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CONTACT

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EMBATTLED BALLET: PAGE 15

- What Mamatola Would Have Said Page 5
- The De Blank Row Page 6

THE NEWS BEHIND THE NEWS



In This Issue

THE new 1½ litre Sunbeam Rapier in the picture above has, the manufacturers tell us, "lighter steering, improved front suspension, larger front brakes, greater power and higher maximum speed."

The twin carburettor "Rally-master" engine has a compression ratio of 8.5 to one, which gives faster acceleration through the four gears (0 to 70 m.p.h. in 25 seconds)—and the Rapier is available in convertible form.

But will South Africa ever see it? A CONTACT investigator doing research on the changing face of motoring in South Africa heard anxious whispers in the showrooms about import control being on the way in again.

His exclusive report to us is on page seven.

THE Mamatola have been dispossessed. An Act of Parliament passed at the recent session gave the Government power to enforce their removal from the picturesque mountain

slopes where they have lived for hundreds of years.

Weighty arguments were put forward to prove the urgent necessity for their removal. Even the Opposition, which fought the measure because the Government refused to give the Mamatola a hearing, agreed that they should be moved.

But on page five of this issue of CONTACT the Mamatola's argument—the argument the Government was afraid to hear—is clearly set out. And the arguments for removal seem much less weighty when balanced against what the Mamatola wanted to say.

CONTACT believes that whatever side of the colour line they may be on, its readers will find much to interest them in the story of what is taking place in the world of art, theatre and music among the non-white people.

CONTACT believes, too, that those who are making this effort to live a full cultural life in spite of the handicaps to

which they are subject, deserve every encouragement.

But these people will be the first to agree that encouragement does not merely mean a paternal pat on the head. So CONTACT'S policy is to provide the best in criticism of their efforts—with no holds barred.

Another hard-hitting CONTACT CRITIQUE, this time on the recent Eoan group ballet in Cape Town, is on page 14.

CONTACT'S political commentator, "Quill", reviews the course of the De Blank controversy on page 6, and has some pithy comments to make on it.

Ralph Horwitz, in his "Talking Business" column on page seven has some equally pungent remarks to make about Senator De Klerk's recent statements on job reservation.

"Thoth" contributes a fascinating survey, in his "African Notebook" on page eight, of the picturesque and politically decisive Great Rift Valley,

CONTACT

Who . . .

CONTACT has been launched by a newly formed private company, Selemela Publications (Pty.) Ltd.

"Selemela" is a Sotho word for the Pleiades, the constellation whose appearance is taken as a signal in many African tribes for the people to go out into the fields and start the season's work.

The board of directors of Selemela Publications comprises: Chairman, John Wilson, of Johannesburg, lawyer; Managing Director, George Clay, of Cape Town, journalist; Members: Patrick Duncan, of Ladybrand, O.F.S., farmer; Cynthia Duncan (Mrs. Patrick Duncan); Jordan Ngubane, of Inanda, Natal, journalist; Alan Paton, of Kloof, Natal, author; Walter Stanford, M.P., of Cape Town, advocate.

Manager and Secretary: Anthony Clarke.
Editor: George Clay.

CONTACT'S business and editorial offices are on the Fourth Floor, Parliament Chambers, 47, Parliament Street, Cape Town, which is also the address of the registered office of Selemela Publications.

Postal Address: P.O. Box 3618, Cape Town.

Telephones: 2-6697 and 3-5771.

Why . . .

CONTACT was conceived in the belief that there is a useful part for it to play in the fight to banish prejudice and lay the foundations for a just society in this country.

CONTACT'S sponsors have faith that, given the full facts and faced clearly with the true alternatives, the people of this country may yet find their way to a future of harmony and promise.

They believe that for this reason there is a need for an independent journal which, unrestricted by

sectional or financial ties, will be free to seek the whole truth about the developing situation in Africa today.

They believe, too, that there is a need for a voice which will express in clear and unequivocal terms the forward view on Africa.

They have sought, therefore, to fashion a journal which will combine these functions, in its presentation of the facts giving a full and fearless picture to all who seek the true significance of events, and in its statement of its views giving a forthright lead on the issues which face this continent.

What . . .

CONTACT is a fortnightly review which will seek to inform and entertain readers of all races, providing news and views of importance to all who share this country.

CONTACT will report on and examine the significance of the events and trends which are shaping the future of all who live here, offering its readers hard facts and straight talk on the problems that face us in Africa.

CONTACT will also seek to reach across the colour line in both directions, recording the cultural activities and development of all sections of the Southern African community.

CONTACT rejects the idea that the "group" divisions which bedevil this country should be perpetuated and does not wish to encourage the expression of "group" attitudes; yet it faces the fact that our present society forces on the various race groups a special community interest.

CONTACT will therefore provide, in the interests of a clearer understanding of the reactions brought about by this straight-jacketing, a forum through which members of the various "groups" can make known the attitudes arising in these groups.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES

The subscription rates for CONTACT (post free) are as follows:

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COVER PICTURE

CONTACT'S cover girl is 19-year-old Joan Boonzaaier, ballerina/teacher with the Eoan Group—the Coloured cultural organisation. The Eoan Group has been through troublous times in recent years. It has had to make a difficult decision on whether to kowtow to the racist ideas of the Government and thus retain the Government's most useful subsidy, or to fight racism and forfeit the subsidy. The Eoan

Group has now made up its mind (story on page 15) and is pressing on with an ambitious programme of theatrical presentations—among them a season of ballet under the direction of the world acclaimed South African dancer, David Poole.

It was while Joan Boonzaaier was dancing appropriately, in "The Black and White Ballet" that CONTACT'S photographer caught the expressive cover study.

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RACE COURT BRINGS HUMILIATION, MISERY TO CAPE

'Studbook' Inquiry

SOUTH AFRICA'S "studbook law", the Population Registration Act, is being thrust on the country's most racially entangled area—the Cape Peninsula. Officials "engaged in considering borderline cases and submitting comprehensive reports to Pretoria" have set up office in Cape Town.

They are conducting what is in effect a "race court" which in only a few weeks has already brought misery to tens of families and struck terror into hundreds more.

Seeking to sort the people of the Cape into the official race groups, decreed by the Nationalist Government the "court" has come between man and wife, broken up families, deprived people of their jobs and encouraged a vicious system of informing.

The officials concerned refused to comment, but CONTACT this week heard the tragic stories of a number of the studbook Act's victims.

These are some of the things that have happened during the racial witchhunt:

● A young woman who had always lived as a European wanted to marry a European but when she sent for her birth certificates she found that she was registered as a Coloured person. Her case is now in the hands of the "court".

Sons' Shock

● A young man engaged to a European girl succeeded in getting his registration changed from "Coloured" to "European" so that he could marry—but he was warned by the population register officials that if they had any "complaints" about him they might have to reconsider his case.

● A man whose sister had married a Coloured man received notification that he and his three brothers had all been taken off the European voters' roll.

He then discovered that the minister of his church had received instructions from the Government to change the classification on his marriage certificate. He protested and was summoned, with his whole family, to the "race court". There all the members of his family were closely questioned and his two sons learnt for the first time that their father might be regarded as a Coloured man.

● A woman informed the population registration officials that a certain man who was living as a European, was in fact Coloured. He was summoned to the

"court", together with his brothers and sisters and his widowed mother. After the various members of the family had been questioned the mother was interrogated alone. Under cross-examination she broke down and confessed, for the sake of her other children, that while they were white the one son was the child of a Coloured man with whom she had had an affair.

● The daughter of a "mixed" couple (husband white, mother Coloured) applied for re-registration as a European because she wanted to marry a European. She and all her family had to appear before the officials, where, in tears, they were closely questioned for more than an hour.

Methods

Methods of classification for what Dr. Dönges described as "the central register which contains each person's life history"—at a yearly cost of about £113,000—are obscure.

People appearing before the population register officials, however, have had to submit to intimate questions about their habits, their lives and their ancestry.

And the officials make notes about the straightness or otherwise of the hair, colour of the eyes and complexion.

Those appearing before the officials have to make special application if they wish to be accompanied by their lawyers.

But it is not even the officials who interview the borderline cases who make the final decision. Their notes and recommendations go to Pretoria where an official who can go only by what appears on the paper in front of him finally decides the applicant's fate.

Definition

Seven years and £500,000 after the first introduction of his Population Registration Bill, Dr. Dönges spoke of an interdepartmental committee "to inquire into the possibility of ensuring uniformity of classification".

It would aid officials in applying a grim list that he rattled off with practised glibness: The Population Registration Act, the Group Areas Act, the Electoral Consolidation Act, the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act, the Immorality Act and "the various provincial ordinances".

After thirty months of deliberation, the committee failed. Seven appeals to the Supreme Court against race classifications were decided in favour of the appellants—(Damages totalling £1,184. 17. 4d. were awarded against the Director of Census and Statistics.)

The Race Classification Appeal Board officially ruled that it would not accept identity cards as proof of race.

End of Line

What will literally be journey's end for some of the Cape Town thousands is a door in an appropriately-coloured brown and white passage above a popular bazaar.

Inside, there is nothing to distinguish the room from a hundred other civil service offices—except possibly the long row of chairs against a wall.

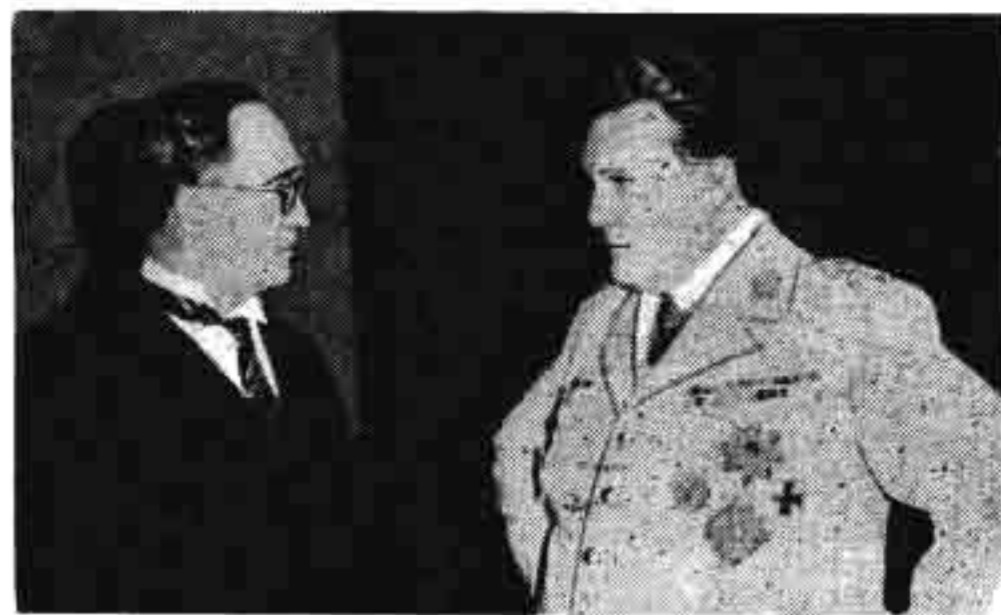
Visiting newspaper reporters have found their reception to be familiar: "We are strictly debarred from making a statement to the Press. If you wish you may submit a written questionnaire to Pretoria."

A reporter asks: "Have you personally only just come to Cape Town with the office?"

"Put that question to Pretoria."

In the strictest secrecy, the court gets on with its grim work, for there is a long waiting list; what are thought to be the most puzzling of the 100,000 "borderline cases" mentioned by Dr. Dönges are in the Cape.

The complexity of the racial composition of the Cape will subject the Population Registration Act to its acid test—and bring heartbreak and humiliation to the thousands who are caught up in the cumbersome machine.



MR. OSWALD PIROW AND FRIEND (1938)

TREASON TRIAL

THE ISSUES AT STAKE

MR. OSWALD PIROW'S address to the court at the end of the preparatory examination in the treason case has aroused keen interest in legal circles.

It is the first full statement of the case for the prosecution which has been made in the course of the proceedings.

There have been a number of treason trials in the history of the South African courts, but none provide any clear precedent for the present case. They have all dealt either with assistance to the enemy in time of war, or with open, armed rebellion.

In such cases, the law of treason is reasonably clear. In wartime, any subject of the Union who commits acts calculated to assist the war effort of the enemy and to facilitate the defeat of the Union and its allies, is guilty of treason.

An armed rebellion, whether aimed at the total overthrow of the Government or at the forcible coercion of the Government, is also clearly treasonable.

Striking Lack

In the present case, although the Crown alleges that speeches of a violent and inflammatory kind were made, it is not suggested that there has been any attempt at, or direct preparation for an armed rebellion.

Although evidence of riots in various parts of the country has been led, it is not suggested that these were organised by the accused, or that they formed part of any immediate plan for large-scale insurrection. Thus the most striking features of previous peacetime treason trials are altogether lacking.

In the absence of these features, Mr. Pirow based his case upon the allegation of a conspiracy which had as its ultimate aim the replacement of the present form of government by a completely different form—a so-called "People's Democracy".

The method by which this change was to be brought about, said Mr. Pirow, was a vast, sustained campaign of hindering, harrassing and obstructing the Government until it could no longer function. Many of the acts which went to make up this cam-

paign were not in themselves unlawful—e.g. the boycott of schools.

Others, such as the defiance of apartheid regulations, were unlawful, but not in themselves treasonable. Each such act, considered by itself, might be a legitimate method of democratic opposition. Even the speeches advocating violence, considered by themselves, would not perhaps amount to treason.

'Different'

But, said Mr. Pirow, all these acts take on a different complexion when considered as part of a concerted plan with the total destruction of the present system of government as its goal.

The Court which hears the case will thus be called upon to consider a new aspect of the law of treason and to draw a difficult and vitally important distinction between legitimate political opposition and treasonable conspiracy.

It will be asked to determine whether treason can be made up of the sum total of a number of acts which are not treasonable by themselves, and, if so, exactly where the line is to be drawn between democratic agitation for a change of government and an unlawful campaign for its destruction.

The trial of the 91 people who were committed at the end of the preparatory examination is not expected to begin before the end of April.

Special Court

The Crown has to serve its indictment on the accused and the earliest the trial could be held is one month after such service. But the accused have the right to make application for further particulars of the charge. In view of the complexity of the case such an application is most likely.

The accused elected to be tried by judge and jury rather than by a special court appointed by the Minister of Justice—but the Minister has power to overrule this request.

CONTACT's next issue will contain the inside story of ZEERUST: RESERVE IN REVOLT

SPORT

The Struggle to Lift the (Colour) Bar

THE South African Amateur Weightlifting Federation, a non-racial body representing at present almost entirely non-white lifters, is being bandied around like a shuttlecock in its efforts to secure any form of international recognition.

But white sportsmen in South Africa who hope to keep Springbok teams white cannot look for too much comfort in this fact.

Although the international sporting bodies are apparently reluctant to spark a quarrel with white South Africa over its racialism, unofficial opinion in the sporting world is hardening against the Union's insistence on a sports colour bar.

There is, in fact, a strong feeling building up in the outside world in favour of a boycott of 'all-white' Springboks.

Ruling Dodged

In 1956 the Weightlifting Federation raised the question of participation in the Melbourne Olympic Committee referred the Federation back to the South African Olympic and Commonwealth Games Association, the internationally recognised (colour-bar) controlling body in South Africa. The S.A.O.C.G.A. avoided giving a direct answer.

In August, 1957, the Federation applied to the British Empire Games Federation for permission to enter lifters in the Cardiff Games this year.

Once more it was referred back to the S.A.O.C.G.A. "which deals with South Africa's entry (including weightlifting) to the Games".

And the Secretary of the

B.E.G.F., adding his regret that he could not help more, said "this is clearly an internal matter for you with the S.A.O.C.G.A."

The non-white lifters then asked the S.A.O.C.G.A. for its help and advice, at the same time approaching the white colour-bar weightlifting body in South Africa. The latter, after some delay, intimated that it was prepared to try to find "a solution acceptable to all concerned" and promised to communicate again after "immediate consideration" with the S.A.O.C.G.A.

On November 19, however, this controlling all-white South African body rejected the non-white Federation's application.

The non-white weightlifters tried to avoid raising the issue in a form which would entail the exclusion of white South African lifters from international events. Rather they sought a formula which would allow the best lifters, irrespective of race, to represent the country.

Worst Choice

They felt that whatever might be the difficulties in entering non-white South African sportsmen in team events, or even in athletics, where conditions of track and wind affect performances, weightlifting is the one sport in which a start could be made immediately without mixed competition—by

selecting the best lifters for international events on the basis of poundages lifted.

Commenting on this decision an article in the London Observer of December 8, declared that the colour-bar sporting bodies and the Government of South Africa were unlikely to modify their attitudes without pressure from international sportsmen. Also that it was unreasonable to withhold such pressure, because the already over-penalised non-whites were under such tremendous disabilities for "sporting treason" etc., that they could not solve this "internal matter" unaided.

Replying to the article, a letter from the secretary of the B.E.G.F. said: "The key to the problem lies with the world bodies controlling their sport — the International Federations. The South African mixed bodies are not yet affiliated (to these), and consequently cannot compete internationally." This was, of course, different advice from that given by the same official three months earlier about "an internal matter with the S.A.O.C.G.A."

Still Fruitless

But it is equally fruitless. For after three unacknowledged letters to the International Weightlifting Federation in Paris, the latter has at last replied that "the questions raised are internal problems concerning your country and are not within the competence of our International Federation. It is a matter for the International Olympic Committee to bring about a solution most acceptable to the interests of all sportsmen, whatever their race and religion."

Meanwhile the non-European sporting bodies in the Union are putting their houses in order for a straight fight with the white, colour-bar, organisations, over international representation.

Already in both rugby and cricket non-European apartheid has been ended. Sides will be picked on merit and not on race.

In cricket, from November tournaments will be played on a provincial basis. Each team will be mixed, with African, Coloured, Malay and Indian players.

SCIENCE

The Significance of Sterkfontein

STERKFONTein has again hit the news with reports on findings related to the first beginnings of man. It is one of a number of caves or lime-works west of Johannesburg where the bones of many different sorts of animals that lived thousands of years ago have been preserved.

The bones are embedded in hard stony masses, known as breccia, from which they can be separated out by very careful chiselling. They are the remains of animals that died in the caves or whose bodies were brought there to be eaten.

In 1942 a small skull, something like that of a monkey, was dug out of a lime-works at Taung, just across the western Transvaal border. Professor Raymond Dart thought it was that of an early sort of man-ape, and he named it Australopithecus (southern ape). Later Dr. Robert Broom found remains of other similar creatures (including "Mrs. Ples") at Sterkfontein.

These "australopithecines" or "Dartians" (as Professor Arthur Keith wanted to call them) were like men, in that they walked on their hind legs and could use their hands for holding things. Their brains, however, were very small, much smaller than those of more advanced types of ape-men found elsewhere, such as Java Man and Peking Man, which are believed to have used fire and made stone tools.

Used Fire

It is generally thought that the Dartians, though they may have used sticks, stones or bones as weapons and tools, were unable to

make anything. Professor Dart believes that they used some of the bones of buck and other animals as clubs, scrapers, and so on.

We can think of these creatures as hunting in packs or perhaps as living largely on the remains of dead animals killed by lions and leopards. Dart thinks that at least one sort of Dartian used fire, because carbon (the remains of burnt wood) has been found in a cave at Makapansgat, where the bones of this particular man-ape have also been found.

Since Dr. Broom's death, the work at Sterkfontein has been carried on by a team of scientists headed by Dr. J. Robinson of the Transvaal Museum, Pretoria. One of this team, Dr. C. K. Brain, made an important discovery in 1956 when he found stone tools in the upper layer of breccia at Sterkfontein, together with Dartian teeth. No stone tools of any sort had before then been found in any of the breccias which contained Dartian remains.

Were these tools made by Dartians, or by a race of more intelligent creatures which had evolved elsewhere and then come to the western Transvaal?

Bigger Brain

Dr. Robinson and his fellow scientists like this idea, and they believe they have found the remains of one of the creatures that made the tools. They found some of his bones at Swartkrans, just next to Sterkfontein, and they called him Telanthropus. His brain was much bigger than that of a Dartian.

Anyway, as Mr. R. K. Mason, another member of the team, said the other day at a meeting in Johannesburg, we seem to have at Sterkfontein one of the few places in the world where the change from non-man to man can be studied. The work goes on and we can be fairly certain that that the breccias at Sterkfontein have not yet given the last of their secrets.

Footnote: While the Transvaal Museum is busy unearthing the secrets of the evolutionary beginnings of man, the Transvaal Education Department sticks to its plan to keep the subject of evolution out of the Transvaal Secondary schools biology syllabus.

GERHARD COHN
Photographer

POLLIACK'S Corner
Johannesburg.

22-9884

Sea Point Voters Spy Strangers

BEHIND the convening of an electoral college to decide on a United Party candidate for Sea Point for the election lies a story of increasing friction in the Party over "imported" candidates.

Until recently it appeared that Mr. Paul Malherbe, of Paarl, an ex-M.P.C. and former schoolmaster, was the favourite for nomination. Branch members who were hoping to see a local man as candidate were reconciling themselves to the fact that Sir de Villiers Graaff wanted Mr. Malherbe in the House of Assembly as a valuable addition to the U.P.'s debating team.

Two local would-be candidates, Mr. Hymie Matthews and Mr. Hood, withdrew their names. When the branch committee met, however, it became clear that the majority of the members were unhappy about the situation.

"No Claim"

One by one, members stood up to complain: "We don't know Mr. Malherbe. He has no claim on Sea Point."

Mrs. Catherine Lance Taylor M.P.C., then announced that she was not prepared to withdraw in favour of Mr. Malherbe. Captain Jack Basson and Mr. Fritz Sonnenberg followed her example.

The lively discussion that ensued lasted almost till midnight. Finally it was decided to send the sitting Member, Mr. C. W. Abbot M.P., to interview Sir de Villiers and that he should report back to the branch the next night.

Mr. Abbot returned to report that Sir de Villiers had told him that no undue influence had been exerted to secure Mr. Malherbe's nomination, and that the impasse should be resolved by an electoral college.

The college was thereupon convened for February 18.

Before the electoral college met, its members received circular letters from several of the candidates soliciting their support.

Mr. Malherbe said in his letter that he had been brought into the field "at this late stage because of circumstances beyond my control".

"In offering myself as a candidate in a constituency where I am relatively unknown I am influenced by my frank and complete belief that individual constituencies today rank less in importance than does the fate of South Africa as a nation should the United Party under the inspired leadership of Sir De Villiers Graaff fail to displace this present Government.



GORDON

— a new complexion

"In support of this belief I pledge myself to devote my full energies towards assisting in the main fight, which will take place not so much in the Peninsula but in the marginal platteland seats, and being fully bilingual I feel that I can offer valued and loyal

service to our Leader by taking an active part in the election campaign in the Platteland".

See First

Mr. Fritz Sonnenberg then joined the fray with a letter to the electoral college members which said that although the Party's regulations permitted it, he did not intend to "incur the embarrassment of canvassing the college's members.

But, said the letter, "the entry of Mr. Gerald Gordon Q.C. as a Liberal Party candidate has placed an entirely different complexion on the political scene at Sea Point. I am writing to appeal to you to defer your decision in regard to any particular candidate until you have had an opportunity of hearing—and seeing—the candidates in person.

"I hope to be able to convince you . . . that it would be to the benefit and interest of the United Party that a resident in the Green and Sea Point area should be selected".

STRANGLER ANSWER OF THE MAMATOLA

Gesture Unheard

ON the slopes of the Wolkberg outside Tzaneen in the Eastern Lowveld of the Transvaal, the 400 families of the Mamatola tribe are preparing to leave their mountain homeland.

The Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. Verwoerd, having failed once to move the tribe, has now got Parliamentary sanction for their eviction—forcible if necessary.

In the white man's Parliament that sanction was sanctioned by the argument that the Mamatola were sinning against the soil—they were living, it was argued, on the "sponge" of two important rivers.

It was an argument that both the white parties in Parliament accepted as unanswerable, although the Opposition did protest that the Mamatola should be granted their request to be heard on the subject.

But the Government was not interested in hearing what the Mamatola had to say.

Sullen Mood

So now the Mamatola are packing, their mood more sullen than ever. For they did not want to have their say merely for the saying of it.

The people of the Mamatola believe that they have the answer to the "rape of the soil" argument. This is it.

The Government claims:

- The Mamatola's cattle and methods of ploughing damage the headwaters of the Letaba River and the Letsitele River and cause soil erosion.

- The natural resources of the Mamatola Location cannot provide enough food for the tribe.

Tribal Answer

But the Mamatola reply:

- The location is nowhere near the headwaters of the two rivers.

- The tribe keeps fewer than 400 head of cattle.

- THE TRIBE IS PREPARED TO GIVE UP ALL ITS CATTLE.

- It is prepared to exist without ploughing so that an extensive fruit tree growing programmes can be started.

- Since 1950 the tribe has made repeated representations to the Native Commissioner at Tzaneen for the Mamatola location to be declared a betterment area in which all the agricultural activity would be under the control of the Native Trust.

And the Mamatola wanted to point out to Parliament, too, that "home is not just a place where the Government puts us".

They wanted to point out that the land they occupy has been theirs for 200 years, that 50 years ago or less, when malaria ravaged the Letsitele Valley which they overlook, nobody would have accepted their land as a gift.

Rich Soil

But civilization has come to the valley and has found the soil to be rich. Science has eradicated malaria and, dotted between the prosperous settlements, in the

BEHIND THE NEWS

valley white farmers are getting rich from the fruit that the area produces.

The Mamatola wanted to point out to Parliament, too, that although they were there first, they are not being allowed to move down into "their" valley—because the whites-come-lately will not give up an inch of that land. They are being made to move to what is to them "alien" soil.

But the Government turned a deaf ear—despite the Opposition's pleas and protests.

The Government's main reason for not giving the tribe a hearing appeared to be that once it had done its own dictating, it was not going to allow itself to be dictated to by tribesmen.

U.P. Conception

And perhaps the Opposition might not have been so happy to have the Mamatola at the bar of the house after all. For it was the United Party Government that first conceived the idea of moving the Mamatola.

But it shelved the idea when it found that no whites would budge to make way for the Mamatola and that the cost of suitable alternative land for the tribe would be prohibitive.

But Dr. Verwoerd recognizes no prohibitions, unless they be his own.

In October 1955 he decided that the Mamatola must go, and he happily paid out £96,432 for land at Metz to which to move them. (The owners, Messrs. C. J. and J. H. Hattingh, bought it in 1947 for £8,274).

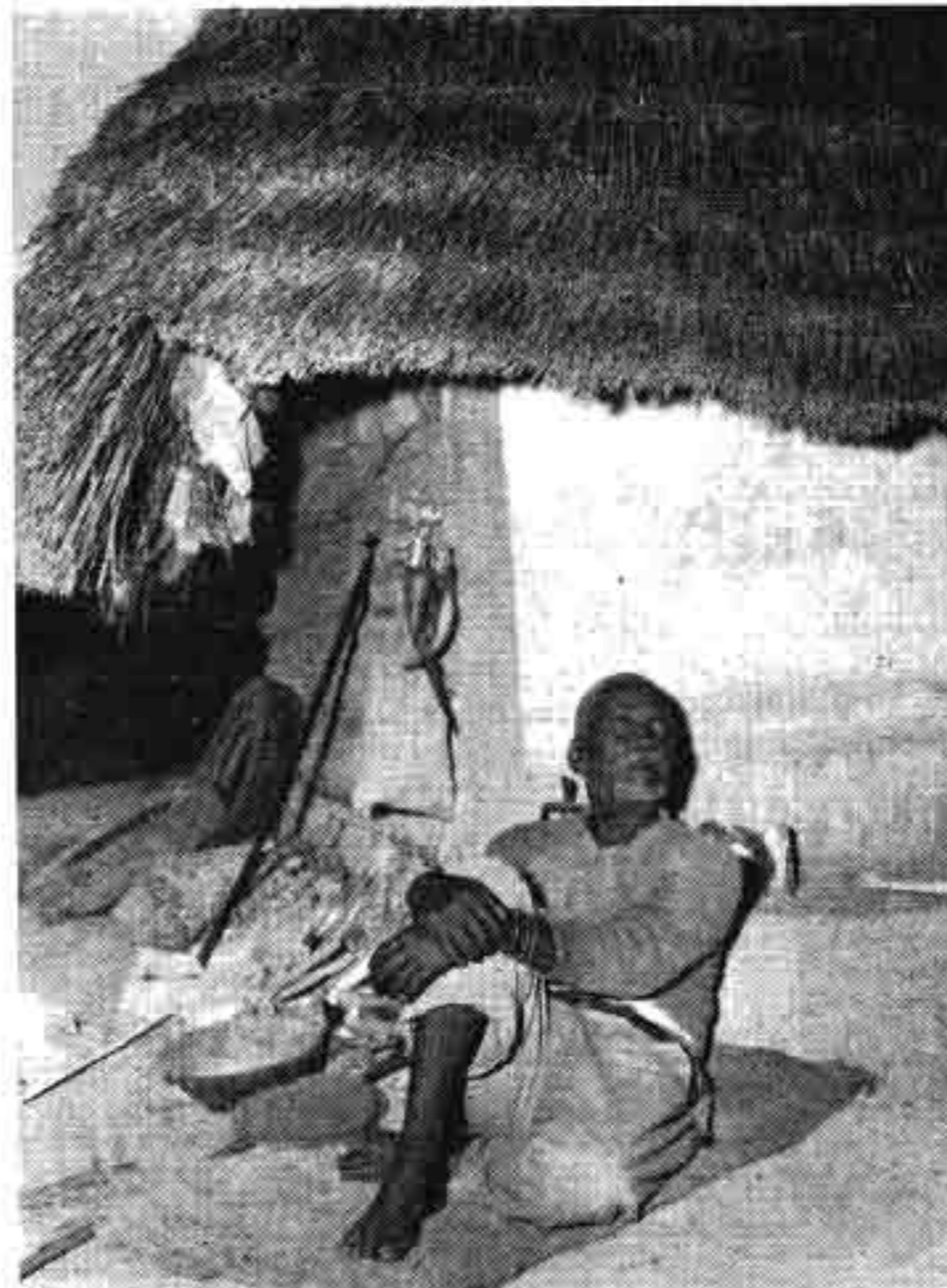
The money spent, the die was cast.

Elusive Delight

From then on the Department of Native Affairs kept up a barrage of propaganda to the effect that the Mamatola were only too anxious to move. They were in fact, 'delighted' to do so and sang songs of joy to Dr. Verwoerd and his officials.

Yet, letters were written by Chief Maliese Letsoala to Senator Ballinger protesting against the proposed move and asking him to raise the matter in Parliament.

The move was scheduled to take place on June 3 and when a few days before this, Chief Letsoala told a newspaper reporter that his tribe were unwilling to go, spokesmen of the Department of Native



Chief Maliese Letsoala, deposed head of the Mamatola. "Home is not just a place".

Affairs described the tribe's attitude as "fantastic".

On June 3, lorries and armed policemen arrived in the location, tables were set up for the payment of compensation and officials of the Native Affairs Department were ready to supervise the 'voluntary' transfer of the Mamatola to Metz.

Tougher Methods

But the tribesmen refused to accept the compensation. With the women, they staged a 'sit-down' strike on the hillside. At dusk the lorries and police and officials went home.

After attempts to persuade them to leave voluntarily, Dr. Verwoerd tried tougher methods.

He took away their schools and their post office at which all old-age pensions were paid. These were transferred to Metz, a low-lying area 30 miles to the east.

The tribe considered this a harsh enough blow, but it was followed by the deposition of Chief Letsoala, an aged, ailing man who had the support of the entire tribe in opposing the transfer to Metz.

Order Ignored

Letsoala petitioned the Supreme Court for redress, but even before judgment was given, Verwoerd ordered the tribe to be deported on January 13 this year.

They ignored the order, and Verwoerd took the issue to Parliament.

The Mamatola still remain for the moment where they are—but in South Africa possession is no longer nine points of the law.

SELF-HELP IN AFRICA

THE Commission for Technical Co-operation in Africa South of the Sahara has announced a new scheme for promoting the exchange of technical assistance in the region.

The new group, to be known as the Foundation for Mutual Assistance in Africa South of the Sahara, will be set up under the auspices of the Commission to assist in the provision of technical assistance. It will act as a clearing house for the supply of experts, instructors and advisers, and assist in the training of personnel and the supply of equipment for training purposes.

The members of the Commission—Belgium, France, Portugal, the United Kingdom, Ghana, Liberia, the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and South Africa—have agreed to widen the scope of the Foundation and make its services available to other nations in the region who are not members of the Commission. Other governments and international organisations supplying aid to the region will, where applicable, also be offered the services of the Foundation.

THE MOST UP TO DATE AFRICAN JAZZ IS ON U.S.A. RECORDS

HEAR USA 8: "Davytown Special"/"Phiri" (Penny Whistles)

Trade enquiries: USA Records, 604 Pritchard House, Pritchard Street, Johannesburg.

TRENDS

IN the last open selective examination in the Public Service, before they were dropped because of the manpower shortage, only 11 per cent of the 369 successful men candidates scored 40 per cent or more in the two official languages; of the total, 78.8 per cent failed to score 40 per cent in English and 5 per cent failed to do so in Afrikaans.

*

SINCE 1955, the last "peak" year in the building trade, the value of building plans passed in the 27 main centres of the Union have decreased by nearly £12 million.

*

SAAMBOU, the Afrikaans building society, has increased its capital from £400,000 to £120,500,000 in ten years.

*

NON-European traders in Kroonstad are boycotting European wholesalers "because they do not treat us on as equal, courteous terms as their European customers".

*

THE Native Affairs Department has issued a circular asking hotels and municipalities to ensure that African servants of European commercial and other travellers do not stay within the city limits but spend the night in locations.

*

ACCORDING to a proclamation in the Government Gazette, Ghana and the Federation of Malaya have been added to the states with whom the Union of South Africa will maintain trade relations under the G.A.T.T. scheme.

*

THE Minister of Justice, Mr. Swart, has told the National Council of Women that he is not prepared to consider a Council recommendation that women should be employed in the police. Demands made on members of the force, Swart said, were such that women could not comply with them.

MR. ALLIE FATAAR, a foundation member of the anti-CAD, has left the movement after a dispute. Mr. Fataar has for some time been active in the Cape Peninsula Students' Union, which is not affiliated to the anti-CAD.

Apartheid Battle Royal On Playing Fields Of Bishops

NEVER has an Anglican church leader evoked such prompt and hostile reaction from the United Party as Archbishop de Blank when he challenged the Nationalist Government to repeal the apartheid laws barring the entry of non-White pupils to Anglican schools.

United Party M.P.s went about muttering "Save us from our friends," "He's cost us 20 seats" and "Why doesn't the Church mind its own business?" And *Die Burger* related with glee the joke circulating among Nationalist M.P.s—that the Nationalist Party was going to sack its five Provincial organisers and appoint Archbishop De Blank in their place.

Under pressure to state its views on Archbishop De Blank's challenge, the United Party withdrew behind the closed doors of its caucus room. The operative word in the ensuing debate was expediency.

The Old Guard—wealthy sheep farmer George Hayward, rugged farmer and Xhosa linguist Miles Warren, English-speaking colonial farmer Captain B. H. Henwood, self-made industrialist Harry Williams, veteran Parliamentarian and 1820 settler descendant, Tom Bowker—all these familiar characters stood up in the caucus and, like Annie Oakley, urged that the United Party's election platform should be "Anything they can do, we can do better."

They urged the caucus to repudiate the Archbishop in no uncertain terms, and although the usual token counter-demonstration by the "liberals" followed, it must have been even more half-hearted than usual because one of the Old Guard emerged with a satisfied grin, remarking: "We've tamed that lot!"

Sting in Tail

The U.P.'s repudiation of the Archbishop, issued from the office of the Leader of the Opposition on February 6, was a long and flowery document, which started on a note of anxious neutrality, and warned sonorously against a war between Church and State.

The sting was in the tail: "While we shall leave any legitimate church free to arrange matters within its own ecclesiastical organisation according to its conscience, we nevertheless intend to abide by the established customs and conventions of our people's secular life. . . . The United Party . . . is against the establishment of mixed schools. Any attempt to change this practice must ignore the realities of the South African situation."

Trying Moment

Sir de Villiers, in the politest way, was telling His Grace to keep out of politics. The U.P. candidate in Maraisburg (Mr. L. B. J. Alexander) was less reverent. He declared: "The good Dr. De Blank, although close to heavenly affairs, has barged in where angels fear to tread. Mr. Alexander then read His Grace the usual homily on how "difficult and complicated" South Africa's race relations were and impressed on him the need for "tact, discretion, diplomacy and goodwill."

It must have been a trying moment for the U.P., deciding how to tackle the Archbishop, but with the general election looming heavily on the horizon the natural laws of self-preservation outweighed the politicians' usual respect for the Church.

"Newcomers"

The Opposition Press, too, was brandishing the catch-phrases. The

By Quill

U.P. Afrikaans weekly in Cape Town, *Weekblad*, reminded Dr. De Blank that he was a newcomer, and that he was courting general unpopularity.

The U.P.-backed "non-political" *Suid-Afrikaanse Stem* (Johannesburg) came roaring up the track, blaring that the Archbishop was putting his head in a hornet's nest by "interfering in South Africa's racial politics."

Its editorial was headed "You are wrong, Dr. De Blank!" and it stated: "Both the U.P. and the Nationalist Party will oppose him if he tries to group together Whites and non-Whites in schools and other social institutions . . ."

With considerable justification, therefore, the political columnist

alleged "hypocrisy" at tolerating its own apartheid, while condemning the apartheid of others.

The tactics were familiar, namely, to divert the fight so that the Churchmen would end up quarrelling among themselves, instead of with the Government. And to some extent the tactics succeeded. In no time a battle royal over apartheid was being waged on the playing fields of Bishops, the exclusive Anglican school in Cape Town.

There has been speculation in parliamentary circles on whether His Grace fell into the trap, or walked into it willingly, because his attack on apartheid was indeed diverted temporarily against his own followers, and the cry of horror that escaped the lips of anguished parents of young white sons at Bishops and young white daughters at St. Cyprians could be heard all over the Peninsula, all over South Africa even.

Big Disparity

But consider the position of the Church. It can go on turning a blind eye to apartheid in its own ranks for just so long and no longer, unless it wants the charge of hypocrisy to stick.



of *Die Burger* ("Dawie") was able to claim that on this issue the U.P. was presenting a united front with the Government against outside opinion.

The controversy can be tracked back to Archbishop De-Blank's article in the February issue of *Good Hope*, official organ of the Diocese of Cape Town, condemning *huasskap* in any form and also warning against apartheid in the Church of the Province.

Inhuman

His Grace made two main points: he rejected white domination as "inhuman and un-Christian," and he said that apartheid legislation grew increasingly abhorrent to him; and he declared:

"I have to admit with shame that I have been told of certain congregations where apartheid operates. I do not and cannot believe it—but if it were ever proved to me that apartheid does in fact operate in any church in this diocese, let me state with all the emphasis at my command that I should do everything in my power to eradicate it; and in the intervening period while it existed I should have to refuse any episcopal ministrations on behalf of the congregation concerned."

This was a clear admission by His Grace that two issues, not one, confront the Church: apartheid as practised by the Nationalist Government, and apartheid as practised in the church.

Familiar Tactics

With the publication of the *Good Hope* article, the Nationalist politicians and propagandists got ready to fire their usual barrage at the Church for its

Willem van Heerden, in his column in *Dagbreek*, framed the charge lucidly (and offered to send His Grace a translation), and "Dawie", yapping away, reminded His Grace of the big disparity in the stipends paid to white and non-white clergy.

The Church has to search its soul, and also consider whether its evangelical mission among non-whites is likely to yield any fruit while the smear of apartheid remains.

One does not need to be specially perceptive to see that Christian churches practising apartheid, even on a limited scale, are not going to make much progress in the scramble for the soul of Africa.

Gibes and Taunts

My file on the "De Blank affair" is a massive one, but I see no purpose in repeating here all the gibes and taunts and jeers that were flung at His Grace. At one stage *Die Burger* was churning out almost an editorial a day.

That a section of the English-language Press should have joined partly in the chorus is to their great discredit. The *Cape Times* at least did not follow the pack, but the *Cape Argus*, reacting like a general election candidate, wailed that "politically, the plea to the Government by the Archbishop of Cape Town to remove legislation preventing the admission of non-Europeans to Anglican private schools and his denunciation of apartheid as unchristian, could scarcely have been more unfortunately timed."

The contribution of the Nationalist Cabinet to the controversy



was typical. Mr. Louw (Minister of External Affairs) set the ball rolling by declaring that His Grace had landed himself right in the middle of the political arena.

Mr. Swart (Minister of Justice and acting Prime Minister) harped on His Grace's brief stay in the country. Mr. Sauer (Minister of Water Affairs) and Mr. Erasmus (Minister of Defence) also entered the fray.

In Action

One of His Grace's statements, particularly, namely, that he accepted "voluntary" apartheid, seemed a little superfluous, as voluntary apartheid is non-existent.

In any case, in his *Good Hope* article, His Grace had written: "Not till a man lives in South Africa can he separate the elaborate theorising to which he has been subjected—often couched in exalted idealistic language—from the hard reality."

"Here he sees it in action for himself. Here he sees that the working out of apartheid is not a working policy of a fair and just separation of the races in different areas . . . but is rather the maintenance and consolidation of white domination and European privilege."

Legalities

Another aspect His Grace might have clarified was the legal position. Which Acts, precisely, bar the admission of non-whites to Anglican schools? *Die Burger* retorted that "the Bantu Education Act has nothing to do with the matter—it is concerned only with the establishment of Bantu schools and provides that whites may not attend such schools." This, patently, is nonsense.

Die Burger mentioned two other Acts which, it said, did in fact affect the position: the Group Areas Act, which at the same time makes provision for exemptions; and the Native Urban Areas Act, which says that no African may attend a school outside an African area if the Minister forbids him—and, declared *Die Burger*, "the Minister has not prohibited any Africans from attending the Diocesan College."

The Nationalists have been pressing this point. Mr. W. Maree, M.P., the member of the Native Affairs Commission who specialises in Bantu Education, said: "Let the Archbishop first apply for a permit under the Group Areas Act to have Coloured children at one of his schools. When that has happened and there are Coloured children at Anglican schools, then we can talk about the further requirement of relaxing the Bantu Education Act so that Bantu can attend those schools, too."

Is it Bluff?

Is the Government bluffing? Would it, in fact, grant the Archbishop exemptions from the apartheid laws, just to test the sincerity of the Anglican Church? Probably not. All the same, an explanatory statement on the legal obstacles is necessary.

If His Grace is going to become involved in this major dispute, it is just as well that his views should be conveyed to the public with absolute clarity.

The other interesting point, of course, is the reaction in Anglican circles to His Grace's utterances. A survey conducted by the *Cape Times* revealed that Anglican clergy in the Western Cape were "strongly in support" of the Archbishop. But it revealed also that these clergy had doubts about the speed with which His Grace's views could be put into effect.

There was frequent reference to "the great deal of work" that would have to be done to condition the average Anglican's mind to acceptance of mixed schools. Meanwhile, it is worth recording that, although the Anglican Synod has no control over any of the Anglican private schools (which are governed by independent councils whose decisions are determined by a majority vote), His Grace is *ex-officio* chairman of Diocesan College, St. Cyprian's and Herschel girls' schools and Monterey Preparatory Schools in Wynberg, while the Dean is *ex-officio* chairman of St. George's Grammar School.

His Choice

Every second vacancy on the Diocesan College Council is filled by a person chosen by His Grace. *Die Burger* approached various board members of the Anglican schools for their views, but drew "no comment" all round.

In the flurry of excitement over apartheid in the Anglican Church, the public lost sight temporarily of the original apartheid issue raised by His Grace, namely, the evil of migratory African labour and its resultant home-breaking.

This remains the cardinal issue, and I hope His Grace will return to it as speedily as possible. If he intends fighting on two fronts, as indeed he must (inside his Church, and outside), at least let the issues be presented simply and unambiguously.

The situation in South Africa is too urgent for busy men like His Grace to be continually explaining yesterday's explanatory statement.

TALKING BUSINESS

THE impenetrable ignorance of Senator de Klerk should he continue to misdirect the Ministry of Labour, will in a few years destroy so much employment that there will be tens of thousands of jobs less for him to "reserve"—either for whites or non-whites.

This much is clear from the Minister's speech on job reservation in the recent No Confidence Debate. Unlike those who, if they miss the wood, at least see the trees, Senator de Klerk is almost unique in his capacity to catch sight neither of the wood nor the trees.

Is it really too much to ask of the Minister of Labour that he should study a few elementary figures of employment and earnings in manufacturing industry?

Could he not be persuaded by, perhaps, the highly intelligent Chairman of the Industrial Tribunal, Dr. S. du T. Viljoen, to glance at Special Report No. 215 on Labour Statistics?

Senator de Klerk will find in that report many interesting tables. Even if he studies no more than the very first table.

WITH



RALPH HORWITZ

even he should at least discern there is a wood.

Can anybody who has passed Standard III arithmetic deny:

(1) That the number of European workers in private industry has increased year by year?

(2) That the number of African workers in industry has increased year by year.

(3) That the number of Asian and Coloured workers in industry has increased year by year?

(4) That the number of workers of all colours in industry has increased year by year?

Secondly, the same standard of arithmetic should enable even the Minister of Labour to see from other tables in the Report:

(1) That the total wages earned by white workers in industry has increased.

(2) That the total wages earned by non-white workers in industry has increased.

Indeed if the Senator will read just a little further on in Special Report No. 215, he will find that the average wage per white worker in industry per month was £37.8, in 1947/48, has risen every year and in 1955/56 was £64.6. The average wage of the African industrial worker in 1947/48 was £9.1 per month and this, too, has increased—though much more slowly—to £12.5 in 1955/56.

Complementary

It is not only necessary but vital in the interests of European workers that Senator de Klerk should begin to comprehend the complementary nature of white and non-white employment.

The number of jobs available for white workers is absolutely dependant on increasing the number of jobs done by non-white workers. Over the next twenty years at least, the average wage earned by a white worker in industry can only increase if the total number of non-white workers increases and if the average wage of the non-white worker can be increased more rapidly than it has risen in the past decade.

For more than two hundred years, economists have recorded the regularity with which politicians in particular fall victim to the "work fund fallacy".

This fallacy is the conviction that the amount of work to be done is "fixed" or, in other words, that the total number of jobs is static. To such political minds, more particularly when befogged by racial ideology, every job done by one worker (or a machine) is one less job for another worker.

More Jobs

Despite all the overwhelming historical evidence of the fantastic increase in the number of jobs and in total employment over the decades and over the centuries in all industrial countries, the fallacy persists.

Here in South Africa the very rapid growth in the number of jobs and the level of wages for white workers in manufacturing industry has been largely brought about by the great increase in the number of non-white workers employed in industry.

If Senator de Klerk doubts the truth of this, if he is ideologically determined not even to try to understand the dynamic nature of economic development, the future of white workers in South Africa will be black indeed.

CAR MARKET

SALE ROOM HINTS OF NEW CURB

IN the less luminous corners of plate glass showrooms, anxious South African car salesmen are whispering and calculating. For suddenly, snippets of news seem to be adding up to a possibility that import restrictions might have to be renewed.

When, last March, a benevolent Dr. Van Rhijn knocked off a load of import shackles, adding jubilantly that he hoped to abolish control completely, supplies of British Ford and Morris cars were short of demand. Volkswagen and other German makes had long waiting lists. Prices of second hand models were on average well over £100 higher than in Southern Rhodesia.

The manufacturing world scrambled feverishly on the South African bandwagon.

Britain pumped in 24,000 cars before the end of September—then sent 18,000 more before the end of the year, doubling her 1956 sales. By October, West Germany's contribution had already leapt to a record 7,138; France's to a record 3,742.

Dealers Awed

Rhodesia sent small German Fuldamobils to Johannesburg. A Polish trade delegation mouthed sorrowful platitudes on the absence of trade with the Union, then spoke hopefully of an automobile named The Star. Dealers heard with awe that an Italian freighter was heading for East London with frames and parts for no fewer than 552 of her country's models.

Import officials handled up to 40 inquiries a day from intending tourists who hoped to bring back vehicles from Europe. Cape Town and Johannesburg snapped up an impressive number of Rolls Royces. Businessmen bought Bentleys. The sleek, Juno-esque plumpness of the Jaguar edged increasingly into South African traffic. Strange-sounding chromium-plated names were seen on the streets.

Engine Coughed

Hire purchase restrictions were relaxed in September.

Experts estimated happily that vehicles imported during 1957 would probably cost £55,000,000—and that more than £75,000,000 worth of new cars would be sold in the Union in the free market of 1958.

On Christmas Eve the British Government rallied manufacturers with a call to "take advantage of recent relaxations in South Africa's import restrictions and step up exports there."

But the engine of the bandwagon had already begun to cough.

By the end of November, the Union's total imports were £46,850,000 (more than ten per cent) higher than for the first eleven months of 1956. By the end of the year, foreign exchange holdings had dropped £30,000,000 below the figure of twelve months before.

Estimates Behind

And as vehicle imports soared to the 100,000 mark, as the number of licensed vehicles soared towards 750,000 (compared with less than half a million in 1951), the Press commented: "the number of cars bought on allocation of quotas and on the principle of

replacement has run far beyond estimates."

Soon, salesmen were commenting uneasily on confidential talks between the Department of Commerce and Industry and representatives of industry, including the motor trade. But Government spokesmen described speculations of drastic new import controls as "pure rumour". And Dr. Van Rhijn stuck to his guns.

'Had been Worse'

Challenged with the fall of South Africa's gold and currency reserves to below £100,000,000, he retorted grandly that matters had been worse on occasion and anyway, the Union preferred to have more goods than higher reserves. He reiterated to the House of Assembly in January that as soon as the Union's external exchange and gold position justified such a step, control would be further relaxed and lifted completely. It was, he said, his earnest endeavour not to intensify import control.

Two days later, Port Elizabeth businessmen reported that in a Government check on the over-spending of foreign exchange, regulations covering the import of new cars into the Union were being tightened up—by means of sworn statements and elaborate documentation—from February 1.

Temptation

Fourteen days later the Minister of Finance, Mr. J. F. T. Naude, pontificated to the Senate that relaxation of import control had led to a great deal of over-spending. People were tempted to buy new cars before they had full use of their old ones. They should resist this temptation and learn to save more.

And the uneasy salesmen are putting it more bluntly: "This country cannot afford unrestricted imports."

BRITAIN'S EXPORTS

BRITISH car exports to South Africa last year doubled both in number and value compared with 1956.

Figures for the Union were:

1956, 22,000 cars worth just over £7 million.

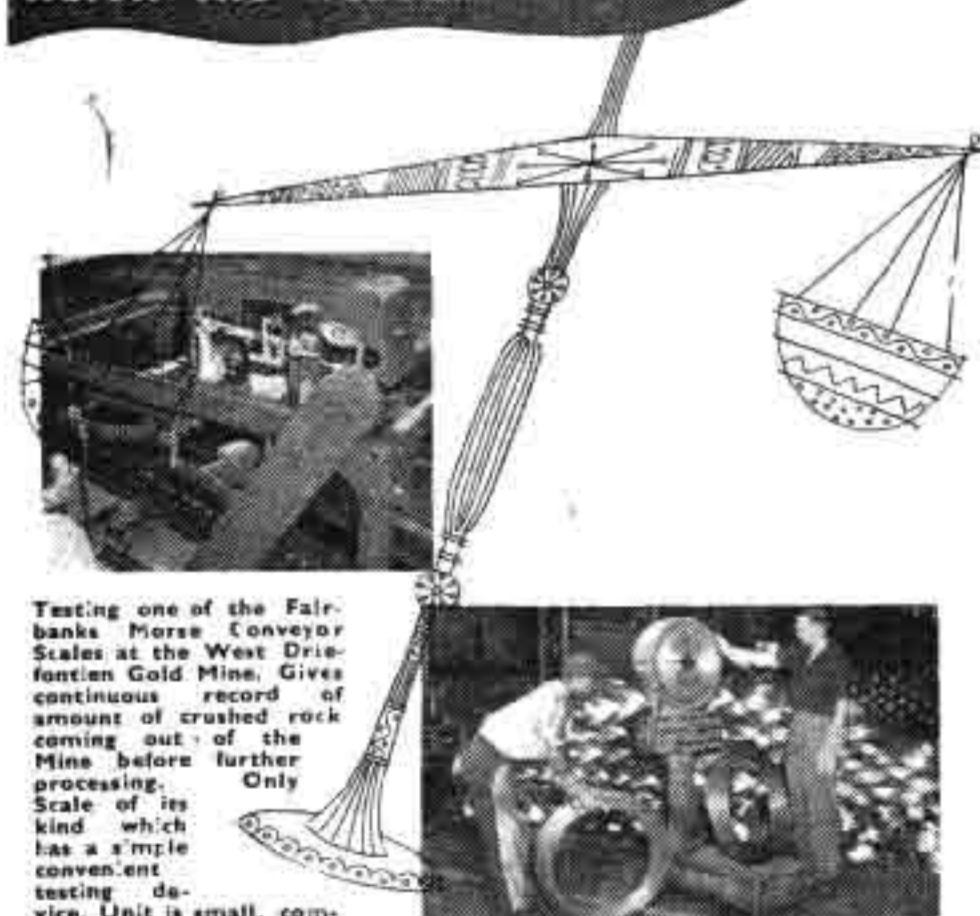
1957, 42,000 cars worth just over £14 million.

Of commercial vehicles the Union took nearly 11,000, worth £7½ million, in 1956 compared with 13,000, worth nearly £9 million, last year. The Union was the second largest customer for agricultural tractors, paying £24½ million for 9,600 tractors compared with £23½ million for 7,300 tractors in 1956.

PRIVATE MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY

Year	Number of employees			Total
	Whites	Natives	Asiatics and Coloureds	
1947-48	129,973	200,968	75,649	406,590
1948-49	141,302	221,630	81,466	444,398
1949-50	145,768	231,449	86,484	466,701
1950-51	159,482	269,560	94,999	524,041
1951-52	164,995	292,314	99,089	556,398
1952-53	169,264	303,085	103,361	575,710
1953-54	174,636	320,550	108,933	604,119
1954-55	178,000		617,700	
1955-56	191,600	363,500	123,090	678,190

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African Notebook

THE VALLEY OF DECISION

THIS seems to be a time in history when many ancient names and formations, from Lhasa to the South Pole, are given a new significance by the competitive coexistence of East and West. (For the sake of the purists I had better say the competitive coexistence of East and West in its latest phase.)

No name or formation is more likely to be given a fresher lease of publicity or more startling aptness by this competition than the Great Rift Valley. For by a curious irony of circumstances it may become a shadowy gulf or front, between the globe's great rivals.

The Great Rift runs for about 4,000 miles from the Dead Sea to somewhere near Beira. It is a great channel of heat-waves, loveliest at Lake Nyasa, running up Tanganyika like a hollow backbone of bush, baobab, thorn and sand, bending through the sultry Lake Rudolf and steaming up the Red Sea to the Gulf of Akaba.

There is also, as everybody knows, a Western Rift, a branch off the trunk of the Great Rift, which drives a crack of much breath-taking beauty up the African plateau through Lake Tanganyika and the Rua Urundi.

Well, the West Rift might come into prominence if the Great Rift front gets too badly buckled. But for the purpose of this debate we will keep our eye mainly on the major crevasse.

Opposing Grips

Its significance begins to become clear when one studies current form and current success in the daily sharpening struggle between Russia and America for Africa. America has a firm grip on the western shoulder of Africa, and Russia has a firm grip on the Eastern shoulder.

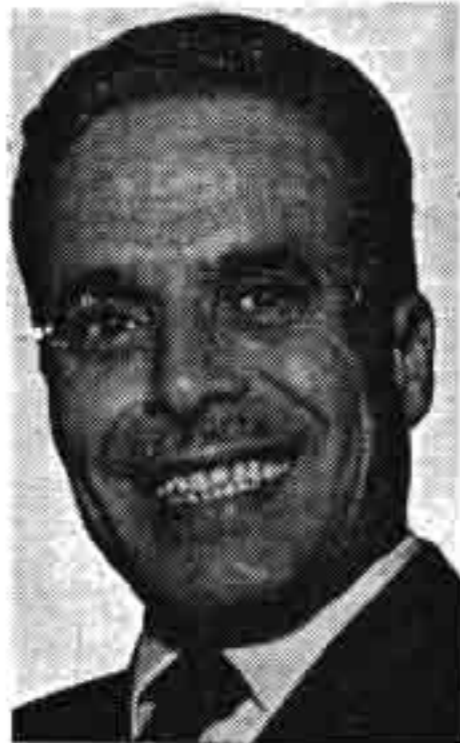
And the great possibility is that they are going to split the continent from the top to very nearly the bottom. For the wealth that America can best exploit lies mainly down the Western side, and the people that the U.S.S.R. can best exploit lie mainly down the Eastern side.

Only last week, for instance, the Tunisian President, the astute and able Habib Bourguiba, turned to America for more money. Shortly afterwards when the French, with their curious flair for stupid ruthlessness at the wrong moment, bombed a Tunisian village, M. Bourguiba turned immediately to UNO and the U.S.A., though cautiously welcoming Nasser's eager offer of Russian arms.

Mr. Foster Dulles's reply was prompt — he condemned the French attack on the Tunisian village roundly. As for arms, the American and the British have already defied the worst that French displeasure can do in order to supply M. Bourguiba with what he wants.

Oil Strikes

Colonel Nasser may never be able to persuade America to build his Aswan dam, but as time goes on M. Bourguiba's powers of persuasion are going to grow in



BOURGUIBA
—persuasive

America and he has got quite a considerable amount already.

As for France, it is quite obvious that she is not going to be able to develop her huge oil strikes in the Sahara independently of the other Western powers. Prospecting and development work alone, haunted by Algerian rebels and temperatures of 120 degrees, have cost one of the major French interests £14,000,000 already. English and American groups are even now at work among the shifting dunes doing their share of the exploitation.

If Algeria is to be pacified, and it must be if the Saharan oil wells are to rise to full smooth production of 10,000,000 barrels a year, the Americans and M. Bourguiba will probably have a hand in the pacification. Whatever the form of the final settlement in this Saharan Texas, America has now become deeply involved in Africa both politically and economically.

A glance at the Western side of Africa will show very clearly how America's interests, both ideological and economic, are growing all the way down there. For instance among the ideological interests of America may be classified Liberia and Ghana — and if Canada's possible investment in the Volta River Scheme is counted as an American interest, then there are strong economic strings to be pulled in Ghana as well.

Grappling Hooks

American representation has just been established in French West Africa at Yaounde. In the Congo American economic activities are growing rapidly. Big American investments are going into mineral development in South West Africa and in the Northwest Cape.

From Tunis to Springbok, American economic grappling

hooks have been slung over the West Coast of Africa. The total U.S. investment in Africa, both private and Point Four, is now close on a billion dollars, and its going to be much greater soon.

Just to fill in the rest of the West side of Africa, very briefly, petroleum has also been struck outside Luanda in Angola. The quantities are not vast but the Portuguese have put up a refinery there. It makes a possibility that there may be oil all the way down the central western portion something more than an idle day-dream.

The Congo's uranium, gold and copper and its booming mandated territory of Rua Urundi takes it right up to Lake Tanganyika and the edges of the West Rift. Everywhere one cares to gaze from the Northwest Cape up or the South West Sahara down there are minerals and massive engineering developments to give the West a broad grip and the desire to maintain it.

Prised Loose

But when one looks down the Eastern side, the grip of the West seems being prized loose. Right down the coast as far as Dar-es-

Tanganyika is now a United Nations Trusteeship territory with all the possibilities for confusion that can mean. It is also one more sign of Britain's intention not to waste too much wealth and energy holding on to the East from Sudan to Nyasaland.

Besides there is nothing very tempting in the way of mineral wealth or, for that matter, agricultural wealth to make this area particularly desirable. Tanganyika, of course, contains the late Dr. Williamson's fabulous pipe of diamonds. But the loss of those could be made up in many places from Sierra Leone to Orange River Mouth.

Copper Reserves

It is not until somewhat below that that solid mineral wealth in the shape of huge reserves of copper begin. It is at this point that the Great Rift Valley enters Lake Nyasa and rumbles away to the coast.

Ethiopia, which towers up at the northern African end of the Great Rift, is an exception, at least for the moment. The Americans are very much in evidence



Barbed wire and troops of the French Foreign Legion are needed to protect France's oil pipelines and oil tankers on the narrow-gauge railways from Algerian rebels in the Sahara desert. Pacification of the Algerians is becoming political priority number one for France, for she has poured £250,000,000 into oil development and pipeline construction in the Sahara.

Salaam, or even further, the raucous voice of Cairo Radio is having increasing influence. The strength of this influence can be realised when it is considered that the British reckoned it among the factors militating against their building up a major base at Mombasa.

Kenya already knows what power propaganda from the north can wield. Nobody is certain how long the Sudan will hold out against it.

there, although the Russians have a splendid embassy and have done good works around Addis Ababa.

But there is a question mark hanging over the territory—after Haile Selassie what? Some are certain that this ancient kingdom has inherited some of the seeds of Solomon's wisdom, and that it has been advanced sufficiently rapidly of late to avoid internal

TRENDS

FRENCH AFRICA'S *Rassemblement Democratique Africain*, founded in 1946, all but banned in 1950, has become one of the strongest political bodies South of the Sahara. A movement for the emancipation of non-whites, it has previously accepted the idea of equality within a French-African framework, but at a recent conference there were signs of a leaning towards the idea of greater independence for the African states with only federal links with France.

*

SAHARA oil exploration and development has attracted a 2,800,000-dollar investment from the Suez Canal Company in an agreement with two French investment corporations.

*

FIVE hundred police reinforcements have been flown into Eastern Nigeria from Lagos to cope with demonstrations against the restoration of school fees. Schools in the region have been closed and the police have twice used tear gas to break up demonstrations.

*

THE Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland plans to enter the castor bean and castor oil processing industry on a large scale. Experts from overseas have been called in to advise growers.

disasters in a changing world. Others are not so certain.

But whatever way Ethiopia may or may not go, it would seem that old haunt of the advancing East, the eastern African sea-board from Suez to Sofala is only temporarily a Western resting place. If the West plays its cards right and makes friends with the African nationalists fast enough, it may very well retain, at least, goodwill up to the edge of Great Rift Valley.

Thoth

FEDERATION

WHY DID WELENSKY HOLD BACK?

THE abrupt deposition of Garfield Todd as Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia and leader of the United Federal Party in Southern Rhodesia—which Todd has said “smacks of a put-up job”—has caused many to wonder about the precise role of the Federal Prime Minister, Sir Roy Welensky, in the affair.

Sir Roy, despite his self-declared “liberalism” and policy of senior partnership, did not intercede in the dispute between Mr. Todd and his Cabinet and prevent the split from developing.

Sir Roy's expressed attitude was, that this being a territorial matter, it was simply none of his business. It is difficult to see, though, how he arrived at this conclusion, as the crisis was more on a matter of fundamental principle, affecting the whole nature of the Federation, than a squabble of personalities.

To say that the Africans regard Todd as their champion—as often is said—would be wildly inaccurate. He has the allegiance of a few, most of whom are contemptuously dismissed by the real force—the African National Congress—as “good boys”.

As a Sop

Mr. Todd's gestures towards a multi-racial state had, however, rather more meaning and substance than those of Welensky, whose words are usually regarded simply as a sop to the Colonial Office.

The United Federal Party had a few African members of little consequence among the people, and now, it is expected, that even these will go over to the African National Congress.

It is not, however, expected that this will be particularly perturbing or embarrassing to Welensky, who has his eye very firmly fixed on the white electorate.

He claims he knows this electorate better than anyone else, and, quite possibly, he is correct.



WELENSKY

—“we” and “they”.

His repeated references to the Africans as “they” and the whites as “we”, at any rate goes down very well among the whites and has little effect on the politically-conscious blacks, who are perfectly aware that that is the prevalent attitude in any case.

More Arrant

It is, however, a more arrant approach than that of ex-missionary Todd, and, for that reason, is likely to cause a little embarrassment in Whitehall.

Indications are, however, that Welensky is beginning to care less about the “theoreticians” of that grey and august thoroughfare. The refusal to allow the journalist, Basil Davidson, to enter the Federation is an example of this.

Welensky is also very well aware that the Federal Party—superficially dedicated to “partnership”

—could lose the general election. Todd, who has a disturbing way of talking with apparent sincerity about partnership, has become a sort of quivery symbol of this party.

Frankly Apartheid

Consequently, Welensky's party newspaper, *Federal Outlook*, never attacks the rival Dominion Party, whose outlook is frankly apartheid.

There is every indication that the white electorate looks with a kindly eye at this *toenadering* tendency. Responsible African opinion, which rejected Federation in the first place, simply says: “I told you so”.

A measure, in fact, of the indifference of African opinion to all these goings-on, was the total flop of Welensky's whistle-stop tour of Nyasaland, timed for just before the arrival of the Earl of Home. Few Africans turned up anywhere. Those that did were courteous and unconvinced.

At one stop they boycotted him altogether.

Coming Elections

Welensky, at the time of the Todd crisis, must have thought of the elections, probably in August this year.

He is hoping for an issue before then which will give his special talents full play, and might have felt that the muted and missionary notes of Todd in the background would not have drawn his particular brand of voter on to the racial bandwagon.

Such an issue might be the rejection by the British Government of his plan to double the size of the House—and to considerably reduce the already negligible African voice.

Already there are rumblings of: “we must be free to manage our own affairs”, which sound strangely familiar south of the Limpopo.

The Africans meanwhile talk of managing their own affairs, and Todd passes to a temporising limbo.

N. RHODESIA

Church Challenge Spreads North

THE upsurge of a militant Church challenge to doctrines of racial inequality in Africa has spread to Northern Rhodesia with the publication of a full-blooded attack on *apartheid* by the Roman Catholic Bishops of the Territory.

In a Pastoral Letter addressed to Catholics of all races, the Bishops jointly list some of the basic human rights which they declare are coexistent with the human soul.

Among these is the right to associate with fellow men.

Pointing out that one of the fundamental doctrines of the Church is that the human race is one, the Bishops declare:

“We appeal to all Catholics to think and speak and act in conformity with their belief in the unity of mankind, and not to pay exaggerated attention to accidental differences within the human family, particularly to the colour difference.”

Relevant Rights

The Church declared that God gave every man certain rights when He gave man a soul. Among these the following were relevant:

The right to life and bodily integrity.

The right to the necessities of life and to a decent living.

The right to worship.

The right to the normal development of his faculties.

The right to private property and ownership.

The right to sojourn and movement.

The right to marriage and to family life.

The right to give his children the education of his choice.

The right to associate with his fellow men.

The Bishops continue: “It is the role of properly constituted authority called Government to regulate the use of human rights so as to protect the rights of each individual and of the whole community; but it can never arbitrarily take away the basic rights which every person enjoys, no matter what that person's social, economic or educational standing is.

Not Easy

“We realise that it is not an easy task to reconcile the rights of each group in a country like Northern Rhodesia, the population of which is composed of peoples who differ in many respects.

“But the differences are often wilfully exaggerated, and the adjustment of allegedly conflicting rights is often unjustly delayed, with the result that bitterness is caused and divisions grow between people who can and should form one harmonious nation.

“Sometimes it was said that it would be dangerous to grant every man the full and equal exercise of his rights on the grounds that all men were not equally able to fulfil their duties to society. This fear was sometimes expressed especially in respect of one particular race.

“By applying uncritically this argument to one race, we may be guilty of an act of injustice to many members of the race who are fully able and willing to realise their responsibilities.”

Duty of Love

Declaring there is the further duty of every man to love all other men, the Bishops explain that this consists in wishing fellow men well and in taking a genuine and active interest in their spiritual and material welfare.

“In this Territory, the commandment of love is violated by those who in their political, social or professional activities aim at the welfare of their own section of the community with little or no regard for the welfare of other groups.

“We warn all Catholics against falling into the snares of the apostles of hatred . . . who under the cloak of love for one group preach hatred or contempt for another.”

A multi-racial society could exist only where the different groups were permitted to live together in harmony, to co-operate in schemes for the common good, and to share the same political, social, educational, professional and cultural facilities.

Perversion

“The mere physical juxtaposition of African, European and Asian zones is but a perversion of the term “multi-racial society” and it cannot build up a society or a nation.

“There is no multi-racial society as long as the various sections of the population are compelled to live segregated from each other.”

The Bishops disapprove of any attempts to delay the process of bringing the less-developed sections of the community up to the level of the more developed.

“We call upon the faithful of all races to do everything in their power to help build up a happy and harmonious society in Northern Rhodesia.

“Firmly united to their Bishops and clergy, and supported by an elite of Catholics of all races well instructed in the social doctrine of the Church, they must make this doctrine heard in all spheres of public, social and professional life.

“If they fail to do so they will open the door to the manifold evils which have befallen those countries which have rejected Christian principles.”

INVESTMENT

MR. LENNOX-BOYD, during a recent debate on the Overseas Resources Development Bill, which defines the Colonial Development Corporation's status in ex-Colonial territories and increases the amount of capital available to it, said that Britain's average investment in the Commonwealth between 1953 and 1956, added to special aid for the colonies, was nearly £200,000,000 yearly.

Second-Hand Snooping

CONTACT has information which indicates that the Special Branch of the South African police is either “snooping” on behalf of the Central Africa Federation into the affairs of South African publications or is taking the Federation's name in vain.

There are indications, too, of collaboration between the Federation and the Union in the exclusion from the two countries of unwelcome visitors.

A recent issue of a South African monthly published an anonymous article assessing the standing and influence of Sir Roy Welensky as Federal Prime Minister after a year in office.

Some time later a person concerned with the periodical received a visit from two members of the South African Special Branch who said they had received a query from Rhodesia about the author of the article.

Banning

The article whose authorship was investigated through such an unorthodox agency, was critical,

though not more so than many others published in the Federation or overseas.

But it did reveal—in a discussion of Sir Roy's Nyasaland tour, his prominent but indistinguishable part in the Mrewa by-election, his Press and public relations arrangements and his background relationship with Mr. Garfield Todd—a considerable insight into the Federation's and Sir Roy Welensky's internal political affairs.

Signs of collusion over prohibition were visible in two recent incidents: the banning from the Federation of Basil Davidson, a British foreign correspondent of left-wing views but of world-wide eminence and recognised integrity, and the treatment of the Rev. George Houser.

Mr. Davidson had been planning a tour of East Africa and the Federation to study archaeological evidence about pre-European African history. But he found that he was a prohibited immigrant.

Observers in the Federation found the ban inexplicable—until they recalled that Mr. Davidson had previously been banned from the Union.

The ban on Mr. Houser was imposed in East Africa, too, long before he had made himself unpopular there by the forthright anti-colonial views which he now expresses on behalf of the American Committee on Africa.

But he had already incurred the displeasure of South Africa's Minister of External Affairs, Mr. Louw. Before the American Committee on Africa was formed Mr. Houser was connected with a much smaller body called the Americans for South African Resistance which in 1952 collected money for the families of imprisoned South African non-white passive resisters.

Although Mr. Houser was declared a prohibited immigrant in East Africa in 1954 he did manage to visit South Africa on a transit visa—and was tailed for two months by the Special Branch.

It seems most likely that his prohibition from East Africa owed something to Pretoria's view on him.

But what is not quite clear in this atmosphere of “secret police” collusion between the two territories is which tail wags which dog.

QUINTIN WHYTE, discussing race relations and the 64-dollar question "What can we do?", says . . .

We Can Still Shake Hands In Eloff Street

THIS past year the Government has continued to apply the logic of its own declared apartheid policy, and, in addition to further restrictions on individual liberty, it has sought to control or disrupt corporate inter-racial organisations.

In the Native Laws Amendment Act, the Government has asserted the right of the State to control the work of churches, to prohibit European and African meetings in white areas, to eliminate white control and voluntary white influence in African welfare work; it also has extended its powers over local authorities.

It has passed the Nursing Act, split the nursing profession, and in effect, lowered the status and dignity of the non-European nurses.

It introduced a bill to eliminate non-Europeans from the "open" universities, and it proposes in this year, 1958, to transfer the control of Fort Hare to the Department of Native Affairs.

Through the Group Areas Amendment Act, it reinforces sanctions against all inter-racial, social contact and compels commerce and industry to seek permission for the employment of certain categories of employees.

Undermined

In short, the Government has sought to undermine or destroy five categories of corporate institutions — the Church, the local authority, the professional organisation, the voluntary welfare association, and the University. This it has done in terms of an *ad hoc* political philosophy, and in doing so it has raised issues far more fundamental to human living than its own concept of nationalism.

What have been the reactions? Several broad tendencies have become apparent.

While there does appear to be some struggle going on within the ranks of the African National Congress between those Africans who believe in co-operating with all racial groups in the furtherance of the establishment of a multi-racial state and those who seek the advancement of an exclusive African nationalism which rejects other groups, there does appear to be a greater solidarity and oneness within African leadership and as between the leaders of all Non-European groups.

Strike Power

The Treason Trial may be one cause of this. The African people generally seem to be more aware of their common political and economic interest and more conscious of their power. The bus boycott is an example of this and of an amazing discipline.

The reactions of women to carrying passes is another.

The one-day strike in Johannesburg was, it is estimated, 70% successful, and two other strikes have resulted in wage increases. To what extent the boycott of so-called Nationalist firms effected this is unknown.

Trouble has also arisen in certain tribal areas.

At the other end of the scale have been the disturbances in Daveyton and at Dube Hostel,

which Africans put down to ethnic grouping, and the apparent upsurge in crime.

An Under Secretary of State cast the blame for lawlessness on the African people's lack of community sense; but has the Under Secretary a real understanding of the meaning of the statistics of pass law, liquor and other offences?

How?

How does one build up a sense of community responsibility when there is inadequate education for children, when children can see their parents arrested for a dozen technical offences, when imprisonment for such offences carries no social stigma, when townships and their inhabitants are not given adequate police protection and there are few or no lights in the streets, too few telephone boxes and those few out of order, and when there is no confidence that the police are protectors?

Yet Cyprian, Paramount Chief of the Zulus, has given the Bantu (Rural) Authorities Act his blessing and will co-operate in extending the power of the tribal chief to urban areas.

The system of Advisory Boards has proved inadequate: it is hardly conceivable that tribal rule in urban areas will succeed. The pity is that in this and in so much else we have to watch and endure the process of failure.

Awakening

European reaction has been varied. The bus boycott brought forth not only the goodwill of those who gave lifts, but also a realisation on the part of the European community that an increased fare of 2d. per day was a really serious inroad on starvation wages.

In Johannesburg, the Chamber of Commerce reacted strongly and both Commerce and Industry have realised the necessity of really knowing how the other man lives.

It is a pity that it is only strikes and boycotts that can induce this new thinking. By their action over the bus boycott in Johannesburg, Industry and Commerce have accepted that race relations is not just the Government's business, but very much their business, and they have issued statements about wages, pensions, employment of youth, crime and inter-racial consultation.

Employers and employees — European and Non-European — reacted decisively to "job reservation" in the clothing industry. In the light of the economic circumstances of Africans, the Pretoria Municipality has had to write off arrears in rent.

Contact

A wide range of European organisations have reacted strongly to the terms of the Native Laws Amendment Act, and European and African women have appeared

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on the same platforms in protest against passes for women.

In the Afrikaans Press have appeared letters and articles urging the necessity for greater inter-racial social contact and Professor Du Plessis of Potchefstroom has suggested the need for multi-racial clubs in every city and town in the Union.

S.A.B.R.A. proposes a multi-racial conference and the Dutch Reformed Church is unhappy about the "Church Clause".

The United Party will restore the Cape Coloured to the common roll and will reform the Senate on more liberal lines; its attitude to the Indian community, however, is to be deplored. The recent multi-racial conference is significant.

Revolution?

What conclusion does one draw? That we are on the brink of a bloody revolution? That we are about to see a rigid white dictatorship established? Strikes, boycotts, riots there may be—but not, in my opinion, general, bloody revolution.

In the light of the legislation of the past five years, a totalitarian white dictatorship appears more likely but not by any means inevitable.

We must view either alternative with aversion. We in the Institute are pledged by our faith and

belief to the establishment of some form of multi-racial state in South Africa. If we believe this is impossible and that either the tyranny of black nationalism or the tyranny of white nationalism must rule, then for what do we exist?

If we believe that it is possible that white and non-white, black and non-black, can all live together, then we have a tremendous job to do.

No Crime

What can we do? Support our leaders in church, in university, in local authority; strengthen our professional, welfare and other organisations; criticise freely and without fear; there is no penalty in law for this.

We can go out of our way to meet European or Non-European as the case may be. We can try to meet those who disagree with us and talk the position over. It is not illegal for Europeans to have Non-Europeans in their homes. It is no crime to shake hands in Eloff Street.

Our Press is still free: we can use it. Our M.P.s are our representatives in Parliament: we can use them. Inter-racial meetings are not prohibited until certain conditions arise; and there are many other ways in which we can demonstrate our belief that the way to happier race relations is not the "apartheid way".

Observers have said that they consider that the establishment of a multi-racial democratic state is more possible to the North of the Limpopo. My own belief is that this is not so, that we, here in South Africa, will produce that something new which the world wants of us.

(Quintin Whyte is Director of the South African Institute of Race Relations. This is an extract from a paper recently presented to the Institute).



EXPLANATION accompanying an article in "Tegniek," which describes itself as "The Afrikaans Industry Journal": "To show Afrikaner boys and young men what opportunities there are in South Africa, 'Tegniek' is publishing a series of sketches of English-speaking South Africans who have gone far in the business world".

ADVERTISEMENT in the Transkei's "Territorial News": "Mr. Trader, Why not sell 'Umthunywa', the Bantu Newspaper of the Transkeian Territories? By selling 'Umthunywa' you bring more customers to your store; educated Natives with cash".

EXPLANATORY note in a recruiting booklet for the Public Service, issued by the Public Service Commission, Pretoria, July, 1957: "The functions of the State. The Government is responsible for the maintenance of law and order, the promotion of the welfare of the nation and the good management of the affairs of state in accordance with the laws of the land . . . Educational facilities must be created; disease must be combated and health services must be maintained; . . . labour conditions must be regulated and improved; those in need of aid must receive the necessary assistance . . ."

SCHOOLTEACHER Esdras Kobeli, (60) of Edenvale, has been fined £75 (or seven months) for keeping a school for African children. It was his third conviction on the same charge. The magistrate's comment: "I know you are doing a service by keeping children off the streets, but you cannot conduct a school if you have not got it registered."

All the great religions answer
"Yes" to Cain's challenge . . .

Am I My Brother's Keeper?

BUDDHISM

"Is there a deed, Rahula, thou dost wish to do? Then bethink thee thus: 'Is this deed conducive to my own harm, or to others' harm, or to that of both?' Then is this a bad deed, entailing suffering. Such a deed must thou surely not do."—*Majjhima Nikaya*, 1:415.

CHRISTIANITY

"The Lord make you to increase and abound in love one toward another and toward all men!"—*I Thessalonians* 3:12.

CONFUCIANISM

"The Master replied: . . . What you do not want done to yourself, do not do unto others."—*Analects* 15:23.

HINDUISM

"He excelleth who regards impartially lovers, friends and foes, strangers, neutrals, foreigners and relatives."—*Bhagavad Gita* 6:9.

ISLAM

"Help one another in righteousness and piety."—*Koran* 5:3.

JAINISM

"A man should wander about treating all creatures as he himself would be treated"—*Sutra-Kritanga Sutra* 1:11:33.

JUDAISM

"Take heed to yourself, my child, in all thy works; and be discreet in all thy behaviour. And what thou thyself hatest, do to no man."—*Tobit* 4:14-15.

SHINTO

[Saith the Lord:]

"We will surely visit the dwellings without invitation, if loving-kindness is there always. We make loving-kindness *OUR* representative."—*Oracles of the Gods of Kasuga*.

SIKHISM

"Regard all men as equal, since God's light is contained in the heart of each."—*Hymns of Guru Nanak, Rag Sorath*.

TAOISM

"To those who are good to me, I am good; and to those who are not good to me, I am also good. And thus all get to be good."—*Tao Teh King* 49:2.

ZOROASTRIANISM

"When a good man is beaten through malice, the effort of every one . . . should continue just as though it happened to himself."—*Dinhard VIII*, 19:53.

Compiled by Morton Yarmon for the New York Times.

CONTACT

Traditional Air

"It would be most unfortunate if, at this moment in our history, we should deviate from the established South African way of life."—Sir De Villiers Graaf.

Though all men are equal and some men are not
And harmony reigns in the middle of strife,
Don't question too much this irrational knot:
It's our established South African way of life.

The African townships are blacked out at night
And passes are carried by Man and his Wife,
But through all their gloom there is one ray of light—
It's our established South African way of life.

In hovels and shanties cold poverty stares
At a wreckage of souls and the work of the knife,
But why should we worry? Goddammit, who cares?
It's our established South African way of life.

It's a wonderful country for those who are white,
So here's to the Nats! Then fill up the life
And cheers to the Saps! What's white must be right
It's our established South African way of life.

Alan Paton takes . . .

The Long View



NIGERIA, in spite of its hot climate, is a stimulating country because of its vigour and optimism.

The people themselves are friendly and well-mannered. They are tackling with enthusiasm the task of running their own education, their own broadcasting, their own health services, their own transportation; not to mention, of course, their own government.

During my two weeks here at the All-Africa Church Conference, I met very few people, including no Africans, who were pessimistic about the future. They were not against change, they said, only against the rate of change.

They expected corruption, maladministration, epidemics, and accidents. Even Lord Hailey, in his revised survey, expressed the opinion that Britain had not bequeathed to Nigeria the kind of Civil Service she bequeathed to India.

Whatever validity there may be in these opinions, they are in one way totally irrelevant

to the Nigerian situation. Difficulties can no longer be used to put off change, they must be reckoned as part of change, they must be encountered, and where possible overcome.

When one sees the bearing of the people, and experiences the courtesy of the officials and the eagerness of the teachers, one realises that efficiency is not everything.

On the whole I did not find myself investigating the efficiency of the services. All I knew was, they were rendered freely and politely. The words "sir" and "madam" are used universally by servants, officials and juniors when speaking to other persons.

I could not help reflecting that some of my fellow South Africans had probably never before been addressd in such a manner.

Our own African representatives from the Union did the country honour, not least the women. One of our senior white delegates, the Rev. William Illsley, said to them "you girls did us credit"; and turning to me, he asked "Don't you think our girls did us credit?"

In South Africa both these speeches could very well be offensive, the first to black, the second to white South Africans. Up here in Nigeria they took on their true and natural meaning.

When we parted at Kano Airport to go our several ways, more than one of us remarked that it was a sad thing that we had to leave South Africa to be able to meet together so unconstrainedly in a public place.

During our stay here, the interest in us and in South Africa continued unabated. We were of more interest to the people of West Africa than the colourful visitors from Burma, Fiji and the Phillipines.

My lecture to the students of the University went far beyond the allotted time because the questions — which were informed and intelligent—would not end.

One thing was clear. Apartheid is offensive to the people of West Africa. I hear that Mr. Louw has again been discussing the possibility of exchanging diplomatic representatives with Ghana. I must say I find the idea more and more fantastic. It raises questions to which Mr. Louw has no answers.

The Premier of Western Nigeria, a tremendous man in Nigerian dress, gave us a reception. We stood up as he approached our tables, were introduced to him, shook hands with him, sat down when he had moved on. No one met him with greater friendliness and goodwill than our Dutch Reformed colleagues.

Will our own Prime Minister hold receptions for Nigerian visitors? And will they be as free to move about in his territory as we were free to move in Nigeria?

Would they ever be free to come to an All-Africa Church Conference in the Union, which feels it way towards a unity transcending race and denomination? Could such an All-Africa Church Conference be held in South Africa? Could any All-Africa Conference be held in the Union? These are the questions for Mr. Louw.

To put it bluntly, you cannot treat Nigerians as equals and our own Africans as inferiors. Whether we like it or not we are up against a continental as well as a national problem.

Will the white people of South Africa see it? Will they see it in time? Will they merely dislike you if you face them with these questions? Will you then lose all the "influence" you might have had if you hadn't tried to "influence" them?

I don't know the answer to these questions. I shall just go on with the job.

BALANCE OF PROGRESS

Credit

THE Johannesburg City Council has announced that it is dropping the regulations, recently promulgated, for the increase of rents of thousands of sub-economic African houses in the African townships.

A no-colour-bar community farm in Georgia, one of the Southern States, has survived Ku Klux Klan raids, dynamiting, gunfire and boycotts and now 2,000 people have each pledged 50 dollars as emergency insurance to cover damage to the property.

Students of Kings College, University of Durham, plan a voluntary levy to provide a scholarship for a non-white South African, as a protest against apartheid.

Christian Action has raised £39,000 for the Treason Fund in England.

Debit

A NUMBER of white nursing sisters at Durban's King Edward Hospital for non-Europeans have asked to be transferred because they object in principle to working under non-European doctors.

Two meetings in the Duncan African Village, East London, have been banned. Mr. B. P. H. Curran, MPC, wanted to report to his constituents on the living wage campaign. The other meeting was planned by the African National Congress.

The head of the Board of Governors, St. George's Diocesan School, Windhoek, Mr. Norman Frizer, said the school had no intention of allowing or applying for non-Whites to be admitted to the school.

An inspector of the Group Areas Board has ordered 700 non-white people to leave their homes on the outskirts of Mossel Bay by March 23.

LITTLE BROEDER

by — David Marais



Make sure of

Contact

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NOW

To The Guillotine With A Smug Smile

THERE have been so many attacks by Nationalists politicians on the Opposition Press in South Africa, and so few counter-attacks by that Press on the politicians, that the public must be conditioned by now to the idea that the English-language Press is, at the very least, often irresponsible.

Nothing, apparently, will convince the English-language newspapers that their freedom is in danger. Their attitude to the Nationalist barrage varies from indifference to amused contempt. An Editor, occasionally, peers down from his lofty chair and wags an admonishing finger; for the rest, the campaign of abuse is given an unimpeded passage.

It was probably with some surprise, therefore, that the public read a reply by a foreign correspondent to the latest attack by that old enemy of the Press, Mr. E. H. Louw, Minister of External Affairs (who recently took over the Press commission from the Minister of the Interior). On the whole, foreign correspondents in the Union (there is only a small corps) have shown even less interest in the Press war than their South African colleagues, and apparently they were not prepared to back their own man, Mr. Hans Kruger, in his rejoinder to Mr. Louw.

Personal

Mr. Kruger, who is the representative in South Africa of the German news agency (D.P.A.) and the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, is honorary secretary of the Foreign Correspondents' Association, but

it was not in that capacity that he issued his statement: he was obliged to say that the statement came from him in his "personal capacity."

Mr. Kruger's colleagues, for reasons best known to themselves, preferred to see him go into battle on his own. Perhaps they doubted whether their newspapers would favour their entry into the bloody South African arena of party politics.



Be that as it may: all they were prepared to place on record, in the face of Mr. Louw's insulting remarks, was their silence. One wonders whether some of their predecessors (like Douglas Brown, of the *Telegraph*, or Bob Stimson, of the *B.B.C.*, would have remained similarly silent?).

Mr. Kruger made several good points. Courteously rebuking Mr.

Louw for likening foreign correspondents to a "swarm of vultures", he said that none of the 15 members of the Foreign Correspondents' Association could be accused of sending "distorted or false" reports abroad. Any foreign correspondent who sent such reports abroad, said Mr. Kruger, "would imperil his job and his career because there are today

so many other sources of information against which the accuracy of his reporting can be checked.

30 Pieces

Reacting to the same attack, the S.A. Society of Journalists challenged Mr. Louw to name the South African journalists whom he had accused in Parliament of "selling the interests of South Africa for 30 pieces of silver." The Society's statement, signed by

the president and vice-president, added: "The Society regards Mr. Louw's remarks as a libel of journalists which, if made outside Parliament, would be actionable."

The point was an effective one, because most of the really slanderous attacks on the English-language Press have come from behind the protective barrier of Parliamentary immunity. If these same attacks had been made from public platforms, the politicians would have been exposed to the libel laws and would then have had to justify their actions in a court.

No Nationalist politician, of course, is anxious to be placed in such an impossible situation.

Mr. Louw replied speedily that he would be happy to provide the "further information asked for" by the Society, but he pointed out that he would be busy electioneering for the next couple of months. He promised to give the matter his attention as soon as he had more time at his disposal.

The Curb

Whether Mr. Louw will repeat, in public, the statement that some journalists are selling their country for 30 pieces of silver, remains to be seen, because if he does, then he will be obliged to name them. My guess is that he will wait for the next Parliamentary session, which opens on July 4, when (according to my information) the report of the Press Commission will be available for discussion. With the Press Commission report on his desk, Mr. Louw can be expected to return to the attack, again from behind the screen of Parliamentary immunity.

Perhaps he hopes to find sufficient corroboration for his point of view in the Press Commission's report.

This brief episode should be noted by all newspapermen in South Africa. Surely, sufficient evidence has accumulated now to prove, beyond any shadow of doubt, that legislative control of the Press in South Africa stares them in the face? Why, then, this feigned (or is it real?) indifference?

The S.A. Society of Journalists is to be complimented on its prompt statement, but why does it say "The general public is probably used to Mr. Louw brandishing Press clippings and therefore does not take him seriously?" Mr. Louw, it is true, often plays the clown. He is often irresponsible. He is always a bore. At the same

time we are obliged to take him seriously, simply because he is a Cabinet minister.

As journalists, we must not make the fatal mistake of imagining that, because a Cabinet Minister makes us hoot with laughter, he is harmless. Mr. Louw is *not* harmless.

It is high time that South African journalists started taking the Press war seriously, and that includes Editors, too.

As for the Foreign Correspondents, they are being idiotic if they think that control of the Press is purely and simply a threat, never to be translated into statutory action.

And if they accept that the threat is a real one, then two factors compel their participation in the struggle at the side of their South African colleagues: enlightened self-interest, because the axe is aimed at them as well; and the camaraderie of the Press, which in its highest form signifies dedication to the cause of Press freedom.

I find myself wondering whether the newspapermen working in South Africa at this vital period are doomed irrevocably to go to Mr. Louw's guillotine with a smug smile on their faces.

P. E. N.

'LANDMARK' GOING

CURT announcement from the Cape Town office of the publishers, Ramsay, Son & Parker (Pty.) Ltd.: Publication of *Milady*, the glossy-paper magazine for women, "will be suspended following the March 1958 issue."

Proudly, the opening issue of twelve years ago declared: "With the first number of this luxury South African journal for women in printing, style, presentation and craftsmanship, we aim at a new landmark in publishing."

What could possibly have been taken for another landmark in publishing was the price in those days—one shilling for a 94 page edition.

What They Say About Us Cape Times

THERE should be a wide welcome for *Contact*, a fortnightly journal for the reporting and discussing of South Africa's troubled affairs from the standpoint of Liberal opinion. The first number which is now on sale shows evidence of a responsible but far from dull approach in reports and comment; and an analytical treatment based on clearly-stated facts which is all too rare in South African political discussion. For many years there has been a lack in South Africa of what elsewhere are called "journals of opinion"—the weeklies, fortnightly and monthlies which provide an opportunity for the academic discussion and detailed analysis that are usually beyond the scope of the daily newspaper. Journals in Britain like the *Economist*, the *New Statesman* and the *Spectator* and many similar publications in France, the United States and most other countries perform a valuable service in the formation and guidance of an intelligent public opinion. It is an advantage that "journals of opinion" are generally written from a clearly-defined political standpoint; total objectivity can seldom be achieved, and as long as partisanship is not at the expense of intellectual honesty, a journal like *Contact* can have much to offer in widening the discussion of our problems. "Liberal" has become a contemporary swear-word in the political fight, but this does not alter the fact, unpalatable though its acceptance may be to South Africans, that liberal ideas are a powerful force in the outside world and therefore of necessity in this country as well. The *Cape Times* welcomes *Contact* in the hope that it is a preliminary to the next logical development, which is the appearance of a journal of similar standards devoted to the exposition of the political philosophies of conservative Afrikanerdom.

Cape Argus

TO thinking people, there is only one thing more wearisome than listening to some extremist trying to surround the race question with impassioned emotionalism, and that is to come across the same sort of thing in print. All the more welcome is a new fortnightly journal which sets out to put forward its own views in a manner both reasonable and well-informed.

Its name is 'Contact,' its point of view is that of the Liberals, its aim is to be a journal of opinion rather than a simple party organ, and it deals with arts and letters as well as with political questions. Liberals, however open to criticism their political outlook may be, are often cultivated people of a certain intellectual standing, and for that reason their periodicals are usually better worth reading than most, whether one agrees with them or not. 'Contact' looks like being a valuable addition to South African journalism, and its first number is promising enough to whet anticipation of argument with many future ones.

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BLOOD ON THE TRICOLOUR



MENDES-FRANCE
— a fact faced

The disastrous colonial policy pursued by France has threatened two world wars in the last four years. Last week, by the lunatic act of raiding a Tunisian village, it looked like threatening a third.

Since World War II France has sent thousands of her young men to their death and thrown away millions of pounds in a vain effort to regain her grip over the empire which she lost control of through Nazi defeat and Vichy collaboration.

She has attempted to justify this endeavour by the formation of the French Union, under which all overseas territories are tied closely to France and are expected to be proud of that relationship.

It is all very logical and neat and tidy on paper, in striking contrast with the improvisations by which the British Commonwealth has evolved, but this very logic has meant a fatal rigidity in human relations.

So while the French have done much for the peoples of their oversea territories in social and medical services and in general development the response has been ingratitude; for like the Nationalists in this country, who are fond of talking about all they have done for the Africans, the French have refused to take proper account of the personal aspirations of their colonial peoples.

Bitter Fruit

The bitter fruit of such a policy first became clear to the world—and, let it be said, to discerning Frenchmen—in Indo-China. The French appear never to have contemplated giving self-government to Indo-China.

The local people were never entrusted with genuine responsibility and every effort was made to thrust on them the benefits of French civilization and to stifle their own traditions. This worked, after a fashion until World War II—although there was a communist outbreak in 1930 which was severely repressed.

But when the French tried to reassert the same old authority in the vortex of the post-war world they struck trouble. The Indo-Chinese saw countries such as India being offered dominion status while, under the close association of the French Union scheme, there was small hope of local sovereignty for themselves.

Guerilla warfare broke out, led by the Indo-Chinese communist leader Ho Chi Minh, and when

the giant neighbouring country of China became communist, France was no longer able to keep control of the situation. The French were bloodily defeated.

U.S. Fears

They had immense American help in war material but this was not enough without the confidence of the Indo-Chinese masses.

The Americans had not only given help but so fearful were they of the spread of communism, they flirted with the idea of air intervention—risking a world war.

It was at this time that M. Mendes-France, the only French leader in the last decade with the courage to face the fact that the days of white imperialism are over, became Prime Minister. With his co-operation and the help of Sir Anthony Eden, the ending of hostilities was arranged by the interested powers.

But Mendes-France had immediately to tackle the problem of nationalist outbreaks in an area of French dominion nearer home, North Africa. Tactfully he granted home rule to Tunisia, thereby gaining an ally for France, and was on the way to making a similar arrangement with Morocco when his Government fell, to the joy of the colonialist diehards.

Since then, for more than three years, the bitter and boody pattern of Indo-China has been repeating itself in Algeria. The only advance has been that Morocco has gained independence.

Secret Schemes

And it was in an attempt to crush the Algerian rebels, that



MOLLET
— to the brink

France, ironically under a "socialist" Prime Minister, M. Mollet, once more brought the world to the brink of war. For it was M. Mollet who was the prime mover in the secret schemings which led to the British-French-Israeli attack on Egypt.

He was not, like Eden, concerned in the first place over the Suez canal as a vital waterway; nor, like Ben-Gurion, over the danger to Israel's survival.

He hoped that by destroying Nasser and cutting off some of the aid to the Algerian nationalists, he would be able to solve the Algerian problem.

Subsequent French Governments have obstinately clung to the same policy of insisting that the Algerian revolt must be crushed before there can be any question of negotiating a new deal for the territory. They have refused offers of mediation put forward by Tunisia and Morocco, whose leaders have expressed themselves in favour of a North African Federation that could include Algeria but would nevertheless maintain close links with France.

Such a federation would seem the most reasonable and promising solution, and there is a fair amount of support for it in France.

But no French Prime Minister has dared to suggest giving up the piece of constitutional book-keeping whereby Algeria is regarded as part of metropolitan France and receives some representation in the French Parliament for an arrangement which, whatever arguments it may have in its favour, has the fatal defect that the Algerians oppose it.

French determination to hold on to the territory has no doubt been reinforced by the discovery of oil in Algeria, but the nationalists are equally determined on independence.

And so the miserable war drags on, causing widespread suffering in Algeria and in France itself, tying up half a million French soldiers, costing the French people £2,000,000 a day, straining France's economy and her relations with her friends, adding to the tensions between East and West and poisoning the reputation of France abroad.

Yet it must be said that France has now got herself so deeply in the morass in Algeria that it would be difficult for her to disengage even if she wanted to.

Chaos Prophecy

Even a man so liberal in his views and sympathetic to the aspirations of the African as Mr. Adlai Stevenson, has said that for the French just to pull out of Algeria now would mean chaos.

This is not merely because the nationalists would immediately find themselves up against the million white settlers in Algeria, who would no doubt be helped by many of the 2,000,000 Moslem inhabitants who are fairly well off and lead a largely westernized way of life.

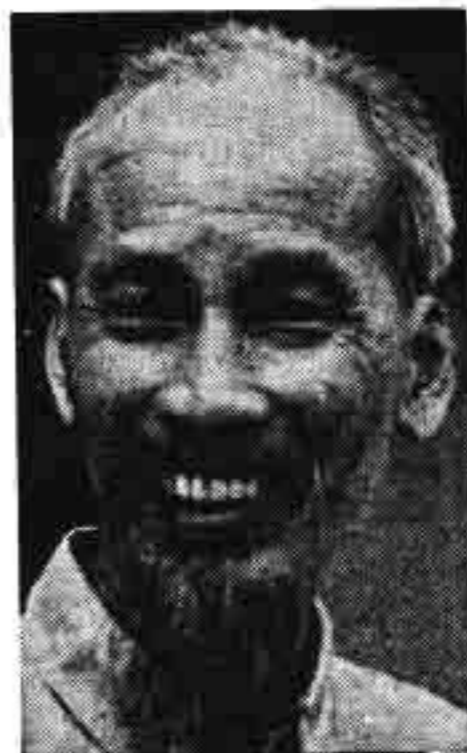
There is also the deeper fact that the territory's remaining 6,000,000 Moslem inhabitants live at such a level of poverty that many of them (like the Africans in the South African reserves) must go to France to find work and from their meagre earnings there send back money in order that their relatives in Algeria may survive.

At present the Algerian economy is simply unable to support all the country's inhabitants and any idea of absolute independence is illusory.

Algeria's Need

Algeria needs help; and needs it from Europe, above all from France, if she is to grow into a viable country. For her to try to retreat into Africa or towards the Middle East and away from Europe would be fatal.

The economic interest in France and Algeria arriving at a *modus vivendi* is mutual. This fact creates a basis for negotiation but negotiation will be impossible as long as France continues to insist that Algeria is French



HO CHI MINH
— a giant friend

territory, as the British so tragically insisted for so long that Ireland was British territory. This means that negotiations will continue to be impossible as long as France is run by weak governments

It will need a broadly based French government including men of the calibre of Mendes-France, a government capable of winning confidence in Tunisia and Morocco as well as in Algeria, to establish the conditions for a settlement in Algeria.

A settlement would benefit France as well as Algeria and it could help Western unity and ensure peace.

TRENDS

THE French Government has banned the Algerian National Union of Students and arrested the members of its executive. The French National Union of Students has protested against the Government's action.

COMMUNISM, in so far as it can be measured in terms of party membership, appears to be rapidly on the decline in Britain. After seven weeks of intensive propaganda Communist Party membership was still more than 5,500 below that of last year. The figure published by the party's official weekly, *World News*, is 21,115. The official figure last February was 26,742. A year earlier it was 33,381. The peak membership, in 1944, was about 44,700. But much has happened since then.

THE locations of four rocket-launching bases to be set up on Britain's east coast are to be kept secret. Reason is believed to be to lessen an outcry from the local inhabitants who may fear they will be more likely targets for Russian rockets if the bases were identified.

THE shadow of Peron continues to lie across Argentina, which faces a year of anxiety. The Government is confronted by a continually-waged struggle with the trade unions over efforts to freeze wages and stem inflation. The country has an increasingly large adverse trade balance and the cost of living has risen to 1,030.8 compared with 100 in 1943.

"Hillary's Team Was Near Mutiny At The Pole": Newspaper Headline

Strike Among the Kiwis

(A continuation of *Strike Among the Poets* which contains such verses as:

"Know you why the ploughman, fretting,
Homeward plods his weary way?
Ere his time? He's after getting
Shorter hours and better pay . . .

"Where's the minstrel boy? I've found him,
Joining in the labour fray,
With his placards slung around him,
Shorter hours and better pay . . .")

Driving Southward through the blizzards
Where Amundsen fought his way,
This stuck in the Kiwis' gizzards,
Shorter hours and better pay.

Shackleton and Byrd went stumbling
Through the worst on foot, by sleigh,
Kiwis rode the glaciers grumbling
Shorter hours and better pay.

In like circumstances, Scott
Watched his last hope turning grey;
Kiwis, turning engines, got
Shorter hours and better pay.

Phoning from Antarctic silence
(Charged full rates, too, by the way!)
Kiwis bellowed home with violence
"Shorter hours and better pay!"

Worse! When Hillary was phoning
Fuchs, he kicked them out (they say),
Couldn't hear a word for moaning,
Shorter hours and better pay.

And their meat was tinned, not frozen!
What would the ghost of Evans say?
Doubtless he too would have chosen
Shorter hours and better pay.

Undaunted by these harsh privations
Kiwis would go back to stay,
If they gave them nicer rations,
Shorter hours and better pay.

(Anon.)

BALLET

DANCE MISSION TO S.A.

A MISSION brought David Poole South African ballet dancer of world stature, back from the glittering footlights of Europe to the barer boards of the Union stage.

Poole, producer of the highly-successful Eoan Group ballet season, is determined to found a school of indigenous South African dancing—"something that will give our dancers a chance to dance as South Africans".

Poole said: "Ever since I went to England on a University Ballet School scholarship in 1947, I was determined to come back.

"My forte is the devising of new dances. The South African set-up offers golden opportunities for anyone with such an aim. Truly South African dances, devised in the proper surroundings, will give our dancers the chance to dance as South Africans.

combine their dancing technique with the dramatic—a union which is always preserved."

Poole is now with the University Ballet School, but he hopes to do a lot of work with the Eoan Group, which he feels has a great future.

"There is no reason why the Group cannot form the basis of a large-scale company. Its members are keen and dancing comes naturally to most of them.

"Further, I have hitherto always produced ballets existing in the Sadlers Wells repertoire. With the Eoan Group I can do my own choreography.

Public reaction to what Poole has already done in this field during the two months he has been with the Group was seen in capacity houses during the past fortnight.



The hands of David Poole, in action, command the attention of the dancers with whom he is working at the University of Cape Town Ballet School. From left to right: Rosemary Taylor, Doreen Drummond, Danielle Margold, Angela Rowe, Selina Molteno, Carla Eilers.



The hands of David Poole, in repose, fascinated CONTACT'S artist, Cap.

"In Europe our dancers simply cannot do it as their innate animalistic tendencies have to be toned down to fit in with the existing ballets.

Absorbed

"They get absorbed into the European manner of dancing. They are no longer South African dancers."

South African training, Poole says, is on an extremely high plane. "Of course, we shall have to start on a small scale, and it was with this in mind that I resigned from the Sadler's Wells Theatre Ballet Company and joined a much smaller group—the Ballet Rambert."

His experience with the Ballet Rambert was, he says, "one of the highlights of his career," and one which gave me an opportunity of seeing in practice what I hope to achieve in South Africa.

"I was enthralled by the Spanish way of dancing. There is no attempt to stifle the natural Spanish feeling for the dance, and the results were an experience never to be forgotten."

Germany, too, made a deep impression on Poole. Before the war, the accent was strongly on modern dancing. Afterwards there was a swing to the classics "I wanted to see this metamorphosis, naturally, for adaptation to South African conditions."

Poole resigned a position in Essen to be in England when the Bolshoi Ballet Company performed there. "They needed about 40 extras and I was lucky enough to be one of those selected.

Combined

"It was a constant source of amazement to me how they could

Professionals Without the Touch

DURING the last few years the Eoan Group have grown rapidly, both in prestige and ambition. By their use of the Cape Town City Hall and the full Municipal Orchestra and their relatively high prices of admission, they have promoted themselves to the stature of professionals.

But they have not yet learnt to put on professional shows.

They are now fully-grown competitors in the entertainment field and can no longer expect—indeed, if they are to maintain any decent standard, they cannot afford—to rely on charitable criticisms and paternalistic excuses for their shortcomings.

For their annual ballet at the Cape Town City Hall on Feb. 8, 10, and 11, they presented five ballets, the stage-managing of which, even considering the limitations of the City Hall stage, was inexcusably poor.

The backcloths were not pulled out and ugly creases were visible. In three of the ballets, the cloth was draped over the steps at the back of the stage so that instead of a straight or curved line we were presented with a series of angles.

Lighting Bad

Then the opening of the front curtain had not been rehearsed with the result that they were rarely opened wide enough. A chalk mark on the floor as a guide to the stage hands was all that was needed. Attention to such details is essential if the group is to achieve the status it deserves.

In "Ballet in Black and White" choreographed by Rosaline Vilensky to music of Rossini, the lightning was bad. There was an inappropriate and pointless use of coloured lights on the sky-cloth while the front of the stage remained inadequately lit.

The ballet is an abstract one based on a classical technique. It was not successful because of the dancers' lack of technique and feeling for classical line. If the technique of the classical dance is used it is not sufficient to use only *demi-pointe*, if the dancers cannot dance *en pointe* this medium should not be used. The ballet it-

better and more considered works. The fault lies with the Group, who took this work from the classroom and presented it to a paying audience.

Musical Chairs

"Musical Chairs" to Benjamin Britten's Simple Symphony with choreography by David Poole, was a refreshing and welcome change. It is a gay and charming work for nine girls, nine chairs, two boys and two stepladders.

Here David Poole has experimented successfully with a type of movement which is new to the Eoan Group. His choreography was well within his dancers' range without losing originality. There were certain weak points, notably the ending before the slow movement when he grouped his dancers on and about the ladders. The grouping no doubt gave him a fine start for his slow movement but as an ending to the previous movement it was too studied and too contrived.

The slow movement itself lacked intensity of feeling and the dancers appeared to lack an understanding of the choreographer's purpose.

But it was a successful experiment with a great deal of invention, the choreographer made as much use of the chairs as he did of his dancers.

Charming Tale

Joan Boonzaier danced with a satisfying integrity and understanding. She is a considerable asset to the Group.

The last and by far the most successful ballet of the evening was "The Toyshop" in which David Poole used the music and adaptation of the story of "La Boutique Fantasque". This was a charming tale, charmingly told, in which a technique eminently suitable for these young dancers was used.

William Curry, in a non-dancing role, showed wit and

charm and that rare quality, considerable stage sense. David Poole's use of a Voortrekker and a Malay family was clever and not without a subtle sense of satire.

The Tarantella for six girls was adequately, though simply, contrived and danced.

Kathleen Enoch as the Joker danced with a fine theatrical sense for she knows how to make the best use of her ebullient personality and Jean Boonzaier as the Japanese dancer, danced with a nice neatness and charm.

With his eleven Poodles, David Poole showed how children can be effectively used in a ballet but he missed a chance to round off their dance with neatness, for surely he could have designed a better exit for the Assistant.

The Can-Can dance was well and amusingly choreographed but the execution was a little rough and Leslie Carelse's dancing lacked co-ordination.

Khadija Sydow's slightly overdressed and pantomimic Queen of Night had a certain poise, her work shows considerable promise but at the moment is still immature.

Peter Cazalet's decor was in excellent taste and well executed and is an asset to the Group—which up to now has not used good designs—but I feel it was not sufficiently suggestive of a toyshop adequately to set off the story. His costumes had invention and added considerably to the gaiety of this charming ballet.

David Poole's two ballets show what can be done with this company when knowledge, taste and experience are used. He has realised his dancers' limitations and made the fullest and best use of their undoubted capabilities. Eoan Group Ballet, in his hands, could develop into an exciting event and we look forward to his future productions.

Pointe

EOAN GROUP DECIDES

THE SHOW MUST GO ON — BUT NO COLOUR BAR

WHILE politically-minded Coloured people have been battling with their consciences about whether or not to vote in the coming election for Coloured representatives, their main cultural organization, the Eoan Group, has been embattled on another front.

It has had to decide whether to forfeit a badly needed Government grant or toe the apartheid line and introduce a colour bar into its auditorium.

It, too, has been subjected to the confusions and conflicts which be-

lieve minds about the political road ahead.

The Eoan Group has turned its back on the easy road of dutiful collaboration and yet has not stepped aside, as well it might, onto the vengeful path of racialism.

Gala Shock

For the two years the threat of the withdrawal of the Government subsidy of £1,500 a year has been hanging over the Eoan Group's head. The group has been told bluntly that the subsidy is wholly dependent on its not performing to mixed audiences.

Although several of the senior members of the group knew of the conditions of the grant, the group as a whole was only made aware of them in 1956.

On March 20, 1956, the Group gave a gala performance of "La Traviata", which was attended by the Governor-general, Dr. Jansen, several Cabinet Ministers and M.P.s—Nationalist and otherwise.

The invitations were sent by the Commissioner for Coloured Affairs, Dr. I. D. du Plessis.

The production was generally applauded, but it is believed the Ministers *et al* were disconcerted by an audience of many colours, and began asking each other in rising accents, "Does the Government support this integration?"

Quiet Split

Awkward questions were asked, and the fact began emerging with



Daniel Ulster, the first Coloured man to conduct the Cape Town Municipal Orchestra, takes the baton for Eoan Group presentations.

painful clarity that the grant was contingent on this not happening.

Behind the scenes in the group tensions and rows split the cultural calm. One faction held that to accept the grant smacked of collaborationism, the other that one had to make the best of all possible worlds.

On March 26, the Group announced, with a singularly evasive explanation, that several important members had resigned.

These members included Mrs. H. Southern-Holt, the director; Miss Gwen Michaels, dance director, Miss Avril Calvert, Miss Helen Ah Chong, Miss Winnie Goodheart, and Miss Pauline Borchers, the organizer of the Port Elizabeth branch of the Group.

The only explanation that was issued was that "differences of opinion as to how the group

should be organized had come to a head."

"These 'differences of opinion' were to split the Group, fairly neatly, into two, but as voices were raised behind committee doors, the Group managed to achieve a fairly unruffled public front.

In the Breach

The first public intimation that something was wrong came at the annual meeting on October 1, 1957.

Mr. W. Richardson, the chairman, admitted that the Group had been told after the "Traviata" festival that the colour bar provision must be enforced. So far it had been "honoured in the breach".

The committee had arranged to meet Dr. Du Plessis, who "explained that the clause did exist".

Mr. Richardson said the Group had decided to continue and "Countess Maritza" had been performed to audiences of all groups.

Mr. Richardson said: "Members of the Group will be fully informed on this matter and be given every opportunity to express their opinions. If we do not like the conditions we may have to do without the grant and show our self-sufficiency by raising funds to keep ourselves in the good financial position we are in now".

He added: "There is no cause for alarm. We are in a sounder financial position than we ever were".

Mandate

When the Group applied for the grant this year, attention was again drawn to the apartheid clause. Mr. Richardson, then asked the 22 branches for a mandate, and, at a meeting held on January 21, the Group unanimously decided to withdraw its application for the grant.

The only other grant received by the Group is £500 a year from the Cape Town City Council. The rest of its income is straight profit and gifts.

For the year ended March 31, 1957, the Group had a profit of



May Abrahamse, one of the Eoan Group's leading singers, won high praise for her performance in the Group's "La Traviata".

£528, so without the State grant it would have been about £1,000 in the red.

The Eoan Group is not discouraged. In fact, members are jubilant—feeling they have somehow thrown off a distasteful load.

Plans

An ambitious ballet programme, under the able and imaginative direction of David Poole, is to be followed by an Opera season next month including "La Traviata" and "Cavalleria Rusticana".

And the Port Elizabeth branch of the group, which died during the dispute, is not only to be resuscitated, but a tour is to be undertaken in the Eastern Cape and elsewhere to revive enthusiasm—and raise those now vitally needed extra funds.



Mrs. Helen Southern-Holt, founder of the Eoan Group, left the organisation during its recent dispute.

devil the Coloured people in politics, and tempted to meet racialism with retaliatory racialism.

But the Eoan Group has emerged from its soul-searching session with a clarity of resolution which must be the envy of those who still have to make up their

PLAY-WRITING LESSON FROM AN AUSSIE

THE Australians are not only currently teaching us how to play cricket, but one of them is at present also giving us a demonstration of how to write plays as well.

Ray Lawler's "Summer of the Seventeenth Doll" (which had a successful run in Johannesburg and is now playing in Cape Town) has special lessons for South Africa's aspiring dramatists. It does not set out to make panoramic comments on leadership (e.g. "Periandros" and "Germanicus") or solve all a country's most widely publicised problems in one poetic swoop (e.g. "The Dam").

Lawler does not so obviously aim to be morally portentous or pretentious. Indeed, his only approach to cosmic comment is to state, in authentic Australian bush-notes wild, that youth ends, and quite suddenly and very reluctantly we are middle-aged and facing fate.

Chilled Hearts

But how well he does it! How deeply he searches through his common-or-garden Australians, these migrant labourers and barmaids, until their very living and individual qualities reveal their universality.

When, at the end, everybody knows that summer is at last gone and the game they have been playing with life has unexpectedly turned terribly serious, the chill creeps into the watcher's heart as well.

He knows he is not only staring at some Aussie bushrangers (or whatever they are) and Sidney

saloon-girls, but down a far perspective of mankind at an aspect of the human condition.

Behind the small figures of Roo and Olive in the foreground tower in succeeding heights Juno and the Paycock, Lear and Cordelia, Oedipus and Jocasta.

Annual Fling

Like all good plays "Summer of the Seventeenth Doll" operates on several levels, generally on all by act or word or implication at once.

There is the story of Roo and Barney coming back to Sidney after their round of labour for the annual bacchanal with the two barmaids, Olive and Pearl, but things go wrong even before the beginning and by the end everybody is at the mercy of the human elements.

Then there is the carefully charted revelation of Roo's displacement by youth in his work and his savage refusal to recognise that time is no longer on his side—just as he and his pal, Barney, refuse to accept the many-sided personal responsibility that always accompanies the gaiety and companionship of erotic adventures.

The inverted symbol of this responsibility theme is, as I see it, the Seventeenth Doll. And as if this were not clear enough, there is on the one side of it the escape of one of the previous partners in sin to respectable domesticity just

before the play begins, and there is the little girl of previous years who now insists that she is growing up.

Not Dolls

People are not static like dolls, life is not a "good time", responsibility awaits you round every corner—all this the author makes perhaps just a little too insistently clear.

The whole is so fascinatingly worked into a living tapestry of Australian life and language that the serious import of all these dolls and comings of age and departures into maturity does not fully intrude until the right moment.

Then, when that moment arrives, the furniture is broken, the personality facades collapse, the dolls are torn down—and a hideous emptiness is seen to underlie everything that the characters once accepted as the "good time", the "high life".

Some Sidney people meet the universe—and we shudder at the meeting, for ourselves as much as for those before us.

Precocity

It is almost impossible to resist comparing the great maturity of this play with the precocious querulousness and applied psychology of "Look Back In Anger", which we have also seen recently.

Of course Ray Lawler was 36 years of age when he wrote "Summer" and John Osborne was 26 when he wrote "Look Back," but the difference in quality be-

tween the two plays goes deeper than a disparity in years. It cannot even be summed up in the difference between pity and self-pity.

Perhaps the essential difference is to be seen in the fact that Lawler wrote his play when he had given up trying to write according to the prescription for success in London's West End.

Osborne's character are only the characters of the English drawing-room removed to a bed-sitting-room.

Instead of the upstart tracking his plebeian boot-prints across the Turkish carpet and past frowning portraits of ancestors, the classy folk come down to his bed-sitter and get what-for in the approved fashion.

Good Ranting

The reversal is very cleverly done, with really good ranting to give the piece apparent passion, and some horribly false bits of sentiment to cover awkward gaps. But it touches no deeper chord than an admiration for the heroine's restrained use of the flat-iron and a doubt about the success of the English education system.

Even its undoubted moments of comedy are achieved by a sophomore abandon with words and epithets. Its pathos is borrowed from psychoanalysis.

As a whole it makes the prisoner of the bed-sitter seem rather a special case, and evokes a certain limited pity for him and his class of "angry young men". It seems only a specially English

problem. Humanity is not really involved.

Involvement

But where Osborne's attempt to be modern and particular simply succeeds in being modern and particular, Lawler's broad energies carry him, as I have said, much further. He is as Australian as Osborne is English, and yet he involves the world.

To do this he does not rely upon clichés of class struggle or peddle the latest pattern in psychological pessimism. Nor does he strangle his drama with congested prophecies or analysis or retreat into the classic past to make veiled observations about a particular modern dilemma—as some of our latest attempts at serious drama in South Africa do.

No Eliot

He has applied the basic poetic principles in his dialogue that Osborne's partial success and our failures have tried to do in their various ways. He has absorbed the lesson of Synge and O'Casey that dramatic rhythms lie in the common rhetoric of today and can be enhanced by a brogue, a twang or even merely a "dominion accent." The stilted and pallid Eliot approach, the scatter of bright sparks by Fry, have obviously not impressed him. But I venture to say he has brought a music and aptness in the Australian accent which have established it in the theatre world as a purveyor of more than "Waltzing Matilda".

ANTHONY DELIUS

BOOKS

AFRIKANERDOM'S DESTINATION

THE appearance in recent weeks of three new Afrikaans books reminds us that soul-searching is still the principal philosophic pursuit of Nationalist Afrikanerdom.

All three are by political journalists on Nationalist newspapers. In the dramatic manner so beloved of Afrikaans politicians, they all pose the familiar question "Whither Afrikanerdom?" But they all leave their readers waiting for the answer.

The three books are: *Africa's Destiny*, by Senator J. H. Grobler; *Hans Strijdom*, by Gert Coetsee; and *Die Gevaar Uit die Ooste*, by G. D. Scholtz.

Although Senator Grobler's book is written in English, I have classified it as an "Afrikaans book," because obviously it is a translation from an Afrikaans manuscript.

Africa's Destiny, is published mysteriously by "The Book of the Month Club," P.O. Box 972, Johannesburg.

Africa's Salvation

Senator Grobler, until recently political correspondent of *Die Vaderland*, and now political correspondent of the fervent *Die Transvaler*, chief mouthpiece of the Strijdom group, has had a varied political career. His father was Minister of Lands and Native Affairs in the Hertzog Cabinet.

Senator Grobler was M.P. for Brits from 1933 to 1942 (which he mentions on the dust-cover), and during the war an ardent supporter of Mr. Oswald Pirow's New Order (which he omits to mention on the dust-cover).

In 1955, he became one of the 77 Government members of the enlarged Senate, and is apparently proud of his senatorship.

Senator Grobler is more ambitious than most Nationalist politi-

cians, who concern themselves merely with the destiny of South Africa: he takes 207 pages to outline his scheme for the salvation of Africa. One can only marvel at his audacity.

Ensuring a Base

Practising the "links-in-the-chain" kind of argument, at which he and his brethren are so adept, he presents us with the following picture: if there is a third world war, it will be East vs. West; Europe, the Middle East and perhaps North Africa will be overrun by the Communists in an initial *blitzkrieg*; the Western powers will have to fall back on Africa, and particularly Southern Africa, to re-group their forces and launch a counter-offensive; therefore, the West cannot afford to allow "this vast African mainland to slip beyond their sphere of influence"; and therefore to retain their influence the West must revise radically its policy towards the "semi-civilised masses of Africa."

To sum up, says Senator Grobler, the West must cease its attacks on apartheid, because this might result in "the disappearance of Western democracy from this continent," and then the West would have no base to fall back upon, and then we would all be in the soup.

His second proposition is that to ensure peaceful co-existence in Africa, so that the continent's friendship can be guaranteed for the West, there must be a programme of separate constitutional development. The setting-out of this programme, in fact, is the essence of Senator Grobler's book.

'Thin White Line'

In its simplest form, it means that African communities can have full constitutional development in their own areas; but this does not mean that there need be physical separation. So the White man can have his cake and eat it, too. This is apartheid on the grand African scale.

Following Senator Grobler's reasoning, step by step, the reader discovers that the destiny not only of South Africa, and not only of Africa, but of the whole Western world depends on a thin White line in the Parliamentary caucus room of the Nationalist Party.

Gert Coetsee's book *Hans Strijdom* (Tafelberg-Uitgewers, Cape Town) is a more adult work. Although Mr. Coetsee, in a sense, is employed by Mr. Strijdom (Mr. Strijdom is chairman of the Board

of Trustees of *Daybreek*, of which Mr. Coetsee is the political correspondent), he has not written a biography which completely insults the intelligence.

It is an entirely flattering portrait of Mr. Strijdom who, nevertheless, emerges as a curiously colourless personality. The fault, I feel, is not Mr. Coetsee's.

I have often wondered what the secret was of Mr. Strijdom's success, and none of the newspaper sketches that have appeared from time to time have supplied the answer.

Now Mr. Coetsee, in the first full-scale biography (and even this one runs to only 62 pages), confirms what I have suspected: that Mr. Strijdom's only claim to fame is his complete and utter dedication to the cause of Afrikaner Nationalism.

Heading the Stream

Mr. Strijdom has no other major qualities. His personality is not striking; he has no personal magnetism; he is neither an inspired orator nor a wily politician; he even lacks the common touch.

But he put himself at the head of the inexorable stream of Afrikaner Nationalism, and went along with it on its harrowing journey, across the desert and into fertile plains.

He remained at the head because he believed in it so



GROBLER

—thin white line

The newspapers have dealt at length with the particularly interesting chapter on the Strijdom vs. Havenga battle for the Premiership, so I shall not dwell on that episode, except to remark that it just goes to show how expert the Nationalists are at presenting a United front when all hell is breaking loose behind the scenes.

Coetsee acquaints us with the fact that the Nationalist Party was on the verge of a split—some of its members were threatening to form a republican party—yet only the barest details of the struggle leaked out. I was particularly intrigued to learn from such a reliable source that during his last few years as Prime Minister, Dr. Malan was hardly on speaking terms with Mr. Strijdom.

Earnest Figures

Die Gevaar Uit die Ooste, by G. D. Scholtz (a prominent Nationalist journalist with half-a-dozen books to his credit, among them *Het die Afrikaanse Volk 'n Toekoms?*), is an earnest effort, full of facts, figures and footnotes.

Parts of this book are an attempt to acquaint Nationalist Afrikanerdom with some of the

position of dominance over the East.

Backs to the Wall

Inevitably, Scholtz writes as a believer in white supremacy; but the simple historical facts which he puts before the reader point unerringly to the collapse of this way of life.

The value of Scholtz's book lies not in his philosophic observations. Like so many other leading Nationalists, he nurtures the concept of the Afrikaner *volk* as an embattled nation, a tiny *volk* with its back against the wall, and the hand of every man against it.

When will the Afrikaner Nationalist get away from this cringing attitude? Has his spiritual growth been stunted to such an extent that he is incapable of taking the generous view of society—as a place where all kinds of people meet and mingle happily?

The merit of Scholtz's book lies in such facts as he assembles, facts which South Africans of all racial groups will find interesting.

But his analysis of those facts is, to say the least, curious.

Scholtz divides South Africa's problems into two parts (the Indian and the indigenous non-white). He even suggests that the Indian "problem" is so serious that it can be compared with Goa!

Boycott

After declaring that the application of the Group Areas Act cannot bring the solution of the Indian "problem" one inch nearer, he comments:

"If we Afrikaners are prepared not to spend a single penny on purchases from the Indians, thousands of them will simply be obliged to clear out, because there will be no livelihood for them."

"That is why it is so utterly tragic that so many thousands of Afrikaners, for the sake of a little profit, are prepared to darken the future of their *volk* by supporting Easterners with their money."

"In view of the gravity and



Moment of triumph: Mr. Strijdom and admirers after the Raadsaal coup when Mr. Havenga was manoeuvred out of the succession to the Nationalist Party leadership. The story is told by Nationalist journalist Gert Coetsee in "Hans Strijdom", reviewed on this page.

implicitly, and proclaimed his belief with a rather monotonous fervour. Such gifts as he had were those of caution and patience.

Nevertheless, there is a lesson in Mr. Strijdom's devotion and self-sacrifice. Coetsee's picture of the young Strijdom trekking from constituency to constituency in an old Ford car, carrying the message of purified Nationalism, is perhaps a little too tender. But anti-Nationalists today might ask themselves whether they are displaying the same devotion and selflessness for their cause that Strijdom displayed for his.

facts of life. Scholtz gives a detailed account of the countries of the East, their leaders, and their relations with other countries, particularly the West.

In the preface, he criticises Afrikaner education for failing to relate Afrikaner history to the major world events, and he proceeds then to remind his fellow-Afrikaners that white supremacy is not to be taken for granted, that it is not something which has always prevailed, and will always continue to prevail.

From this starting point, Scholtz sketches the rise of the West to a

extent of the Indian problem in the Union already, and in view of the possibility that this same problem can in the future lead to the fall of the Afrikaner *volk*, I must state bluntly here that those Afrikaners who have commercial dealings with Indians in such circumstances, are simply playing the same role as that of the National Scouts in the Second War of Independence.

"With the few pennies that they hope to save by buying from Indians, they betray like Judas their children and their *volk*."

This comment is contained in an epilogue, presented in the form of an open letter by Scholtz to his "fellow-Afrikaners." At this stage I put the book down. One day, when my stomach is stronger, I must finish reading those last few pages.

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NEWSNAME

JOOST DE BLANK

FEW newcomers to South Africa have had the violent and immediate impact of the Most Rev. Dr. Joost de Blank, Archbishop of Cape Town, who after four months in Cape Town has aroused a range of emotions from adulation through embarrassment to dislike.

The adulation comes from a large and increasing number of non-Whites and liberal Whites, who see in him the personification of a virile Christian faith, breathing new life into old tenets, which to many non-whites have become shopworn by words and wilted by lack of practice.

The embarrassment is felt by many "good Christians", and a fair number of United Party supporters, who find his attacks on migrant labour, his total rejection of forced separation, and his uncompromising advocacy of mixed schools an irritation to "traditional" South African consciences. And the dislike, though they are careful to say it is not for the Archbishop in his personal capacity, comes from the Nationalists and other undisguised supporters of herrenvolkism.

'Tyro' Taunt

It has been suggested that he be deported. His name occurs almost daily in parliamentary debates, he has been linked with Dr. Phillips Michael Scott and Trevor Huddleston.

He has been told in debates that it is not fitting for him to have commented on "complex matters towards which we are struggling for a solution" after so short a time in the country—so short a time, it is said, that it is impossible for him to have acquired a correct and balanced judgment.

It is interesting to speculate whether, had Dr. Blank supported apartheid and "traditional South Africanism", this accusation would have been made. The occasional oversea industrialist who says a few tactful things about South Africa is seldom accused of inexperience.



Spurred on by Nationalist pin-pricks, the United Party had a caucus meeting about the Archbishop, the upshot of which was that his views on multi-racial schools were not shared.

Storm-proof

Dr. De Blank was to preach at Simonstown. The invitation was withdrawn after what seemed like a lot of equivocation.

The storm rages about his head. The Archbishop appears quite unconcerned. He does his duty as he sees it, he allows no considerations to interfere with his conscience, which, in the tortured labyrinths of South African politics, makes him a figure so unconventional as to be feared.

He has not stepped down to politics, says the Archbishop. The politicians have stepped up to his domain. Many Nationalist preachers find this thesis indigestible.

The Archbishop is a middle-sized man, stockily built, with an air of quiet self-confidence, a strong face, striking and slightly craggy, and a great deal of personal magnetism.

Equal to All

He impresses all he meets. His manner of speaking, quiet, well-

modulated, his views immaculately and unequivocally expressed, claims attention and respect.

His lack of pomposity, the absence of any clerical overtones, enable him to speak to anyone or on any platform, as an equal to equals. His manner is blunt, but courteous.

In these and other ways Dr. De Blank has won the great respect of many people hostile or indifferent to religion or to the tents of the Church he represents with such distinction.

Dr. De Blank's previous appointment was Suffragan Bishop of Stepney, in the East End of London. This diocese has groomed other great churchmen in the tradition which the Archbishop is continuing in South Africa.

They include Winnington-Ingram, later Bishop of London, and Cosmo Gordon Lang, successively Archbishop of York and Canterbury.

Limehouse Views

As Dr. De Blank said recently in a magazine article, in his typically straightforward, slightly colloquial style.

"The Bishop of Stepney has always been regarded as the East End's own Father-in-God. What an exciting place this is, and what a responsibility. The East End has everything, yet there is no place like it anywhere.

"Think of Limehouse, think of Wapping—those two places beloved so much of thriller writers, when they freeze the blood with stories of opium dens and river thugs. Don't believe a word of it. Limehouse has nothing in the nature of opium dens to offer you and Wapping, especially at night, is as quiet as a country village."

When Dr. De Blank said goodbye to some of his parishioners at London Airport, many wept.

Incisive Pen

Dr. De Blank, who was born in Holland, was educated in England.

His first venture was into the world of journalism—at the age of nine.

He produced a magazine, which he wrote, edited and illustrated for his family. Perhaps he also showed an inkling of his future administrative ability, when he charged 6d. a copy.

He later edited his school magazine, and his incisive contributions to church magazines later became well-known—particularly in South Africa.

It was when he was at Cambridge that the final decision to enter the Church was made. Since then he has had no doubts, he has never questioned his faith.

V2 Victim

He spent three years in the Western Desert and Syria. He was out of Tobruk four hours before it fell. In Antwerp a V2 rocket fell near him. He woke up in a sea of rubble. A legacy from this experience is a plate in his head.

Another legacy was an entrenched belief in the goodness of the average man, born out of the heroism he saw in soldiers and civilians at war.

Dr. De Blank is known to newspapermen for his directness and his simplicity, and the kindness with which he answers questions which must often seem to him fatuous.

This quality, and the quiet force of his character are perhaps epitomized in the statement he made in London after his appointment.

Racial Aphorism

"Everybody stressed the difficulty of the job, and its difficulty increasingly convinced me that I had no decent alternative to accepting the invitation."

After referring to racial divisions in South Africa he said:

"Born in Holland, baptised into the Dutch Reformed Church in London, educated in England, a Bishop in the world-wide Anglican communion, I pray earnestly that some of these divisions may be healed in my own person."

TALKED ABOUT

VERY much talked about in Ghana is the wedding of Kwame Nkrumah, 48-year-old Prime Minister and "confirmed bachelor" to Fathiya Rizk, an Egyptian girl of prominent family.

The Premier sprung a surprise on his people. There was no prior announcement of the wedding and the only newspapers which had an opportunity of giving it adequate coverage were the Government supporting papers which were quietly tipped off in confidence.

Many people are wondering whether there is not a political motive behind the wedding, coming as it does so soon after the Afro-Asian conference in Cairo and the bouquets exchanged between Egypt and Ghana on that occasion.

In Ghana they are recalling Nkrumah's record as an "invulnerable" bachelor, and his statement in his autobiography about his attitude towards women: "Perhaps it is a dread of being

trapped, of having my freedom taken away or being in some way overpowered... women, money and organised religion represent to my mind something that should play a very minor part in a man's life, for once one of them gets the upper hand man becomes a slave and his personality is crushed."

IN Johannesburg they are talking about Arthur Fula, an African novelist. There are not many African novelists, but Mr. Fula is an even rarer kind of writer. The two full-length novels he has to his credit were both written in Afrikaans.

When his first book, "Johannie Giet die Beeld", appeared it was the first time an African author has produced a book in Afrikaans.

Now he has published "Met Erbarming O Here", a novel about the urbanized African, which has been acclaimed by the critics in many Afrikaans journals.



NKRUMAH

Arthur Fula is an interpreter at the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court. A Xhosa from Umtata, he battled hard to win himself an education, getting, finally, as far as Standard Nine. But he is still dead-set on learning and recently skipped many a meal so that he could learn French—because he wanted to read a French book which had caught his attention.

He writes well in English, too, but turned to Afrikaans after a book in English had been rejected

by English and American publishers.

His Afrikaans publisher, after reading "Johannie Giet die Beeld" ordered five more books from him.

Mr. Fula is married, with five children.

TALKED about in Durban is 42-year-old Mr. G. R. Varma, a South African Indian who has been elected a fellow of the Linnean Society of London—one of the world's largest botanical societies.

Only six other South Africans have achieved this honour, and Mr. Varma is the first Indian among them.

Mr. Varma is an expert on grasses, and will return from London, where he was admitted formally to the society in a ceremony at Burlington House, to set up business in Durban as a "turf consultant". Mr. Varma's wife and three children are holidaying with him in Britain.

Said...

"WHAT we have today in our social, religious and political life is the result of the accumulated experience and commonsense of our peoples. It would be most unfortunate if at this moment in our history we should deviate from the established South African way of life".—Sir De Villiers Graaff, Leader of the Opposition.

"Everything is for the best in the best of all possible worlds".—Pangloss (Voltaire).

"The Afrikaans business men did not build up their businesses to make money, they did it as a service to their country".—Mr. C. R. Swart, Minister of Justice.

"This trial concerns the right of the people to express themselves in open criticism of the government and to endeavour to work for a change in our political, economic and social systems within the limits of the law".—Advocate Vincent Berrange Q.C., Counsel for the Defence in the treason trial.

"There cannot be blood and tears on the part of the oppressed people unless they are doing something illegal".—Advocate Oswald Pirow Q.C., Counsel for the Prosecution in the treason trial.

"There is a need today for a wider outlook on history among Afrikaners; The need to 'slant' history and use it for political aims to stir the nation to fight for its identity, is not the same as it used to be".—Dr. F. A. van Jaarsveld, senior lecturer in History at the University of South Africa.

And Done

THE 'Big Three' of the Bamangwato Tribe — Seretse Khama, Tshekedi Khama and Rasebolai Kgamane have gone to London. Only a few chosen headmen knew of their departure and nothing has been said of the purpose of the visit. It is believed, however, that they will have top-level talks at the British Colonial Office on administration, the chieftainship and the exploitation of the territory's mineral deposits.

DR. A. I. KOLIA, a South African Indian, originally from Stanger, has returned to the Union for a visit after 13 years as a prominent Canadian citizen. Until recently, Dr. Kolia was director of laboratories for the Department of Health in Toronto. He plans to spend six weeks in South Africa visiting friends and relatives.

Liberal Attack Deplored By U.P. MPC.

SIR,

The election committee of Mr. J. Dey, in a statement published in your magazine of February 8, expresses itself very strongly against the United Party candidate for Orange Grove, Mr. Etienne Malan.

Two basic reasons are given why the electorate of Orange Grove should vote, not for a Liberal Party candidate, but against Mr. Malan.

I trust that you will permit me to answer these allegations and to state that I am disappointed to find that the initial attack launched on behalf of the Liberal candidate should be against the person of Mr. Malan, and not against the Party which he represents.

Firstly, the committee state that they find it difficult to believe that Mr. Malan regards the Nationalists in the same light as the majority of citizens in Orange Grove.

I wonder if they have ever thought of the fact that Mr. Malan knows the Nationalist mentality; knows their way of thinking and that having seen this ideology in action Mr. Malan is prepared to sacrifice everything in the fight against it; just as General Montgomery could analyse Rommel's train of thought and plan his campaign accordingly, so Mr. Malan knows how to fight the Nationalists.

No, the citizens of Orange Grove honestly and truly believe that Mr. Malan is the man to lead them in the fight against Nationalism.

'Despicable'

The second point raised is that "it is difficult to see what claim he (Mr. Malan) has to be the representative of the ex-servicemen's suburb of Sandringham or of the large Jewish community in Sydenham and Highlands North".

Of the statement on ex-servicemen I will say little, as I believe this will be answered by the residents of Sandringham itself, but I personally, as an ex-serviceman, have every confidence in Mr. Malan.

I must admit that no matter what Mr. Dey's approach to the election is, I was completely taken aback by the statement about a "large Jewish community". Firstly, I find it utterly despicable that Mr. Dey's committee should even attempt to make political capital on racialistic lines and secondly I must also point out that Mr. F. Waring the previous M.P. for Orange Grove was also not of the Jewish faith.

In passing I would like to ask if Mr. Dey is more capable of representing the Jewish community than either Mr. Waring or Mr. Malan?

The article goes on to say that the Liberal Party welcomes the prospect of a contest against Mr. Malan because it will be a straight fight on basic principles and that Mr. Malan represents that wing of the United Party which is as uncompromisingly wedded to white supremacy as Dr. Verwoerd himself.

U.P. Policy

From the first part of this statement it is clear that the Liberal

Party is seeking to make this election an issue between the Liberal Party and Mr. Malan as a person and not as the chosen representative of the United Party. It is self evident that no man who has a policy to enunciate will fight an election on personality.

As for saying that "Mr. Malan represents a wing of the United Party and is wedded to white supremacy". I am sure that Mr. Dey will be interested to hear that Mr. Malan was private secretary to Mr. J. G. N. Strauss, the Leader of the Party, at the time that the United Party Native policy was stated in black and white, and was in a large measure responsible for the first draft of that policy.

Members of the Native Policy Committee, of which Mr. Malan was Secretary, included Mr. Harry Oppenheimer, Sir De Villiers Graaff, Dr. Douglas Smit, Prof. Sakkies Fourie and Mr. Sidney Waterson. The only thing that Mr. Malan is wedded to in this sphere, is the United Party Native Policy.

ALF EINSTEIN M.P.C.

Welcome For Realism

SIR,

CONTACT is a most welcome addition to the South African scene—there is a great need for another publication presenting political viewpoints more realistic than those propounded by the pro-Nationalist and the United Party supporting Press.

If CONTACT is in fact able to provide the news behind the news it will be making a valuable



contribution to the urgently necessary task of enlightening the South African electorate.

More important, it can provide a meeting ground for those sincere progressives who are striving towards a just society in which all South Africans can honourably and peacefully share.

You have my best wishes.
ALEX HEPPLE, M.P.



U.P. RIFT

SIR.—Your article "Deep Pockets but no Seats" certainly falls in the category of "news behind the news."

The general feeling here, in the Gardens constituency, is one of discontent and resentment against the high-handed action of the United Party in selecting a country candidate for our urban constituency.

I predict that should he decide to stand, Councillor Wolmarans will certainly arouse the United Party from its complacency about this "safe" seat even if he does not win it.

In conclusion, may I extend my heartiest congratulations on such a magnificent first issue in the most practical manner possible—a year's subscription to your worthwhile journal.

JUNO.

APART-ODE

SIR,

I hope you will find an odd corner to publish the following "Ode to Apartheid," prompted by the recent visit of the Sultan of Zanzibar.

Apartheid decrees that it is wrong to see.

Whites and non-Whites mixing socially.

Why then, was the Sultan so perfectly free.

To mix with members of the Nat. hierarchy?

Are we to assume that apartheid is ceased.

When visitors come from a land in the east?

And if this is so, why shouldn't we treat.

In a similar way our own Coloured élite?

V. G. DAVIES.

The Union's Secret (Public) Service

SIR,

One of the results of the Nationalist victory at the polls in 1948 was an immediate reluctance on the part of officials to give ordinary information when asked.

It was apparent on the part of railway officials concerning the running of trains and other matters of railway working, in which many members of the public take an interest.

The tendency became obvious in other departments, showing itself in the refusal to give information to the Press, whose representatives well know what the public wishes to read about.

Even official announcements have been given to certain privileged newspapers, the remaining newspapers learning their import from their contemporaries. On occasions when the newspaper men have unearthed by their own ingenuity matters of public interest, they have been abused in and out of Parliament.

Car Licences

Today we do not know how many motorists have not yet licensed their cars, because the officials of the Revenue Office are not allowed to say. Such items of news are of value, in that they remind forgetful persons to renew their licences.

Obviously there must be secrecy in the Government service, as there must be in any private business or practice. And the State must protect itself against harmful leakages of information, just as it must protect the citizen against the publication of his affairs by those who only know of them in the course of official business.

But the observance of secrecy, and the indulgence of a passion for secretiveness are by no means the same thing. There are matters about which the tax-payer has a right to be informed. His representatives in Parliament have a right to demand on his behalf certain information.

Hints Taken

The Railways, the Post Office, etc. are public concerns. Members of Parliament, and indeed the representatives of the Press are usually men with a sense of responsibility, who can take a hint when the divulging of information might not be in the public interest.

And let it be noted that the public interest and the comfort of members of the party in power are not synonymous terms. Questions involving corruption, extravagance, incompetence, or official arrogance undoubtedly cause embarrassment to Ministers and public servants, but the exposure of such matters is decidedly in the public interest.

Sir Percy Fitzpatrick, writing about "The Transvaal from 'within'" maintained that the leading characteristic of the Boers was secretiveness. But that secretiveness was far from being an individual one. In effect, he described the Boers as what is called in Scotland clannish.

Every family was like a lodge, in that information was always imparted to relatives, but such information would never go beyond them. Public secrets were therefore treated as inviolable, not because they were state secrets, but because they were family secrets, however large the family.

Nats Only

We are justified in wondering to-day how much information is accessible to the very large numbers of relatives of highly placed persons, which is denied to

the tax-payer who has a right to it. Further, how much official information which ought to be secret is in the possession of many who have no right to it?

We may go further than supposing that information is given to relations. How much is given to proved Nationalists through the branches of their party? What justification is there for such person, however unimportant, receiving as a privilege that which is the right of the tax-payer?

There have been periods in the history of many countries when government has become an affair of the family party, but such a state of things has led to violent political convulsions, and in the last resort, to revolution. In such circumstances government becomes the hobby of some, for the benefit of some, at the expense of all.

However pleasant for some, it is not democracy, nor does it make for public confidence, which is the foundation of prosperity.

A PIERCE JONES,
CAPE TOWN

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