

contact

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THE AGONY OF CAPE TOWN (PART TWO)

—see page 2



TRIUMPHANT RETURN OF DR. BANDA

From James Skinner

MLANJE: Doctor Banda's triumphant return to Nyasaland after his tour of Britain and America has this week given the final touch to the strange picture that Nyasaland politics now presents.

The biggest crowd ever seen in Nyasaland gathered to meet the doctor when he arrived this week at Chileka. At the airport over ten thousand people had come from all over the country in buses and lorries at their own expense to wave welcome banners and shout "Ufumu". Many thousands more lined the 15-mile route from the airport to the doctor's house and cheered as he drove slowly by in his red convertible car bought with Malawi members' subscriptions. Regular police stood by with slightly embarrassed smiles and left the control of the crowd to Malawi officials. As a result there was an air of calm good humour remarkable in so large and enthusiastic an assembly. And yet Doctor Banda is nobody, just the leader of "the handful of agitators" which now numbers over half a million members. Europeans are still pathetically trying to convince themselves that Malawi does not matter and that the Colonial government will continue to maintain them in their privileges indefinitely.

Typically, the local European paper gave a small inside paragraph to covering Dr. Banda's return—last year when the Governor was greeted by a hundred Europeans at the airport the same paper covered its front page with photographs and emphasised the vote of confidence this gave the Governor despite his massacre plot disgrace.

The overwhelming popular support given to Dr. Banda has now created a position where Malawi forms a state within a state and a government within a government. With the power of their vast membership behind them Malawi leaders, and Dr. Banda in particular, can afford to be quietly confident about their political future.

Dr. Banda's press conference at the airport revealed that he is not the wild political agitator that the Nyasaland government has tried to make him out to be. On the contrary he showed signs of being a great statesman who is determined to bring his country forward to the highest political and economic status attainable regardless of personal ambitions.

"Some people say that I want to be a big fish in a small Nyasa pool. That is not true. When Nyasaland is a free pool then I will be prepared to play second fiddle to other African leaders in a federation or union of independent African-governed East African States."

When asked what he would do if he failed to get his demands at the constitutional conference in London in July he refused to answer and merely replied "I do not anticipate failure".

Contrary to some reports he had at no time stated that Mr. Macleod had promised him independence. However, he praised the Colonial Secretary in glowing terms and described him as the settlers' insurance broker.

"He is not a sell-out—he is the best insurance the settlers have. He realized that if the

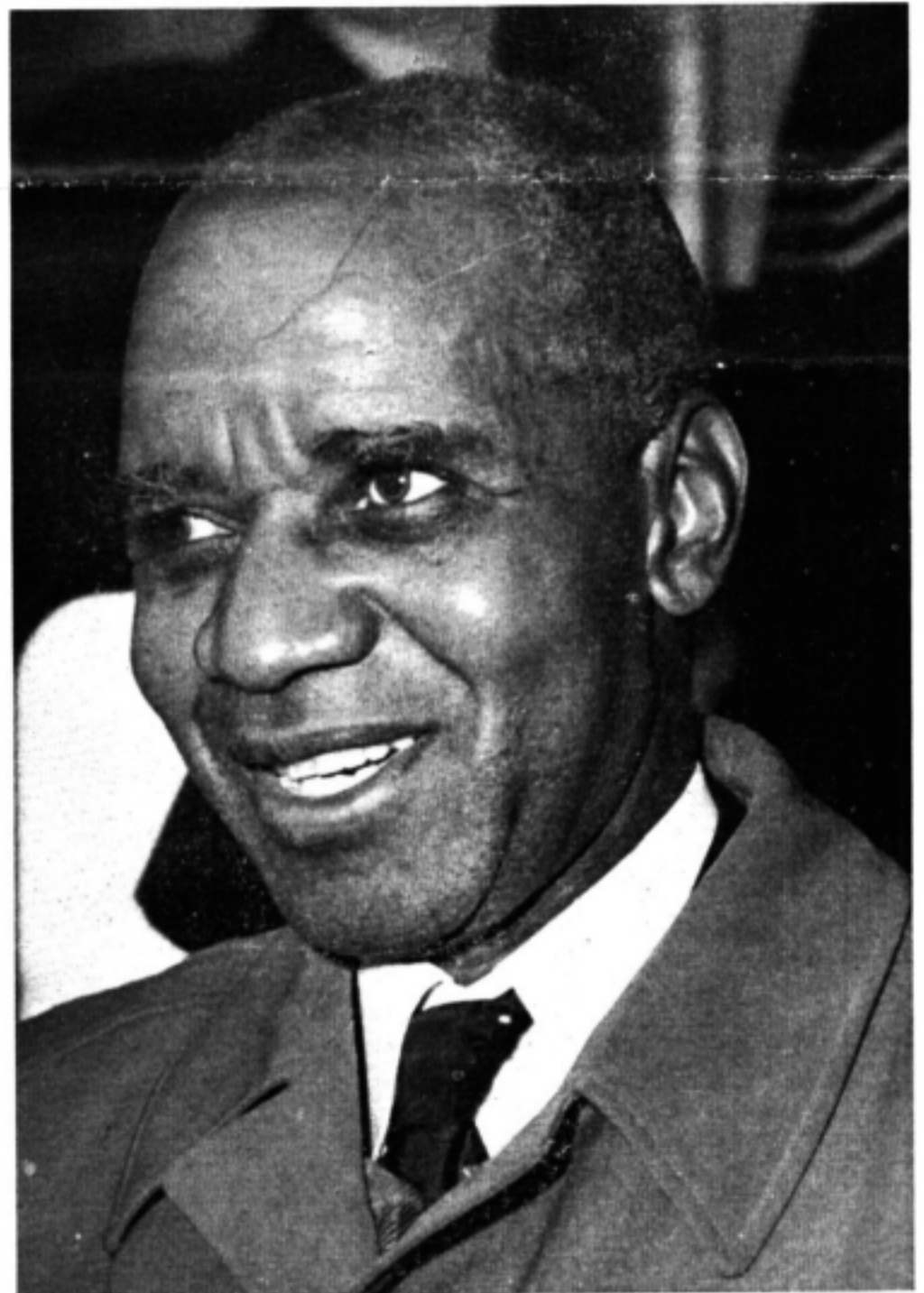
Europeans do not come to terms with nationalism the wind of change will turn into a hurricane—a cyclone."

Whilst Dr. Banda told his followers of the aid and goodwill that had been promised to a Malawi government by the Americans, the Governor was addressing the Legislative Council in Zomba in a special session for the passing of the Public Security Bill.

The Governor's speech was a direct admission that the government can only continue to rule either by force or with the co-operation of Malawi.

The Public Security Bills are a sort of government conjuring trick which will enable the Governor shortly to make the magnanimous gesture of lifting the state of emergency whilst at the same time keeping the arbitrary powers of arrest and detention without trial up his sleeve.

Government must now answer this question: Is it better to rule by instituting all the paraphernalia of a permanent police state that denies elementary rights to the people or to rule the people by their popular acclaim and consent?



Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda, photographed at London Airport on his release from detention.

The Law that Caused the Beatings

CAPE TOWN: A decree authorizing the police to take the law into their own hands against people refusing to work and to use force in this connection (including force resulting in death) was the legal basis for the public beatings and assaults on members of the public by the police on 4th April and following days.

The decree was an amendment to the emergency regulations. It is described as "Proclamation No. 97" and was published in the Union Gazette Extraordinary of 2nd April, 1960.

Details of this law appear on the accompanying facsimile illustration.

In *Contact* (7th May) details of some of the assaults arising out of this proclamation were given. Further details have come in, and we attach excerpts from the files of the Liberal Party, in which are now about 45 statements and affidavits.

Mr. W. S., of Nyanga West, states that at 4.45 a.m. on the 9th April, the police arrived at his house. They ordered him to open the door. There was also a knock at the back door. He opened both doors. At the front were three White policemen, at the back two African policemen. One of the policemen, J., said he knew Mr. S., and demanded his P.A.C. membership card. Mr. S. told him that he was not a member and that he could search for the card. While he was searching, Mr. S. was beaten with sticks and sjamboks by the other Whites. His wife awoke and asked, "Are you killing my husband?" and in response a White policeman hit her on the head with a stick. She was in bed with her child.

During this time Mr. S. was beaten all over the body. They dragged him out to the police van, and when he was out of the house, told him to stand still and give the P.A.C. "Izwe lethu" salute. He explained that he was not a member of the P.A.C. and gave the A.N.C. "Afrika" salute, and was then hit on the head. J. then intervened and took him to the van. He was then beaten as he got in.

When they arrived at the Philippi police station he realized that his left arm was covered with blood. Mr. S. and others there, were searched and their belongings were removed before being locked up. The police refused to tell Mr. S. the charge under which he was being held, but they alleged that he had sent "Spoilers" to intimidate workers. He was told that he was himself a "Spoiler".

He received no medical treatment from the police. There was an identification parade to find the people who had burned down houses, but Mr. S. was not pointed out. On the tenth day he was released. As he and other prisoners were about to leave, J. came to check their passes. He could not produce his pass, as this was kept by his employer, who had given him a letter to this effect. This had been shown to J. originally, but because Mr. S. could not produce his pass at the time, he was gaoled again.

They were told that they were going to court in Langa on the 19th.

In the dock, he was one of four men, two of whom were found guilty. Mr. S. pleaded not guilty, produced the letter, and was acquitted.

His arm has become painful since he started work again.

Mr. M. N., of Nyanga West, states that on the 9th April, at about 5 a.m., the police broke down the door of his house by kicking it, and shouted to wake him. As he was dressing they hit him with sticks all over the body. J. and other White as well as African policemen were there. J. also hit him. They continued to hit him until he fell. Then they took him to Philippi police station — he was wearing only a jersey and pants, no shoes.

At the police station he and others were searched and put in the cells. They spent the day and night there, and were fed.

On Sunday morning Mr. N. was taken to the C.I.D. office where he was beaten by African police and C.I.D. men while White police looked on. He and other prisoners were beaten in pairs in relays. They were beaten with sticks and sjamboks.

When he went back to the cells he could hardly move and received no attention.

From Philippi he and others were taken to Roeland Street

prison on the 25th, but never to court. Only at Roeland Street were they asked whether they needed medical attention. On the 29th they were returned to Philippi where they were told that there was no charge against them, and they were released.

African policemen, receiving their instructions from their White superiors, told Mr. N. not to tell anyone what had happened to him.

He is still feeling the effects of his beating.

Mr. J. D., of Nyanga West, was on his way home from a visit to friends in Nyanga East on April 4th. He was walking and at about 3.30 p.m. he met several uniformed White and African policemen. The African police started hitting him with sticks on his hands, head and body. The White police and C.I.D. men also assaulted him.

He went to see a doctor in Maitland. He was given medicine, and on the doctor's advice, went to Groote Schuur Hospital for an X-ray of his right hand. This showed that one of his fingers was broken, and it is now in plaster.

Mr. D. is 61 years old.

Mr. A. N., of Nyanga, reports that on 28th March the police approached his house. He and friends were sitting outside. They were beaten with sticks, and Mr. N. was shot as he stood up to run into the house. The shot, fired by either a soldier or White policeman, hit him from behind in the thigh.

Mr. A. S., was standing in the street outside his house in Nyanga West, when he saw X, who lives in Nyanga East, running up the street chased by six policemen firing with sten guns. X was hit in the back and fell. Four or five policemen went up to X and hit him with batons and iron bars across the shoulders. X was lying still. Then they left him.

A. S. and friends tried to take X to hospital but were prevented by the military from leaving the location, and X was left at the gate in the care of the police who later took him to hospital. On Friday he died. We hear of a wound in the kidney.

Mr. W. T. was in his house in Nyanga West with his wife and a friend on 7th April. Five policemen entered. One of them said, "Waarom werk jy nie?" and before Mr. W. T. could answer three policemen started hitting him on the shoulders and body with batons and a crowbar. He did not resist, but backed into a corner and they continued to hit him. Then he ran about the house being chased and hit for about 20 minutes. As he ran outside another policeman caught him across the chest with a baton. The other three followed him outside and one hit him on the head with an iron bar. Then they left.

He has an open cut on the head which bled freely. His body is badly bruised on the chest, arms and shoulders. A medical report issued by a Windermere doctor reads: "W. T. is under treatment with a (?) fractured forearm. Should be checked again and possibly start duty on 11/4/60."

His left forearm is badly swollen from wrist to elbow, with three or four open wounds.

MYSTERY OF NEW GYMNASIUM SOLVED

VERKEERDEVLEI: A mysterious new government building has been going up at Verkeerdevelei. The local population believes that it is a new farm gaol, but *Contact* is now able to reveal the truth. It is a Gymnasium for the training of personnel for the Department of External Affairs.

A secret memorandum recently circulated to the cabinet emphasises the grave need for the new institution. "What we need in the present crisis," the memorandum states, "are diplomatic skietcommandos."

The proposed course of training is extremely rigorous. An ingenious method will be used to teach trainees the correct attitude towards the press. In the reading room at the Gymnasium, there will be newspapers from all over the world. If a trainee picks up a copy of the *Rand Daily Mail* or the *New York Times* he will receive a mild electric shock. If he picks up *Die Transvaler*, he will receive a whisky and soda. When this method was tried last year on six "guinea pig" trainees, it was found after six months that the trainees fell into epileptic fits at the mere mention of the words "Daily Mirror".

Another interesting experiment will aim at teaching trainees the proper attitude to racial problems. A baNtoe will stand in front of the class, while the instructor repeats over and over again, "He is not really there at all". When the trainee finds that he can no longer see this person, he will have passed Racial Attitudes I.

In Racial Attitudes II, a chalk line is drawn down the middle of the floor, representing the frontier of the Union. A baNtoe stands on each side of the line. The trainees move from side to side of the room. On the one side, they must shake the hand of the baNtoe and say, "My dear chap, I hope I find you well". On the other side, they must kick him in the pants and say "Voetsak, kaffer". As the trainee crosses the line, he is sprayed with D.D.T. and repeats "There is no sacrifice which I will not make for the sake of the Minister".

In the foyer of the Gymnasium there will be a twelve-foot statue of Mr. Eric Louw and a plaque with the institution's motto—"What is Truth?"

"S.A. Press has been fooling the Public"—Senior Journalist

From *Contact* Correspondent
CAPE TOWN: There can be no doubt that the South African Press has watered-down—and even suppressed—"the harsh and uncomfortable facts of the past few weeks", says an article in the latest issue of *The Journalist*, organ of the South African Society of Journalists.

The article, headed: "Sharpeville—is there an office censor now?" is prominently featured on page 1. It is unsigned. The editor explains he has agreed with the writer that publication of his name would embarrass him in the senior position he holds on a South African daily newspaper. He adds that the opinions in the article do not necessarily reflect the opinions of the Society or its newspaper.

"No man with a love of his country and of all men can have been unaffected by the tragic days that have followed Sharpeville. And no man can remain impassive to the great and ghastly cloak of silence that has been drawn over these events by the South African Press," is the challenging start to the article.

"In the mind of every journalist there must be tremendous misgivings now that the great retreat is on—the retreat from reality," it adds.

The writer says that the presentation of the news about Sharpeville, at least in the country's two largest newspapers, was "irresponsible"—because no attempt was made to force home upon the public that this was more than the usual riot.

"Both these newspapers tried—and succeeded—in creating the impression that all was still

lovely in the garden. Seldom can the Press have been more guilty of misleading public opinion."

"That Sharpeville provoked a crisis is now history. But that crisis could have been ameliorated for the public had the full implications been brought home upon them. Doubt and uncertainty could have been dispelled.

"The timid presentation of Sharpeville was enough to lull many people into false security."

The article says that it was only in the afternoon papers of April 5th that "South Africa received a glimmer of what happened in the streets of Cape Town" on Monday, April 4th.

The "glimmer" was the reprinting of British national newspapers' editorials of the incidents. The Johannesburg *Star* claimed that the State of Emergency prevented its reprinting the actual reports carried in the British Press.

"Those reports were circulated by SAPA under the heading 'Confidential'. They were not so hysterical. Nor, on the reading of several of my colleagues, could they have been judged as incitement or subversive.

"This is not a plea for irresponsible and sensational reporting and presentation of news," says the writer. "But it does appear that an insidious form of censorship has arrived.

"Good cause can be made for restraint in times of tension. But I cannot find any good reason for fooling the public. The Press is there to inform, sometimes to guide. But it cannot fulfil its role of providing information if it tries to gild the bitter pill.

"That is a betrayal of one of the functions on which its claim to freedom is based."



The above is a facsimile of the amendment to the emergency regulations referred to in the article. The definition of persons against whom such force may be used is, in another place in the order, extended to include a person who "in any manner advises, incites or encourages any other person to stay away from . . . his work . . . with intent to thwart or to exact concessions from the Government or any other lawful authority or to cause general dislocation or to cripple or prejudice any industry or undertaking . . . or to prejudice any person or to prejudice employers in general or to protest against any law or to support any campaign against any law . . . for the achievement of any political or economic aim, or with the said intent is absent from his work or retards the performance of his work or refuses to undertake or perform any work." This definition would include any striker in any normal strike. It is against such persons that police, including non-commissioned officers, have been given power of life and death.

Of interest in Britain and elsewhere is the fact that such a regulation is issued in the name of Queen Elizabeth II.

Detainees Live Hard in Jail

CAPE TOWN: Allegations of scandalous ill-treatment of detainees and arrested persons in Cape Town have been made to *Contact* by two women who have been released after spending some time inside Roeland Street gaol.

It is alleged that one woman was arrested and assaulted for having tried to prevent the police from beating her brother, and got no satisfaction from a magistrate who knew the facts. Revolting conditions are alleged, and the strain of being imprisoned with young babies and their mothers in crowded cells can be imagined. In the Maitland police station the only drinking water was water from a lavatory pan. Some of the women had nothing to wear except the nightdresses which they were wearing when they were arrested. These allegations are so serious that *Contact* would not publish them without doing everything possible to check them. This has been done. It is now for the authorities to try to satisfy public opinion that there is not, in the conditions described, a major scandal that will shock not only the alert public of South Africa, but also many circles in other countries.

Here are the accounts given by these two women:

Mrs. Etheline Tabata, of 21 Merriman Street, Langa, was arrested in Camps Bay on Saturday, 2nd April, and detained in Roeland Street prison until 11th April under the emergency regulations. On that day she appeared in the Cape Town magistrate's court and her release was ordered.

During the time she was detained she was with 20 other African women "emergency" prisoners, who were housed in two cells. In addition to the women, there were six children with their mothers. One of them fell ill and was in the prison hospital, and the others, especially the babies, were in a weak condition. The cells were damp and the children were not given proper food. When one of the mothers complained about this to the authorities, she was told that the prison was not a hotel.

In prison with Mrs. Tabata were Mrs. Zihlangu, whose husband was also being detained in another part of the prison, her 3-year-old daughter, her 2-year-old son and her small daughter who was in the prison hospital.

Mrs. G. Nyembezi joined them on 6th April. She had been arrested on the morning of the 4th after trying to prevent the police from beating up her brother. No reason was given for her arrest, and she was taken to the Maitland police station where she spent three days. She had been beaten with pieces of hose-pipe by three constables and two sergeants and still bears the marks about her shoulders. In the police station the only drinking water to which she had access was from the lavatory pan.

She left her baby daughter at home, not having been given time to collect her. The daughter was looked after by the neighbours until she was eventually brought to her mother three days later. Up till 4th April Mrs.

Nyembezi had been breast-feeding the baby.

Mrs. Nyembezi was then taken to Roeland Street prison, and appeared in court on 7th April. She was remanded until the 19th, again until the 27th, and was finally tried on 3rd May. She was found guilty of obstructing the police and when she complained to the magistrate about having been assaulted, he told her that the police were not wrong to have hit her, because she should not have tried to stop them from hitting her brother. She was sentenced to a £5 fine or one month's imprisonment. She paid the fine, and is now free, but her husband is still in detention.

In prison, the women and children were locked in their cells all day, except for a period in the early morning when they were made to wash down the cement yard. They were fed cold mealie-meal porridge at 7 a.m., cold cooked mealies before noon, and cold mealie-meal porridge with beans at 3 p.m. They were given water to drink.

They suffered badly from cold and hunger, and had to sleep on the cement floor on hard mats with two blankets to cover them. They received no letters, food (a parcel of tinned food handed in at the prison for Mrs. Nyembezi was never delivered to her), clothes, reading matter or visitors. Several of the prisoners had nothing to wear besides the nightdresses which they were wearing when arrested.

Editor's note: At 10.5 a.m. on 10th May I rang up the Officer Commanding Roeland Street (Cape Town) Prison. The following conversation ensued:

Contact: I am an editor. I have here a report about conditions in Roeland Street Gaol. Would you care to comment on them?

Officer Commanding: No. I am not prepared to do that. I do not know what the allegations are.

Contact: You haven't given me a chance of telling you.

Officer Commanding: I have no time to hear them.

At 10.35 a.m. on 10th May I rang up the Station Commander, Maitland Police Station, to check Mrs. Nyembezi's story with him. He knew her case, and denied that water had been withheld from her, saying that there was a tap and that she could have asked for water from it. He also stated that he had no knowledge that she had been beaten in his station.

[Monday, 4th April, was Cape Town "black Monday" the day on and after which many of the assaults reported on page 2 took place.]

Mrs. Nyembezi is known to the police, and is a member of the A.N.C.

P.E. DETAINEES —DETAILS

From Contact Correspondent PORT ELIZABETH: Speculation is rife here about the possibility of the Government's releasing some of the nine Whites and 60 Africans detained in terms of the emergency regulations.

It is known that there has been interrogation of detainees — and observers believe this is a pre-

liminary to releasing some of them.

The detainees of course are forbidden to discuss the question with any of the visitors — either relatives, lawyers or friends — they receive. All interviews take place with either a prison official or special branch detective looking on.

Only domestic and business matters can be discussed.

Prominent Africans arrested include Mr. Govan Mbeki, editor of *New Age* in this area and top A.N.C. theoretician; Mr. Temba Mqota, treason trialist; Mr. Eddie Heyns, trade unionist; and Mrs. Francis Baard of the Food and Canning Workers' Union.

The Whites detained are Mr. A. Forbes Robinson and Mr. Piet Vogel — both members of the Distressed Areas Committee; Mr. Eric Attwell, an executive member of the Liberal Party, and his wife, Mrs. Joan Attwell (who belongs to no political organization), Mr. Alf Every, a former United Party M.P. who resigned from the Party because of dissatisfaction with Mr. J. G. N. Strauss's Coloured vote policy; Mrs. Isobel Jenner, a former member of the Congress of Democrats; Miss Gus Coe, a Mr. Muller and 65-year-old Mr. Arnold Latti — who has not been politically active for many years.

Most of the detained Whites and non-Whites have children. There have been two known instances of both husband and wife being detained — the Attwells and Mr. and Mrs. Matomela of New Brighton.

At the time of writing a Detainees' Relief Fund, headed by Father Cyprian Thorpe of the Anglican Church — with members of the Liberal Party, Black Sash, Institute of Race Relations, Distressed Areas Committee, Anglican and other churches — has raised £300.

Of this £60 has come from Canada following an article mentioning the fund by Mr. Norman Phillips, Foreign Editor of the *Toronto Star*.

Four members of the Liberal Party were among a group which stood silently outside the North End jail last weekend.

A photographer who took a picture of the group was questioned by a prison official or policeman who GOT OUT OF AN AUTOMOBILE ASSOCIATION PATROL CAR.

Otherwise there was no incident.

ZULU CHIEF'S DECISION —REASONS

From Contact Correspondent DURBAN: I can now reveal the circumstances which forced the Zulu Paramount Chief to reverse an earlier decision to make a public appearance in Durban during the March and April crisis.

At the height of the disturbances Paramount Chief Cyprian was called to Durban to calm the Zulus. It is not clear at this stage who called him. Some say it was the government and others insist it was the Durban municipal authority.

On arrival in the city Cyprian had hurried consultations with his "ambassador" in Durban, Prince Sithela, who is employed by the Durban City Council. Prince Sithela heads an advisory committee which is, the government believes, not under the

influence of agitators. The Prince made it clear to the Paramount Chief that his presence in Durban to assist the authorities would be likely to provoke the angry Zulus against himself; that, in fact, there was no guarantee that the Paramount Chief's life would not be in danger. He advised Cyprian to make no public appearance and to return to Zululand with all possible speed. Cyprian did not wait for a second warning.

Sithela, as head of the committee advising him, proceeded to make a reasoned appeal for calm in the African community and coupled this with an urgent plea to the government to have consultations with the elected and recognized leaders of the African people.

This seems to have got him into a lot of trouble because since then he has been under pressure from the authorities to withdraw his reference to the "elected leaders" as this embarrasses both the government and the municipality. Up to the time of writing Prince Sithela has seen no reason why he should brand as "agitators" and "tsotsis" the respected elected leaders of the African community.

UNION FESTIVAL FARCE IN ZULULAND

From Contact Correspondent DURBAN: Apartheid continues to sail into increasingly heavy weather in Zululand. The tribesmen are making it clear in every possible way that they will have nothing to do with the Bantu Authorities.

The most impressive government admission that Zulu opposition to the Bantu authorities is something to reckon with recently came in the form of the pressure used on the chiefs to attend the Union Festival celebrations held at Nongoma, where B.A.D. Minister de Wet Nel spoke.

The Bantu commissioners in Natal issued invitations to the chiefs to attend the celebrations. It soon became clear that the response would be poor. De Wet Nel is not terribly popular among the Zulus; nor is any member of the Cabinet. The Zulus are a rugged group of great stock farmers and they see no reason why they should waste too much love on a government whose policies of stock limitation reduce their herds and deny them the means to earn a living by introducing influx control.

The Bantu commissioners then issued an urgent circular ordering the chiefs to attend the celebrations. Failure to obey the order would be an offence punishable in a Bantu commissioner's court of law.

The chiefs dutifully went to Nongoma — with only token numbers of their tribesmen. The Press reported that about 3,000 people had turned up. Most of these were schoolchildren and government employees accompanied by their families.

During the course of his speech the Minister got himself so worked up he started talking of "devils" who agitated against the Bantu Authorities and other government measures designed to advance the interests of the African people.

There is awareness in Pretoria that thunder and lightning alone will not break the silent but determined resistance to the Bantu Authorities. Other methods



The Bantu Commissioners had to compel the Zulu chiefs to attend the Zululand celebration of the Union Festival. No doubt the Zulus felt that the festival was not truly national, that it did not represent all the peoples of the country. This view would appear to be confirmed by the official festival 1/- stamp, here reproduction. This shows five White men and one White woman attempting, apparently unsuccessfully, to push the spare wheel of a large ox waggon uphill.

are also being used. The chiefs recently got a £1 increment to their stipends — with a vague promise of better things to come. At about the same time the government made it known that road construction and maintenance would not be continued in those areas where Bantu Authorities had not been accepted.

NEW WIDE BOYCOTT PLANNED IN AFRICA

COMMON action to boycott South African goods in British African territories is being actively discussed by African political leaders, reports Ian Colvin from Nairobi to the *London Daily Telegraph* (25th April).

An emissary from Ghana has discussed the project both in Kenya and in Tanganyika. The plan is that the boycott would include Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Nigeria, Ghana, Sierra Leone, Nyasaland, and perhaps Northern Rhodesia.

Mr. Colvin was able to interview Mr. Nana Mahomo, Pan-Africanist Congress Executive Member for Information and Propaganda, on his way through Nairobi with Mr. Peter Molotsi from Dar es Salaam to Ghana. They were travelling on certificates of Commonwealth citizenship issued by the Ghana government, which enable exiled South Africans and others to travel freely inside the Commonwealth without passports.

Mr. Mahomo told Mr. Colvin: "Our Pan-Africanist movement works for a non-racial society, whereas Chief Albert Lutuli's African National Congress worked for a multi-racial society. We do not recognize differences of race. We work for a state in which everyone qualifies, colour irrelevant."

"The African National Congress would have been satisfied with a few African representatives in Parliament for a start. The Pan-Africanists are out to smash not only apartheid but White domination. Under our programme three million Whites would become a permanent minority to 12 million Bantu and Coloureds."

contact

End it Now!

END it now! That is the cry of the whole country.

End the emergency! Free the 1,700 detained "listed" people from the gaols in which they are mouldering. Let the 18,000 arrested Africans out, prisoners of the "raids", the punitive tribal warfare to which they have been subjected since March by the police.

We have not issued this call earlier. For it was true that the March and April days shook this regime. And a shaken government, in any country, is entitled to take severe steps to try to maintain its authority and to preserve law and order.

Government has now restored its authority. It has re-imposed the pass system. Newspapers and milk are being delivered as they were before the crisis. Quiet reigns, except where it is disturbed by the inhuman police raids.

One thousand seven hundred democrats, Pan-Africanists who launched their non-violent demonstrations, Liberals guilty of nothing more than working for democracy as it is understood in the free world, and Congress leaders are lying, yes, lying, on thin mats on cold concrete, some of them in the bitter highveld winter.

One of Minister Erasmus's many promises—less likely to be kept than any of the others—is that all these people are to be charged.

We say that his police force has not got the knowledge or the ability to do this. It took them years to work up cases against the 150-odd accused in the Treason Trial. Our personal knowledge of the Security Branch, acquired over many years, allows us to say, without fear of denial, that it is simply not possible for charges to be laid against these 1,700 people.

Against many of them, people like Professor Z. K. Matthews, Albert Lutuli, Peter Brown, Hannah Stanton, and others, it is in any case ludicrous even to think of charges being laid.

The imprisonment of many others stands merely as an advertisement to the world that the Security Branch is ignorant and blunderingly inefficient. We instance the imprisonment of the leaders of the Congress movement, for by now everyone knows that they were not concerned in the Pan-Africanist campaign. It is even safe to admit that what they did hindered the campaign.

We do not fear to say that the imprisonment of many hundreds of others could have had no other motive but a desire to play safe—to round up anyone and everyone who might in the future be brave enough to say boo to the government goose.

In several cases, worst of all, breast-fed infants were separated from their mothers. Two cases are known to us, and there may be many others. This is a refinement that, so far as we know, not even the Russians or the Nazis were guilty of. On all grounds of humanity, democracy and decency we say, and say with all our strength: End it now!

We also call for an end to the emergency on grounds of common sense.

The Johannesburg Stock Exchange, a month ago, had lost some half billion pounds in share values in a few months. It is still slipping downwards, and will continue to do so while the State of Emergency lasts. How do the Nationalists think that they can run this country whilst its capital, the base of all prosperity, of life itself, continues to be devoured?

Much more important from the Nationalist point of view: so long as they run a "democratic" system, complete with the parliamentary trimmings, they can bluff the English South Africans into playing the game within the framework of Nationalist laws. And, by that fact alone, the English South Africans would be no real threat to the Nationalists, despite growing tensions between English and Afrikaners.

But while a dictatorship lasts, while the right of assembly and free speech is abolished, the Nationalists are risking driving political opposition, even among the English, underground.

The Nationalists would be appalled if they only knew the volume of support for the Africans that was evoked from these circles, in Cape Town at least, during the crisis. This support will grow under the present neo-Nazi dictatorship. It will rapidly become a case of Nats. vs. the rest.

If South Africa is to-day, in *Die Burger's* truthful and forceful phrase, the world's skunk, the Nationalists have become South Africa's skunk.



There are thus good reasons, based on political expediency, why the Nationalist leadership should hesitate long and think very hard, before committing this country to any more months of crisis.

If they continue any longer along their present foolish path, the responsibility for a continuing crisis will be theirs and theirs alone.

On all grounds therefore of common sense and humanity and justice we say: End it now!

On the Brink

THE spirit of Camp David, the friendly personal relations between President Eisenhower and Mr. Khrushchev, have tended to lull the world into a sense of false security.

The truth is, as one American senator put it, that we are "on a collision course". That has been dramatically proved by the events of the last week, when the Russians shot down an American plane over Sverdlovsk. It had been flying right over the heart of the Soviet Union, photographing military installations.

Mr. Khrushchev seized on it with delight.

On the eve of the summit talks, to which the world has with such difficulty pushed its statesmen, it is difficult to know which side was the more irresponsible: the Americans for having ordered such a flight at such a moment; or the Russians, for making such a fuss about it.

Although American flights over the Soviet Union, and Soviet flights over North America, have for years been frequent, it is obvious that this particular flight was of unusual importance, and it is incredible that American military chiefs could have ordered it at such a moment, and that they could have concealed it from their own chief, Mr. Eisenhower.

On the other hand Mr. Khrushchev does not deny that he has rocket bases from which he can launch mass-murder against the United States and the rest of the world. Far from denying the fact, he glories in it. How can he object when the people against whom these terrible weapons are aimed try to see them and to photograph them? And if he should object, how can he justify his patent attempts to magnify the whole episode?

Incidents such as these serve to remind us that all our lives to-day depend on a few men, and that, for all their ability, they, too, like the rest of us, are able to act irresponsibly.

Isolation

A LONG time ago *Contact* gave its formula for freedom here: total isolation of the apartheid government from the outside world, plus non-violent non-co-operation within the country.

The march of events shows that this formula has been accepted.

On the domestic front all, for the moment, is temporarily quiet.

But on the foreign front event follows event with breath-taking speed.

In London the labour Party, the African Bureau

(Michael Scott and Trevor Huddleston), and now Dr. Kwame Nkrumah are clearly planning that apartheid should be arraigned at the following session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. This will happen in two ways: in our last issue we showed how the legal formalities for the revocation of the mandate over South West Africa are virtually complete. Secondly, by then it is virtually certain that the Assembly will have to take note of the failure of Mr. Hammarskjöld's mission.

(As will be remembered, he is to come to the Union to discuss the call of the Security Council to the Government to "abandon its policies of apartheid".)

It is therefore likely that apartheid will be debated as a threat to world peace, and, as we forecast in our last issue, it is confidently expected that the U.N. will take strong action "with teeth" against apartheid's perpetrators.

In the meantime a new plan is growing: oil sanctions. By a curious chance the world draws nearly all its oil from the United States and the Afro-Asian world—the two areas that reacted most sharply to Sharpeville. There lies thus, in this fact, the possibility of a boycott with teeth, and not a mere moral token, such as other boycotts have been.

And, on top of it all, the Commonwealth Prime Ministers, after having managed to avoid discussing apartheid for many years, have now been forced into a discussion through Tunku Abdul Rahman's determination and Mr. Louw's foolishness.

As a noted overseas pressman remarked privately a month ago, the best thing would be for Mr. Louw to go alone to the Prime Ministers' Conference.

In the event that is what happened. With his lack of tact and information Mr. Louw put his own head into the noose by demanding, as he appears to have done, a full informal discussion at which he hoped to arraign the Tunku. The opposite of course happened, and Mr. Louw has been shown unmistakably that he, and the apartheid government which he represents, now has no friends.

Britain would have liked to smooth things over, but reports from the West Indies speak of British influence lessening there as a result of Britain's ambiguous attitude over Sharpeville and at the United Nations. Even if Mr. Macmillan had wished to shield Mr. Louw—an unlikely hypothesis since Mr. Macmillan's South African visit—reports such as these make it politically impossible for him to do so.

These facts are but a selection of many, reported from all over the world, which show that the world has decided that it simply cannot afford, in the year 1960, to tolerate racism in any form. They show, too, that the patience of the human race is becoming exhausted with our South African neo-nazism, and that the way to deal with it is to cut it off from all the roots from which it has in the past drawn sustenance.

In fact to isolate the apartheid government.

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



Alan Paton, National President of the Liberal Party and acting Chairman, does duty on this page in the absence of Peter Brown, the National Chairman.

I COULD, of course, have entitled this piece "A Brave Woman". Then I could have said who she was. But this title is better, because it says both these things at once. In any case, Margaret Ballinger is *resolute* rather than *brave*; one remembers not so much the occasions of courage, but rather the consistent course of one who never swerved in her devotion to truth and justice.

Readers of this non-racial paper must pardon me if I refer for a moment to famous White Liberals of this century of South African history. We also have

other Liberals, thank God, people like Jordan Ngubane, who, although he has never enjoyed political power, has thought deeply about it, about how to use it, how to distribute it, how to tame it, how to prevent it in fact from eating people up, as it surely does when it gets into the hands of people like Hitler, Stalin, and Dr. Verwoerd.

But let us consider our White Liberals for a moment, those who actually had the power, those who belonged to the ruling class even if not the ruling party, and who wanted that power to be used more constructively, more justly, more foresightedly than it was. There were some notable persons amongst these Liberals. There was Paul Sauer's father, whose son shows signlets of his heredity. (I use the word *signlets*, because the phrase *small signs* is ambiguous.) There was the sad but very clear-sighted Olive Schreiner.

There was James Rose-Innes. There were Alfred Hoernle and his wife Winifred, Edith Rheinallt-Jones and her husband, Edgar Brookes and Leo Marquard. And if I had to choose the two greatest of the century, they would be J. H. Hofmeyr and Margaret Ballinger.

Nothing will ever be able to take that away from her, that she was the greatest and most resolute opponent of tyranny during the hardest years of all, the years when it was least profitable and most dangerous to be so; in other words the years 1948 to 1960.

When I call her *resolute*, I am hoping to say something significant to my fellow Liberals. Her resolution was not contingent on immediate circumstances, and had nothing to do with her pessimism or optimism. I would never think of describing her as a pessimistic or optimistic person. She was merely resolute. She had certain principles, and she intended to go on having them, and to go on saying she had them, and to go on urging their application to our national life. Nothing ever deterred her.

She could have been excused if she had shown signs of being weary of it all, of having grown deathly tired of putting forward views that no one in authority would ever listen to. She could well have wearied of speaking up for justice, she, a White woman, speaking up for the kind of justice that most other White women in South Africa have long since ceased to think of as anything worth while cherishing, the kind of justice that most White children still learn to revere in the abstract, while they observe that their elders fear it or pooch-pooch it or hate it in the real.

Whether she tired or not—and sometimes she must have—she never wavered in her resolution. She had a job to do, and responsibilities to discharge, towards the country and her constituents and she went on with her work to the end. Let that be an example to us all. We may not be able to radiate optimism all day, and to sleep like logs all night, and to promise that Peter Brown will

be Prime Minister in 1963, but we can take a lesson from Margaret Ballinger on resolution.

No one can say that her career has been fruitful or successful. By White South African standards it has been a failure. By universal standards it has been a triumph, something to be proud of, honourable and resolute. She went down like a fighting ship, with flags flying and guns firing. She couldn't win the battle, she merely did her duty to the end. If the ship had a name, it would be "Indomitable".

Margaret Ballinger belonged to what, God forgive us, is known as an "old school". When she said "yes", she meant "yes". When she said "no", she meant "no". She committed the unpardonable White South African crime: when she spoke of justice she meant justice for all. The idea of subordinating universal ideals of justice, mercy, and truth, to something called "White supremacy" was repugnant to her. She never in her whole political life was unfaithful to her ideals.

I don't know what the Nationalists will do when she retires. Will they gather round her and tell her how wonderful she was, how honest, how sincere, how different from the United Party?

I wouldn't give twopence for their compliments. They didn't want her honesty and her sincerity. They wanted these virtues kicked out of Parliament, and they kicked them out.

I read that Valerie Adams, the feature writer of the *Cape Times*,

asked her how she retained her popularity in spite of her determined opposition to apartheid. I don't think she retained her popularity. I think she retained something else. I think she retained the esteem of many people who know integrity when they see it, but don't want to be too closely associated with it. They esteemed her because they knew what was good, but they kept away from her because they knew what was better.

Her husband, William Ballinger, was equally resolute. He never wavered in his devotion to the same ideals that were cherished by his wife. But he is a generous man, and would not begrudge this tribute to his illustrious wife. His political career—as far as human eyes can see—is ended too, and for the same reasons, that he stood for a brave policy of reasonableness that was anathema to our masters.

Margaret Ballinger, we Liberals thank you for all that you did and were. Some of our more enthusiastic members sometimes exasperated you by their extremism, their unrealism, their utopianism. But they never doubted, and you never doubted, our common devotion to the cause of non-racial democracy. We all wish you well, and though we are saddened by your going, we are in much greater measure proud of our association with you, in the struggle for reason and decency in human relations, which we mean to continue.

Fair Comment . . . by Patrick Duncan

DAAN DE WET NEL'S department has done it again.

Each time you say to yourself: well, this is the top (I mean bottom—it is literally a crazy world!). I did so over the "race relations never better" speech. You say to yourself: Well, this can never be bettered. It is the definitive record. But within a few days they do better it.

The minister himself has just told the world that he wishes Government would legislate to force him to carry a reference book.

When you get you breath back you say: Well, let him go ahead, he makes the laws. Then you turn the page and learn that his ludicrous department, acting this time without his knowledge, has sent a letter to churches indicating to them that the department will be displeased if they should appoint a "Bantu" priest to a position of authority over a White priest.

Who do they think they are? Presumably God Almighty.

No doubt they will tell us even this one day.

I MUST apologise to Mr. John Motloheloa for having said, in this column, last fortnight, that he had gone to Guinea.

It was not him, but a Mr. Mosiane. I am truly sorry that I commented as I did.

ALTHOUGH it is officially naughty to read it, I must hand out a bouquet to the Africa Bureau's *Africa Digest*.

It is an admirable, balanced, digest of the press of Africa, reporting from all the territories of the troubled continent.

It used to be first class, in the old days. But now that Africa's importance has grown, the *Digest* seems to have grown in stature too. It is now much better than it was.

I don't understand how anyone wanting to keep up with events can get along without it.

SO the Anglican church in Rhodesia has sold St. Faith's mission, that experiment of so many hopes, and sold it to the government.

Admittedly White public opinion did not like St. Faith's, especially since it protected Mr. Matimba and his White wife from Holland from their wrath. But, in the new Africa of 1960, this dislike ought surely to have been a spur to the church to do all in its power to save the experiment.

Instead of doing so the Bishop and his Standing Committee have done what they could to crush it.

Perhaps it is difficult, even for churchmen, to see things *sub specie aeternitatis*—under the light

of eternity. But equally they ought to be able to see more than a few months ahead, and to act in that light, prudently.

How will the Anglican church justify such an act to the coming non-racial government of Southern Rhodesia?

A LIGHTER touch from Nyasaland: the Monckton Commission has been boycotted with tremendous success. One afternoon the Commission had nothing to do so they went into the forest near Nkata Bay, where the famous chimpanzee "Ufiti" lives—hundreds of miles from the nearest area where chimpanzees have been known to be.

But the creatures of the forest seem to have understood human affairs very well.

Ufiti boycotted the Commission, and refused to appear!

FOR over a year mohair has been selling better than wool. But the crisis has set the mohair market severely back. At the mohair sale in East London on 9th May there was not one single bid.

YOU have probably noticed that we are not using as many pictures as we used to. We have had to reduce our paper to eight

pages, and have decided that unless pictures are absolutely essential we would rather use the space for getting to you essential information, which I am sure, is why most of you buy *Contact*.

AT the Langa inquiry the judge gave an indemnity to all who should appear before him. He promised, that is, that he would extend to them his protection, and that they should not suffer because they had become witnesses.

Despite this promise the Security Branch in Cape Town arrested two of the witnesses. When he was called into court to justify his act, Capt. van der Westhuizen, head of the Cape Town Security Branch, the *intelligence* section of the police, told the court that he had no knowledge of this promise.

The promise had been headlined over the local press. In addition it was a promise given by a member of the department which employs Capt. van der Westhuizen.

I am placing these simple facts on record for the country and the world to realize the ramshackle inefficiency of the Security Branch.

These are the people on whose word the Government has interned 1,700 "political opponents" and gaoled another 18,000 Africans as retribution for the crisis.

LAST issue we reported the remarkable call of the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce for a multi-racial judicial inquiry into the grievances of Africans living in the towns. Behind this call lies the astonishing fact that the stay-at-home cost Cape Town's trade and industry at least £6,500,000 in direct losses. Leaders in this field have been completely convinced that African workers are absolutely indispensable, and that it is now the duty of Government to meet their grievances in a reasonable way, so that they are contented, and can become loyal citizens.

THE crisis has landed us with terribly heavy expenses. Fortunately some friends of *Contact* have sensed our need, and have sent us generous donations. But we need a great deal more. Please, all of you who want to help keep our—your and our—paper going, send all you can afford, as quickly as you can.

Our circulation is still rising, and looks like reaching 13,000 in the very near future. We cannot send *Contact* to all who need it if we do not get a good deal in response to this appeal. Look at the back page and see what some of our readers feel about us.

The Liberal Party National Congress, 1960, will be held in the Temple Hall, Green Point, Cape Town, 28th-30th May.

Marquard Points Way Forward

MR. LEO MARQUARD, the distinguished Afrikaner who helped found the Liberal Party way back in 1953, and who is a publisher, author, and educationist, gave *Contact* an interview on 10th May on how he sees the next stage of our history.

We have pleasure in printing it in full, as it is, in our view, of great importance.

CONTACT: Mr. Marquard, the question on everyone's lips today is "Where do we go from here?" I am sure that our readers would greatly appreciate your answer to this question.

MARQUARD: I am tempted to give the answer of the old countryman who was asked for directions to reach a certain place: "If I wanted to go there I wouldn't start from here". In fact, however, we are here, and unless we are to wander around aimlessly we must find the direction.

It is as well to take stock of who "we" are, and where "here" is. "We" are all the people of South Africa—almost fifteen million of us—who rightly regard this as our home and don't want to be pushed out of it or pushed around in it. "Here", in a political sense, is a situation in which the normal methods of civilized government have broken down; a state of emergency in which the rule of law is abrogated; liberty of speech and of movement are confined at the will of officials.

CONTACT: Why do we find ourselves in this predicament? How did we get "here"?

MARQUARD: I don't want to go deeply into the reasons, but there is one fundamental one which, if properly understood, may help us to get on to the right road. For many decades the White inhabitants of South Africa have attempted to dominate the Non-white, to rule them without free consent. At the same time, the rulers of South Africa have created industries, built schools and churches, and directly and indirectly accustomed the Non-white people to the ways of western Europe. The White rulers of South Africa have striven to establish the principles of western civilization, with all their implications of the worth and the liberty of the individual, and, at the same time, have undermined those very principles by refusing to extend their application to the Non-whites.

CONTACT: What do you think will be the result of this contradiction?

MARQUARD: There can be only one outcome of such contradictory policies: a minority that tries to dominate finds itself drawn deeper and deeper into the use of methods that limit its own freedom, debase its own standards, and make a mockery of justice. Instead of extending freedom to the majority, it limits the freedom of all; instead of resting authority on a general desire for law and order, it sets up an impotent authority that extends only as far as its bullets can reach. To maintain its domination against the wishes of the majority, a minority is condemned to putting people into prison instead of consulting them. Such a minority is always on the defensive, in a perpetual state of siege, surrounded by its natural enemies—those free men and women who cannot and will not accept its permanent rule.

CONTACT: Well, this is how you see it. But there seems to be an awful lot of complacency among the White South Africans. Do you think many are deeply concerned?

MARQUARD: I believe that much of what I have just said is common cause among thinking people from all parties and races in South Africa. They have come to know that such a state of affairs cannot endure for long.

CONTACT: Well, I would agree with you. But how do we escape from this predicament?

MARQUARD: I can only tell you how I see it, without pretending to speak for anyone else.

Afrikaner nationalism and African nationalism are, to my



MARQUARD

mind, equally destructive of liberty. Nationalism is a force that either divides people, or it becomes imperialist; and it frequently ends in dictatorship. As a liberal, I cannot view with equanimity a country dominated either by Black or White nationalism; but I must accept as a fact that Afrikaner nationalism is, emotionally, powerful, and that African nationalism, uncurbed, is potentially even more powerful. Nor do I believe that the creation of separate Black and White states, even if it could be equitably achieved, will do more than postpone for a brief while the clash of nationalisms. The nationalist way of escape leads to a dead end. Nevertheless, that is the road we are travelling now, and we have just begun to catch a glimpse of the disaster that awaits us.

The way that naturally commends itself to liberals is to extend full citizenship rights to all South Africans, regardless of colour or present status. But I cannot help wondering whether this solution takes sufficient cognizance of the great strength of the existing nationalisms. Those nationalisms will surely not be blown away by a breath of liberal air. White and Black nationalism will fight, one to maintain, and the other to attain, privilege; and whichever side wins will have to continue to use force to retain its advantage.

CONTACT: Is there not another way, a way that pays due regard to the facts of nationalism without abating the vital principles of liberty that are in danger of being crushed between two conflicting nationalisms?

MARQUARD: I am thinking along these lines, and believe that there may be such a way. We do not after all want to go to the desperate and forlorn length of

breaking up the Union into separate independent states. Is the problem not to canalize, rather than crush, Afrikaner nationalism; to secure individual liberty against arbitrary government; and to retain the essentials of a viable state which we call South Africa? It is clear that Afrikaner nationalism cannot be crushed without unthinkable results; it has been abundantly demonstrated that, in a population such as South Africa's, fundamental rights can best be safeguarded by a rigid federal constitution; and most people are agreed that the economy of South Africa cannot safely be divided.

If that, then, is the problem, as it might well be, we should pay close attention to Mr. Molteno's ideas of a federation comprising predominantly Black, predominantly White, and mixed constituent states. And I would add to that the conception of South Africa as a number of geographic regions rather than the present outmoded and cumbersome provinces. It seems possible to imagine a country consisting of eight or nine states, federally combined, each with sovereign powers over agreed legislative matters such as education; all other sovereign powers, such as defence, foreign affairs, banking, transport, would rest with the federal government; fundamental liberties would be written into the constitution and guaranteed by an independent judiciary. Some of the states would be overwhelmingly Black, others overwhelmingly White, and a few mixed. But nowhere would the franchise be based on colour. In one state, industry may dominate, in another, agriculture. There are, naturally, a great many problems that will have to be solved; but they are probably no more difficult, and may well prove easier, than the problems we have now.

CONTACT: We did an editorial on these lines in early March, and called it "A Liberal's Earnest Appeal to an Afrikaner Nationalist". I would agree entirely with your proposal. What do you think the chances are of its coming off?

MARQUARD: I don't know whether all this can be done. I do know that the alternatives are bleak. I know, too, that it will require an immense amount of goodwill and common sense (even if these are partly induced by fear of the alternatives) to set the machinery in motion for such far-reaching constitutional changes. We shall have to set free for discussions a number of people at present detained; and we shall, I am sure, have to invite people from outside to advise us. Finally, I believe that a genuine fresh start of this kind will bring about a revolution in international opinion and create the climate that will attract, abundantly, the capital and the technical knowledge and equipment that we so sadly lack. Such a programme might fire the imagination of many South Africans, of all parties and races, who are sick at heart because of the speed with which we are going downhill to an end that no one can foretell.

'EQUAL RIGHTS'—SAUER (Senior)

MR. PAUL SAUER'S recent speech at Humansdorp, in which he said that the old book of South African history had been closed at Sharpeville, and in which he pleaded for a "new deal" for Africans, caused more than one political observer to remember his father's contribution at the National Convention in October, 1908. Mr. J. W. Sauer, one of the Cape delegates, is reported by Walton (*"Inner History"*, page 126) as having spoken as follows:

"Mr. Sauer then spoke and declared himself in favour of equal rights and he was one of those who believed that a great principle never yet shown to have failed in the history of the world would be a safe principle in South Africa to adopt at this great moment of her life. . . . Permanent peace could never be founded on injustice. If the delegates from the Cape advocated the Cape system it was because they spoke from experience and their experience was satisfactory. Granting the franchise to Natives in the Cape Colony when they had attained to a certain position and were able to pass the qualification test which their law imposed had conducted to good order in that Colony and had led the Native people to look to Parliament for the redress of any grievance they had. He was opposed to a differential franchise, one for Whites and another for Blacks. If they were to have a contented country the interests of all must be represented in the Parliament of the country and there must be political equality. Men talked of social equality. That was beside the question. . . . The great principle of justice was at stake in this discussion and there must be a just Native policy or the White man would go under in South Africa. Justice could not be tampered with with impunity and justice to the Natives would secure the position of the White man in South Africa for all time. . . . Had (delegates) considered too the danger of living among a numerically stronger class of people to whom they denied the rights and privileges of citizenship? Where was the people in the history of the world who had not sunk to the level of those they held in subjection?"

ZULU TRIBAL COLLEGE LACKS FUNDS

From Contact Correspondent DURBAN: Ngoye College for Higher Education in Natal, which is apartheid's version of a university college for the Zulus, seems to be in a serious position.

At a recent session of its governing council the report was made that the college badly needed money to carry on its work. An urgent appeal was addressed to members of the Zulu royal family on the council—some of them can hardly write their names—to use their influence to persuade the chiefs to raise more funds for Ngoye.

The appeal is not likely to produce the desired results.

Madagascar — Present Situation

THE independence which France has just given to Madagascar (now known as "The Malagasy Republic") has led to a rapid emergence of radical and left-wing politics.

The ruling party that won independence is the Social Democratic Party (P.S.D.). Its leader is Mr. Philibert Tsiranana, the island's president. He is a moderate, and



TSIRANANA

stands for what might be termed pro-French independence, in much the same way as New Zealand stands for pro-British independence.

The parliament of the republic consists more or less of the members who were elected in 1957 to the legislative assembly of those days, set up under the *loi-cadre* (framework law that first gave the French colonies true autonomy). No elections have been held since 1957, and this parliament does not necessarily reflect the present public attitudes.

Local elections have, however, been held recently. According to a report in the German-language monthly *Afrika* (April) many voters abstained from voting, and the result was a real success for an extreme nationalist party, the Independence Congress (Malagasy abbreviation: A.K.F.M.). The pro-communist tendencies of this party are, says *Afrika*, well known.

Leader of the A.K.F.M. is the Rev. Andriamanjato, who became mayor of the capital city, Tananarive, in October 1959. The A.K.F.M. supports President Tsiranana in his struggle for independence, but it is likely that Tsiranana and the A.K.F.M. give different meanings to the word.

One of the results of the great Madagascar rising of 1948 was that the three outstanding leaders of that time were exiled to a Corsican prison. These men, Messrs. Raseta, Ravoahangy, and Rabemananjara, were released from prison after many years, and are now at liberty, on the sole condition that they do not return to Madagascar. Their prestige on the island is immense, and it is of interest, and importance, that they back Mr. Tsiranana. It is probable that they will be free to return after the independence negotiations are complete.

Remote from Battle

THE CITY OF GOD AND THE POLITICS OF CRISIS. By Edgar H. Brookes (Oxford University Press) 13s. 6d.

DR. BROOKES, who over a period of many years has been devoting great attention to the problems which face a South Africa in times of uncertainty and ill-ease, has, in St. Augustine, found a man who too lived through an age of one of the greatest crises the western world had known. Through a close study of his *De Civitate Dei*, Dr. Brookes has attempted to assess the position of the Christian in what he calls "crisis states", those in which man's basic freedoms are denied, and in which it is virtually impossible to assert them.

He finds that the position of the Protestant in Spain, the Catholic in Hungary and the Non-white in South Africa are closely similar, and goes on to discuss the whole theory of the State, with especial regard to the Augustinian view that the supreme State is the City of God, the almost intangible commonwealth in which the precepts of Christ are the constitution, and to which, in Dr. Brookes's view, the whole of humanity aspires.

Seen in this light, present systems of government in the world however good, are only the first stage of the political development of man. This view is reflected in Fr. de Chardin's work,

The Phenomenon of Man, in which he studies the whole of human progress from the first atom to the sublimation of intellect, and in which the idea of the City of God is developed to encompass the whole of Creation. Dr. Brookes does not take us as far along the path religiously, for he is concerned with the immediate problems of our age, and it is as a study of the approach a Christian should have to the unpleasant facts of twentieth century life, that this book should be seen.

Dr. Brookes devotes his chapters to discussion of the issues which face man in the battle between Christianity and materialism, between free government and dictatorship, but he views everything in the light of the Eternal truths which he despairs of ever seeing effected in the world. The necessity to have a State is grudgingly acknowledged by St. Augustine, and Dr. Brookes, too, gives it grudging acceptance; but he tends to see it as an obstruction placed in the way of the man who owes his first loyalty to the City of God.

This attitude would explain Dr. Brookes's strangely quietist approach to the "crisis politics" of his homeland: to his belief that faith alone can achieve more than organized political activity; to his distrust of political movements, to his eschewal of active public life, to his belief that example is of more value than action.

He offers guiding principles and describes the end to which all political strife must eventually lead (through crisis after crisis to the quiet peace of the City of God), but between these two intellectual poles there lies very little which can be of practical help to the man who, although he agrees with St. Augustine, finds himself active in a political campaign in which he has to make decisions, plan ahead, outwit his enemies, and with the very minimum of bloodshed win the day, dealing all along with people, both friend and foe, who do not accept the Christian ethic, and hampered continually by uncooperative people who do.

So sound, so thorough and so thoughtful is Dr. Brookes's book, but at the same time so remote from the dust of political battle (and in this country the battle is being fought with critical earnestness), that the person who had hoped that in it he would find a lead in militant Christianity, can only despair, and in the context of that faith ask himself, "What then must a man do?"

TIMOTHY HOLMES

Promised Return

KALAHARI. By Jens Bjerre, translated from Danish by Estrid Bannister (Michael Joseph) 30s.

IN 1947 a young Danish journalist, Jens Bjerre, came to South Africa to report on the Royal visit. He also went on a short tour to the Okavango River in northern South West Africa and became so fascinated by the country and its people that he promised himself to return one day and to write a book about the territory. Ten years later he returned and, in company with the Afrikaans artist, Francois Krige, set out in a Landrover to explore South West Africa.

They visit the Aughrabies Falls—Bjerre states that they are 200 metres (approx. 700 feet) high and that they were discovered by Thompson. The falls are only a little more than half as high and the first to describe them was Wikar, in 1779. His tour continues past the Fish River Canyon to the Brandberg (not Brand Berg) where he becomes rather ecstatic about the White Lady painting. An interesting account of the Bergdama is given—compiled from data received from "Dr. H. Webber of Okahanja" (Dr. H. Vedder of Okahandja). Visits to the Petrified Forest and the Etosha Pan are only briefly described and Fort Namutoni, with its dramatic history, is dismissed in a paragraph.

Mr. Bjerre is happiest when relating personal experiences, and the chapters on his encounters with the Bushmen are undoubtedly the best part of the book. He tells in an easy, direct style of these people—their hunting techniques, making of poisoned arrows (the poison grub is *Diamphidia locusta* from the shrub *Adenium boehmianum*), the gathering of food, their fables, games, initiation ceremonies, marriage and other ceremonies. He is allowed to take part in a hunt and to witness an initiation ceremony.

Had the author taken a little more trouble in checking his material, the book would have improved considerably. Unfortunately it is marred by far too many inaccuracies and misstatements of fact—the Okavango prehistoric "race of giants who remain a mystery to science"

TWO POEMS—Tania van Zyl

The Shooting

Yet coward I would be
if I said not
the earth is deep
and in troughed lap
the new dead sleep.

No sleep of ripeness
or of end.
How harsh and brutal
man to man. Who scythed
and thrashed the corn?
Who kneaded blood
into the ground? Who baked
the dead in long lean loaves?
Who stabled guilt in this dark
vault?

Now this betrayal; these wrecked
and twisted shards once lived.
Inclement earth the blood toll
takes when worm-man
feeds on human flesh.

If my shame were not so great
then higher still
I'd hold that shame
for all to see. One asks
what progress is that plots
a greater devastation,

plunders and maims
the earth for gain
and power takes
when murder slakes
its thirst for blood.

Guilt

If guilt in softening
spilt prosperous blood;
unpocketed and forsook
the arterial road to flood
with speeded gout
the unpeeled way.

Guilt four-headed,
hydra necked and chinned,
torch-marched and unlocked
the gate, cracked between
no co-operation.
Stored in tin, ditch and wood,
bugles, trumpets and cacophony's
unlassoed screams,
and greedy hands quick lopped
the wayward branch.

The charges and accusations
wove a red carpet
with noose-wrung strands
taken from gallows-thread.



SAM SLY'S CORNER

FORTNIGHTLY NOTES ON BOOKS AND THE PRESS

Worthy

Whoever thought anything good could come out of the Union Festival? Of all the squandering, the "Exhibition covering the Development of English Language and Literature in South Africa 1910-60" seems the sorriest waste, since its organizer, Professor W. H. Gardner of Bloemfontein, could have better spent his time working on his authorized biography of Roy Campbell. On the credit side is one lonely item: £200 worth of misery and want caused by the Emergency has been relieved from Festival funds. The channel from that fat bank account to the Emergency Relief Fund organized by the Liberal Party is the poet Mr. Anthony Delius, and the money was his first prize in the Union Festival poetry stakes. Delius was as worthy of the prize as this action is of him.

Too good

This Delius is a remarkable fellow. His fame as a writer rests presently on his 1954 collection of verse *An Unknown Border*, a travel book *The Long Way Round*, and *The Last Division*, a major verse satire which will live.

If he has a fault it is that he is too good a journalist. His "Africa Column" is undoubtedly the best of its kind here or abroad and his parliamentary notes in the *Cape Times*, signed "Adderley", are superior enough to be read by thousands in spite of their literary qualities, and by hundreds because of them.

Owen Williams wrote of him "He is known to his colleagues as

a man of astonishing—if imperceptible—industry... He is rather an urbane man, with a deceptive air of vagueness, and who appears to have no bitterness at all". It adds up to an attractive, mocking personality, of a kind that is very South African, although Delius's father was a British naval officer of partly German stock (and a relative of the composer).

Have you read his "Time in Africa"? It is a poem of changing moods. A sample:

*Black rivers rising near the beat
of drums
hear sirens spill them down the
shafts;
and in the sullen dark of rock
the ancient shell*

*of life hears pecking of pre-natal
picks—
Above, the bawling press rejoices,
while
the striding pylons cry of what is
born.*

Ironic contrast

Contrasted with the tawdry farce of the Union Festival is the National Conference on Education, 19th-20th July, with which Natal University celebrates its Golden Jubilee. Here is one celebration not to cancel in this Emergency year. It will bring South Africans to the feet of Sir Julian Huxley, Dr. de Kiewit, Robert Oppenheimer and 22 other "world-famous speakers from seven nations" (plus 60 local boys), to discuss "Education and our Expanding Horizons". Whose are "our"? An ironic pronoun, when you think of Bantu Education and Christlike Nasionale Onderwys.

looks good in a story but is absolute nonsense to physical anthropologists and archaeologists. There are also frequent misspellings of proper names and errors possibly due to translation. The photographs, some in colour, are excellent.

J. J. du P.

Out of Exile

COLLECTED POEMS. By William Plomer (Jonathan Cape) 16s.

EZEKIEL MPHAHLELE said in the April *Encounter*: "English verse has just not been able to settle down [in Africa] and reconcile its tradition with a new world of symbols. It is essentially a verse in exile." William Plomer's poetry tends to support this assertion. Plomer and Campbell and *Voorslag* are a landmark in the development of modern South African poetry—whatever that is. Yet the striking thing in this collection is the suddenness with which Plomer threw off anything which might be conceived of as South African influence. When he took the boat for Japan commanded by "Captain Maru: A Nationalist", he turned his back completely on his native country. Even in the *Voorslag* days he insisted on the need to set up "international and aesthetic standards rather than parochial or patriotic standards".

Both Campbell and Plomer realized that a South African culture would have to be both indigenous and international. But as there was a predominance of veld poetry in the twenties, they both tended to emphasize the international element. Campbell always cracked his veld content like a whip. Plomer was more interested in the technical experiments in Europe and America. Nevertheless the opening section of "African Poems" prove that his humanitarian feelings involved him in South Africa. "A Fall of Rock" is a youthful and heavily underlined piece of frustration. He expected immediate change and was infuriated when it did not come. He wanted to startle South Africans into an awareness of their own false standards. When he failed, he returned to the European cultural tradition.



PLOMER

Then there are his most individual creations, the ballads of London, of the Country and of Abroad.

But somehow these poems in particular make one feel that there is a man half-fulfilled. Wasn't there more for him in South Africa?; he managed to assimilate his Japanese experience. Perhaps Plomer was in poetic exile in South Africa.

JAMES CURREY

CORRESPONDENCE

Defending the Country against . . . Nobody

DEAR SIR,—For two weeks from the 21st March the South African Nationalist government showed symptoms of a civil war. Firearms were raised against defenceless people who were publicly exposing the oppression which they could no longer bear. Units were called out to defend the government and the country against nobody.

There are no agitators among the classified non-Whites, but only men who are struggling to plead the cause of Africans, Coloureds and Indians through what small constitutional ways exist for these people. The agitators are among the members of the government by their word or deed. Everything that has happened is caused by the dissatisfaction of the community at large.

While the African does not despise God and religion, and often has deep conviction, he is confused because the very people who brought it and Western civilization are despising it in many dishonest, tyrannical ways, with exceptions of course. The Bible says, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself", and "Thou shalt not kill", but like the Devil they are practising the opposite, with exceptions, of course.

And the myth of racial exclusiveness has long been destroyed: in South Africa it is 260 years too late. The so-called ducktails (White tsotsis) are naturally proving to their parents that they and the non-Whites are

of the same flesh and blood for they even go to the extent of making love to African girls in a big way.

Considering justice in the country, the African comes last. It is often said that justice knows no colour or creed, but in South Africa it does. A White man who rapes a young African girl will get a suspended sentence of 2½ years. An African or non-White man who rapes a White woman will be found guilty and sentenced to death and will be executed as soon as possible. How does that sound in the ears of justice?

Are we driving back to frontier wars or are we progressing here in South Africa? Each age is an age of change, and people are willing to change with the times, giving up the old and taking what is new. There are few who cannot or will not change. It is neither in one particular field of thought or work, nor in one particular country of the world that change is taking place. Change is something in which all people everywhere are taking part.

CHUMA ROBIN KOTI,
Springs.

Thanks from Paraguay

DEAR SIR,—Very many thanks for your air letter and the first two copies of *Contact*. We are very grateful to be able to have *Contact* sent regularly.

When I have reported from them in our village they go round to two other villages. I just want you to know how much we value this stimulating news, without hatred or lies.

I have written to friends whom I know are interested in South Africa, mentioning *Contact*, with the hope that they may be able to send subscriptions.

With every good wish for your paper and the larger movement of liberation.

ROBERT HEADLAND,
Paraguay.

The Sleeping, Walking Donkey

SIR,—Allow me to put these few words. It makes me wonder to think that some people are able to enjoy life while we think of our people at Bohurutse, Coalbrook, Cato Manor, at the Treason Trial, in the A.N.C. and P.A.C., and at Sharpeville with its cripples. All this in the cause of freedom.

We don't want freedom to marry White ladies, nor to eat or sleep together. We want a better life, better food, better living conditions, better wages, and schooling for our children.

I appeal to the Magistrates and the Minister of Justice to think of Psalm 82:4 when they go to work.

If things go on as they are, one day the Union will become a battlefield, because some people think as slowly as a donkey walks which has been asleep for a long time, and these are the people who are enjoying life at this time.

My heart is very sore. Some are crying, some are dancing.

DANIEL DLANDLA,
Pietersburg.

Our Readers React

WE have had a great number of letters from readers and selling agents telling us what they think of *Contact*. Here are points from some of them. Please write and tell us what you think of our paper, how we can improve it, and also write and tell us your opinions on public affairs.

Mrs. N. C., Worthing, Sussex:

"Your paper has been a great help to me in following the events in Africa during the past months. I want to thank you for its courage and integrity, and to wish you well in all your further undertakings."

Mr. G. C., Johannesburg:

"Mr. Solomon Rachilo used to advertise a mail order business for the sale and postal dispatch of the King Kong record in *Contact*. As a result he had a surprising number of orders from places as far afield as West Germany, Scotland, Chicago, England, Toronto and some other foreign towns. Moreover, orders still keep coming in, although he discontinued this particular advertising campaign some time ago."

Mr. A. M. B. G.,

Port Elizabeth:
"It was as a terrific magic the way *Contact* was taken by the people, and whilst the demand was a lot more even a precious thing gets finished by the early birds."

Mr. M. A. H., Rustenburg:

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

Mr. J. D. H., Port Elizabeth:

"Your paper seems to catch on slowly, but to my mind you could brighten it with a personality column or sports column."

Mr. S. K., Mombasa:

"I am sending you my personal subscription for *Contact*. I promise you that after I read each copy I shall pass it on to my over-complacent friends and relatives, and that way try to hammer home the necessity and importance of helping such fine papers as *Contact*. Long live the justice and equality it fights for!"

Mr. T. K., Durban:

"Personally I believe that between *Contact* and *Peace News* one gets a good idea of

what has been left out of the daily press."

Mr. H. C. M. M., Deep Bay, Nyasaland:

"*Contact* over here appears to be one of those few papers that speak truly of events at stake. Although it was banned by the Nyasaland Government, people have not lost faith in it, especially we, the Africans."

Mr. A. M., Maseru:

"*Contact* is badly needed here, and it did not take long before all mine were sold."

Mr. S. K. M., Clarkebury, Transkei:

"Without *Contact* I would be left with no information of what is taking place both in the state and abroad. A paper that works for non-racial democracy, as *Contact* does, is a precious gift to any concerned citizen. My copy is read also by three school teachers, two ministers of religion and one tribal chief."

Mr. E. K. N., Salisbury, S.R.:

"A paper like *Contact* finds an immediate reading public thirsting for the truth and a message for the liberation of the human race and the restoration of DEMOCRACY throughout Africa."

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"Those who have tasted the delicious juice of *Contact* here do not want to part with it!"

Mr. H. B. T., Chipinga, N.R.:

"One subscriber, after browsing over the paper said, 'I feel refreshed to the bottom of my heart'. I pray that *Contact* should be sold in every part of Africa in order to promote the battle for human freedom and human harmony."

Mrs. J. T. V., Addo, C.P.:

"Please note that I do not wish to renew my subscription to *Contact*. I consider it is becoming more and more one-sided in its presentation of the news."

Mr. J. Le G., Pretoria:

"As *Contact* appears to be a politically biased magazine, I am obliged to reject your offer of being an agent."

The Minister of baNtoe Administration and Development sings to himself in the bath

(Tune: The Village Blacksmith)

Here in the grassy swards of baNtoestan

The Happy baNtoe thrive:
"Oh joy, oh joy, oh joy," they sing.

"What fun to be alive."

Millions of Happy baNtoe
Skip home from work each day.
Delighted with their housing
And Happy with their pay.

Here in the Beauteous mansions of Meadowlands
Lives a Merry throng,
Enjoying the Union Festival
And singing my favourite song.

"Praise to the highest, Nkosi Doan,

Praise in the heights and the deep.

Concrete mixer of baNtoestan
Praise to the man we Must keep.

He knows all the answers,
And he knows all the lies
Told by liberal agitators
And horrible clerical spies.

And he knows that race relations

Have never better been,
And baNtoestan, great baNtoestan

Is a glory to be seen.

MKHONTO.

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