expressed by N.E.U.M., and Anti-C.A.D. types, ostensibly the enemies of herrenvolkism and race supremacists. Yes, this meeting was the worst example of race hatred I have witnessed for a long, long time.

Prominent leaders of the N.E.U.M., Anti-C.A.D., T.L.S.A., etc., present during the fracas, were Messrs. R. O. Dudley, C. M. Kobus; Frank G. Grammer; Dr. Fred Kay, J. Meissenheimer, Misses Fredericks and Wilcox.

### Explanatory note.

The organisations here referred to are often described as "Trotskyist", though this word has now no observable political meaning. These organisations, though vocal enough, are normally paralysed when it comes to any real anti-apartheid activity. They are highly critical of the "Congress Movement" and of the Liberal Party. Any opponent is likely to be called "quisling" if he is non-White; "herrenvolkist" if White.

The Anti-C.A.D. movement publishes a small newspaper with a small circulation called *The Torch*. For many years it has been the most vituperative political sheet in the country.

Here are the organisations involved in this unfortunate fracas:

(continued next column)

modern industrial capitalism. What remains are only vestiges of tribalism.

This passage illustrates the attitude of the writers: "... the 'Bantu' had a splendid way of living of their very own before they ever came into contact with the culture of the Whites. In the cities and towns they have lost much of their old delightful way of living but fortunately much of this has been preserved in their tribal reserves." (p. 78.)

In "Race Studies for Standard VII" several chapters are devoted to the "culture of the Bantu". We are told that the "Bantu have a firm and unshakeable belief in magic, which plays a very important part in their lives." (p. 108.)

T.L.S.A.: the Teachers' League of South Africa: an organisation of Coloured teachers.

N.E.U.M.: the non-European Unity Movement: an attempted unification of all opponents to White supremacy; supposed to consist of the All African Convention, the Anti-C.A.D., the T.L.S.A. and Soya.

Soya: Sons of Young Africa: a predominantly African organisation, comprising the intellectual youth of South Africa. In fact, the African counterpart of the Coloured students' fellowships.

N.E.F.: New Era Fellowship: a largely Coloured students' organisation.

Anti-C.A.D.: an organisation established to fight the Coloured Affairs Department. Predominantly Coloured membership, mostly teachers.

In one section on "Bantu Marriage" the authors write: "The Bantu, as we know, may have more than one wife. This is the way they like it, and how they would wish to live."

Further on the writers state that there are factors which prevent the "Bantu" from taking more than one wife. But "The ideal of every Bantu man, however, is to have more than one wife." (p. 35.)

(To be continued in next issue)

### "Tsopano" Booms

"Tsopano", the Nyasaland news magazine, reflecting African political views, is booming. In a few months its circulation has climbed to 4,800, and looks like going higher quite soon.

## Grahamstown Liberals Investigate Startling Facts on Poverty

**B**ENEATH the quiet beauty of this Eastern Cape city there lies a very real problem of human suffering. Stories abound to illustrate it. It can also be measured in terms of figures which have been worked out by Professor James Irving of the Social Science Department at Rhodes University, and a Liberal Party group.

The following is a tabulated form of some of the findings:

	CASES INVESTIGATED			AVERAGE MONTHLY INCOME	AVERAGE INCOME PER PERSON PER DAY	
	Employed	Unemployed	Total Population		Before rent is paid	After rent is paid
African	Male: 482	212, over age of 16	3,371 in 568 households	£8. 8. 0.	11d.	8.4d.
	Female: 189	780, over age of 16		£3. 4. 0.		
Coloured	Male: 139	92, over age of 16	974 in 168 households	£11. 0. 0.	1s. 6d.	11d.
	Female: 38	204, over age of 16		£3. 15. 0.		
White (poor)	69 (2 of these are women)	9	340 in 78 households	£40. 10. 0.	5s. 8d.	4s. 9d.

To take Africans first: conditions were investigated in 568 households in the King's Flats Municipal Housing scheme. Of a total of 482 African males employed, 91.9 per cent were unskilled. The average monthly wage for this group was found to be £8 8s. 0d., not one earning more than £20 a month and three-quarters having less than £10 a month. The average amount per person per day works out at 11d. before paying rent, and 8.4d. after paying rent.

### Basic minimum standard

It has been calculated that at least 2s. per person per day is necessary for a basic, minimum standard of decent living. Such an estimate is not only conservative to-day, but also stands for imaginary people who never require a drink or a cigarette, who never buy sweets or a newspaper or go to the cinema, who never write a letter or make a telephone call, who always enjoy perfect health. It is an estimate establishing what is called the poverty datum line.

### African rent

Two shillings per person per day: work out what that can buy for food alone. Yet the average daily earning for African males in Grahamstown, after payment of rent, is 8.4d. 8.4d. could buy ¼ loaf of brown bread (2d.), ½ pint of milk (3½d.), ½ an egg (1½d.), and 2 potatoes (1½d.). And what about fuel, and clothing, and transport and lighting . . . ?

Now, to take the Coloured people. A survey has been made among 168 households in the municipal housing scheme for Coloureds. Of 139 males employed, 27 are skilled, 29 semi-skilled and 83 labourers. Monthly wages for these men range from £3 to £54 a month; the average male wage per month is £11. For the 38 females employed from these homes, the average monthly wage is £3 15s. 0d. Taking the overall mean (£14 15s. 0d.), not even the combined wages of husband and wife reaches the

minimum amount necessary for decent living. Only 13 per cent of these households have 2s. per head per day, after rent has been paid.

The comparison with Whites living in poverty in Grahamstown is instructive: 78 households were investigated in slum quarters condemned by the Medical Officer. The average income in these homes was found to be 5s. 8d. per person per day before rent is paid, 4s. 9d. after rent is paid.

A problem of appalling poverty amongst Grahamstown's non-White population is self evident. Blind apologists of the "status quo" cannot gainsay the evidence of scientific data. An increasing accumulation of arrears in rent payments speaks of the inability to make ends meet; compulsory eviction merely exacerbates the problem. What is so striking, to quote Professor Irving is "the tenacity of the human species to survive such rigours as are placed upon it."

### Welfare organization

There is a new synthetic welfare organisation called the Grahamstown Area Distress Relief Association (G.A.D.R.A.). It is administering a School Feeding Scheme for over 3,000 African and Coloured children, who each receive two mugs of soup a week. G.A.D.R.A. is frustrated by the limitations of its work, realising that it involves nothing more than short-term amelioration; children who come to school without any breakfast need food. What is really needed is a rise in the standard of living, and that means increased wages.

As if to entrench the law of poverty, Africans are prohibited from leaving the urban area, except under contract to the mines: an interesting example of influx control in reverse.

Apart from national remedies for poverty, the conclusions which emerge appear to be:

- (1) That wages definitely need to be raised, even if such immediate adjustment will not solve the whole problem of poverty.

- (2) That house rents need to be heavily subsidized (60 Coloured houses have recently been put on a sub-economic basis).

- (3) That the non-White population should be stabilized, with careful and compassionate instruction in birth control as one possible means to that end.

- (4) That the real wealth of the city should be increased by the creation, where possible, of fresh and expanding industrial enterprise in a community where there is no major industry.

The argument therefore is that the frontal attack on poverty in Grahamstown by direct campaigning for increased wages must be supplemented by intelligent planning and agitation for industrial development and the creation of more opening for labour. All those concerned with this vital and disturbing question will have to advance simultaneously on several fronts.

**First Antichrist robbed everybody, took all the earth, and all rights away from them — took them all for himself — killed all those who were against him — and then he wrote laws forbidding to rob and kill. He should have written those laws earlier.**

—Tolstoy  
from "Resurrection"

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## Prison—the True Place For a Just Man

**U**NDER a government which imprisons any unjustly, the true place for a just man is in prison. The proper place to-day, the only place which Massachusetts has provided for her freer and less desponding spirits, is in her prisons, to be put out and locked out of the State by her own act, as they have already put themselves out by their principles. It is there that the fugitive slave and the Mexican prisoner on parole, and the Indian come to plead the wrongs of his race, should find them; on that separate but more free and honourable ground, where the State places those who are not with her but

against her—the only house in a slave State in which a free man can enter.

If any think that their influence would be lost there, and their voices no longer afflict the ear of the State, that they would not be as an enemy within its walls, they do not know by how much truth is stronger than error, nor how much more eloquently and effectively he can combat injustice who has experienced a little in his own person.

By Henry David Thoreau  
(1817-1862)

who went to prison because he refused to pay taxes to a government which returned fugitive slaves to the South.

## NATAL PROFESSIONAL SOCCER PLANNED

**T**HE Natal Inter-race Soccer Board has decided to introduce a non-racial professional competition. This will be called the Natal Soccer League and it will be started next season.

In making the decision, the Board has followed the recommendation of a Commission it appointed last year to consider the question of professional soccer. This Commission—comprising R. Lutchman (convener), T. A. Nene, H. Fernando, G. A. Nkwanyana and Charles M. Pillay—urged that professionalism should be introduced during the next season and that the Natal Soccer League be created.

In its recommendation the Commission stated that it was "convinced beyond doubt that the introduction of professional soccer would not only improve the game but will also set up an entirely new machinery for the administration of soccer, which would further enhance the principles of integration, an already accepted principle".

Six teams will affiliate to this new League and, for the first ("trial") year, the Board itself will invite players and will form the clubs.

Four of the teams will be from Southern Natal (Coastal)

and one each from the Midlands and Northern Natal. Players will not lose their amateur status and may play league matches for their own clubs when not engaged in any professional matches. Each player will receive an out-of-pocket allowance of £2 10s. a match. The Board will decide on any incentive bonus that might be given.

Each year the Board will allocate a certain sum from its profits to provide coaches for schools and amateur clubs. Clubs will be non-racial in character and their names will not bear any racial designation. Members of the Commission will draw up the constitution for the new League.

At one meeting of the Board the Indians and Coloured members supported the move; the African members promised to discuss the matter as soon as possible and inform the Board of their decision.

The Board will also change its name from Natal Inter-race Soccer Board to Natal Soccer Board.

## CONTACT

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# Portuguese Clamp Down in Angola, Moçambique

Exclusive dispatch to "Contact" reveals new repression.

FOR the past year reports have been coming in from the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Moçambique indicating that beneath the surface calm there are stirrings of discontent with the harshly paternalistic policies of the Salazar dictatorship in Africa. It is doubtful that for the present one can expect the almost spontaneous eruptions of the sort which have shaken the Belgian Congo in recent months, but it is becoming clear that the fires of African nationalism are licking closer to the once isolated frontiers of Angola and Moçambique.

The government is moving ruthlessly to contain any incipient crisis. When the newly appointed Governor-General of Moçambique was greeted in January, 1959, with a shower of pamphlets calling for freedom, the leaders of the demonstration were jailed, tortured and returned to Portugal. Suspected sponsors of President Nasser's Arab movement have been moved from Northern Moçambique to other parts of the colony. Following the recent presidential campaign in Portugal, African students from the two colonies who had voiced mild criticism of Salazar policies were jailed and held without trial.

## 1,000 jailed in Angola

In Angola, with its long frontier with the Belgian Congo, the repressions have been more numerous and more drastic. Perhaps a thousand Africans



SALAZAR

and Whites have been jailed on the slightest of pretexts, often on none at all, and held for long periods without trial. Exile to the desert-bound Bay of Tigers or the island of São Tomé, banishment from one province to another, floggings and torture, long an Angolan reality, have increased strikingly. Mail is censored, especially letters from the free countries of Africa, and anyone receiving correspondence, however innocent, from Ghana, for example, is subject to police questioning. The military force of the colony has been swelled by the addition of paratroopers.

## Advancement is blocked

Incidental to this organized apparatus of terror but having the same effect of demoralizing the African is the growing white immigration into the two colonies, particularly Angola, which is by design becoming a white man's colony. The African is progressively reduced to an economic condition bordering on slavery. With most avenues for advancement blocked by poor white labour and because of inade-

This dispatch is by Professor James Duffy, of Brandeis University, Massachusetts. He is the author of "Portuguese Africa", a recent book, the most authoritative which has yet appeared in English on Moçambique and Angola.

Professor Duffy is in close touch with events in Portuguese Africa. In this dispatch he gives news, for the first time revealed to the outside world, of demonstrations in Moçambique which were followed by torture and jail for the leaders; of a new detention area at Tigers Bay in Southern Angola near the South West Africa frontier; of the exile of suspected Nasserists in Moçambique, the Union's neighbour on the East.

Professor Duffy has much more information, but is unable to give details of it because of the Salazarist secret police.

These police are extraordinarily active in Luanda, capital of Angola, where there is at present a trial of over 50 "subversive elements". An American Negro, Mr. George Barnett, was involved, but has been released.

## St. Faith's—the other side

AFRICANS living at St. Faith's Mission, Rusape, denounced Mr. Guy Clutton-Brock in the *Church Times* on 29th January for an "incongruous and misleading" attack on the Bishop of Mashonaland. They accuse him of being a dictator while he lived at the mission. The six Africans, who have between them 198 years' residence at St. Faith's, say they welcomed the departure of Mr. Clutton-Brock and Mr. Mutasa, the manager.

They say: "People at St. Faith's are now the happiest in Southern Rhodesia since Mr. Clutton-Brock and Mr. Mutasa left. When they say that St. Faith's farm is now dominated by Whites it is untrue. It is vice versa. The village committee which Mr. Clutton-Brock formed was only a political organisation, of which he was the dictator. The Church Council and headmen here are the representatives of the people—and this is supported by the whole colony. Ninety percent of St. Faith's tenants welcomed the decision of the diocesan standing committee."

## Lusaka to Act against Colour-Bar

LEGISLATION laying down that no proprietor shall refuse admission to team rooms, restaurants, hotel dining rooms and cinemas in Northern Rhodesia solely on the grounds of race, creed or colour has been recommended by the Select Committee on racial discrimination in places of entertainment and refreshment.

The Select Committee's report was tabled in the Northern Rhodesia Legislative Council on 26th January and will be considered at a later date. The report envisages the setting up of a special tribunal to deal with complaints of alleged discrimination which are not settled by conciliation. It proposes that the board should have power to subpoena witnesses and, in the event of a decision against a proprietor, either to caution the proprietor or to suspend a licence for such period as it thinks fit or to cancel a licence altogether.

"There is no intention," says the Select Committee, "of depriving proprietors of their existing rights to reserve admission. It cannot be too often emphasised that what this legislation seeks to ensure is that refusal of admission is only unlawful if exercised on grounds of race or colour alone."

5 March 1960, "Africa Year"



For the first time news has reached the outer world that at Tigers Bay, some forty miles north of the South West frontier, political prisoners, African and White, are held by the Portuguese authorities. This map shows where Tigers Bay is.

## Asian Fears in Kenya

FOR the first time since Asians came from across the Indian Ocean to settle in East Africa, fear is gripping this thriving, prosperous community, especially in the towns of Kenya, where "incidents" between Asians and African mobs have developed as a new and ugly manifestation of anti-Asian feeling.

Centuries ago, Asians established themselves as traders on the East African coast and in Zanzibar. Their penetration inland followed the early explorers and as the Uganda railway crept up to the Highlands of Kenya, so Asian dukas (shops) began to appear in centres such as Machakos, Kikuyu, Mumias and the construction camp which was to become the city of Nairobi.

To-day East Africa has an Asian population of about 350,000, about half of whom live in Kenya. The majority are Hindus, but there are several different Muslim sects, including the numerous followers of the Aga Khan—the Ismailis. Distinctive are the bearded and turbaned Sikhs, while the Goans, of mixed Eurasian ancestry, come from the Portuguese enclave south of Bombay.

### Fence sitters

When the anti-white Mau Mau movement broke out in Kenya in 1952 most Asians tended to sit on the fence. In those days there were still the remains of the colour bar, and many Asians, irking under the social restrictions, still felt a certain amount of sympathy for fellow-victims of this discrimination.

Although most succeeded in keeping aloof from the conflict, Kenya's Asians were surprised to find that back in their own homeland certain elements were bent on portraying them as "exploiters" of the Africans, linking them together with the white settlers.

Soon this cry of "exploiter" was taken up in Uganda and, as African nationalism gained ground, hostility towards Asian shopkeepers mounted steadily, to culminate in the disastrous trade boycott which has brought ruin to hundreds of Asian businesses in and around Kampala, where the Buganda population have been intimidated into imposing an almost complete boycott of Asian shops.

Both Kenya and neighbour-

from  
Gordon Maclean

ing Tanganyika have escaped the effects of a similar boycott up to now and Asian shopkeepers in centres such as Nairobi and Dar es Salaam continue to enjoy African patronage. But while racial harmony is becoming a model for the rest of Africa in Tanganyika, the anti-Asian feeling is now widespread in Kenya. Now they are finding themselves coupled with the whites under the common label of "immigrant races".

When the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Iain Macleod, was visiting Kenya last December, the most serious of a number of "incidents" occurred in the centre of Nairobi. An hour or two after an Asian had collided with, but not seriously injured, an African pedestrian, hundreds of Africans were attacking and stoning all the Asians they encountered, damaging cars and trying to force their way into shops. Several other incidents, including a couple of Asians murdered by panga-bearing Africans, have since occurred.

### Change of feelings

All this is reflected in the attitude of many Asian delegates attending the constitutional conference in London, who have veered very close towards the African nationalists' point of view and are prepared to concede far more than they were six months ago. For this they have been severely taken to task by the leading Asian daily newspaper in Nairobi, the *Daily Chronicle*.

But after years of indecision, wavering between attachment to the European political objection. The number who actually volunteered to fight against the terrorists was small, but a few victims of Mau Mau atrocities were Asians.

*Daily Chronicle*, which has warned the leaders against an Asian "Munich".

# contact

## A Liberal's Earnest Appeal to an Afrikaner Nationalist

**Y**OUR greatest desire, as I see it, is to safeguard the future of Afrikaans and of the Afrikaner group. On other matters, if I read the signs aright, you will consider compromises, but not on this.

Our determination, on which we will never compromise, is that colour discrimination must be expunged from our country.

Up till now you have followed leaders who have told you that these two things are absolutely incompatible, and that your success must mean our failure, and vice versa.

The new British policy in Kenya, and Mr. Macmillan's firm speech in South Africa, and the new Belgian policy in the Congo, have led to much re-thinking. With the great tide of African national freedom sweeping down the continent, quite irresistibly, demanding, and obtaining, dignity, status, and equality for all, irrespective of colour, it is appropriate for you, as for all South Africans, to re-examine policies radically.

We are all living in Africa. Your people, first of all peoples in the modern age, gave themselves the name "African". You know that three-quarters of our population are non-White, and share all the needs which are felt by other peoples of the continent. Thanks to what press freedom we have in South Africa they are well-aware of what is going on in Kenya and elsewhere. Indeed "Contact" is honoured to be one of the main channels by which this tide of freedom is already flowing into our country. You must know that this African tide cannot be ignored, and that it is already profoundly altering the political equilibrium in South Africa.

Now to go on mouthing slogans such as "apartheid" which once may have had meaning, but which are now obsolete, is no fruitful way of meeting a challenge like this. To retreat into a mental laager is not wise. The game, in the second half of the twentieth century, goes to him who can use his wits best and fastest.

The question which must pose itself to your group, if it is to survive, is this: is it not possible for Afrikaner nationalism somehow to be harmonised with the tide of African freedom, so that freedom's success cannot endanger the future of your group?

I believe that such a harmonising is possible.

The first thing that is necessary for such a harmonising is that South Africa be reorganised, soon, on a federal basis. If your leaders are wise they will use the republic change-over to do this. Our country has a certain number of areas which are natural "homelands" for various groups. The Xhosa people have the Transkei, the Zulus Zululand, and so forth. These areas must urgently be given the full status of constituent states of a South African federation. You will realise that in saying this I am approving certain aspects of stated Government policy, and that I am even backing Dr. Verwoerd's new vision, to a certain degree. I do so without hesitation, but on the condition, of course, that these areas have equal rights in the central government with other areas.

Another of these federal areas should be the western part of the Cape Province, west of the "Eiselen line". This area should be the homeland of the Afrikaans language, because the overwhelming majority of people in this area have Afrikaans as their home language.

The degree of federalism should be such as to give a guarantee to the people of this area that their language and their population make-up shall, for the foreseeable future, be under their own control. In this way the future of Afrikaans within this area can be guaranteed, in so far as anything in this changing world can be guaranteed.

To be in harmony with the new Africa this Afrikaans state will have to give full equality to all people within its borders. This means that the "Coloured" people will have to be given full equality, votes on a common roll, access to "White" areas, schools, etc. I am satisfied that Nationalists who are thinking creatively have already reached this conclusion. After all, on your own philosophy you must do this. The "Coloured" people are culturally Afrikaners; they speak your language; they attend your churches; they are economically integrated in this area. Your arguments for oppressing the Africans do not apply to them.

You will find, if I am not mistaken, that you will gain, at a stroke, the fiercest friends you ever had, the most enthusiastic propagators of Afrikaans language and culture.

You will also have to give equality to those Africans who have made their homes in the Western Cape. I know that you are afraid of being "ploughed under" by Africans, but you will do this more easily because in this area Africans are in number a few thousands only. If you try to continue to oppress them you will fail to achieve the harmonisation of your future with the tide sweeping down the continent, and, to put it briefly, you will fail in everything.

The heartland of South Africa, the Orange Free State with its farms and mines, Natal, and the Transvaal with its farms and mines, is already racially "mixed". Black and White have equal historical claims to this country, and equal claims as of right, all having contributed to its development. In this area you will have to accept a "Brazilian" settlement. In this area the "White" people and the Afrikaans language will have to sink or swim according to their deserts. This area will be like Tanganyika, where there will be a non-White majority of voters, but in which, if both sides use wisdom, White and non-White will be able to live fruitfully together.

You may say that the sacrifice involved is too great. But you cannot continue to oppress the non-Whites in this area without causing Afrikaner Nationalism to collide head-on with the tide of freedom. Any attempt to throw out of this area the non-Whites and to establish a White reserve will probably be met by the organised resistance of the whole world, and there will be intervention, as there was at Suez when the United Nations stopped the British and French armies. So you really have no choice. Here again, why not begin the change while all power is still in your hands? If you can read the signs you will know that if you do not give now, it will be taken later. If you give now you can become a valued ally of the new Africa. But if you try to resist you will be rejected at the end. Remember Aesop's story of the reed and the oak.

And try now to cast out fear. Acceptance of this mixed state will produce here in South Africa a Brazil. Brazil has a non-White majority. Yet the Whites live there in perfect security. Travel round the world. Take a look at the real world of 1960. See how the human race is meeting these challenges of racial differences. Your problem — our problem

— is so similar to the difficulties in South America, in Israel, in India, in the United States. Can South Africa not meet these difficulties with the same success as these other nations?

In some Transvaalers, of course, the racial feelings will be too strong. That I deplore, but I know that it is a fact, and a fact that must be taken account of. It is for these that the Afrikaans state of the Cape will be established. If to them race and colour is everything, let them move southwards to the racial security of a homogeneous state. I am fairly sure that just as the Afrikaner farmers in Kenya are refusing to be panicked, just so the great majority of Whites in the mixed area of South Africa will refuse to be panicked, and will in fact help the mixed area and South Africa as a whole to a position of leadership on the continent.

Here then is what I believe to be a basis for discussion. You may wish for more. If you ask me to accept a Republic, then I may accept it. If you ask me to accept that the whole of South Africa shall have Afrikaans as its sole official language, I may accept that too. But you must on your side concede our demand of equality. Why must you concede it? Because the balance of power inside South Africa, and outside, can force you to concede it one day anyway. Because the principles on which human beings co-operate and live together demands it. And, finally, and above all, because your own conscience tells you that it is RIGHT to concede it. It is only on this basis that you, if you were non-White, would consent to live in South Africa without becoming a nihilistic revolutionary.

This is the answer that religion and morality give, and, in the long run, it is the only answer that can meet human needs.

## Fort Hare Regulations

**T**HE draft regulations relating to the admission and control of students at the recently-transferred Fort Hare College deserve the strongest protests from the nation.

Among the regulations is one which says that no student or group of students may visit another institution without permission of the rector. Another that no collection lists may be circulated in the precincts of the college without permission of the rector.

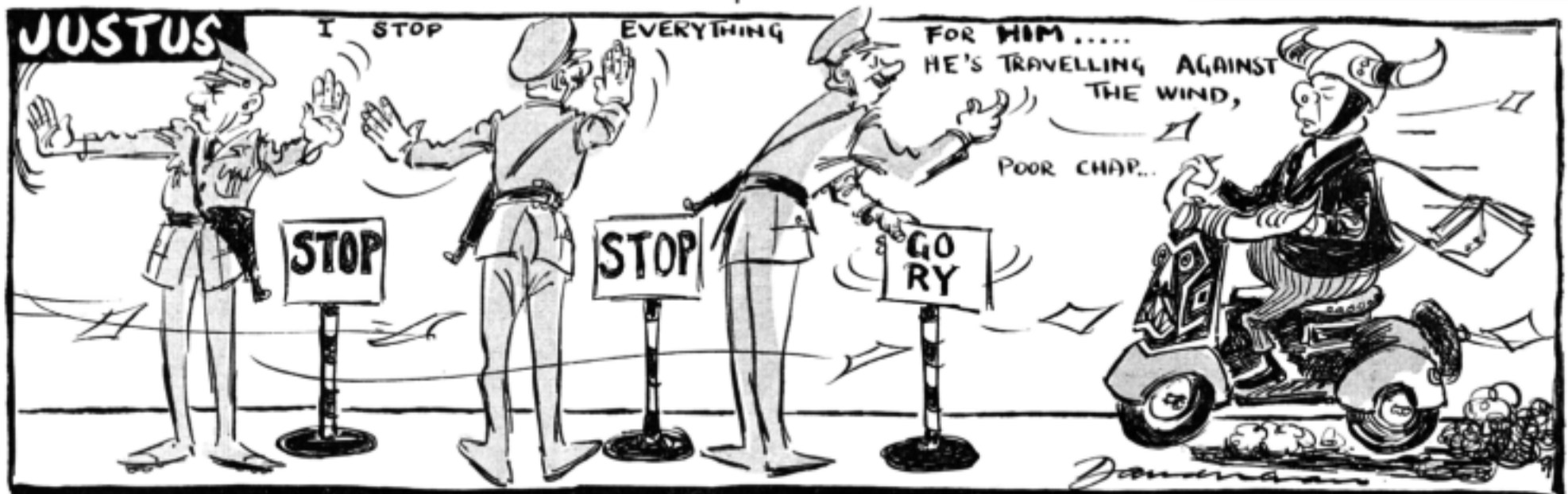
The students are apparently to be treated as a cross between children and internees. They are not to be allowed to join Nusas.

These regulations and many others are a monstrous invasion of the dignity of students. They invite protest, but not despair. For what could more surely breed defiance of apartheid and a determination to win freedom?

## Non-European Disunity

**O**N another page we report a saddening story from Cape Town. There the Non-European Unity Movement has finally splintered into small pieces, amid scenes as hysterical as the editorials in "Torch". Yes there is a connection. There are also lessons for democrats. One lesson is never to overstate your case; never become hysterical; and never generate hatred. The other is this: that there can be no South African unity on a lasting basis which is merely racial or sectional. And if the word "non-European" is not racial, then it has no meaning.

*Contact is independent. It works for non-racial democracy based on adult suffrage. It is against all forms of totalitarianism such as fascism and communism.*



## PETER BROWN TAKES THE LONG VIEW

## Apartheid Isolated



Peter Brown, Chairman of the Liberal Party

decide whether South Africa stayed in the Commonwealth if she became a republic, that it was *they* who, through South Africa's strategic position and economic resources, held the trump card in any bargain with the West. Suddenly all this is changed and the initiative is not theirs at all. It will *not* necessarily be they who decide about the Union's Commonwealth membership and the Western world has already decided that African goodwill is more important to it than any cards the Nationalists hold.

**H**AS a South African Government ever felt as alone in the world as ours does now? I doubt it. The chickens of apartheid are flocking home to roost.

Whether one approves or opposes the boycott, one thing must be conceded. It has elicited more unequivocal overseas condemnation of apartheid than any other campaign has ever done. People who have never thought about apartheid before have been forced to think about it and to make up their minds about what they feel about it. Some of them may have decided that they don't like the boycott but I haven't yet heard of one who has decided that he does like apartheid. On top of this has come Mr. Macmillan's clear warning that South Africa can expect less public support from Britain in future.

One cannot tell what will follow from Mr. Macmillan's warning but it has been widely suggested that it means that Britain will no longer support South Africa at the United Nations. There she will find herself in the company of the Portuguese dictatorship and France. And how much longer will France support her? Not a moment longer, I suspect, than it takes her to solve her own Algerian problems.

There is no doubt that Mr. Macmillan's speech came as a profound shock to many Nationalists and that it has left them very uneasy. Their uneasiness has been increased by his hint that other dominions will have to decide whether a South African Republic should remain in the Commonwealth. A great deal of publicity has been given to Dr. Verwoerd's faltering, opening remarks when he replied to Mr. Macmillan. There is no doubt that he was rattled and there is no doubt from the reaction of Nationalist politicians and newspapers that Mr. Macmillan rattled them too. Will the rattling crack the apartheid fortress or will it bring the defenders rushing to the walls?

The Nationalists have always, I think, assumed that the initiative which has been in their hands for the last twelve years would remain there. That, in some way or other, it would be *they* who would

For years Liberals and others have been telling White South Africa that its policies led inevitably to the isolation it is now beginning to feel. Nobody has taken any notice. Only years of wishful thinking could account for the shock this new loneliness has produced in Nationalist circles. A leading Nationalist newspaper sees in it the crisis for which years of struggle and conditioning have been preparing Afrikanerdom. But the crisis is not only for Afrikanerdom, it is a crisis for the white supremacist. English-speaking South Africa has not yet realised this. In its delight at Dr. Verwoerd's discomfiture it has not yet seen that Mr. Macmillan served notice not only on baasskap apartheid but on white supremacy too. Only Mr. Mitchell seems to have appreciated this unpleasant fact. And the close affinity between his views and Dr. Verwoerd's could not have been better illustrated than in Mr. Mitchell's speech to the Cape Town Institute of Citizenship. The words may have been different but the sentiments were the ones Dr. Verwoerd voiced in his reply to Mr. Macmillan.

Thus both *Die Burger* and Mr. Mitchell see the speech as a crisis for White South Africa. Will that part of White South Africa which is represented by the Nationalist and United Parties unite to face it? For ten years the United Party has moved steadily towards the Nationalists. Does Mr. Mitchell's speech presage the final capitulation? Is this the first move to rally all defenders of White privilege to man the breaches? It is quite possible that, faced with the growing hostility of the outside world, white supremacists in South Africa will move closer together. After all, why fight one another when the whole world is against you both? It is even possible that their ranks will be swelled by recruits from Kenya and the Congo. If White ranks close will Black ranks not close also? It seems likely that they will.

If this should happen the position of South African Liberals could, for a time, be one of increasing difficulty and growing rejection by those in their own communities who look for survival, or political success, in the strength of their

(continued on p. 12 col. 4)

## "THE WINDS OF CHANGE"!



Under the headline "Winds of Change" the "Cape Argus", 18th February, ran the above cartoon. We reproduce it so that our readers may see the cynical use being made of anti-African prejudice by portions of the English press in South Africa—and incidentally the insult to Mr. Macmillan, for it is his hat that is being blown along the ground.

## What's New . . . . by "Gadfly"

**A** PROPOS of the birth of the new Prince, a friend and I were talking about the antiquity of the British Monarchy. Having agreed that Britain possesses by far the oldest set of political institutions in the world, it occurred to us to wonder which were the second oldest. We reached a rather surprising conclusion: the second-longest pedigree belongs to the American Presidency and Congress. We could not think of another country in the world which has not had its constitution altered by revolution or by conquest since 1776.

Can anyone produce a rival candidate for this distinction?

**MR EDMUND WILSON** recently wrote a series of articles on the way in which words have changed their meanings and the light which such changes throw upon the changing values of society.

An eloquent example which he omitted is the word "sell". Fifty years ago, a man who was accused of selling his country to foreigners would have responded with a suit for libel, if not a challenge to physical combat. The words meant treason of the lowest sort.

To-day, "selling one's country overseas" is an estimable and patriotic activity. We live in the age of the salesman. People are even urged by bright and helpful psychologists to learn how to sell themselves.

There are two sides to this rise in the world of the word "sell". On the one hand, it reflects the disappearance of old, snobbish prejudices against commerce. That is all to the good. But it also reflects the alarming spread of the advertiser's morality. The art of selling, in the new sense, is the art of putting across ideas without bothering to inquire whether they are good or bad. It is not, of course, a new art. The lawyer has always practised it openly, while the politician and the priest have often done more of it than they would care to admit. The difference is that to-day they do admit it, and nobody seems to mind.

For myself, I am still old-fashioned enough to think that there should be a difference between patriotism and soap.

**THE** procession of ramshackle champions who have come forward to tilt a lance at Mr. Macmillan make an amusing sight. The Johannesburg *Star* has produced a professor A. C. Cilliers, who proves to his own satisfaction that the British dislike apartheid because of their "ritualistic conception of life".

No doubt he could produce other formulae containing more syllables than sense, to account for the hostility towards apartheid of the Americans, Russians, Germans, French, Dutch, Swedes, Irish, Israelis, Indians and other "ignorant foreigners". He might have more difficulty, though, in explaining why the great majority of South Africans dislike apartheid.

Professor Cilliers and his kind must not be allowed to get away with their pretence that they are patriots defending South Africa against meddling foreigners. They are defending a bankrupt clique against South Africa and the world, and both they and their admirers must be made to realise that. This is a job for South African liberals, and one which we cannot get anyone else to do for us.

**ONE** plaintive cry has, of course, run through all the attempts to refute Macmillan—"If only they understood us".

Thank your lucky stars, gentlemen, that they do *not* quite understand you, yet. Overseas critics disapprove of apartheid, but they are still inclined to judge it at least partly by the cloudy speeches of Dr. Verwoerd and the laboured theories of Stellenbosch. Few of them know the contemptible, ticky-grabbing meanness that lies at the heart of apartheid.

Apartheid is stealing Patel's grocery shop and giving it to Van der Merwe. It is kicking Tshabalala out of his job as a liftman, so that Smith can have it instead. It is creating a whole system of law and administration to supply farm labour at 1s. 9d. per day. It is a rich and powerful community stopping at nothing to lay its hands on an extra sixpence.

When the world understands that, the Nationalists will find themselves looking back with longing upon the good old days of Macmillan.

With this issue Patrick Duncan signs off for a while from his column "Fair Comment". "Gadfly" takes over. "Contact" welcomes him warmly to its columns.

"Hand of Friendship"—  
New Minister

## Israel-Tanganyika Link Born

THE Minister for Urban Local Government and Works, Mr. A. H. Jamal, said in Dar es Salaam on his return from a fortnight's visit to Israel, that the condition which Israel laid down if she were to send experts and technical advisers to assist in Tanganyika's development was that at the beginning there should be a willingness on the part of the people to accept the sacrifices and burdens of hard work.

"They have extended the warm hand of friendship," said the Minister. "They are prepared to put at our disposal the fruits of their research and the labours of their trial and error over the years."

At a Press conference Mr. Jamal said Tanganyika had something to learn from Israel and he hoped that in the future Tanganyika students might go to Israel to obtain not only an idea of the educational system but also perhaps to imbibe some of it and project it into Tanganyika to the Territory's advantage.

The possible fields of co-operation between Tanganyika and Israel were particularly land settlement, water conservation and agricultural output.

Everyone from the farm-worker to the men who run the local institutions in the farming

community was working hard—probably working themselves nearly to exhaustion when the day came to an end. That was the only way they felt that they could develop the country and maintain the standards they were striving to reach.

Referring to water development and irrigation, the Minister said that because of the need to conserve every drop of water, the Israelis had by this time specialised to such an extent that they could claim to be authorities on irrigation and water development.

The Minister also spoke of community work on farms, and said that at present there was in Israel a group of Burmese, with their families, who had been living and working on community farms there for over a year.



Mr. Amir Jamal is one of the small group of Africans and others who have made T.A.N.U. (the Tanganyika African National Union), Mr. Julius Nyerere's movement, a success. He is under forty, and a successful business man in Dar es Salaam, the capital of Tanganyika.

As a minister in the cabinet he has clearly "arrived". He is exceedingly able, and is a name worth watching as Tanganyika speeds towards independence.

## Soviet switch endangers World Press Freedom

THE U.N. General Assembly's Third (Social, Humanitarian and Cultural) Committee at its 14th session, started adopting a draft Convention on Freedom of Information but from the way it has so far gone about its task, it looks as though what it is going to bring forth may prove to be not an instrument for preserving press freedom and unhampered flow of news, but one for limiting them.

According to an ad hoc group's draft of the convention, the introduction would have emphasized that "free exchange of information and opinions" is a "fundamental right and essential in the cause of democracy and peace". The Third Committee has narrowed this down by the addition of the words "accurate, objective and comprehensive" before "information". Again, according to the original draft, under Article 1 journalists were to have been guaranteed the "freedom to seek, receive and impart" information without any governmental interference but the Committee has chosen to substitute "gather" for "seek" in this Article.

### Harmless changes?

On the surface these changes look harmless enough. The change in the introduction would seem only to emphasize the universally acknowledged responsibility of a journalist to spread accurate, comprehensive and objective information. But the rub comes when one looks deeper. Who is to judge what is "accurate, objective and comprehensive"? The draft Covenant does not answer and the presumption is—and this is fully warranted by everything which those who wanted these words inserted in the Convention said during the discussion—that the Governments concerned would decide. Representatives of democratically advanced countries and the Western press legitimately fear this would open the door to censorship and governmental control of information.

During the ten years the United Nations has been dabbling in this subject of freedom of information, the under-developed countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, have been striving to get some limitations on this freedom accepted by the United Nations. They feel that in the past they have been the victims of unfair and unsympathetic reporting by foreign correspondents from Western countries

by

K. Balaraman

with highly developed media of information and propaganda and they are now anxious to protect themselves against such treatment in future.

However, recently they were not successful in their efforts to get the U.N. to accept some provisions for regulating the activities of foreign correspondents because of the opposition, on the one hand, of the Western powers to any kind of muzzling of the press and, on the other of the Soviet Union to any international convention subscribing to freedom of information. The Soviet Union has, however, lately changed its position and now favours a convention which would help to limit the activities of foreign correspondents and also make legal provision for censorship if necessary.

### Meaning of switch

This switch in the Russian position (which means 9 votes in the U.N.) plus the admission of a large number of new members from Asia and Africa, has strengthened the group wanting limitations on press freedom and the Western countries find themselves in a minority to-day. The former feel confident—and they demonstrated it during the session which has just ended—that they have the necessary majority in the Third Committee to make any changes they may want in the draft convention. But as against a simple majority which is enough in the Committee, they will require a two-thirds majority in the General Assembly to make their wishes prevail and the Western countries can still thwart this if they all stand together firmly against any restrictive Convention and not adopt a hesitant attitude as some of them, including the United States, seemed to do during the recent Third Committee meeting.

## "Victory for Democracy" in Kerala Election

THE recent election in Kerala, South India, was a democratic victory. It was forced on the authorities by a major section of the state public, against the resistance of the main parties on both sides. That section of the public won the election and justified its demand and its unconstitutional struggle of last summer.

Did the Chinese aggression influence the voting? At one point the Communist press accused the government of creating the trouble with China in order to help the Congress at the polls in Kerala. But reports during the election campaign suggest that this has been a very minor factor, and the heavy Communist vote bears out this view.

The dispute was about Kerala affairs, and the heart of the matter was the old question: are the rulers and their supporters to be above the law or subject to it?

There were other questions. The Communists' education policy forced into opposition many non-political but influential people. The hostility of the Communists to the churches antagonised the big Christian community and probably alarmed the Muslims and their low-caste bias antagonised the high-caste Nairs. All parties, in Kerala as elsewhere, are more or less "communal".

Economic considerations weighed a good deal. The previous ministries had failed to make any impression on the difficult economic problems of the state. The Communist ministry did only slightly better, but it did raise pay scales for some low-paid groups, and it organised and encouraged

The defeat of the Communists in the Indian state of Kerala last week is analysed and explained in this exclusive feature by Philip Spratt, who has been following events there since the insurrection last year. He finds that the insurrection has been vindicated by the clear verdict of the voters in an election "which was in every way a model". Mr. Spratt, who has lived in India for over thirty years, is the editor of the Bangalore weekly "Mysindia".

many of the despised and rejected people. If it did little to increase wealth, it made at least a gesture of transferring wealth from the upper to the lower levels. It has gone far to establish itself as the party of the poor and the low castes. This must largely account for its solid vote.

But that would not have accounted for the liberation movement, nor even for the defeat of the communists. The class analysis is too simple. There was a sense of moral outrage in the liberation movement.

Communists in power proved to be morally inferior to Congressmen. Some Congressmen are corrupt, but most Communists are corrupt. Moreover the ministry shielded them.

Under the previous ministries at least some cases went to court. The Congress has the right principles but is humanly weak in enforcing them. The Communist ministry itself practised a vast system of corruption in the interest of the party treasury, and in many ways covertly broke the law. It could not afford to enforce bourgeois discipline against its innumerable erring comrades.

Overshadowing all, however, was the Communist ministry's record in regard to law and order. It transferred administrative functions and much power to the party apparatus, and that power was abused. It exerted pressure on the police and the courts to exempt party members from the operation of the law. In effect Communists were set above the law, and all others were correspondingly denied their rights. A high-level committee of jurists who have examined the ministry's record on the spot have concluded that its operations amounted to "a gross and systematic violation of the rule of law".

It was this which provoked Mr. Mannath Padmanabhan to enter politics at the age of 82 and organise the direct action campaign. It was this which forced all the discordant politi-

(Continued at foot of col. 4)

(From column 3)  
cal and non-political interests in the state into a united front.

The Assembly contains 126 seats. In 1957 the Communist Party received 35 per cent of the votes, and won 65 seats. The United Front parties (then not united) polled 50 per cent of the votes and won 61 seats. In this election the Communist Party polled about 43 per cent of the votes, and won 29 seats (including its Independents), while the United Front parties polled 53 per cent of the votes and won 94 seats. The big increase in the Communist vote is partly due to the larger number of seats contested (126 as opposed to 85). The increase in the United Front vote is

wholly due to getting out huge numbers of former non-voters. In 1957 only 67 per cent voted; in 1960 it must have been nearly 90 per cent.

The *Manchester Guardian* has refused to give more than two cheers for this result, on the ground that democracy was gravely wounded by last year's liberation movement. The jurists' committee says that the movement was in fact and in law an insurrection; but "when tyranny becomes intolerable, man has an inherent and inalienable right to stand up against the oppressor". The insurrection has been vindicated by the clear verdict of the voters in an election which was in every way a model.



## Gandhi's Life—Appeal for Books

Mrs. Enid Alexander, widow of Mr. Morris Alexander, friend of Gandhiji, writes asking readers if they can help with material for a multi-volume biography of the Mahatma which is at present being written by Pyarelal, in New Delhi.

The books which Pyarelal particularly wants are:

As I Remember, by E. E. Kellet.

A Lifetime in South Africa, by Sir John Molteno.  
The Life and Times of Sir John Molteno, by P. A. Molteno.

If anyone can spare one or more of these books, he should send them, together with any other biographical material which he can spare, to: Pyarelal, 2-4 Theatre Communication Building, Connaught Circus, New Delhi, India.

## King of Harlem

### KEY JOB FOR RACIST

**R**EPRESENTATIVE Graham Barden is an old-fashioned, no-nonsense segregationist from the Southern State of North Carolina. Year after year, his faithful voters have returned him to Congress. In course of time he became chairman of the House Committee on Education and Labour which is a very important committee indeed. He got the job, not because his colleagues found any particular merit in him, but because some jobs are apportioned strictly on seniority.

Mr. Barden used his office loyally in the service of the South, hindering legislation in education and labour that might tend to improve the lot of the Negroes or bring the races closer together. But Mr. Barden grows old and will stand for Congress no more. His office will therefore be passed to the next in seniority who is Dr. Adam Clayton Powell, and Dr. Powell is a Negro.

Of course, it is in the power of the House to skip Dr. Powell, but not even the Southerners are ready to advocate this. Their quite disproportionate power in the House and Senate is due to the fact that they have secured most of the best jobs—by the working of the tradition of the seniority rule. The South is a one-party area, the Democrat Party, and once elected a man from there usually has the job for life.

### Reminder to Liberals

Dr. Powell has no supporters, not among the Northern liberals, not among his fellow-Negro members, and not, of course, from among any of the Southerners. But it seems he will get the job.

Dr. Powell is a racist of an even more virulent sort than Mr. Barden. He is one of the most extraordinary figures of U.S. public life, and if he does nothing else, at least he serves to remind the most passionate liberals that Negroes can be as unpleasing, as unfair and as devious in public life as anyone else.

He is a clergyman and the pastor of the Abyssinian Baptist Church in Harlem, New York. ("Abyssinian" is only a polite and old-fashioned way of saying that it is exclusively Negro.) The church was founded 150 years ago, and Dr. Powell inherited it from his father. It has a highly-organised congregation of 10,000, made up of the district's most prosperous Negroes.

Dr. Powell is a tall man with a long Spanish face and a

by  
Patrick O'Donovan

natty moustache. He could easily "pass" as a white. He was richly brought up, and has grown richer. He enjoys the good things of life; food, drink, foreign cars and the admiration of crowds. His doctorate is largely a matter of courtesy.

### Obstacle to education

He preaches twice each Sunday to packed congregations and his discourses are so



POWELL

political that his blessing at the end comes as a distinct surprise.

He has one of the worst attendance records of any Congressman. He did not bother to vote for the 1957 Civil Rights Bill. He prevented the passing of an urgent education Bill by introducing an irrelevant amendment. He has been divorced and has remarried. He has been accused of taking and keeping part of the salaries paid by the Treasury to his office staff. He is currently under indictment on two income tax charges.

None of this seems to make the slightest difference. Dr. Powell was first elected to the Congress for the Harlem area of New York in 1944 and has been there ever since. He is the undisputed King of Harlem, and his congregation is

Tony, Man, Why don't you buy a wig?

## Sampson Samples the Hooch

**T**HE only thing I liked about the visit to South Africa of the British Prime Minister, Mr. Harold Macmillan, was that it gave me a chance to see Anthony Sampson, one-time editor of *Drum* and personal friend.

Tony's hair is always threatening to leave a bald patch in the middle of his frightfully British head. I was aware of this threat from the day in 1954 when he was interviewing me for a job on *Drum* and telling me of all the "wonderful prospects" that inevitably inflict themselves upon any youngster who was crazy enough to work on *Drum*.

The London *Observer* sent Tony down here when the Treason Trial was still front page news. That threat was still promising to do a Yul Brynner in the centre of Tony's head. When I saw him again this year, all hopes that this was just an empty threat were crashed into untold microscopic fragments. Who was the dreamer who once said that hope springs eternal in the human breast? Dare I still hope, perhaps pray for you, Tony? No! Fate has destined that you must be so humiliated, and so be it.

### TONY, MAN, WHY DON'T YOU BUY A WIG!

But enough of this hair-raising tragedy . . .

Tony wanted me to take him to a shebeen. He mentioned one in Sophiatown, "House on Telegraf Hill". I told how the Resettlement Board, hired gentlemen of the Group Areas Act, had mercilessly hacked it down.

Tony suggested the "Falling Leaves" but Nat Nakasa—a fellow typewriter-puncher—would not hear of it.

I called Can Themba, ex-Associate Editor of *Drum*, on the phone. Can said: "Can't we have it at the gardens?"

Okay, I said. But it was at Can's in-laws' place that we ended up. We had the whole house to ourselves because the in-laws and Can's wife had gone to the University Great Hall to see a play, "Emperor Jones".

It was like old times, this reunion over a bottle. Dan Chocho and Bob Gosani, both formerly of *Drum* and now of the "World", Ben "Gwigwi" Mrwebi, who recently rejoined *Drum*, Lewis Nkosi of "Post", a white girl whose identity I would like to protect from the Special Branch, and, of course, a couple of gate-crashers.

As usual, Can had beaten us to the drink and he was already

the basis of this support. He is a sort of well-breeched, well-organised political organisation.

### "Toadies"

In the 1955 elections, Dr. Powell, a Democrat, came out in favour of the Republicans, and so the city political bosses ran a personable, well-educated Negro against him. Dr. Powell claimed he was being "purged" simple because he was a Negro, and was re-elected by 14,837 to 4,935 votes. He hints at violence for his opponents. Every coloured opponent is an "Uncle

by  
Casey Motsisi

chewing his tongue long before we had touched the booze that Tony had lugged along.

We got talking and drinking. A variety of subjects. America. Dan Chocho was holding the floor on this one because he had just got back from a six-month study there. Surprisingly



SAMPSON

enough, Dan hadn't cultivated that way-back-home accent, although he talked about America as though he had been born there.

Nat wanted to know what the heck Chief Luthuli is doing down in Tugela instead of being in jail. "As a leader he should have defied the five-year ban to Tugela and gone to jail." This one set the sparks flying. Dan was in the Luthuli camp.

Tom", toadying to the Whites. Every criticism of him is racial in intent.

He has recently complained that the New York police are arresting more coloured gamblers than White ones, and he wants equality in the matter. He has accomplished little or nothing, not even for his own people. But his confidence, his aggressive contempt for the Whites, his single-minded loyalty to his own, have won him his place. And soon he will have a considerable say in the domestic legislation of the whole country.



MOTSISI

Non-violence was the keyword. "Take the bus boycott—non-violent, effective."

"It wasn't Luthuli or Congress who started the boycott. It was a spontaneous decision taken by the mass. The A.N.C. just jumped on to the bandwagon after they had been wrongly blamed by the Nationalist press as being the people behind the boycott." That was Lewis's point of view. By now Dan was becoming vociferous and a bit high. "Non-violence! Non-violence!" he shouted, banging his fist on the table as if bent on breaking the glass top.

"Does anybody know anything about Macmillan's itinerary?" Tony wanted to know.

"Macmillan! What's he doing here, anyway?" Nat said.

"This Cato Manor thing," said newshawk Tony, trying a new line. "Do you think there will be another mass hanging—like that Bergville thing?"

But Can was already on his feet—giving us his Master Plan for freeing our country from the White oppressors. It was a crazy plan that had us doubled-up with laughter after he had outlined it.

"Non-violence! Non-violence!" Dan thundered again. "Gentlem, from the little experience I got from my travels . . ." Whatever he wanted to say was drowned in a raucous outburst of laughter.

We carried on in this fashion right into the small hours of the morning. We parted and thanked Macmillan for having made it possible for Tony to come here while he went about on the important job of having a look-see at our gold mines.

So long, Tony old boy, and please do me one little favour: Stint yourself hooch until you've saved enough money to buy that wig!

## Wind of Change

"Life itself is here at stake; and life has got the bit in its teeth. See for yourself! There is a great wind of unity southing in every black land."

—from "Letter to Maurice Thorez" by West Indian thinker Aimé Césaire, on his resignation from the Communist Party, 1956.

"The wind of change is blowing through this continent."

—Mr. Macmillan, at Cape Town, 1960.

## Mkhonto Listens

ALGIERS: *Passée, passée la Gloire!*

NAIROBI: *Pretty thick this Macleod constitution old chap. Doesn't understand conditions in the colonies of course. These black fellahs can't even speak English. How does he expect them to Vote?*

JOHANNESBURG: *Gold's gone down a bit, old man. Have another gin. Days of the White man, passed, old chap. The Blacks come marching in.*

SALISBURY: *Pity that Verwoerd's not one of us, old man; Might have settled at the Cape if he were. But he actually supported Hitler, old man! I mean that's just not good enough.*

DURBAN: *Naytiff's getting a bit restless, old chap. Have another snort; I think we'll have to chuck this flag business, old man. And go in with Ferwort.*

And so the lament is heard, sneaking like a tiny eddy behind the wind of change.



## SAM SLY'S CORNER

FORTNIGHTLY NOTES ON BOOKS AND THE PRESS



### Clash

At the very thought of British journalists the S.A. Information Service lot go almost white with rage (a phrase coined of one of our darker Ministers). The party Ronald Segal gave for them at the end of the Macmillan tour clashed conveniently with yet another official braai laid on by Mr. Piet Meiring. All but three dodged the latter, whether for the sake of knives and forks or to meet Mr. Segal's variegated guests is unknown. Mr. Meiring was displeased, as Henry Fairlie of the *Daily Mail* found out when he arrived to report the Mac aftermath and asked to meet some Cabinet Ministers. It may have been that they mixed him up with the *Rand Daily Mail*, of course. Jack White, features editor of that kindly nurse *The Irish Times*, has found them more helpful, but Ireland is different I suppose they think.

White was puzzled by the number of undynamited British statues around South Africa. "In Dublin the boys started with William III, then worked their way through a whole lot of the Georges and Queen Victoria, ending up with poor old General Gough, who never hurt a fly." This I may say was White off

duty: he is a wise and profound observer and I look forward to the series of Africa articles that he will write for *The Irish Times*.

### Jazzetry

From a letter: "I was inspired by the following from *The Observer*: 'The New York Police Vice Squad, in its recent drug investigation, has been dressing up its special detectives as Beatniks. The more enterprising have read their own poems to jazz with considerable success', and am now writing SCOWL, in two parts, Canto I, which begins: 'I saw the best konstabels of my generation, sex-starved, hysterical, naked, dragging themselves through the location streets at dawn, looking for an Immorality Act trap . . . and ending 'I'd rather be a cool Congress cat than a Marshall square/A konstabel's life is not a happy one . . . Canto II is better but all the imagery is either libellous or sub judice, alas!'

### Hideosity

"At last we arrived in Cape Town—a hideous city that reminded me of Glasgow; trams running between great stone offices built in Victorian-Gothic; one or two gracious relics of the 18th century; down at heel negroes and half-castes working in the streets; dapper Jews in the shops." That was Evelyn Waugh in 1931 (in *Remote People*). Heaven knows what he will say this time, in *A Tourist in Africa*, due this winter. There are no trams, at least, though dapper negroes and half-castes are to be seen in the shops.

## REVIEWS

### Map Insight

AN ATLAS OF AFRICA. By J. F. Horrabin (Victor Gollancz) 12s. 6d.

HERE are fifty schematic maps by that master, J. F. Horrabin, illustrating African history, African politics, African economics and African science.

Each map faces a short piece of text describing it. I will not say that the text is absolutely impartial, but it glows with insight. Listen to what the author has to say about us, here in

South Africa: "The United Party does not oppose apartheid—only some of the means used or proposed for carrying it into effect."

Again, he quotes Leonard Brown as saying: "In doing a good turn to the Boers (in 1905) that Government (the British Liberal Government) did a very bad one to the much more numerous but defenceless natives." Horrabin defines apartheid as "segregation of blacks from whites, with all power, prestige, profit and political rights to the latter".

This is surely one of the most valuable books on Africa to have come out during the last year. It can be read in an hour—I know, because I have just read it. But it is going to be useful over the years, and I know that it is going to be my constant companion.

I strongly recommend it to all students of African affairs.

PATRICK DUNCAN

### No Antidote

THE NIGHT COMETH. By Eugene O'Donnell (Duell, Sloan & Pearce, New York)

THE sociological novel about racial problems has of late become part of the scenery in the literary world of South Africa, and a somewhat blasé non-chalance has developed towards it. That this is so is more the fault of the novelist than of the material which is often regarded as a useful spice in a dull recipe.

This book is a welcome reminder that the human problems in a society as race-crazed as ours are of far greater importance than the success their portrayal can give a second-rate writer; the pseudonymous author unfolds for us a story which without the help of literary niceties reveals in its horrifying fullness the degradation to which people are subjected by racialism: a degradation on two planes, that of unrelievable poverty and filth and that of incurable hatred.

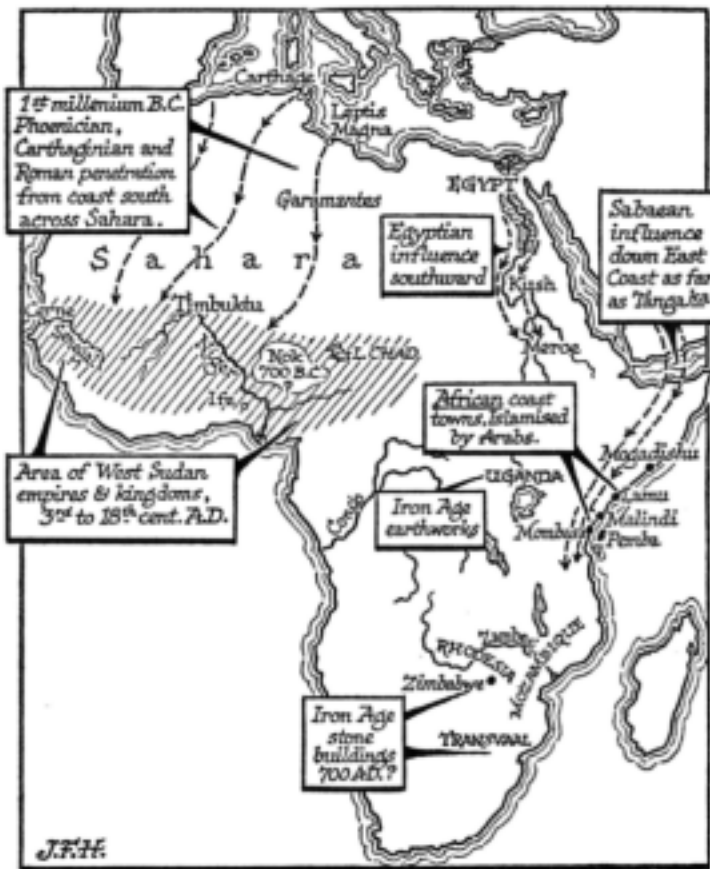
The scene is District Six, the protagonist, Dr. Manuel Erispe, whose life has been ruined by the stigma of colour. The story is of his love affair with a beautiful ballet dancer and his relationship with the world beyond the boundaries of the slum, a relationship governed by the inexorable prejudices of South Africa, and a hopeless lost battle against them. As a doctor he is a failure, as a man, a broken caricature of overriding bitterness who is beyond redemption from his hatred.

Into his sombre world steps a small community of American nuns who have devoted their lives to alleviating the suffering caused by poverty and the indignities that flow from racial prejudice. One of them becomes his assistant, disapproved of by higher church authorities who take their task less seriously.

A friendship develops between her and Erispe which leads us to hope that his loathing for White people will be overcome, but it suffices to say that the book ends on a note of despair which all the charity in the world will not overcome.

The author sees no solution to racial problems, sees them becoming graver and graver, not only in this country but throughout the world, sees no relief for them in good works and the Christian mission, as a poison for which there is no antidote.

One hopes conclusions are false, but realizes that they are based on experience in this country now,



"Digging up Africa's past", Map 48 in An Atlas of Africa (see MAP INSIGHT, col. 2) shows a few of the main areas and objectives on which archaeological work has begun or is planned. "The Africa of the future will know a great deal more about the Africa of the past," writes Mr. Horrabin.

and cannot but protest that such a situation be perpetuated by our rulers: this novel should do more to stir deadened consciences than a million sermons.

TIMOTHY HOLMES

### Court Craft

GENIUS FOR THE DEFENCE. By Benjamin Bennett (Howard Timmins) 18s. 6d.

APOLOGY REFUSED. By Eric Rosenthal (Howard Timmins) 18s. 6d.

NOTHING sells newspapers better than a good juicy murder or a long scandalous libel action. So a number of murders or a bundle of libels can hardly fail to make a fast-selling book. Every Walter Mitty in town has at one stage or another dreamt of conducting a devastating cross-examination or of being an imperturbably witty witness. And both these books will add new substance to their dreams.

Benjamin Bennett is an old hand at this rearming of yesterday's mayhem. This—the story of Mr. Harry Morris, K.C.—is his eighth book of court stories, and although it is not entirely satisfactory as a biography, the actual trial scenes are very expertly done. Great defence barristers make difficult subjects.

One knows all about the ethics of the bar, but even so as case follows case in which people who are clearly rogues are freed, often on skilfully engineered technical hitches, one begins to wonder.

Morris was a philistine sort of man, keen on poker and wrestling and Edgar Wallace, who could not be bothered with fine points of law but was a brilliant cross-examiner and a ruthless, tenacious and ingenious defender of his clients.

Mr. Bennett clearly admired him, but I found myself growing less and less sympathetic as the book went on. "There goes Yutar in the gutter again", he would say when he disapproved of Dr. Percy Yutar's cross-examination. "Apologise? Apologise for what . . ." And so on, having of course successfully

interrupted the awkward cross-examination.

Daisy de Melker, the murderer, was his biggest unsuccessful case. The Natal taxi murder trial, in 1932, his most notable success. But Mr. Bennett has hundreds of other extremely clever acquittals to relate—Morris almost made a speciality of allowing his clients to be convicted on inadmissible evidence and then overthrowing the conviction on appeal.

It is certainly an interesting book, but I found it oddly distasteful.

Eric Rosenthal also has a stack of interesting material in his anthology of libel cases. I found the dissolute Dean Williams of Grahamstown and the irascible Mr. Jennings, also of Grahamstown, provided the most entertaining cases.

All the other famous cases are there too: Botha and the Kruger millions, Dr. Philip's attack on the magistrate of Somerset, Hertzog and the dual medium school row, Mr. Madeley and Sir George Farrar, and others.

Mr. Rosenthal is, I thought, a little heavy-footed in his treatment of this material. He seems a little uncertain about what to leave out. Sometimes, after plodding through page after page of direct speech from court record, the book became almost as boring as court cases are in fact.

KENNETH MACKENZIE

### NEXT CONTACT INCLUDES

REVIEWS: *Collected Poems* (William Plomer), *Five Elections in Africa* (Mackenzie and Robinson), *The Tokolosh* (Ronald Segal), *Candle in the Wind* (Jane M. Meiring), etc.

REVIEWERS: Philip Segal, Terence Beard, Timothy Holmes, J. C. A. Daniels, etc.



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**Mind's-eyeful**

**AFRICA.** By Emil Schulthess (Collins) 139s.

LOOK at the cover picture. It comes from this great, gorgeous feast of African pictures, taken by Emil Schulthess, who crossed the continent north to south for the Swiss magazine, DU. They are brilliantly taken and reproduced as they deserve—every last one of the 260.

Go through the book quickly— from Tunis, via Fort Lamy, Nairobi, the Falls, to Cape Point—and your mind's eye will be half-blinded at the composite picture of people, animals, landscape, forests and rivers of this brilliantly-coloured, restless, gestating land mass.

Go through it slowly and you will perhaps regret the large clumps of pictures of one place or another, with 1,000-mile sections of the route unpictured. Yet imagine yourself the publisher and forced to exclude ten pictures. You will be glad you weren't.

After vowing not to single out pictures, I cannot keep back a few that the most unvisualizing browser could never forget. (There are pictures like this in Scribner's *South Africa in Transition*, with Alan Paton's text.) I shall always see the fishermen's platforms on the Congo rapids above Stanley-

ville, the negroid profile of the woman from Ounianga Kebir, the 48,000-sq. ft. molten lava lake on Mt. Nyiragongo and a dozen others—and I'm only just over the equator.

The Swiss edition is in two volumes with full German text. Collins have cut the text, but for an introduction which ends that Africa is "a goal for those in search of a life attuned to the rhythms and realities of nature". A fleeting vision of these rhythms and realities is in this beautiful book.

L. F. H.

**Not Another Country**

**FROM LIBYAN SANDS TO CHAD.** By Nigel Heseltine (Museum Press) 27s. 6d.

THE Sahara, like an ugly child or a waspish mistress, has to be known to be loved. To the uninitiated it is a vast blemish on the fair face of Africa: to its handful of devotees it is a place of endless fascination whose attraction grows with each heat-seared, sand-lashed visit.

A self-elected member of this Saharan band is Nigel Heseltine, who travelled from Libyan Sands to Chad by jeep, desert truck and camel. After two previous solo crossings of the Western Sahara, Heseltine decided to try this little-known eastern route which would take him through the remote Tibesti mountains, just over the southern border of Libya.

Here he encountered the Toubbou, a nomadic people whose origins are lost in the timeless sands and rock of the desert. They shun contact with outsiders and "in small groups of two or three families move in the interior of the mountains, freed by the chaotic terrain from any outside surveillance". Their domain is an area as large as Ireland, as barren as the surface of the moon, and so devoid of the essentials of life that the Toubbou must be the most frugal people in the world.

They exist on a meagre diet of dried dates and milk and porridge of millet flavoured with butter, eaten day after day without variation. Their thin limbs "almost entirely lacking in muscle, can support the most gruelling fatigues" The story is told of one Toubbou tribesman who walked more than 600 miles, living on the raw flesh of a goat he had killed, and the water which he carried in its skin.

From these Spartan people the author travelled, by camel with a single guide, to the weird lakes at Ounianga, the caravan crossroads and grazing lands of the Mourdi and the mountains of the Ennedi with their mysterious rock paintings and many prehistoric tombs.

"This was not," says Nigel Heseltine, "like being in another country, it was like being in another world." Here life moves with the steady rhythm of the camel; its horizons are the plains of broken rock, the sandy wadis and distant, flat-topped mountains.

His book, written with the unhurried pace of his journey, reveals much of the fascination of the Sahara—a geographic enigma whose secrets are at last being revealed by geologists, archaeologists and wanderers, like Nigel Heseltine, who have found an exciting new world in the desolation of the desert.

PETER HJUL

**A Sophiatown Obituary**

By Aubrey C. Mokoto

"There is nothing evil about poverty, ignorance, disease, and underfeeding. The evil lies over there where the beauty parlours are, and everything is so nice and hygienic, and people buy and sell to one another with little bits of paper, the products which all these people have created with their hands or dug out of the earth." Rev. Michael Scott, a letter written in Sophiatown (*A Time to Speak*, p. 103).

IT is four o'clock in the morning, a Sunday morning. The darkness slowly greys over as the first tinges of dawn colour the eastern sky. The morning star soon ceases to be seen in the growing light of the new day.

Sophiatown stirs and rubs the sleep from her eyes; she keeps up a steady rumble as the life within her lives again. It is Sunday morning and the memories of the previous night are still fresh and are re-lived by batches of people who stream into the streets from backyards, smart cottages and hessian tents pitched hurriedly in the centre of cluttered yards.

The groups in the street are easily distinguishable from each other. These ones came from a tent pitched to accommodate people during an all-night death vigil. These people are old or middle-aged; for can death itself draw the attention of the young? Can it blot out the joys and the evils of Sophiatown? The death-vigil groups that stand about discuss the decadence of their offspring. They are lucky enough to be alive and they see the flouting of a great custom of the people—fear of death and the defilement that comes with it. But can they stop the flouting? Can they halt the great exuberance that sweeps over Sophiatown on a Sunday morning? Can they stop a young ruffian who holds a girl against her will? Or the toddler who with all innocence tips a tubful of dirty water on the stoep his mother has just scrubbed? Instead, they laugh uproariously for laughter is the

man's world. In the sunlight Sophiatown takes shape and colour. It is clear and pleasing in places, drab and disgusting in others for Sophiatown is multi-farious in its people and its ways. Everywhere are the extremes of life: good and evil, joy and grief are thrust before the discerning eye in the glaring heat of the day.

*Sophiatown is gone. Some say good riddance to its filth and misery, some sigh for good times past. As it goes, others see the area of liberty shrink still further.*

Here a group of teenagers are discussing with zeal the deeds and words of Humphrey Bogart at the Odeon Cinema the night before. Here the difficulties of the English tongue are condoned by the dead-pan seriousness of the location orator. Elsewhere, a group of Basutos, called "Russians", flow down the street. The leader squeezes a concertina followed by a retinue of ululating women and stamping men. They perform a tribal dance and the old Africa is immediately superimposed on the slummy background of Sophiatown. Everything stops for them and people rush to stare at the lusty dancers.

But this distraction is short-lived for somewhere an organ groans at the pulsating rhythms of a form of spasm jazz are forced out of it. The right hand embellishes with trills and passing tones; the bass moves from the tonic to the fourth and fifth degrees of the scale. This music seems to burn the soul, and the dancers stomp and scream. Here the Devil holds sway; the dance is the infamous "Famo". It tickles the sexual impulses. Soon the knife will gleam and claim another victim.



The drawing is by Pappas.

inheritance of all; it eases the conscience and makes a feather of the grinding yoke of poverty . . .

THE sun, now high in the sky, pours into every crevice, into every house, clean or dirty; good or evil. The sun shines on all men and is all they get for nothing in this harsh White

to lighter things. A hue and cry rises as the sound of drums rides the air. It draws nearer and nearer and the dancers, black and sweaty and attired in the traditional garb of their tribe, come into view. They are Shangaans who, even in this lost world of the White man, find it necessary to pay homage to their ancestral spirits.

But the Bakgatla brass bands with their snappy uniforms and shiny horns eclipse all other things. The people stomp madly after them for there is a healthy lilt in their music; a buoyancy enjoyed by everybody and even the ultra jazz-conscious, who think of old New Orleans.

EXPECTANCY grips the people of Sophiatown as the day ages. The shift of the crowds can be seen and more and more people flow towards the place where the destiny of their beloved township is to be debated. The occasion flings aside their tribal barriers. They are brothers, these children of Sophiatown, who must meet the crisis of their removal.

At the meeting place, a piece of ground at the corner of Gibson and Victoria Streets, the people huddle together, and around them, Authority, in the persons of grim-faced police, watch and listen to the speeches. The speakers ask angrily: Why should they move? The people do not know. They do not understand the strange ways of the White man. He is like a greedy child; he wants everything even though his hands are full.

The audience mumbles and groans and gasps as the speaker talks. But their fears are not reassured by his brave words. "We are like feathers," they say. "We go where the wind blows us . . ."

THE day arrived. It was bleak and dreary and the skies poured down a thin intermittent drizzle—Medupi rain. Then through a soaking down-pour they watched aghast as the first batches of families were moved. Authority looked even grimmer that day; he had come in strength. The people were afraid but they braved Authority and the rain in order to show their love and loyalty to their departing fellows. More than one heart lurched and beat faster with pity. More than a thousand eyes smarted and flowed with tears.

Poverty looks bad enough in the sunlight but Poverty drenched looks worse. The family units, perched on the lorry with their scant possessions, looked stunned. Their waves to their friends and neighbours were joyless. To many the scene was a strange new glimpse of the great Exodus from Egypt. To the people of Sophiatown it was an exodus not to a promised land but a journey into an unknown future.

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Published at the end of January, 1960, Mrs. Joy de Gruchy's comprehensive and detailed study will give the most up-to-date figures on this vital question. Mrs. de Gruchy was commissioned to bring up to date the previous studies with which the Institute first brought the economic needs of urban Africans to the notice of the public and carried out her investigation during 1959. Price 4s. 6d., plus 3d. postage.

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CONTACT

# CORRESPONDENCE

## Rhodes Scholarships

SIR.—Mr. Bamford's letter (*Contact* 6th February) says that a non-White student "would in no way be precluded" from applying for a Rhodes Scholarship, and that he "would be judged absolutely on his merits in competition with other applicants".

To many thousands of South Africans this is good and important news. *Contact* can do a great work in getting this information to students and telling them how and when to apply.

As there will almost certainly be applications this year to the Cape selection committee, may I urge that Mr. Bamford bring two important considerations to the notice of the committee of which he is a member? The first is that in South Africa it is far, far harder for non-White students to reach a given standard than it is for White students. Rhodes directed that one of the principal qualities for which the committees should look is the "exhibition during school days of moral force and character". Surely, in considering applications Rhodes's words ought to be interpreted in such a manner as to give full credit for efforts made, over many years, and full allowances for difficulties overcome.

The second is this: it is clear that over the years the committees have developed a certain stereotype of the "ideal Rhodes Scholar". If a fair selection from a true cross-section of our population is to be achieved, then this stereotype will have to be drastically revised and modernised. Things are changing so fast in Africa and the world that no doubt this is already in the minds of the members of the committee.

**RANDOLPH VIGNE**  
Clifton, Cape

## Boycott

SIR.—I agree with Mr. W. T. Kirby's letter in *Contact* and have resigned from the Liberal Party for its folly in backing the trade boycott, which must bring increased misery to the non-Whites, but not to its protagonists. Mr. Macmillan deplored the boycott and gave competent reasons. Mr. Van Rensburg could not do more harm to the Liberal Party nor help the Government more, were he an agent provocateur.

Mr. Brown's "Why I support the boycott" shows complete sincerity but naïve reasoning. With his apartheid facts, I concur, but if successful, the boycott will add to them unemployment and starvation.

I agree with Mr. Macmillan's condemnation of this silly boycott and suggest that whoever employs Mr. Van Rensburg brings him back forthwith. No matter what Dr. Verwoerd tries, the days of apartheid are numbered.

**L. J. STEWART**  
Magoebaskloof

## "South Pacific"

SIR.—The film *South Pacific*, shortly to be shown in South Africa, is based on the famous musical play of the same name that was a great success in New York ten years ago.

Will the film, as shown here, include the sarcastic song by Oscar Hammerstein, which was in the original play?

You've got to be taught to hate and fear,

You've got to be taught from year to year;

It's got to be drummed in your little ear,

You've got to be carefully taught.

You've got to be taught to be afraid

Of people whose eyes are oddly made,

And people whose skin is a different shade,

You've got to be carefully taught.

You've got to be taught before it's too late,

Before you are six or seven or eight,

To hate all the people your relatives hate,

You've got to be carefully taught!

**RICHARD RADEX**  
Johannesburg

Written before the decision was made to leave this song OUT.  
—Editor

## Capitalist

SIR.—In reply to correspondent Melville Fletcher of Durban (*Contact*, 20th February) I should simply like to point out that his statement that "American economic penetration and 'aid' is synonymous with low living standards" is not at all an indictment of American foreign policy, as he seems to think it is, but an approbation. What he is unwittingly admitting is that American aid really does go to those countries in the most urgent need of economic assistance—in other words countries with "low living standards". Or would Mr. Fletcher perhaps prefer that such assistance went to the Uzbeks and Kazakhs?

As to his request for an explanation of "... why the American scientists have failed to deliver the goods in the way Russian scientists do", I might ask "which goods?" If he is referring to the countless industrial and medical scientific achievements that have gone to make a better and a healthier way of life for mankind since the turn of the century, I would say that American scientists show up very well indeed in comparison with their Soviet counterparts, and have most certainly "delivered the goods".

But of course Mr. Fletcher is referring to Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles which, fortunately for the human race, have thus far been employed only in the peaceful pursuit of launching sputniks and luniks into outer space. In this lethal field the Americans have admittedly fallen somewhat behind.

**R. J. ANDERSON**  
Johannesburg

## Economic Survey

SIR.—I have to-day sent you a short report drawn up by the Wages Study Group of the Liberal Party branch in Grahamstown. There is much evidence that people in South Africa are becoming increasingly conscious of the harshness of poverty and low wages here.

Would it not be a good idea for *Contact* to set aside a special corner, or even a special page, where as many facts and as many opinions as possible could be assembled on this urgent matter?

Letters, articles, figures, pictures could all be regularly placed together in an attempt to educate people, and to be a spearhead of attack in the effort to remove poverty from our midst.

**M. NUTTALL**  
Grahamstown

## Socialist

SIR.—On page 12 of *Contact* of 9th January you criticise socialism.

But, I ask you, where do the majority of the supporters in Britain for African freedom come from? They come, sir, from the ranks of socialism. I need not remind you, too, that if South Africa had a socialist government it would have no apartheid.

(Continued in next column)

(Continued from p. 7 col 2)

own particular group. This may well be a phase through which South Africa must pass. It would be a tough phase while it lasted but a phase which would be followed by another in which, slowly and reluctantly, no doubt, more and more White South Africans came to realise that security for them could only lie in sharing their present privileges.

The first screws are now being turned. We move into a period in which the survival of Liberalism may well depend on the firmness with which those who profess it stand up for what they claim to represent.

(Continued from previous col.)

What sort of Africa do you want in the future? One where black exploits black, instead of white exploiting black, as at present? Or do you want a new land, a new freedom and a new equality?

**CHRISTOPHER BAGLEY**  
London

Yes. We do want a new land, a new freedom and a new equality. These things are found at their highest in the democratic lands of the world, such as your own, Scandinavia, etc.

We criticised doctrinaire socialism, which we defined as a society which suppressed one of the basic freedoms, the freedom to organise economically and to establish businesses according to one's own judgment, and not according to the judgment of some bureaucrat.  
—Editor

## Our readers react . . . .

SIR.—*Contact* is my favourite paper, and during these days of political confusion it is the only light of hope to those who believe that God created every inch of this earth for all mankind irrespective of race, colour or creed.

I hope *Contact* will spread to all corners of the earth where the English language is spoken.

**A. READER**  
Rustenburg, Tvl.

SIR.—I am very glad to renew my subscription to *Contact*. Living in the heart of Basutoland as I do, it is good to have reliable news of things in the Union. If the recent series of articles on Basutoland are anything to go by (and I feel qualified to make a judgment on so intimate a subject) then *Contact* must be one of the most reliable and challenging papers of its kind.

**M.C.**  
Basutoland

SIR.—I have received your letter, in which you informed me that you have sent 25 copies of *Contact*, and have read it with great interest.

When the copies arrived here in the office of the Malawi Congress Party, they were sold out in five minutes. Please send me 50 copies next time, as this paper sells like hot cakes.

**W.G.M.M.**

"Between *Contact* and *Peace News* one gets a good idea of what has been left out of the daily press. That the views of *Contact* should be spread more widely is not a pious wish, but a dire necessity.

—A reader renewing his subscription.

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