

# CONTACT

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## A.N.C. YOUTH LEAGUE CONFERENCE

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# Some Government officials think this cartoon funny — why?



„Koos, kyk hoe lê die spore hier. Die kaffers steel nou my waatlemoene op. Nee, kyk, ons moet nou die slagyster stel.  
„Ja, Baas, dit lyk nou amper vir my of dit darie swart kaffer s'n is.”



„Soek vir my 'n pampier, om oppie yster te sit.”  
„Baas moete net die sand oorrie yster gôi.”



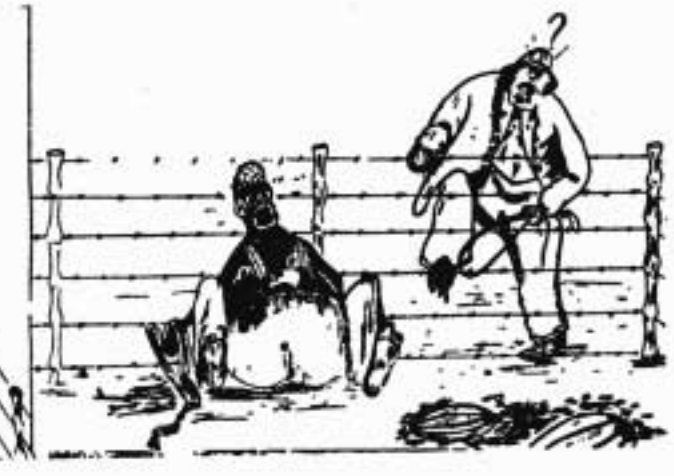
„Ons steek hierre stokkie hier innie grond, solat ons kan weet waar die yster staan. Kyk, ek gaan agtermiddag 'n bietjie slaap. Jy moet hier so 'n ogie hou, gehoor?”  
„Oppas lat Bas hom nie te diep druk, solat die yster Baas se hand gaslat nie.”



„Die Baas gaslaap nou, asse die Baas net gewiet dat ekke sy waterlemoene gasteel. My sally my dotmaak.  
„Ek gan die Baas 'n streep gattrek. Ek gan die yster afslaat. Auk! Die oubaas sal nie gaweet wat gaan aan nie. Enne hv sally vloek.”



„Auk! Ekke gasteek die stokkie te diep. Nou die oubaas gane my vang. Ounô! Gahelp my! die yster gahet my.”



„Auk!! Auk!! Ouhans. My Oubaas. My groot Baas. Baas! Baas moet dammer nie so hard slaan nie. Sambliet my eie, ou, groot Basietjie.”  
„O! jou Swartnerf! Brrrr. Boesman. Vandag vrek jy.”

The above cartoon appears in the latest issue of Die Staatsamptenaar/The Public Servant, which describes itself as the official organ of the Public Servants' Association. The rest of the magazine is serious, and consists of matter suitable for public servants, who in so many things are the government of the country.

English translation of the captions under the cartoon.

- (1) Farmer: Koos, look at these footprints here. The kaffirs (Africans) are now stealing my watermelons. Look, we must now put down the mantrap.  
Koos: Yes, Baas (master)
- (2) Farmer: Get me a piece of paper to put on the trap.  
Koos: Baas must just throw sand over the trap.
- (3) Farmer: We push this stick here in the ground, so that we know where the trap stands. Look, I am going to sleep a bit in the after-
- (4) Koos: The Baas is now asleep. If only the Baas knew that I stole his watermelons. He will kill me. I am going to play a trick on
- (5) Koos: Ouch! I pushed the stick too deep. Now the old Baas is going to catch me. Help! The trap has caught me!
- (6) Koos: Ouch! Old Baas. My old Baas. My big Baas. Baas! Baas mustn't hit so hard. Please my own, little old big Baas.

Farmer: O! you black skin. Brrrr. Bushman. Today you die. (Vrek is a word used only of animals dying.)



"We must go over to bloodshed" — plea by Nzo

## FIREWORKS AT ANC YOUTH LEAGUE CONFERENCE

From Contact Correspondent

DURBAN: Mounting feelings of dissatisfaction within the African National Congress Youth League reached their climax at the national conference held at the Bantu Social Centre, Durban, on July 11 and 12, when part of the Transvaal delegation, led by their provincial president, angrily walked out of the meeting. Earlier, the Transvaal members had launched a violent onslaught on the leaders of the Youth League for what was described as a failure to wage an effective anti-apartheid struggle.

But the majority of delegates in a vote on an executive proposal to suspend the agenda so as to hold immediate elections, refused to support the Transvaal stand by a crushing 142 votes to 47.

In a series of fiery, crackling speeches, unparalleled in their vigour even by Africanist attacks on Congress, the national executive was accused of being above the masses, failing to provide a political lead and making the Youth League merely a "carbon copy" of the ANC.

Leading the attack, Transvaal president Stephen Segale said: "the ANC Youth League has become a personality organisation in which I, as president of the Transvaal, am expected to hold office and to do nothing." He called for "a spirit of self-sacrifice and determination."

As the hot words of criticism spilled out, the packed crowd of nearly 1,200 Africans roared its approval. Wave after wave of thunderous applause greeted each new onslaught on the executive. But gradually, as supporters of the executive rose to speak, sympathies in the hall swung across. When members of the executive wound up the debate by answering the accusations, the tumultuous reception given them was in no way less than had earlier been accorded their critics.

Going into closed session, friction again arose. In a debate on the League's Rules and Regulations, some argued that the organisation could not have a formal constitution because it was part of the ANC; others, led again by the Transvaal, argued that it could.

A proposal to refer the matter to the incoming executive, and to hold elections immediately, was carried by 142 votes to 47. A move by Transvaal members to declare Mr. Patrick Molaa and Mr. Nthite ineligible for election on the grounds that they had failed to pay their current subscriptions, was over-ruled by the conference

chairman, Mr. A. Nzo. Proceeding to the resolutions, the conference—without discussion or opposition—briskly disposed of eight motions. These included:

● Condemnation of racial discrimination in sport. The coming West Indies cricket tour, the New Zealand rugby tour and the M.C.C. decision to exclude non-White British subjects from its teams were described as "shameful pandering to the racial prejudice of the South African Government." It was also agreed to "oppose and expose" apartheid in sporting activities in South Africa in co-operation with other organisations.

● A decision to call a National Convention of youth to organise a Sports and Cultural Festival aimed at stimulating the active interest of youth in these activities.

● Praise for the people of Cato Manor, Kwa Mashu and other areas, "where the action of the oppressed people has frightened our oppressors and compelled the ruling class to recognise that our demand for increased wages is justified." According to a report in the Nationalist Sunday paper *Dagbreek* (12 July) Mr. Nzo said that there was no alternative, "that the only way to gain complete freedom from barbarian white oppressors is to go over to bloodshed."

● Rejection of next year's Union Golden Jubilee celebrations "as a mere farce designed to entrench apartheid racialists in power and to serve as a stepping-stone to the formation of a Broederbond Republic."

● Condemnation of the banning and banishment of Congress leaders as "an attack on our fundamental human rights." The Government was called on to rescind its decision "to straitjacket our leaders."

The first day of the conference — July 11 — had been quiet and uneventful. Security Branch detectives were in the hall and took

notes on the speeches. They also asked Whites, Coloureds and Indians to leave, explaining that consent for holding the meeting had been given on condition that only Africans attended.

A message read on behalf of Chief Albert Lutuli in which he urged the Youth League to strive for democratic values so as to "try to get all people to live free and decent lives as equals" was enthusiastically received. Messages of greeting were also read from organisations including the ANC, the South African Indian Congress, the Liberal Party and the Congress of Democrats.



"Shebeen" (see page 3) and "King Kong" are recent African productions which have been widely discussed, but many other African artists are going in for musical entertainment. This picture shows "The City Dazzlers" in a song-and-dance act in Durban.

## MR. NGUBANE REPLIES TO P.A.C.

MR. JORDAN K. NGUBANE, National Vice-President of the Liberal Party, attended the inaugural conference of the Pan Africanist Congress in Johannesburg. *Contact* reported it in the issue of 2 May. Later a letter appeared from Mr. Z. B. Molete of the secretariat, Pan Africanist Congress, criticising our report, and saying that it was "a blatant falsehood" that Mr. Ngubane had attended on the chairman's invitation. Mr. Ngubane has now released a statement to *Contact*. (See also letter on page 12.) The statement reads:

If Mr. Z. B. Molete had taken a little care in checking his facts before writing he would have been slow to accuse Mr. Peter Brown (*Contact*, May 30, 1959) of "blatant falsehood" when he said I attended the closed session of the P.A.C. conference on the chairman's invitation.

Mr. Molete curiously links Mr. Brown's statement, which was made with my knowledge and approval, with an "anonymous" letter in *Contact* by one "J. Ngataheni," obviously one more communist stooge who is trying to crack the Liberal Party. I fail to see the connection.

I shall confine myself to Mr. Brown's statement. As Mr. Molete should have known, nobody asked me for my credentials when I entered the conference door, having travelled all the way from West Orlando with Mr. Mothopeng. At the end of the morning session on Sunday, Mr. Z. Mothopeng, the chairman, came up to me, shook hands with me and expressed delight that I had come. Because of the breakdown in the cooking arrangements he asked me to get myself food and return to the closed session as he expected there might be trouble.

It is possible that Mr. Mothopeng was not aware that I had come merely as an observer; as the guest of the Natal delegation. But I cannot understand how he could have imagined that I was an Africanist in view of the following facts known to him:

(i) Shortly after my return from Accra I met a group in Mr. Mothopeng's house at Orlando where, among other things, I made it clear that I had no intention of ceasing to be a Liberal. Mr. Mothopeng agreed with me here.

(ii) At a meeting of the Transvaal executive of the P.A.C. held in Mr. Mothopeng's house, to which I had been formally invited by Mr. Potlako Leballo, in

his capacity as the Transvaal chairman, I made it clear that I proposed remaining a Liberal. All in the committee saw no conflict between my Liberal loyalties and my sympathies with the P.A.C.

(iii) Finally, at a P.A.C. party held at Mofolo, the chairman of the local branch of the P.A.C. begged me to say a few words when I rose to leave. During the course of my address I defended my membership of the Liberal Party vigorously. Mr. Mothopeng was present at this function as in all the others.

Thus, when he saw me at the conference, he knew that I was a Liberal. In view of the very many conversations he and I had had, I assumed he took it for granted that I was not an Africanist. When he asked me to come back to the closed session—which he did—I assumed that he was either familiar with the arrangements between me and the Natal delegation or, as he had always said, appreciated the contribution he had said I was making P.A.C. policies better understood.

But even if Mr. Mothopeng had not said anything to me, I would have gone to the conference on a formal invitation from the Natal Africanists. Mr. Abednego Ngcobo had taken the trouble to travel all the way to my house to ascertain my attitude to Africanism and to invite me to attend the P.A.C. conference which was then going to Queenstown. Subsequently he informed me that Johannesburg was the venue and was delighted that the Liberals were also going to Johannesburg, which would make it easier for me to attend the P.A.C. gathering as well.

He informed me that I would have to pay 30/- bus fare. Subsequently Mr. Howard Ngcobo, who knew my attitude very clearly, collected this amount and we agreed to meet in Johannesburg. All three of us understood clearly that, to use Mr. Abednego

Ngcobo's phrase, I would attend the conference as the "distinguished guest" of the Natal Africanists.

Thus, after the morning session, when Mr. Molotsi, who had read the secretarial report, explained that

(i) there had been confusion in the matter of tickets and that the leaders of delegations would check their people at the door;

(ii) those who held provincial tickets of the various groups which had come together as Africanists would surrender these in exchange for the official cards to be registered members of the P.A.C., I expected the Natal delegates and their leader to clear me at the door, in keeping with their pledges to me. I approached them and for the first time my name appeared on the delegates' list. I took out the Natal ticket of the Independent A.N.C. which, in any case, was to lapse the moment the conference was over. Both the leader of the Natal delegation and I regarded this as a mere formality. All of us were satisfied with this arrangement.

Subsequently, I had a long conversation with Mr. Sobukwe in which I made it plain that it suited me best to remain a Liberal.

It is a known fact that I think the P.A.C. has reason to exist, but I must protest strongly, against the aspersions Mr. Molete made against Mr. Brown before, in fact, he had taken all possible steps to ascertain the exact nature of the position as the Natal delegates and I knew it.

I leave it to the readers to judge for themselves whether or not I had been invited to the P.A.C. conference. At the same time I must say that the controversy which has arisen as a result of my attendance at Orlando does neither the Liberals nor the P.A.C. any good. It only benefits our mutual enemies.

Subsequently the Natal Africanists held their regional conference in Durban where Mr. Sobukwe spoke. My wife and I attended every session of the conference on invitation from the Natal Africanists when nobody could under any circumstances have suspected Mrs. Ngubane of being a Pan-Africanist.

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## GROUP AREAS IN PRETORIA

# Fight Against Legalised Theft Of Property

LAST fortnight we brought you details of what Group Areas threatened to do to the people of Simonstown. This fortnight we bring news from the Pretoria front, with details of the people involved. A brave fight against this legalised theft of people's shops and houses is being put up by the Pretoria Action Council for Human Rights, of which the Rev. A. Campbell is the chairman.

The 8,000 Indian South Africans are the most direly threatened. Their community has been living in Pretoria since the days of Kruger's republic. Most of them to-day are South African born and bred.

Now the Group Areas law has been introduced. Its aim is to remove these Pretorians from their own city, and to force them to live on a bare piece of veld that has now been given the name of "Claudius".

Most of this community live by trade, and the Nationalists know that the law will ruin them. In the words of Mr. Theo Gerdener, MPC, "90% of the Indians engaged in commerce will have to find other occupations". Dr. Dönges, who introduced the Group Areas law, admitted that the ultimate intention was to "reduce the Indian population to the irreducible minimum".

Already businesses are suffering from uncertainty as to the future. Wholesalers are restricting credit to those who are scheduled for removal. The value of their title-deeds has been lessened by the stroke of a government pen.

Here are some actual cases of what this law has meant to actual families:

Mr. C. . . . an Indian businessman in the Prinsloo Street area (the three year group) has been living in the store-room of his shop with his wife and five children, being unable to find any accommodation anywhere. He built a house in the yard behind his shop, only to be ordered by the Municipality to pull it down, as he is in a "specified" area in which nothing can be done without permit.

Most hard cases concern ruth-

less undervaluation of properties by the Group Areas valuers. Here are a few actual cases:

Mr. D. M. . . . A large property of 177 sq. rds. Valued by Group Areas valuers at £1,465. Valuation of Sworn Appraiser—"at least £2,500.

Mr. J. M. . . . Property of 104 Sq. Rds. Basic valuation determined at Land £160, Buildings £1,370. Has receipts and invoices to prove expenditure on buildings and improvements alone of £2,090. Sworn Appraiser Valuation £2,550. Has appealed.

How will this law affect the Coloured people? They, too, number about 8,000.

At present they are living in grossly overcrowded conditions in the Cape Reserve. The authorities admit the urgent need of housing. But their plans for a new Coloured township at Derdepoort involve the removal of everyone from their present area, including those with freehold property in Claremont, Highlands, and other parts of Pretoria. Those with title-deeds resent this bitterly, and ask why they must be thrown into the pool of those who need re-housing at Derdepoort.

In any case Derdepoort is far out. Transport will be more expensive, less convenient, and less reliable than it is at present.

It is not only Group Areas law that is hurting the Coloured people. The "Job Reservation" law has now been applied to the clothing industry, and many Coloured people have been forced out of their jobs to make way for the unemployed Whites. Many others have lost their jobs through the Bantustan policy of building new, low-wage, factories, near the Reserves, and away from the towns,

where the Coloured people live.

But by far the greatest majority of those who are threatened by the legalised theft of Group Areas are Africans. Some 50,000, for instance, live in Lady Selborne township. This township has electric light and water laid on. It has been scheduled "for future white occupation," as has Eastwood, another African township.

The removal of the Lady Selborne residents, those owning their own houses as well as tenants, is for the future. But the removal of the Eastwood residents is going on at present. A war is being waged on the people, and fines of £10 (or two months) are being inflicted on "illegal residents" in this area.

*Those who are given permission to live in a location, have gone to Vlakfontein, only to find no houses available. They have been given some iron and wood and been told to build a "living place" on the bare veld of the "Site and Service Scheme", the "service" consisting of a ready-made latrine. They have then put up a doorless and windowless tin box in which to live, often with most of the furniture brought from Eastwood stacked outside for lack of space.*

There have been many cases recently in locations of municipal officials going to the house of a family which is in arrears of rent, evicting the family with all furniture and every single household utensil, and locking them out. Whole families then sleep in the yard for a week or more, when, if rent is still not paid, they are sometimes evicted from the location. Where can they go? The authorities have often stated that when property owners are moved under the Group Areas Act, or other legislation, they will be given similar rights elsewhere. But how much substance is there in these promises?

## RACE RELATIONS CLIENTS RAIDED

THE spirit in which the police are administering the pass laws was well demonstrated last week in Cape Town.

Harried by pass laws many women are going to the local office of the Institute of Race Relations, for advice and help. Mr. Ebrahim Abrahams, of Ellesmere Street, Cape Town, told *Contact* that while he was at the Institute's office last week he saw a police van drive up and arrest many of the women who were sitting in the sun outside the office.

The police were betting on a certainty, as they must have known that many of the women would be in difficulties with their passes.

When questioned one of the police said: "Anyway why do they have to come here? Why don't they go straight to the Native Commissioner?"

## LIBERALS AND U.C.C.A.

THE Liberal Party of South Africa (Cape Provincial Division) expresses its disapproval of the establishment of the Union Council for Coloured Affairs, on the following grounds:

- a majority of the members will be nominated by the Government. The Council will thus be powerless to voice the people's needs.
- the "Coloured People" are South Africans in the fullest sense, and should have political rights in the same measure as all other South Africans.

The Liberal Party calls on all concerned to have nothing to do with this council, and to ignore the election of its councillors.

## SACRED COWS OR REALITY?

From *Contact* Correspondent

ATTERIDGEVILLE: Among the observers at the African Writers' Conference were those who thought that the conference was going to be a tame *indaba* between authorities and yes-men. The first day was opened somewhat in this spirit, by the Rev. C. B. Brink, moderator of the D.R. Church in the S. Transvaal, and chairman both of the conference and of the S.A. Churches committee which convened it (and paid the writers' fares and expenses). From then on all illusions were shattered by the two speakers who sprang up to challenge the Rev. James Jolobe on his paper "The Writer".

First was Mr. Mangaliso Sobukwe of Wits. University (and of the Pan-Africanist Congress) with a three-pronged probe into Jolobe's kindly, evangelical approach:

1. When society is rotten, writers should shock it, not conciliate.
2. Sex is not "a disease"; it should be written of with honesty, even reverence.
3. Offensive language should not be shirked if it conveys truth.

Mr. Jordan Ngubane followed up with a stirring plea for the use of "African", not "Bantu", and for South African-ness in the writer's approach. Perhaps the chairman, had the feeling of the conference right when he stopped Ngubane in the course of his plea for non-racialism. The ice was broken, but all were not yet ready for the icy water of reality.

On their craft

For the next two days the 89 writers and 80 other delegates and observers heard a succession of papers on their craft. The best-received were Professor Nyembezi (Fort Hare) and Dr. H. J. van Zyl (Bantu Education) on "The Writer's Problems". Discussion on these brought out clearly the big issues before the conference:

- ★ Is a man a "Bantu writer" or a writer?
- ★ Is language a sacred cow or a means of communication?
- ★ Should a writer keep silent rather than conceal what he knows to be the truth?

Subsequent papers by white professors, editors and publishers shared Van Zyl's advice against "worshipping" a foreign language (i.e. English, the sole language of the conference), and his appeal for "suitable" literature for their newly-literate people. Where Van Zyl had met a barrage of questions, the other papers were hurriedly disposed of to leave room for the mighty dilemmas of African writers. Among many outstanding contributors were the N. Sotho writer M. J. Madiba, who hit universities, churches and the press hard for their often misguided attitude to Bantu languages, the Tswana author L. J. Raditladi,

the critic E. L. Ntloedibe ("There is nothing so evil as having to hide what is in you"), S. Sotho educationist J. M. Mohapeloa, publisher Leo Marquard, Rev. A. Sandilands (of *Nkosi Sikelel' i Afrika*: "The music is awful."), Mr. Bob Leshoai.

Unlucky chairman

Other discussions explored publisher-author relationships; a Bantu Language Academy (shelved, in spite of the availability of cash from the £6,000 Ford grant to Dr. Brink's committee); the reading habit and literacy.

Dr. Brink, a popular chairman, was unlucky to be the cause of ill-feeling. His rejoinder to E. L. Ntloedibe's call that his fellow-writers should throw away their blinkers was to refer to the speaker's work in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court (stated in the attendance register). His implication that some things are best left unsaid was widely misinterpreted as a threat to Ntloedibe's job and security. Again, prompt action on the last day might have dodged an election between Messrs. Sobukwe and Jolobe for the last place on the continuation committee (with Brink, Nyembezi and Prof. G. P. Lestrade, who himself knows most of the 23 languages represented at the conference Madiba, Mohapeloa and Dr. M. O. M. Seboni). That J. J. R. Jolobe won showed that conservatism (or moderation?) was the mood. This made the challenging, outspoken tone of many of the speeches the more to be valued.

Friendliness

Receptions (Africans only) and luncheons (Whites only) were held. But friendliness thawed the vast, arctic Atteridgeville hall, and a new South African record in interracial handshaking and backslapping was put up, perhaps until next time—1961.

If the conference started with many of its speakers as teachers, philologists, mission workers, they felt at the end that they were writers, not "Bantu writers", and men with a duty perhaps rather different from the upholding of *eiesoortigheid* strongly urged by the Bantu Education and Afrikaner publishing officials who addressed them.

## SHEBEEN

KING KONG has started pupping. The first out is Alfred Herbert's *Shebeen*, a pointless little musical, with poor music, a worse story, and lyrics and dialogue so corny that no one in the audience's combined 1000 years of theatregoing could have thought them possible.

The performances are very competent. Miss Dorothy Masuka and Mr. "Satchmo" Masinga are miles ahead of their material, and the company manage to raise their show well above the level of story and music. Jubilaan the clown is in the grand tradition, with only a small range displayed, and good luck to Master Johnny Claassens, who could be another in the long line of heart-rending tattered urchin-singers who make a third of the house bite the carpet, while the rest dissolve in saccharine and tears.

The sets, dresses and orchestration helped to distract one from Mr. Cyril Chosack's story and Mr. Bill Brewer's lyrics. One of the latter, unenviably titled "Who gave you the money?" was given to us twice, but even the double dose did not make it more painful than a duet called "It's All Your Fault", which Mr. Masinga and Miss Freda Ryce got through somehow.

The dancing was better than the choreography should have allowed. Natural talent was only stifled in a number led by Miss Rose Hlela, described as "the finest exponent of African dancing in Africa to-day" and miscalled "African rhythm".

Why did I say "pointless"? Because *Shebeen* concerns shebeen, District Six, location and reserve life, without one solitary comment on it. Do author and director accept that this is the natural order of life and imagine that no one will notice it if their show accepts it, too, without comment, criticism, or even the gentlest irony? Robbed of any point, *Shebeen* has the tang of non-alcoholic *skokkiaan*.

E.H.L.



## TRANSVAAL TEACHERS' SALARIES

# No Real Increase In Revised Scales

From Contact Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: Two months ago the Director of Education in the Transvaal, Dr. H. du P. van Wyk, announced that Coloured and Indian teachers in the Transvaal would receive salary increases. In addition, there would be a new salary scale retrospective to 1st October, 1958.

This announcement was greeted with gratification and a great deal of speculation on the part of the teachers. Many of them expected generous and substantial increases. They were of the opinion that their increases would be comparable to those received by white teachers early this year.

Now the various Coloured and Indian schools in the Transvaal have received copies of the revised salary scales and after a close study of the new scales it is obvious that there is no real increase; in fact no new

salary scale at all. The so-called new salary scales merely make provision for the incorporation and consolidation of the cost-of-living allowances into the basic salary.

All male teachers will now receive an annual increment of £30 instead of £20. In the case of female teachers the increment has been raised from £16 to £20 p.a. The deductions for pension have been increased and this will have the effect of offsetting these small increases.

The new scales are skilfully drawn up so that a cursory

examination gives the impression that they represent a marked departure from the old scales. Many teachers who have not really taken the trouble to peruse the revised scales expect a considerable sum in back pay which has not yet been paid out. The Education Department is deliberately withholding the back pay so that it can accumulate and therefore appear a handsome sum when eventually received. The teachers are already due for nine months' back pay.

A comparison of these salary scales with those of the white teacher in the Transvaal show quite clearly that the latter earns far more than the Coloured. A white male teacher with Matric. plus two years' professional training is remunerated as follows: £550 x 40—900 x 60—£1320. A Coloured male teacher must have a Bachelor's degree plus a year's professional training at a university to be placed on a comparable scale, and even then he is remunerated thus: £540 x 30—900 x 40—£1060. In other words, he still earns less than his white counterpart.

A white male teacher with a Bachelor's degree plus one year's training is placed on the following scale: £700 x 50—900 x 60—£1440. No Coloured assistant male teacher earns this salary, not even with a Doctor's degree! If he has a Doctor's degree then his salary is only: £630 x 30—900 x 40—£1140.

Thus the Coloured or Indian teacher is grossly discriminated against.

Unfortunately there are no effective Coloured and Indian teachers' organisations in the Transvaal to fight this discrimination and reject this manipulation of the salaries of about 950 Coloured and Indian teachers and to demand equal pay for equal work and qualifications, without colour discrimination.

## A PRAYER

O God, grant us a vision of our country, fair as it might be, a place of righteousness where none shall wrong his neighbour, a place of prosperity where evil and want may be done away with, a place of brotherhood where honour shall be given to all men and success be measured by service alone, a place of peace where order shall not rest on force but on the love of all for the good of their neighbour.

Bless O Lord the efforts of Thy Church to make this vision come true in our time.

Amen.

(This is one of the prayers issued by the Church in England during the Festival of Britain in 1951.)

## HOW GANGS TERRORISE RAND TOWNSHIPS

From Contact Correspondent

GERMISTON: The many residents of Katlehong Township, Natalspruit, near Germiston, are living in terror. Knife-happy youths control the area by day and night. The thugs who have infested the area are runaway members of the Msomi Gang from Alexandra Township, who have now settled in the area.

They have recruited many gangsters such as "The Vultures," "G.M.G.'s," "Motloug Terrors", and others under their control. They are believed to be getting a supply of firearms from certain poor whites of Germiston.

The Township is dimly lit and as a result gangsters take advantage of this. Social and religious meetings by night have come to an end. Children sent to shops in the evenings are robbed by these thugs of all their possessions. Every weekend there are people murdered, scores robbed or assaulted.

The following were recently murdered: Biraza Ntshingila, a 19-year-old scholar, was on her way home from a cultural meeting when a group of thugs stabbed her to death.

Roy Nqulani, a middle-aged businessman, was butchered by thugs who invaded his house. A

Mr. Mashoabate was murdered for refusing to hand thugs his pay packet on a Friday evening near Katlehong Station.

These thugs have been so successful in their activities that they are now travelling in slick American cars and wearing 40-guinea suits.

The police, according to residents, seem to be doing very little to combat crime in the area.

At Pimville a 33-year-old school teacher, Mr. Mvuleni Jacobs of Nkosi Street, was alighting from a train in the station. He was with his fiancée, 23-year-old Miss Hilda Madide. They had just returned from the city where they had made bookings for the Port Elizabeth-bound train on July 6.

After Mr. Mvuleni had said goodbye to his fiancée they separated, each one taking a different direction. Thirty minutes later Mr. Mvuleni was found by passers-by dying near the Pimville Hall. He had a deep stab wound near the heart. They rushed him to the Pimville Clinic where he died on the doorstep.

The theory is that a group of thugs (believed to be the nameless gang led by a fiery ex-Msomi gangster "Zips") did it as people resembling them were earlier seen stabbing and robbing a man near the Hall.

The Kliptown Police are working on this theory and are investigating.

Pimville used to be quiet before but now there is a reign of terror. Even babies and dogs fear the thugs.

Overcrowding and poverty seem to be the causes of crime in the area.

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## WHAT OF THE FUTURE?



A fine example of the talent shown at the first South African Salon of photography held at Johannesburg.

## Photographs Exhibited In Johannesburg

THE first South African salon of photography for non-Europeans was held recently in Johannesburg under the auspices of the Association of Youth Clubs. It gives a large number of non-Europeans an opportunity to show what they can do with a camera, and it was the first time that all the exhibitors had one thing in common: none were white-skinned.

The salon showed that Blacks can produce black-and-white photographs and all of them, probably, can produce coloured photographs as well.

Very often our (white) South African amateur photographers are tempted to produce quaint, dramatic, romantic or bizarre portraits of Africans, especially of children.

Judging from the exhibits the non-whites do not find us whites as lense-worthy as we find them.

I found that in almost all

by  
GERHARD COHN

exhibits the subject matters displayed were treated imaginatively and if one wanted to find fault it might be in the field of technique. But then, the aesthetic pleasure one derived from the exhibits was very considerable in spite of technical imperfections and speaks well for the imaginative powers of the exhibitors.

## PHOTOGRAPHS WANTED

- \* CONTACT invites its readers to submit photographs for publication in its columns.
- \* They should be action pictures, depicting life in South Africa and in other parts of southern Africa.
- \* They must be ON GLOSSY PAPER.
- \* Name and address of sender must accompany all photos or negatives; also a brief description of the subject matter of each one.

For those used 25/- each will be paid

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P.O. Box No. 1979 Cape Town.



# Anti-Semitic Trend In Parliament

**A** DISTURBING feature of what the Press described as a "dreadful" session was the appearance of anti-semitism. It was by no means the first since 1948, and perhaps not the first since Union. But it has been more obvious and unashamed in recent years.

There have been occasions when a member of the Jewish race has been met with studied inattention and a buzz of conversation clearly intended to drown the member's remarks. The former member for Benoni, whose disappearance from Parliament at the last election is much to be regretted, was treated in this way.

Towards the close of the last session, Dr. Boris Wilson was subjected to a personal slight on the ground of race, the more vicious because there was no defence against the particular attack he was making on the Government. A quasi-apology followed, but the remarks made subsequently by two members were, if possible, worse than the previous insinuations, which were proved false.

by  
A. Pierce Jones

Mr. Schoonbee said that he quite liked some Jews, particularly the *smous* of old days. This was revealing. The Jew, apparently, was pre-ordained to be a travelling pedlar, and must never be anything else. The hint to Dr. Wilson was plainly that he was out of his station.

Are we to consider this improper? Are we to think that such men as Judge Greenberg, Advocate Morris, or Morris Alexander, ought really to have been small shopkeepers or travelling pedlars? Should Mrs.

(Continued in col 3)



These footballers from the Copperbelt visited Johannesburg recently and beat the Johannesburg team 3-0.

Millin have remained at Waldek's Plant selling materials behind her father's counter?

In this attitude thus revealed we see the counterpart in time and progress to that expressed concerning space in the Group Areas Act. In that Act it is planned for all to occupy certain allotted spaces for ever. In society too, it seems as though all must occupy a pre-ordained station. The Jew must remain a pedlar; the Indian a coolie; the Greek a small shop-keeper and the African an unskilled labourer.

Perhaps the pre-ordained place for some Afrikaners is that of governing the rest of us. That would complete their pattern of "we are in power, and we know what is good for you."

## Die Burger's new cartoon—"Libbie die Liberalis."



A new personality has entered the field of South African politics — Libby the Liberal.

He appeared some two weeks ago in a large cartoon in Die Burger—lighting a boycott bomb that, unknown to him, lay under his large bottom.

Then he appeared in the large cartoon (below).

Since then he has had a daily single-column cartoon. This is one of them (left) — taken of him giving the potato boycott his usual enthusiastic support. He has just entered a greengrocer's shop, and shouts at the owner: "Nationalist!"



Hooray! Good show! Another island has decided to boycott South Africa.

## SOUTH AFRICAN LOOKING - GLASS

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

"THE directors of I.C.I. are not . . . worried about any imponderables which may exist in the political pattern here (i.e. South Africa)"—Mr. E. A. Bingen, overseas director, Imperial Chemical Industries.

"All this indicates an impudent rejection of law and order and of amenities which were given with the best intentions. In such circumstances, it becomes extremely difficult to have patience with the recalcitrant elements. But what else can the white man do? It remains his duty and his burden as a civilised being to build order with infinite tolerance again and again from the destruction and chaos."

—from leader in Die Transvaler on the Durban riots.

An assistant to Sir Roy?

Advertisement in Cape Times, 12 June 1959



Evidence that city insurance agent had relations with a Coloured woman after representing himself as a member of the South African Police was led in the Cape Town Magistrate's Court when James Johnson Venney (31) appeared before Mr. S. N. Qun on charges of contravening the Immorality Act and impersonating the police. (Our italics.)

In introducing one of the cruellest pieces of apartheid legislation, the taxi-apartheid law, Minister Schoeman said: "There is no question of discrimination against any race. In fact, as far as the Cape is concerned there is more discrimination against the whites than there is against the Coloureds."

—Hansard 17.



# CONTACT

## No substitute for it.

AN interesting letter, signed "Congressman", appeared recently in the left-wing newspaper *New Age*. It pleaded for the establishment of "a multi-national, socialist party" which would be "a brother-in-struggle" of the Congress movement. The letter was a reaction to the pressure that has been developing on the Congress movement to break down its own internal colour-bar.

In the course of the letter the writer said: "For such a party to succeed it must not scamper nervously behind the Congress movement, as does the Liberal Party, always frightened that the Congresses may do something 'rash' always sniffing about for 'communist influence', never sure whether it is more scared of getting too close to the Congresses than of getting too far from them."

This is not a good description of the Liberal Party as a party, composed as it is of thousands of people who have put fear behind them. But it is true that there are individuals in the Liberal Party who do behave in the manner described, and many of them are individuals with power and influence in the party.

An eastern proverb says: "Listen to the voice of your adversary, because it is the voice of God." This critical letter should not angrily be rejected. Each member of the Liberal Party could with profit search his conscience and see how far it applies to his own conduct.

And having done so, it would appear profitable to look also into the nature of the political process and to enquire what are the characteristics that are necessary for a party to grow and flourish. These, surely, from the beginning of history, have been: a deep sense of conviction and seriousness; leadership which begets faith in the rank and file; pride in the party, and a determination to lose no opportunities of bringing in new party members.

Those are the essentials, without which no party can earn the respect of others or indeed of its own members. Also desirable are good relations with other groups and parties which stand nearby in the political struggle.

But however desirable such good relations might be, they can never take precedence over the essentials.

Nor need there be any conflict between the essentials and the merely desirable. For as a party grows in faith, in strength, so it grows in influence, and so much the easier does it find it to make friends outside its own ranks.

Let us therefore read this important letter and learn from it.

## Getting off the offshore Islands

WHILE cold war eyes are on Berlin it would seem to be a good moment for Chiang Kai Shek and the United States to depart quietly from the offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu. These are the islands that lie right under the communist Chinese shore batteries. It was a tussle over them in 1958 that brought the world to one of the many brinks of war. Many felt that the Americans ought to have given them up at the time, that they were not worth a war. The Americans did not—and the event justified them. They refused to surrender to force.

At the present moment there is no threat of force. Unlike Formosa which has not been Chinese for generations, these islands have always been part of mainland China, for they lie only a mile or two out to sea. The legal justification for not abandoning Formosa does not therefore apply to these islands.

Communist China is obviously in a dangerous mood. Why not lessen the areas of danger by quietly giving up these two small, useless, Chinese islands while there is no face to be lost by doing so?

Mr. Herter, over to you.

## Stop the Sahara Bomb!

FOR "la gloire" (glory) France fought Indochina for years and lost all. For "la gloire" France has used torture against the Muslim people of Algeria. For "la gloire" France now proposes to explode an atom bomb either over the Sahara or over Kerguelen Island.

Either plan would bring over Africa the deadly poison of radioactive strontium—and with it its terrible burden of bone-cancer in children, and mental defectiveness in children yet unborn.

Nigeria has protested and has informed France that it will regard a bomb in the Sahara as an unfriendly act. South Africa should do the same. Up till now Africa and the southern hemisphere have been free of these deadly poisons.

We think that the time has come for the human race to insist that military glory is a bad reason for the exploding of atomic bombs. Otherwise where will it stop?

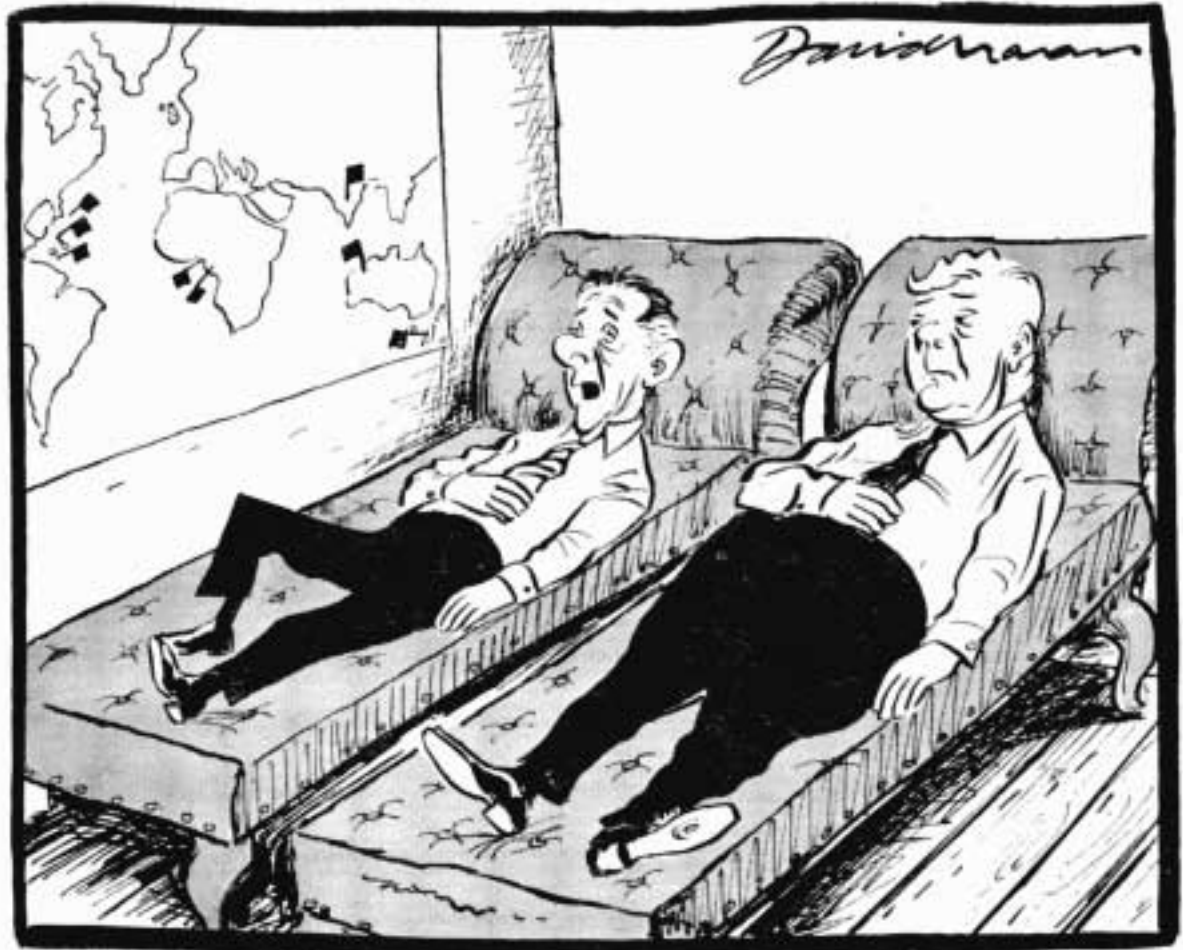
## Indo-American Relations

SINCE 1947 India and America have seldom agreed. They disagreed over the recognition of China, the Japanese Peace Treaty, disarmament and nuclear tests, Kashmir. And even when they did not disagree they did not really agree—witness Hungary, Korea, and the Suez crisis.

Now that there is a new Secretary of State perhaps the most fruitful activity he could pursue would be to explore Indo-American relations with a view to improving them.

These two giant countries share many common interests. It is possible that many of the disagreements have been caused by parasympathetic personalities on both sides.

CONTACT



"Everybody hates me, too."

## SOUTH AFRICA PSYCHOANALYSED

NATIONALIST INTELLECTUALS whose consciences have been stirring might find an unexpected source of guidance in the psychology of Jung. Analytical psychology may seem remote from South African politics; but there are striking parallels in the structure of South African society and the structure of the individual in the Jungian system. And the recently publicised awakening of conscience among Afrikaner intellectuals is akin to the awakening that must occur within the individual in his advance towards maturity or wholeness as conceived by Jung.

Nature continually repeats patterns of behaviour and structure on different scales and at different levels. Perhaps then it is possible that the pattern of events on the national level may repeat the individual pattern and South Africa may progress towards unity through a process similar to that followed by the individual.

For Jung the psyche is analogous to an island, of which that part above the sea represents the conscious aspect while the unconscious is the far greater part hidden beneath the water. That part of the mind lit by consciousness and reason

We bring this article to our readers without in any way associating ourselves with it, for we believe that it suggests fruitful avenues of thinking.

By  
Hedley Pocock

—a comparatively late product of evolution—has a precarious hold on the dark logical forces of the unconscious which derive their power from the more primitive, instinctual part of man's nature.

In the normal person these forces intrude themselves from time to time, manifesting as anything from irrational anger to psychosomatic illness. In the neurotic they may direct the personality in defiance of conscious will. In the psychotic consciousness has been overwhelmed by them and the inner world has become chaotic.

It is part of Jung's thesis that the 'normal', apparently well-adjusted personality is not necessarily whole or mature. Within all of us are imbalances which must be resolved through living, suffering and insight until a new self—the real self, which embodies yet reconciles previously conflicting aspects—crystallizes out.

The paths towards this whole-

ness are many and varied, but that offered by Jung's therapy entails bringing into the light of consciousness the disparate contents of the unconscious. In the process the personality obtains greater power of self-direction and freedom from the irrational, sometimes self-destructive motivations of the unconscious.

South Africa's 3,000,000 whites—the governing, most evolved section of its society—may be likened to the conscious mind, while the 10,000,000-or-so Blacks, only lately beginning to emerge from a primitive environment, would be the equivalent of the personal unconscious.

The Coloured people could conveniently stand for the 'shadow'—Jung's term for that nexus of association of which the personality is ashamed, the past lapses which detract from its images of itself and which have been repressed into the unconscious.

For the 'persona'—the personality's artificial facade—we might have our all's-lovely-in-the-Garden-of-Eden State Information Service!

The extreme Leftists we might regard as representing a 'complex'—that is, a focus of once-conscious associations which have 'gone over' into the unconscious and now form a semi-autonomous entity working against consciousness.

A patient's 'resistance' to acknowledging unsavoury aspects of himself is paralleled by the South African reaction to adverse criticism from the overseas Press. The Nationalist Government

would represent that puritanical aspect of the civilised, rational person's mind which so often seeks to cut itself off from its roots, shying from and repressing instinctual drives. Sooner or later in such a personality, the pendulum swings and the unconscious has its revenge by overriding conscious direction. (Parsons and other respected members of the community who succumb to violation of the Immorality Act may be cases in point).

A similar danger faces South Africa, where *apartheid* aptly suggests that state of mind in which consciousness seeks to dissociate itself from the unconscious. The directing (conscious) section seeks to thrust out of its structure.

What then is the way to wholeness?

Reverting to the individual, whom we may assume is undergoing Jungian therapy, we find that he must first become aware of those aspects of himself that he has failed to integrate and must recognise and accept the motivating forces within him that spring from the unconscious. He must abandon to some extent the extreme positions taken up by partly dissociated aspects of consciousness and yield to some of the demands of the unconscious.

By a process similar to that which occurs in the individual white South Africa has been made more acutely aware of its society's sickness by the extreme Nationalists on the one hand and the Leftists on the other. If it is to be healed there must, as in the individual, be an awakening in the section that is in control and acknowledgment that healing is necessary.

Here perhaps is where our slowly stirring Afrikaner intellectuals—equivalent to the rational part of the mind—come in.

(Continued on page 12, col. 4)

25th July 1959





Peter Brown, Chairman of the Liberal Party.

## Riots Were Due To Grinding Poverty

we should not pretend that it is going to answer the real problem which confronts us.

These are palliatives which may temporarily soothe the surface manifestations of a disease which afflicts our whole economic system, but they will do nothing to rid us of the disease itself. Our disease is quite simply the economic colour bar, and, as long as White South Africa persists in protecting its position of economic privilege through the economic colour bar, it can continue to look forward to more and bigger "Cato Manor" riots.

It is all very well to push up wages but one cannot continue to do so indefinitely

while simultaneously preventing people from acquiring skill. What South Africa wants is productive people who have money to spend, not unproductive people, prevented by law from realising their potential skills and from attaining a decent standard of living.

Dr. Verwoerd may mesmerise his supporters with his visions of the future but, in the meantime, he leads them and us to economic ruin. The widening gap between subsistence wages and actual wages over the last twelve years is a sure indication of this. Can we doubt that the trend will continue, confronted as we are with Senator de

Klerk's determination to introduce a new rigidity into the colour bar by reserving more and more jobs for Europeans only?

Does Dr. Verwoerd care about non-white poverty? His crude reference to Indian unemployment as being the concern of "those people who want to take the responsibility on their shoulders" suggests that he does not care much about Indian unemployment anyway. Has he any greater concern for African or Coloured unemployment and poverty? Is not one of his Government's aims to provide jobs at reasonable rates of pay for those who may vote for it, even if this means lower standards of living for non-

whites? How else can one interpret "job reservation" which, at any moment and simply because of the colour of their skins, can throw out of whole fields of employment men who may have been occupied in them for years and whose fathers may have been before them?

Job reservation will extend into new parts of our economic body the creeping paralysis of the industrial colour bar. While the Government applies itself to wooing the white industrial worker's vote, the pot boils and we drift towards the chaos which is the inevitable fate of a society in which so many of the people are hungry.

Are not race riots and race restrictions on employment inseparable bed-fellows? The price white South Africa must pay to rid itself of the one is to get rid of the other.

**A**FRICAN wages are in the news again. June's Cato Manor riots in Durban, ostensibly set off by a campaign against shebeen-queens in the slum, were basically due, so the Manager of the Municipal Department of Native Affairs has stated, to grinding, killing poverty.

I have taken up *Contact's* space with this subject before and I make no apology for doing so again. The poverty of South Africa's African working population is one of the most pressing and explosive elements in the whole of the Union's highly-charged situation. Fail to get to grips with it and you fail to get to grips with the future.

Every survey conducted since the war has shown that most urban Africans live below the bread-line. In no large town or city in the Union is the proportion of African families living below bare subsistence level less than fifty per cent. In most of the large centres it is between seventy and eighty per cent. Every survey since the war has not only revealed no improvement in this dreadful position but a continuing deterioration.

The number of African families below the breadline is not declining, it is increasing steadily. By coincidence the Natal Mercury carried a report a few weeks before the Cato Manor riots, in which it estimated that ninety-five per cent of Durban's African population couldn't earn enough, by legal means, to live on. Of every twenty Africans the July holiday-maker passed in Durban's West Street this month only one had had enough to eat. It is an arresting thought!

During the last year there has been a new awareness, in many different quarters, of the supreme urgency of the problem of African poverty. Cato Manor has highlighted it once more, and not too soon. Some employers have raised their wages, others probably will. The Wage Board will sit in Durban and in other places and, I have no doubt, it will make recommendations for raising the minimum wage-rates for African workers. All this is most admirable and necessary, but

### FAIR COMMENT

**T**HE London *New Statesman* lashed out at the British Government on its front page lately for supplying the South African Police with 80 Saracens. The article calls the British Government "accessory before the fact". It refers to the South African police as "white terrorists".

Dr. Verwoerd and Mr. Louw have no idea how fast the tide is moving against what they call "South Africa" oversea. To me it is moving in favour of South Africa.

**T**HE Durban riots have brought on the usual crop of suggestions in the white business world for increased wages for Africans.

Good. But why do the business men not look beyond the end of their noses? Riots are pressure + bloodshed. Trade unions are pressure—bloodshed. It might help profits and public relations if the businessmen would deal with African unions and encourage them.

**I** DON'T think that anyone need take the new South African Bond seriously. The moment that I saw the magic words "white immigration" in its manifesto I realised that it was just another plan to entrench white supremacy in our country. I am not against the immigration of skilled people. We need them—and not only from Europe. But the futility of supposing that even another ten million whites would "solve the native question"!

In the United States race relations are worst in the southern states where the races are most nearly balanced in population—and the southern whites know that nine out of ten Americans are white. The "native problem" exists only in the white man's mind, and the only form of immigration that will solve it is the immigration of sanity and common sense.

**T**HE latest news from New Zealand is that 70% of the population are with us over the 1960 All-White All-Black tour. This was not so last time. The change is due not only to the valiant efforts of SASA and its indefatigable Dennis Brutus in Port Elizabeth, but also to straight speaking from the Maoris themselves.

I have a sheaf of press cuttings before me. There is a wonderful speech by the Hon. E. T. Tirikatene, a distinguished Maori leader. He spoke words of dignity and force to the *pakeha* (New Zealand whites). The keynote of his speech was this: "We have a word in the Maori language—*whakamomori*—meaning 'to suffer in silence'. The vast majority of the Maori people have been doing just that . . . but this silence of courtesy and humbleness has ended."

He also spoke words of comradeship with South Africans: "Do not believe that we

Maori people do not feel in sympathy with our dark-skinned brethren in South Africa whose dignity and worth are so down-trodden by the cruel, destructive policy of *apartheid*."

**A**FTER Life's African number some years back we had *Atlantic*, *20th Century*, and *Holiday* earlier this year. Now it is *Look* (23 June). This sleek popular magazine has given 21 pages over to a superb report, stacked with coloured photographs, called "Inside Negro Africa". It will interest Dr. Verwoerd to know that he is there—inside Negro Africa!—and that *apartheid* gets a hammering. The summing-up of the South African chapter ("Where the white man rules") is "Nowhere else on earth does the colour of your skin have so much to do with the way you live".

The man responsible for much of the reporting was Ernest Dunbar, an American Negro.

It is this sort of brilliant, illustrated, unbiased reporting that makes Mr. Eric Louw's task of "selling" *apartheid* so hopeless. People may listen politely to a \$100-a-minute speech from a South African ambassador on the glories of bantustan, and how *apartheid* was thought up purely to benefit the black man.

They go home, and in one minute with *Look* (cost 20 c.) the ambassador, Mr. Louw, and Dr. Verwoerd are exposed as the political frauds that they are.

**I**N the second reading of the Fort Hare Bill Dr. Carel de Wet (Nat. Vanderbijl Park, said: "Mr. Speaker, Fort Hare has no character. Just walk into the dining room and what do you find? The walls are festooned with pictures such as we unfortunately have in this House. Such is the character of Fort Hare." Now, at the time when this man was in the Fort Hare dining-room the pictures included King George V, David Livingstone, Dr. Stewart, J. W. Sauer, W. P. Schreiner.

I will content myself with saying that remarks such as this are on a level with the anti-semitic outburst in the Transvaal Provincial Council when Mr. P. van Vuuren behaved himself in the spirit of one of Streicher's pornographic cartoons in *Der Stuermer*.

**T**HE hostility to everything English which Dr. Verwoerd and the BAD Department share, and which has led to the displacing of English as the most important language in African education, is curiously different from what is going on in the rest of the continent, as appears from a recent report in the *London Times*.

In Ghana, for instance, the historic step has been taken of making English the medium of instruction throughout the entire

by Patrick Duncan

educational system. This has been done because it is realised that English is the key to progress. All over Africa the same sort of development goes on, and the market for English books is booming.

One wonders how long it will be before Dr. Verwoerd realises that he is helping Afrikaans to survive just about as effectively as Milner nurtured the love of English among Afrikaner nationalists.

**S**O Ghana is building four of the most powerful radio transmitters in the world, which, according to Mr. Kofi Baako, Minister of Education, will reach all countries in Africa, and many countries in the world as a whole. Dr. Albert Hertzog ought to be delighted. This is a constructive piece of *eiesoortige ontwikkeling* ('autogenous development' in the English of the BAD). At last "the Native" is doing something for "his own people". May we take it that Dr. Hertzog will supply subsidised radio sets to enable Africans here to listen to Radio Ghana?

**G**OLD production is booming—£100 million in the first five months of this year compared with £88 million in the corresponding period last year. The Standard Bank commenting puts it down to "the steady rise in the number of Natives employed . . ." Dr. Verwoerd's persecution of Africans who try to make a living in the cities forces them into the much worse-paid mines. This year so far the monthly average number of Africans working was 373,728, compared with 329,947 last year. No wonder the Chamber of Mines and the United Party only put up a sham fight against *apartheid*.

**I**S *apartheid* something to do with physical nearness of the races? Or is it mere greed—a slogan to allow the white people to get the best of everything? Taxi-*apartheid* in Cape Town seems to give the answer. The Minister admitted in Parliament that "a number of European operators are still employing non-European taxi-drivers although they are conveying Europeans". Yet he also said that he was "limiting non-European operators to the conveyance of non-Europeans". That is to say a white passenger may use a car which is driven by a non-white. But the owner must be white. The cream, that is to say, is white. As the Transvaalers used to say so frankly: "*ons vaders was voortrekkers en ons is geregtig tot die vet van die land*".

**R**EDUCING *Contact* in price has brought us a surge in sales. Our latest print order is 8,240. One seller in Cape Town has sold 400 in individual sales to the public. Let us see if anyone can beat his performance!



KENYA PARTIES CLOSE RANKS, WHILE . . .

## BLUNDELL AND MBOYA DECIDE "NO COMMON GROUND"

From Contact Correspondent

NAIROBI: The main political groups in Kenya are now closing their ranks and preparing for a round-table conference which is being called by Mr. Lennox Boyd, the Colonial Secretary, in January 1960. The group which can dominate the conference is likely to get further constitutional changes and will probably shape the form of Kenya's first common roll.

Chief contenders in the talks are Mr. Michael Blundell's "New Kenya Group" which is reported to have created a very favourable impression in Britain and on the Colonial Office, and the non-European elected members' "Constituency Elected Members Organisation". The last group is composed of the elected representatives of more

a 1½ hour talk they decided that there was no "common ground" between them. A few days later Mr. Mboya was attacking Mr. Blundell's middle-of-the-road policy at a 4,000-strong African meeting at Nairobi's celebrated Makadara Hall.

Mr. Blundell's "New Kenya Group" has recently called all other interested parties to a pre-round-table-talks conference in Nairobi. His invitation was not accepted by any Africans or Asians outside his own party but the Kenya settler groups, the Progressive Local Government Party, the Briggs group, and Mr. E. L. Howard Williams, Member for Nairobi North, all attended.

Mr. Blundell has been under heavy fire in Kenya from critics to the right and left who have described his policy as being "vague and ambiguous". In a statement in April he mentioned the Common roll as an objective but he made no mention of it in the July conference. Nor did he discuss non-racial education or local government. African and Asian critics point to the fact that he has not even clarified what he considers is Kenya's ultimate political goal.

In Mr. Tom Mboya's view, Mr. Blundell states that his goal is self-government and a parliamentary system, but says Mr. Mboya, "we know that South Africa and the Rhodesias have

a parliamentary system and it certainly is not the type that we want. Until Mr. Blundell starts talking about Parliamentary democracy I cannot think he is sincere."

It is known that Mr. Mboya (Leader of the Nairobi People's Convention Party) is not keen on reaching any pre-conference compromise with Kenya's eight Asian elected members. He wants a "big leap" towards democracy which, he claims, "would be in accordance with the mood of the African people and at the pace they desire". This means that he wants to go into the conference to demand a Legislative Council that is entirely elected on a common roll with a few reserved seats for government officials.

Mr. Mboya does not consider it necessary to go through the various stages that Tanganyika has passed in her evolution towards responsible government. He wants to arrive at responsible government at the same time as Tanganyika by cutting out all the intermediate stages.

A majority of the other African and Asian elected members of Council have been working on more moderate plans and in recent weeks Mr. Mboya has been attending their meetings. He has been keener to compromise since the Nairobi visit of Mr. Julius Nyerere and other Tanganyika ministers who support T.A.N.U.

### TODD URGES CO-OPERATION

R. S. Garfield Todd, leader of the Central Africa Party, recently addressed an estimated 2,000 at Harari African township, Salisbury. Mr. Todd told the meeting that the Central Africa Party would not rest "until the rights of the individual are enshrined in the constitutions of our governments, until the honour of all courts has been restored, until all men accused of crime are brought to trial and confidence has been restored between the Federation and the freedom-loving countries of the world".

He urged the people of the Federation not to fight amongst themselves but to co-operate for the common good, and said that the Federation's white minority must voluntarily give up its privileged position.

than 99% of the Kenya population.

Mr. Musa Amalemba, Kenya's African Minister of Housing and a prominent Blundell supporter, claimed in London recently that the African elected members were in favour of the Blundell group in private though they were afraid to say so publicly, but this statement was dismissed by another Kenya Government minister, Mr. Havelock, who said that Mr. Amalemba was expressing his own opinion and not that of the group.

Mr. Amalemba's statement is also contradicted by the result of a private discussion between Mr. Michael Blundell and Mr. Tom Mboya over supper. After

### CORRESPONDENTS WANTED

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CONTACT

## TUBMAN IN SIERRA LEONE



FREETOWN: During his recent visit to Sierra Leone the President of Liberia, Dr. W. V. S. Tubman, said that he would like to see the creation of an all-Africa organisation to be known and styled "The Associated States of Africa." Such an organisation, he said, "could be bound together by a single convention of friendship, navigation and commerce, while allowing sufficient flexibility for each signatory nation to maintain its national sovereignty and popular identity."

The President said that in these days when Africa was aglow with the demand for freedom, "it behoved all to think soberly, act wisely and re-assess their policies in the light of new developments. All Africans should think like men of action, and act like men of thought."

The picture (above) shows Mrs. Tubman being presented with a bouquet of flowers during the visit to Njala, headquarters of the Department of Agriculture in Sierra Leone.

## DECISIVE PERIOD AHEAD FOR BELGIAN CONGO

LEOPOLDVILLE: The next few weeks may show whether the Belgian Congo is to stagger along peacefully towards the goal of independence or to suffer another bout of bloodshed as in the riots last January. The main problem facing this vast—and immensely rich—territory is that the 13 million Congolese have never had any experience of politics, and even the 120,000 white settlers had no political voice until 13 months ago.

For 75 years the Belgians have exercised a paternalistic rule over this source of many of the world's raw materials (such as cobalt, copper, diamonds and now uranium), and the Congolese have benefited much from its material wealth. They have one of the highest standards of living among African peoples. The Congolese gets a basic education provided by the State (there are more than 26,000 schools), and as a worker he is protected by imaginative labour laws. But there was no provision for political advancement until the Belgians allowed the four main towns to choose their city councils in December, 1957.

In Leopoldville, the capital, the extremist Abako movement, which is an association of the 800,000 Bakongo people, swept the board in those elections under the leadership of Joseph Kasavubu, the 42-year-old grandson of a Chinese coolie, and he became mayor. When the riots

broke out last January (partly caused, a Belgian Parliamentary commission has reported, by the scorn of the whites for the Africans, and the "vast disparity" between their living standards), Kasavubu was arrested and his movement outlawed.

The ban has since been tacitly rescinded, and Kasavubu is free. But the shock of the riots prompted Belgium into a new policy which King Baudouin announced would be carried through without unnecessary delay, but without undue haste.

This policy promised elections, a skeleton Parliament, non-discrimination between black and white people, and eventual independence. No date has been given for independence, but it may come before the end of next year and almost certainly will come before the end of 1961. And the first general elections are to be held before this year is out.

So the Congolese, in three main parties, but with about 100 smaller groups, are getting ready for a campaign in which they have no guideposts from previous experience. And since the white settlers are apprehensive of their own future, excitement and tension have been rising.

Almost all the Congolese parties are based on tribal associations. The Abako admits that its aim is to look after the interests of the Bakongo people. Joseph Kasavubu's plan is for a Central Congo Republic independent of the rest of the Congo. Into this area Kasavubu wants to move three million people, and within it Kasavubu would control the present Congo capital and all its ports.

The other two main parties are the National Congolese Movement and the Congolese Unity Party. The National Congolese Movement is backed by Belgium's Socialist Party, and its leader is Patrice Lumumba. He was a Congolese representative to the All-Africa Congress formed last year at Accra. The party's objective has been stated as independence for all African colonies, and Lumumba has joined with seven other parties in a plan for provisional Congolese self-government next June.

The Congolese Unity Party is

led by M. Essanja, and has received substantial help from the Belgian settlers.

When Belgium's determined and energetic Minister for the Congo, 58-year-old Maurice van Hemelrijck, arrived in the Congo last month to feel the warm pulse of his political nursery, he was received with some cheers from the blacks but none from the whites. The whites mostly ignored his fact-finding tour.

When a tired Van Hemelrijck returned from the outer areas to Leopoldville tension had become acute. The various parties had put their plans to him, and as well as memoranda from scores of other bodies a group of leading Belgians had put up a demand for a caretaker government to prove that Congolese independence was on the way.

Van Hemelrijck announced that his Government's policy would be adhered to and applied in full. He gave a warning to agitators that emergency regulations would be applied where necessary, and the military patrols showed that he was in earnest.

It is this atmosphere which has brought back to the Congo the fear that in the exciting hustle towards freedom the recent riots may not be the last.

25th July 1959



## British property in Egypt

## UK, UAR "Wait and See" Brings Delays

CAIRO: For the first time in several years—the first time indeed since the last down-grading of Major Saleh Salem—the Cairo regime appears to be talking publicly with two voices, and one of them is Saleh Salem's.

Major Salem was reinstated as Editor-in-Chief of one of Cairo's most important publishing houses when President Nasser plunged into the anti-Communist deep waters. Now his prominently-displayed editorials spy the plotting of dark enemies everywhere — Britain, Iraq, Jordan, Israel—and sometimes he finds all these conspirators together in one uncomfortable bed, all allied to cause the downfall of the United Arab Republic.

Meanwhile, the authoritative *Al Ahrām*, edited by the dignified Syed Hassanain Heikal,

takes a much more sober view of affairs. Over the past two years, Mr. Heikal has had more of President Nasser's confidence than any other Arab journalist, and he has acted faithfully as the interpreter of his President's policy. When the word went out to the Cairo Press early last month that personal attacks on the Iraqi Premier, Abdul Karim Kassem, were to cease, *Al Ahrām* dropped the fantastic line that Kassem was in league with the British "imperialists" (anyone who has been to Baghdad knows what a wry untruth that is) though the convenient fable that the British and the Communists were in some unholy alliance has been too good to abandon altogether. But, by and large, *Al Ahrām* has been, by Cairo standards, restrained about Britain over the past month while Major Salem has used every facet of his kaleidoscopic imagination.

Thus, the bystander is again left wondering which way Cairo's policy towards London is going, and it is important to know because the Western Allies can never form a complete Middle Eastern policy until they can be sure.

Britons, who are slowly returning to Cairo, try to make an estimate by the UAR Government's attitude towards their desquestration claims. Already the handing back of Anglo-Egyptian Oilfields, one of the most important of the Shell group of companies in Egypt, has been delayed beyond the three months' limit which was agreed upon by the British and UAR Governments. But not many Britons are returning. About 600 applications have been made to the sequestrators, who reckon that there are about 4,500 separate British properties in Egypt.

The uncommitted embassies, in Cairo (what with one thing and another there are precious few of them) incline to the opinion that the Egyptians should be given the benefit of the doubt. There must always be venom in Arabic newspapers if Arabs are to read them and Salah Salem is certainly providing it. There must always be for President Nasser an opportunity left for dividing the major Powers, not only East against West but, if need be, West against West. Since the United States, which has waited politely and patiently through a long Arab season of open abuse, is now back in favour in Cairo, there is no harm in showing that they cannot bring back Britain on their coat tails. That seems to be the reasoning behind the permitted outbursts of Major Salem, and perhaps behind the dragging feet of desquestration. Cairo's policy towards London is wait and see. It is going to be a long business because that is exactly London's policy towards Cairo.



The first official talks between Egypt and Ethiopia were held recently in Cairo. This picture shows Emperor Haile Selassie in conference with President Nasser at the Kubbeh Palace, Cairo.

## U.K. Intellectual Journal Reflects Trend

## OVERSEAS OPINION HARDENS AGAINST APARTHEID

**F**RONTIER is a live quarterly published on behalf of the Christian Frontier Council—a fellowship of some forty thinking laymen in England, and on behalf of the World Dominion Press, which is particularly interested in the newer churches around the world.

The latest issue, for summer, 1959, shows the extent to which Africa is becoming a focus of modern thinking.

A page of the editor's comment is devoted to the Federation crisis, and a strong plea is made for Dr. Banda. The 'massacre' plot is treated sceptically.

In a short note satisfaction is expressed with the success of two major public demonstrations recently held in London—one against apartheid, and one, organised by Canon John Collins, against the hydrogen bomb. Both these demonstrations were largely Christian, Douglas Hyde, the Roman Catholic publicist, comments

interestingly that twenty years ago they would in contrast have been communist-inspired or communist-manipulated.

Another half-page is entitled "Apartheid and Theological Education" and deals with the crisis in training that has been produced by the killing of Fort Hare. "The issue confronting all the Churches" ends the article, "is whether they will conform to academic apartheid in theological education or assert the right to educate the Christian ministry in their own way and in accordance with their theological convictions regarding the nature of the Church."

Note the tacit opposition of

Christianity and apartheid.

A further, somewhat longer, note deals with the question of the Maoris and the 1960 tour, and the cancelled Brazilian soccer match. The note is highly critical of the New Zealand Rugby Union.

A letter from Professor Gordon W. Allport of Harvard (who visited South Africa about a year ago) speaks of "the most effective opposition to the injustices wrought by white nationalism in South Africa" and says that it "has come from the churches and from individuals who are religiously motivated".

*Frontier* is obviously produced by, and aimed at, the highest intellectual levels. The fact that so much of its space is given to Africa, and that its views are so much in sympathy with those of *Contact's*, shows why Mr. Piet Meiring's job of whitewashing Mr. Eric Louw and apartheid is so hopeless.

## ONE MAN ONE VOTE

"The deeply rooted belief in the West that democratic processes are suitable only to highly literate societies was seriously questioned by the Indian elections in 1951-2.

"It may well be that uneducated people are less well equipped to make a meaningful choice among alternative candidates, parties and programmes. But a cursory glance at some of the election results in 'advanced' countries of the West during the past twenty-five years casts serious doubt on the claim of a direct correlation between education and political intelligence . . .

"The cardinal fact remains that the election was held, that the process was free, peaceful, and orderly, that more than half the electorate cast their ballot, and that an historic precedent was established—the right of the people to determine their government by periodic elections without restriction as to race, sex, education, religion, language, occupation or any other illiberal criterion."

The election returned Nehru's Congress to power, in itself a responsible choice.

"The electorate was the largest in the world, 173 million people . . . Noteworthy, too, was the fact that over 80 per cent. of the electorate were illiterate . . ."

From Brecher's biography of NEHRU, 1959

pp. 437,444.

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## 25,000 Were Questioned

## POLISH STUDENTS' ATTITUDE TO CHURCH AND STATE

**A**N OPINION poll was recently taken in Poland among about 25,000 students, both men and women. The poll was organised by the faculty of sociology in the University of Warsaw and the results were published in *Przegląd Kulturalny* No. 29 and *Nowa Kultura* Nos. 32, 39, and 41. They do not appear to have been published outside Poland.

Eighty-four per cent of these students belonged to the Communist youth organisation, in which 28 per cent of the whole were active. On the other hand, over two-thirds of the students were believers in Christianity. The following figures give details:

- 10 per cent were profound believers and regular practisers of Christianity;
- 20 per cent were believers and systematic practisers;
- 30 per cent were believers and irregular practisers;
- 10 per cent were believers but not practising.

Other miscellaneous figures, which could well overlap these,

revealed that 10 per cent were interested but not clear in their ideas; 6 per cent were non-believers but conformed to Christian practices for social reasons; 10 per cent were passive non-believers and 3 per cent were active opponents.

In reply to the question: "What problem interests you most?" a large majority replied: "Religion as a norm of guidance and ethical behaviour." Most of them said that their own conscience must be their guide, but one-third said that they must have recourse to religious belief: none of them mentioned political authority. All professed to be socialists, but only 1.8 per cent

Marxists, without qualification. Another 10 per cent claimed to be Marxists in some, but not in all, respects.

The answer to the question, "What was your attitude to religion three or four years ago?" indicated some change from active opposition to neutrality and from marginal belief to stronger belief.

70 per cent thought that life should be risked in defence of human dignity.

60 per cent thought that life should be risked in defence of truth.

43 per cent thought that life should be risked in defence of religion.

To the somewhat ambiguous question: "Is it permitted to limit freedom in order to achieve social ends?" 6 per cent said "Yes"; 15 per cent said "Yes, if for a short time," and 50 per cent said, "Yes, in exceptional cases and for a very short time."

(Frontier)

25th July 1959





# SAM SLY'S CORNER

FORTNIGHTLY NOTES ON BOOKS AND THE PRESS



## Unrehearsed trumpet

THE South African Public Library, Cape Town, like the old Company's Garden that adjoins it, is a place to remind one that white Kapenaars did not always reject and exclude others. The reading rooms and reference sections are oases of non-racial civilized ways, except when politicians are present and a makeshift colour bar makes its appearance. Such an occasion was the opening by the Governor-General of the new reference library on 7th April.

Dr. Jansen is not an inspiring man but he can be a dignified one. (He was certainly more of a presence that day than at the opening of the J. B. Robinson Collection at the National Gallery when, surrounded by white ties, medals and "ice", he read his speech from what looked like an old school exercise book.) Lent some dignity, therefore, by the presence of H. E. and with the Friends of the South African Library assembled, the occasion went well enough until one of the guests launched into a ceremony of his own: the presentation to Dr. Jansen of a birthday present, a life of Sir George Grey. A piece of impertinence to his hosts, but as nothing to his next move, which was to read out a lengthy passage in which Sir George sang the praises of the Boers. This display of bad taste was accompanied by the exchange of incredulous glances and whispers among the other guest, who could not know whether the incident were rehearsed or not. The absence of any mention of it in the latest *Quarterly Bulletin of the South African Library* confirms one's hope that this embarrassing and graceless piece of sectional trumpet-blowing was not sanctioned by the Librarian or the Friends.

## The urge to convince

Why must people be like this? It's a small thing to ask, but couldn't more Afrikaners realize that their fellow-countrymen will like and be proud of them in proportion to their ability to suppress the urge to convince us of their nobility of character? The tragedy of South Africa is not that the Afrikaners are brutish scoundrels, but that they are such admirable, decent people. Their character seems to contain one essential of great tragedy—fatal flaws in an otherwise heroic mould. These are differently identified: inferiority complex, warped Calvinism, limitations imposed by long isolation, but are these only symptoms of a more serious psychosis? Sheila Patterson and Professor MacCrone have hinted at causes, but the diagnosis essential to the cure will have to come from an Afrikaner in the end. I offer psychologists the incident of Mnr. W. and Dr. Jansen's birthday present for their case histories.

## Which adult?

If there is an Organizer of Adult Education for the Cape

Western Region, are there other regions whose adults are having their education organized by paid officials? Is this the equivalent of a commission in the Swiss navy? There is no adult education for four-fifths of the population, except for the tiny dose of three R's administered by volunteer night school organizations in Johannesburg and Cape Town. There's more to adult education than the three R's. From the University of Nigeria, where he works extramurally, Ezekiel Mphahlele writes that he lectures in English literature "to workers who have not had the luck to enter university. It means visiting three towns weekly and I find the work fascinating. Universities of British influence regard extra-mural activities as very important." How crazy that Mphahlele should have to go to Nigeria to help educate his fellow men when he is so badly needed here.

## Macmillan for Matric

If you collect books, save some money for next year's histories: from Professor Keppel-Jones, now on his way to Canada, a history of Rhodesia; from Professor Macmillan a new work following *Africa Emergent*, perhaps to be called *Black Man's Burden*; from Professor Etienne Marais *The Fall of Kruger's Republic*. (O.U.P.). It is good to hear that a history for laymen, M. S. Geen's revised *The Making of South Africa*, (Maskew Miller), a more detailed work than Leo Marquard's readable *The Story of South Africa* (Faber & Faber), has been recommended for Matric history in Transvaal government schools. The author, a very respected educationist, was one of W. M. Macmillan's first students at "Wits" years ago. It is on the credit side that, through Maurice Geen, Macmillan's interpretation of our history will again find its way into the minds of young South Africans.

## African books week

The second week of July: the African Writers' Conference at Atteridgeville, lectures on the Novel and the Nation by Nadine Gordimer and Harry Bloom to the NUSAS conference in Johannesburg, news of Uys Krige's American lectures on "The flowering of English South African literature in the 'Fifties", and a leader page article in the *London Times* on "Books for the African" by Alan Hill of Heinemann the publishers. Not a typical week, indeed, but these events in it illustrate an aspect of emerging Africa that no one could have predicted, that writers would show the way, that European and American critics and readers would applaud the growing literature of Africa, and would read our and their fate in the books from this continent. Black Africa, a source of slaves, wars and exploration; and White Africa . . .

Except among the white people of this country, Africans are not becoming engineers and technicians fast enough, but they are becoming prose writers and poets, and, pray God, will become readers. In *The Times*, Heinemann's managing director writes of Nigeria: "In Lagos . . . at night you can see groups of Africans reading under the street lamps, owing to the absence of lighting in their homes; two or three readers will often share the same book. In Onitsha—a medium-sized town—there are more than fifty shops selling text-books . . ." The Union always provides the "buts", and sure enough it is only here that "there is, unhappily, no immediate prospect for the growth of a mass-readership of British books". In Ghana, where English became the medium of instruction throughout the entire school system last year, the lavishly-financed government library system caters for Ghanaian reading tastes: in the Union, "the government appears intent on depriving the African population of the English language," and its attitude to libraries for Africans may be seen in the fact that a great part of the year-old Lovedale library was tied up in bundles of six and sold to local white farmers at 2/6 a bundle, by Bantu Education.

## NOT quoted in "Afrikaner-Volkseenheid" (this page)

"No race has shown greater love for South Africa than the Natives. Therein he, the Native, assuredly is a pattern of true patriotism and is entitled to take his place side by side with the Nationalists in the common political arena."

D. F. Malan, cable to A.N.C., Queenstown, 1921 [E. ROUX: *Time Longer Than Rope*, p. 192].

## SPAN

**SPAN. Edited for the Canberra Fellowship of Australian Writers by Lionel Wigmore (Angus & Robertson)**

THIS imaginatively-produced miscellany, similar in some respects to recent collections of African writing, consists of short stories and poems from Australia and a large number of her neighbours—Indonesia, Borneo, the Philippines, Thailand, Malaya, Vietnam, Burma, India, Pakistan and Ceylon; nothing though—in spite of the sub-title "An Adventure in Asian and Australian Writing"—from China, Japan, etc.

Translation must have been quite a problem and at times the result is only two removes from Baboo. Hurdling over such lumpy sentences as

"Why, anyone wanting milk at twelve annas 1s. 6d. a seer (about 2 lb.) these days, should know better", one can't help regretting that

(Continued on page 12, col. 3)

## Malan Minus Apartheid

AFRIKANER-VOLKSEENHEID EN MY ERVARINGS OP DIE PAD DAARHEEN. By D. F. Malan (Nasionale Boekhandel Bpk.) 25s.

DR. D. F. MALAN will go down in history as the initiator of the apartheid policy and the principal architect of the electoral victory of 1948—two achievements which were intimately connected; so when one heard that he was writing his memoirs, one expected them to include some justification for apartheid. But that is not so.

The uninformed reader might reach the conclusion that practically everyone in South Africa is a European. The word *apartheid* does not occur once in the book. Nor is there anything about the conduct of the government of which he was the head—its drastic legislative programme, the constitutional crisis which it engendered. An astonishing *tour de force!*

What the book does do is plot out the political history of the Union in relation to the arid formulas of Afrikaner nationalism:—*Die Volk* is a mystical unity in duality, comprising the Afrikaners and such other white South Africans as are fully national-minded. Its freedom can only be consummated in a Republic, which should be modelled, not on British parliamentarianism, nor on National Socialism, both of which are foreign, but on the Boer republics of the 19th Century. The language and cultural rights of English-speaking white South Africans should be respected, with "the necessary precautions against manipulation by the organized money power and press", but not one iota of Afrikaner nationalist principle is to be shed for the sake of political co-operation.

It was proper to refuse to follow Hertzog into fusion with Smuts in 1934, since Smuts was an imperialist. It was proper to oppose South Africa's participation in the war against Nazi Germany, because "That war is far off and foreign, and is waged for other interests than ours." And the triumph of 1948 flowed entirely from the fact that the Party had remained true to nationalist principles.

Only the exceptionally pure Malanite will derive pleasure from this book. As it rarely descends from the clouds of formulas and generalities to hard facts, the historian finds it rewarding primarily as the ultimate confirmation of the smallness of mind of its author. His horizon was limited to the borders of the Union, and within those borders to the aspirations of one-eighth of the people. And even while he was recording his career with unqualified satisfaction, forces which he had opposed had assumed control of the party it had been his life's work to create. Myopia is the cement of Afrikaner nationalism: it will surely be its downfall.

I found it astonishing that such a book has no index. There were a good number of misprints, and even some wrong dates.

L. M. THOMPSON

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## LABOUR ON COLONIES

NEW FABIAN COLONIAL ESSAYS. Edited by Arthur Creech Jones (Hogarth Press)

WHAT difference will it make to Africa if the Labour Party wins the British general election due in October? It is not a simple question to answer. This book should help us find the right answer. It consists of eleven essays, of uneven quality, by some of the leading socialists concerned about British colonial policy. They are, however, all more conscious of the difficulties than of the opportunities that await a Labour government at Westminster.

They have better intentions than their Conservative rivals who are tied to vested financial interests, but they lack sharp insight as well as ardent conviction.

The two best essays deal with the international aspect of colonialism. Both Kenneth Younger, M.P. and Wilfrid Benson (a wise U.N. expert on trusteeship) perceive that Britain's name is damaged by such failures as Rhodesian Federation, Cyprus, or Malta. Mr. Younger points out that Russian propaganda makes the most of colonial crises but he rightly says that it is not enough to argue in reply that Russia has enlarged her own sphere of influence in ways comparable with western colonialism.

For one thing, the Russians and their allies have never tolerated colour bars; and, for another, they have helped primitive people to enter, at an astonishing pace, the modern world of industry and science. Africans (says Mr. Younger) appreciate this but they do not realize that communism entails the loss of political liberty. To his mind, it is significant that the Afro-Asian countries, without exception, very properly condemned Britain's attack on Egypt in 1956, but how many of them condemned Russia's treatment of Hungary at the same time?

One reason for this moral blindness no doubt lies in the past failure of Britain and France to allow a full measure of democracy, including free speech, in their colonies. As a result, former

## THE LIBERAL MIND

No. 1: Robert Browning

### WHY I AM A LIBERAL

"Why?" Because all I haply can and do,  
All that I am now, all I hope to be,—  
Whence comes it save from fortune setting free  
Body and soul the purpose to pursue,  
God traced for both? If fetters, not a few,  
Of prejudice, convention, fall from me,  
These shall I bid men—each in his degree  
Also God-guided—bear, and gayly, too?

But little do or can the best of us:  
That little is achieved through Liberty.  
Who, then, dares hold, emancipated thus,  
His fellow shall continue bound? Not I,  
Who live, love, labour freely, nor discuss  
A brother's right to freedom, That is "Why."

colonies have a better understanding of the continuing struggle to wrest political rights from white masters than they have of the political standards which enlightened men everywhere want to uphold.

To judge by this book, it would be unrealistic to expect Labour to act boldly in Africa. Oddly enough, there is no reference to the earlier volume of Fabian Colonial Essays published in 1945. Since then Labour held office for six years and one might have expected some candid discussion of that experience.

The probability is that, if Mr. Gaitskell does become prime minister, his Government will be confronted with a domestic economic situation so serious that it is more likely to evade African issues than to tackle them with courage.

JULIUS LEWIN

## NEW ORLEANS SKETCHES

NEW ORLEANS SKETCHES. By William Faulkner (Sidgwick & Jackson) 15s.

WILLIAM FAULKNER'S is an exalted name among American men of letters, and because of his present-day reputation and the wide interest aroused whenever anything of his appears in print, this small volume of sixteen sketches has been dished up for his fans. But

without the sustaining knowledge that on these preliminary scaffoldings Faulkner later built strong edifices, there is not much to commend them to the present-day reader.

Published first in 1925 in the feature section of a newspaper, the stories offer no more than historical interest. They are the Big Man's first fictional pieces, but that is not to say they are Faulkner at his best. In fact they are probably Faulkner at his worst—with one or two exceptions.

Obviously encouraged by the success of the publication of *Afternoon of an Author*, a selection of the earlier articles and stories of F. Scott Fitzgerald, Carvel Collins (the compiler and introducer) has tried to do for Faulkner what Arthur Mizener did for Fitzgerald. But the tribute fails, mainly because where Fitzgerald was incapable of writing a bad line, the early Mr. Faulkner was more than capable. The initial *New Orleans Sketches* are no more than pulpy lush poetry set out as prose.

"Orion through the starry meadows strays, the creaking Wain breaks darkly through the Milky Way's faint dewed grass. Sorrow and love that passeth away. Ave Maria! . . . Ah God, ah God, ah God, that day should be soon."

The feverish young writer, straining for symbols, cannot be appraised on his present day level.

The rest of the sketches run along Runyonesque lines—the down-and-out drunk cottoning on to the stranger-in-town, offering hot tips on horses, the Spanish restaurant-keeper jealous of his young bride, the bootlegger swindled by the foxy judge. In one or two stories there is compassion and a groping towards an understanding of the characters—notably the story called "Sunset" which tells of a Negro taking a short boat-trip downstream, and believing himself to be in Africa. But the total is disappointing, though no doubt valuable.

BERYL BLOOM

## AN AMERICAN FIRST

I ALWAYS WANTED TO BE SOMEBODY. By Althea Gibson (W. H. Allen) 17s. 6d.

THE record of Miss Gibson's life offers a well-varied set of human situations, some of which, however, will be of little or no value at all to those of us who lack appreciation for sport.

"I always wanted to be somebody." This, the opening line, is the theme which runs through the whole story. There is also a lot of ambition talk which burdens the book to an extent that might not be tolerable for many.

Tomboy episodes accommodated here, with their conspicuous lack of freshness or whatever it is that makes these well-known tales tick, are also a weakness in the work.

Althea is shown in the streets of Harlem playing with dozens of hair-pulling, ball-chasing urchins of the Negro set; through a boxing gymnasium where she tried her luck for a time (the father spurred her on while it was legal for women to box); through her college days in the discriminating South, right up to the time she struck international fame as a tennis idol.

Apart from the darkneses of sports grandeur which are in this book, there is warmth and softness in Althea's story. She deals admirably with her frustrations at the hands of White arrogance, a subject which causes many black men to spit fire. When she is disgusted, she is, at the same time, restrained and unconfused by the complications in Jim Crow.

One sees in this Negro woman's experience in the United States, much that South Africa will still take many years to achieve.

Miss Gibson feels and regards herself as an American. Then anything else. In spite of the discrepancies of Jim Crow, she is allowed to identify herself with America as a representative or citizen of that land. Many black men in the Union try and fail to feel this way, hence the hate they spew in their writings about South Africa.

When Althea wins America's Championships after her triumph at Wimbledon, she is asked which of the two victories is more exciting.

"I told them the simple truth," she writes, "Winning at Wimbledon was wonderful, and it meant a lot to me. But there is nothing quite like winning the championships of your own country. That's what counts most with anybody."

These words typify the lines of hope and peace of mind that America affords the Negro there, in spite of well-known failures.

When Althea won at Wimbledon, President Eisenhower sent her a telegram congratulating her as a citizen of America. If our Government will not even allow free competition, as we know they don't, the prospect of any of our sportsmen getting telegrams from Dr. Verwoerd is, clearly, a dim one. And as long as that is the case, perhaps, we shall continue to have less hope and love coming from the pens of black South Africans.

NATHANIEL NAKASA

### NEXT ISSUE

Harry Bloom and Nadine Gordimer survey

### THE NOVEL AND THE NATION

BOOKS: Saul Bellow's *Henderson the Rain King* [Jack Copel], O. A. Sherrard's *Freedom from Fear—the Slave and his Emancipation* [Patrick Duncan], A. B. du Preez's *Inside the South African Crucible* [Kenneth Mackenzie] &c., &c.

## TO SERVE SOCIETY

POLICE. By John Coatman (Oxford University Press) 9s.

"IN every form of totalitarian government the police cease to be police in the ordinary sense of the word, and become the main instrument of the government against all freedom of thought and action on the part of its subjects."

With this approach Mr. Coatman may be said to have a healthy attitude to the subject he has tackled. This is particularly welcome in view of his own long, distinguished service as a policeman.

At the same time, he has given us no political treatise, but rather an objective study of police forces, their growth from earliest times until today, general structure, training and work. It is apparently the first attempt to examine the subject of Police fully and by itself, and not as part of some other constitutional question. There are interesting chapters on the relationship between the police, the public and the press. The handling of crowds is seen as a professional business presented by one with obvious experience. "A certain asperity, or, even, mild aggressiveness," says the author, "on the part of the police is actually salutary at times, as the slapping of a hysterical person's face, or a douche of cold water may be."

The press can affect police work helpfully or injuriously. An example of the latter was the famous Haigh case of 1949 when the press "caused Scotland Yard so much anxiety," according to the investigator of the case, "that at one stage it seemed likely that we might have to abandon our main charge against the accused". Mr. Coatman recalls how one newspaper editor was sent to prison for three months for contempt of court for publishing details despite warnings.

In an informative chapter on international co-operation the author explains the growth and establishment of "Interpol", the basic reason for which is to fight international crime. The General Secretariat accumulates valuable material, deals with requests for persons wanted, circulates literature regarding counterfeits and forgeries, studies subjects such as prostitution, the white slave traffic, protection of children and extradition regulations. Interesting too are the secret activities of the police—to be distinguished of course from the activities of the Secret Police—which the author regards as alien to the Anglo-Saxon character.

The "lie detector" is "not a lie detector at all but simply a device to register emotional reactions. Its use should be subjected to the closest scrutiny by Courts of Justice, and, certainly in England, it is not likely to figure in any Police work or evidence in Court. The truth drugs have similar defects . . . Wire tapping is practised in practically every country, for one purpose or another and so is the use of concealed microphones in walls or articles of furniture. In the Anglo-Saxon countries these practices are regarded as specially objectionable and their use is sanctioned only for specific purposes . . . All over the English-speaking world the Courts subject evidence obtained in this way to very close scrutiny." These excerpts show the author as one who regards the Police as designed to serve society rather than the reverse. His chapters on "Police and Society" and "Problems of the Future" confirm this view.

GERALD GORDON

25th July 1959

## NEW AND TOPICAL PUBLICATIONS

### Racialism and the Trade Unions

by Muriel Horrell — 4/6

### The Betrayal of "Natives" Representation

by Donald Molteno Q.C. — 2/6

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## 'UP WANTS MULTI-RACIALISM'

Mr. Peter Brown (*Contact*, July 11th) says—"Parliament will be a farcical contest between two sides each committed to the same end—the maintenance of White supremacy." Can Mr. Brown give chapter and verse to substantiate his charge that the United Party is committed to a policy of White supremacy?

According to my own interpretation of United Party policy, based on a reading of the official handbook, the Party is committed to the maintenance of White leadership and a natural evolution into a multi-racial democracy. Clearly this White leadership is necessary at the present time, for without it the country would soon be in chaos.

United Party policy is obviously very much more liberal than Nationalist policy, and to infer that there is no real difference between the two policies is, to say the least, very misleading.

V. G. DAVIES  
Camps Bay

Recently Dr. Steenkamp, a leader of the United Party, accused Mr. De Wet Nel of being the biggest kafferboetie in South Africa. How can Mr. Davies say that "United Party policy is obviously very much more liberal than Nationalist policy"?

—Editor.

## MR. NGUBANE (1)

SIR, Would you, or some member of the Liberal Party please enlighten me as to the following:—

1. Did Mr. Ngubane, Vice-President of the Liberal Party, attend the Pan-Africanist Conference as an observer or as a delegate? 2. If Mr. Ngubane attended the Pan-Africanist Conference as a delegate, does the Liberal Party intend retaining him as Vice-President? I ask this because the Liberal Party permits South Africans of all colours to become members; the P.A.C. does not only exclude South Africans of European or Asiatic extraction, but has denounced the Liberal Party from the public platform, as well as in letters to "Contact". 3. Is the Liberal Party against (i) the A.N.C., (ii) the Congress of Democrats, (iii) "New Age". If so, why? 4. What is the Liberal Party's attitude to the Congress Alliance? 5. What is the Liberal Party's attitude to the Freedom Charter? 6. Does the Liberal Party believe that the only qualifications for the vote are age and sanity? 7. Does the Liberal Party support capitalism or socialism? 8. Does the Liberal Party agree that (i) the masses must be organised before a change in the status quo can be brought about, (ii) that the basic causes of injustice, race discrimination and apartheid are economic? I would be pleased if the eight questions could be answered, as a lot of doubt and confusion would then be clarified.

V. KUNENE  
Durban

## MR. NGUBANE (2)

SIR, My attention has been drawn to the letter by Mr. Z. B. Molete in *CONTACT* in which he denied that Mr. J. K. Ngubane had attended the Pan-Africanist conference in Orlando on invitation. As leader of the Natal delegation I regret very much the embarrassment caused all by the controversy which has since developed from an incident which should have been handled with tact.

In this letter I wish to state that in view of Mr. Ngubane's helpful attitude to us in Natal we had invited him to attend the Pan-Africanist conference as our guest. He has since been admitted also at the regional conference of the Natal Pan-Africanists held in Durban recently.

I hope this clears the impression that Mr. Ngubane gatecrashed into the Orlando conference.

H. S. NGCOBO, Durban.  
Leader of the Natal delegation at the Orlando conference of the Pan-Africanists.

ASK YOUR FRIENDS  
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## To Correspondents

Because of shortage of space many of the letters which we publish have had to be shortened. Other things being equal we will give priority to letters that have been kept as short as possible.

## OLD DAYS WERE BEST

SIR, While agreeing with the fact that "Nationalist slogans have no meaning" I must cross words with the author, A. Pierce Jones, when he makes the comparison that "... the preservation of Afrikaners with Nationalist views as the ruling class ... brings us back to the condition of the Transvaal before the Boer War."

In the Transvaal before the Boer War, it did not depend on what your language or your views were. You fought for, and won, your burgher rights by going on commando and thereafter had the vote.

My father and his brother, both English-speaking, had these rights and therefore it is unfair to draw a comparison between the present Nationalist "volk"-rule and that obtaining in the Transvaal in the '90's.

H. R. HALL (Mrs.)  
Johannesburg

## NEW SOCIETY FOUNDED

SIR, Recently a non-racial society has been founded, called "The Society of True South Africans". Its aim is to promote the well-being of all South Africa, by fostering one of our basic needs—inter-racial friendships.

This Society is neither party-political nor denominationally religious, and welcomes as members those who sincerely believe that mutual trust, confidence and understanding between the races (which can only be built by real friendship, without patronage or prejudice) are the necessary prerequisites to the solution of the economic, sociological and political problems which hinder the growth of a united nation.

As yet, membership of the Society is small, but we believe that quality is more important than quantity. I hope therefore, that all those, and only those, who sincerely are interested in building a new, non-racial South Africa, and would like further information about this Society, will write to:

R. S. CLUCAS, Chairman,  
The Society of True South Africans,  
Room 46, Third Floor,  
Darragh House, Plein Street, Johannesburg.

## SPAN

(From page 10)

conscientiousness has defeated the spirit of English. Who cares what a seer weighs? Even the best of translators, though, can't make a silk purse from a sow's ear and, unfortunately, the book fairly bristles with these.

Mulk Raj Anand, Han Suyin, Judith Wright, Vance Palmer, and the Prime Minister of Ceylon, Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, may be found among the list of contributors, but even these fail to sustain the sagging literary level.

So much for defects. In spite of them all and in spite of the dreary mediocrity pervading almost every page of the book, *Span* has considerable charm. It lies in the goodwill behind the enterprise, in the exotic material, the glimpses into quite other gardens, bedrooms, kitchens, and graveyards—in short, in its humanity.

MARIE HOOD

## S. A. PSYCHOANALYSED

(Continued from page 6)

The federal system suggested by one of them to resolve racial differences (proposed also, incidentally, by the Federal Party) fits neatly into our analogy.

In the individual, aspects of the unconscious must be integrated into conscious functioning. Other aspects must remain confined to their appropriate areas of functioning. The 'shadow' must be stripped of its associations of guilt and shame and wholeheartedly accepted.

This naturally necessitates an interchange between conscious and unconscious. There must be 'consultation' with the unconscious (by the interpretation of dreams, its symbolic language), and consciousness must modify its attitudes to conform more nearly to unconscious intent.

The whole psychic organism must eventually become subject to the directing intelligence of the true mature self.

The equivalents on the national scale are evident and it could perhaps be by a similar process of national individuation

that a sane, federal South Africa might be evolved in which all sections could have their rights acknowledged without abdication by the whites. The predominantly white states could admit a fair degree of direct representation to their non-white populations while the Africans would control their own states and the whole would be subject to a central government in matters of national concern.

One cannot expect at present that the Union's leaders could be sufficiently whole themselves to direct consciously such a move towards national wholeness. That would be like Plato's dream that philosophers might be kings.

But Jung in the thirties made a remarkably accurate analysis of the course of Europe's mass psychic disorder which culminated in war. He has, besides, had remarkable success in the cure of sick souls.

At the least, if our analogy is valid, his psychology might offer hints for the cure of a sick nation. Perhaps our intellectual Afrikaners might heed them.

## CONTACT SMALLS

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