

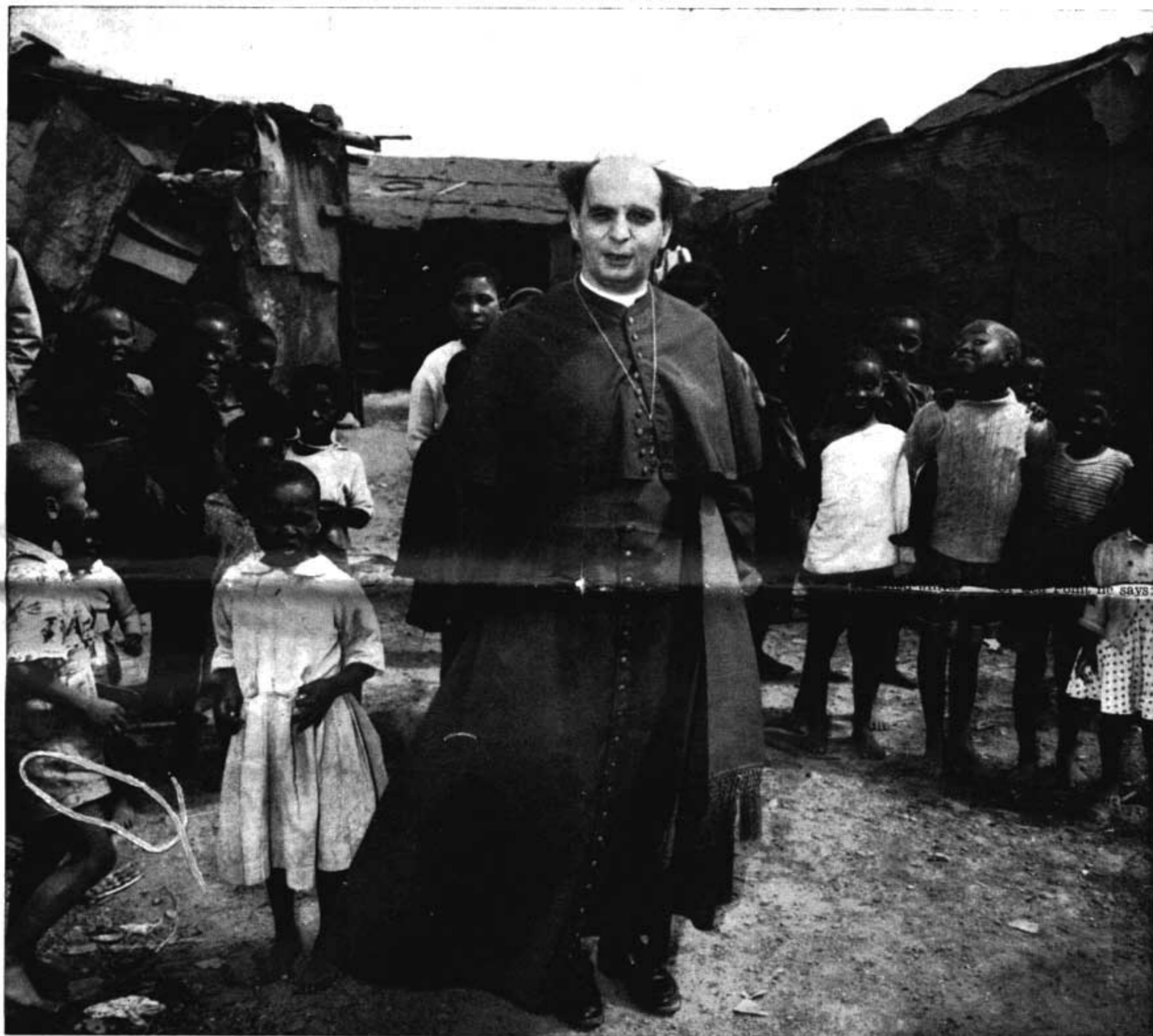
11. FEB. 1958

# CONTACT

G.P.O Registration Applied For

8th February, 1958

Vol. 1 No 1



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THE NEWS BEHIND THE NEWS

# The Who, Why, What of CONTACT

## Who . . . Why . . . What . . .

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

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

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

Manager and Secretary: Anthony Clarke.

Editor: George Clay.

CONTACT'S business office is on the 3rd Floor, Parliament Chambers, 47, Parliament Street, Cape Town, which is also the address of the registered office of Selemela Publications.

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

Telephones: 2-6697 and 3-5771.

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

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

They believe that for this reason there is a need for an independent journal which, unrestricted by sectional or financial ties, will be free to seek the whole truth about the developing situation in Africa to-day.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## IN CONTACT



**CHRISTOPHER GELL**, polio victim whose prolific output of well-informed writing on the South African socio-political scene has won him a formidable reputation both in this country and overseas, is a member of the CONTACT team of correspondents. Paralyzed by polio in 1945 while he was Under-Secretary to the Government of the Punjab in the Indian Civil Service, he came to South Africa for health reasons in 1947. Although confined to an iron lung for all but a few hours a day he has made an intensive study of South African problems and is perhaps the most authoritative writer in the country on the involved subject of the Group Areas Act.



**HARRY BLOOM**, the Johannesburg advocate whose first novel, "Episode" — a graphic fictional description of a race riot—recently made a considerable impact, will be writing for CONTACT. In this issue he reviews the new Jamie Uys film, "Die Bosvelder", which recently had its world premiere in Cape Town. Mr. Bloom has moved from Johannesburg to Cape Town where he intends to combine his legal practice with writing—a second novel, "A Bright Particular Star", is already well under way.



**ALAN PATON**, author of the best-sellers, "Cry the Beloved Country" and "Too Late the Phalarope", will write a regular column, "The Long View," for CONTACT. The first is in this issue on page 11. Alan Paton turned seriously to writing after many years of service as head of Diepkloof Reformatory. His intense humanity not long afterwards compelled him to political activity and he is now national chairman of the Liberal Party of South Africa.



**RALPH HORWITZ**, whose regular column "Talking Business" begins on page 9, is an economist whose vigorous writing on the South African scene over a number of years has earned him a high reputation in the business world. Editor of "S.A. Industry and Trade" and editor-in-chief of several other business publications, he is an M.A. and B.Com.

## SUBSCRIPTION RATES

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

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## COVER PICTURE

**THE** Most Reverend Joost de Blank, Archbishop of Cape Town and Metropolitan of the Church of the Province in South Africa, is becoming as familiar a figure in the "streets" of Windermere as he once was in the slums of London's East End. This exclusive CONTACT picture was taken last week when the Archbishop went to Windermere to visit some of the families which have been served with notices to quit the area.

The Archbishop's purple robes attract the attention of

hordes of curious children but the parents of Windermere are beginning to realize that there is more than a benevolent curiosity behind the church leader's visits. Those purple robes are even beginning to raise faint stirrings of hope that in fact the church may yet succeed in persuading the Government from its avowed policy of breaking up all those African families which have no "legal right" to live together on the southern side of the "Eiselen Line". (Story: Page 5.)

# LIBERALS NAME THREE TO FIGHT ELECTION U.P. Challenged

**C**ONTACT is authorised to announce that Liberal Party candidates will contest the forthcoming general election in three Parliamentary constituencies: Orange Grove (Johannesburg), Sea Point (Cape Town) and Pietermaritzburg District.

The candidates are:

Mr. J. S. Dey, Orange Grove.  
Mr. Gerald Gordon, Sea Point.

Mr. Peter Brown, Pietermaritzburg District.

This is the first time since its formation in 1953 that the Liberal Party has had an opportunity of testing its strength among the white electorate at a general election.

It has fought other elections, but only in the provincial and municipal fields and for the Natives Representatives' seats in Parliament, in which it won two of the three Assembly seats and two of the four Senate seats.

The Liberal Party has chosen to oppose United Party candidates in "safe" United Party constituencies at this election because it does not want to split the anti-Nationalist vote by forcing three-cornered contests in marginal seats.

## 'JUST DEGREE'

A spokesman for the Liberal Party said his Party regarded the Nationalist Government as "the greater evil" and would prefer to see a United Party government in power.

But the Liberal Party could not stay out of the coming election fight altogether because if it did so South Africa would again be voting "merely for a choice of degree".

The Liberal Party wanted to give at least a portion of the white electorate an opportunity of voting on the simple issue of whether it wanted to perpetuate "the immoral and dangerous system of white baasskap" or preferred to choose the path of reason and justice.

"For the Liberal Party is the only real 'middle of the road' party in South Africa: It stands not way over on the left of the realities, as some people claim, but in the exact centre between White Nationalism and Black Nationalism".

## 'NO TIME'

"The United Party might, when in power, be more amenable to reason than the Nationalists and less inflexible in its opposition to world opinion and world trends, but the fact remains that it is utterly committed to the idea of white domination.

"We do not believe that there is time, in the circumstances that surround us to-day, to effect a change through the slow conversion of the United Party to a forward way of thinking.

"We hope that the white voters of the three constituencies in which we will fight may realise this and demonstrate their appreciation of the urgency of the situation to the Nationalists, the United Party, the non-European people of South Africa, and the world".

**Footnote:** The United Party candidate in Orange Grove is Mr. Etienne Malan (sitting member, Mr. Frank Waring), in Pietermaritzburg District the sitting member, Mr. B. Henwood, is the candidate. Sea Point has not yet nominated a United Party candidate.

## JIMMY DEY STANDS FOR...

# PRINCIPLE

**JIMMY DEY**, 43-year-old cost consultant, is an ex-serviceman who believes that the many ex-servicemen of Orange Grove will find much that they agree with in the Liberal argument.

The Liberal Party in the Transvaal decided to put a candidate into Orange Grove party because it wanted to break new ground and partly because it feels Orange Grove has had a raw deal from its United Party candidates.

In a statement to CONTACT, Mr. Dey's committee said: "In 1953 Orange Grove was given Mr. Frank Waring, who has spent the last few years attacking everything which he was sent to Parliament to defend. In his place the United Party now offers Mr. Etienne Malan, former Nationalist propagandist and war-time editor of "Die Kruijthoring.

## Basics

"Mr. Malan's conversion from Nationalism may be quite sincere; it is said that he has done good work for the United Party. It is nevertheless difficult to believe that he regards the Nationalists in the same light as the majority of the citizens of Orange Grove.

"It is difficult to see what claim he has to be the representative of the ex-servicemen's suburb of Sandringham or of the large Jewish community in Sydenham and Highlands North.

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

## Morass or ...?

"The voters of Orange Grove will be faced with a very clear choice: Do they wish South Africa to stick obstinately in the morass of racialism until it drowns there, or do they wish to advance towards democracy?"

James Scott Davidson Dey was born in Pretoria and educated at Jeppe High School and the University of the Witwatersrand. Qualifying as an accountant, he won first place in the world in the final examinations of the Society of Incorporated Accountants in 1937.

He joined his father's World War I unit, the South African Medical Corps, at the outbreak of World War II, but was later recalled by the Government to investigate the cost of war contracts.

He is a member of the National Committee and Transvaal Executive of the Liberal Party, was chairman of the ad hoc committee which worked to



Dey

reach a settlement of the Johannesburg bus boycott, and chairman of the planning committee which organised the multi-racial conference in Johannesburg in December.

## GERALD GORDON WANTS...

# HONESTY

**G**ERALD GORDON, advocate and author, believes that, after being unable to use their vote for ten years, Sea Pointers will welcome the opportunity of "hitting the Nats in the hardest possible way by going beyond United Party vagueness and supporting a Liberal policy which strikes at the very foundations of apartheid".

He has, he says, agreed to stand for Sea Point both because he wants to get into the fight against the Nationalists and because he does not believe that the United Party is putting up a stiff enough fight. (He resigned from the United Party in 1953 saying "I can no longer do violence to my conscience.")

Gerald Gordon says he wants to fight the Nationalists because he believes their apartheid policy to be "inhuman, unjust, immoral and undemocratic", because they are causing increasing resentment among non-Europeans, because they are destroying South Africa's good name, discouraging overseas investment in this country and stifling economic development.

## Elementary

Of the United Party, Gerald Gordon says: "Its policy of 'discrimination with justice' is a contradiction in terms, for by 'discrimination' it means a legally inferior status for non-whites and this can never be just.

"That policy can in any event never be very much better than that of the Nationalists, for the United Party is unwilling to oppose effectively or to repeal any of the major inhuman laws the Nationalists have produced.

"The United Party does not even recognise the elementary need for consultation with ten million non-whites".



Gordon

Of the Liberal Party he says: "It aims at basing the future of our country upon the co-operation of all its inhabitants in a democratic, multi-racial society, which will be achieved by the extension of full rights in to all in progressive stages.

"I believe that this policy is fair, ethical, democratic, healthy, and, above all, honest. I believe, too, that it will make of the non-European a friend instead of a foe and will avert the clash which so many people fear is coming".

Of Sea Point he says: "I have lived here all my life and I know that there are many in the constituency who, even if they be not members of the Liberal Party, on most points think as we do.

"The United Party apparently realises this for, here alone, of all the constituencies in the Cape Peninsula, it has, despite four months of vigorous self-searching, been unable to announce a suitable candidate."

## PETER BROWN URGES...

# BOLDNESS

**P**PETER BROWN will fight Pietermaritzburg District for the Liberal Party because he believes that only the "bold and imaginative" steps advocated by the Liberal Party can repair the damage of "50 years of the erosion of the rights of South Africans."

He points out that this will be the first time that Natal has been asked to vote in a general election for a Party that is open to all races.

He is aware that some may not think the time ripe for this, that others may think the Liberal Party goes too far, too fast, or that it has "no hope".

But, he says, "The substance of my appeal is for a change in thinking about all these things.

"While the process of erosion has been gathering speed in South Africa, an opposite process has been gathering speed in the rest of the world. While we have restricted rights, the world has extended them.

"South Africa may not like what is happening but surely it should face up to it?

"The time is ripe all over the world for the ending of discrimination on the grounds of



Brown

race or colour. The civilised world finds it more and more intolerable. In South Africa the exclusion of most of the population from any effective say in the running of their everyday lives has turned them to other ways of making their wishes known—passive resistance, the bus boycott, the strike.

"This trend will increase, unless there is a change soon. Only bold and intelligent evolution can meet this situation.

Peter McKenzie Brown, whose family has been in Natal for 100 years, was born in Durban and educated at Michaelhouse. He left school to join the army at 17, serving with the I.L.H./Kimberley Regiment, the motorized battalion which spearheaded the advance of the Sixth African Armoured Division through Italy.

After the war he took his B.A. at the University of Cape Town, majoring in Bantu languages. He settled in Pietermaritzburg where he founded the first Y.M.C.A. in Natal catering primarily for Africans. He is national vice-chairman of the Liberal Party.

# NATAL COUNTS THE NET COST

WHEN, in swift succession, five murderous grey shapes slid into the creaming breakers of the Natal South Coast, killing three and maiming two bathers, they struck terror not only into all the holidaymakers strung out along that balmy coastline, but into thousands of Natalians who depend for their livelihood on the province's £8,500,000 tourist industry.

Every year 210,000 visitors descend on Durban, mostly during the summer season, and leave £7,000,000 behind them when they return, tanned, and refreshed, to the hinterland.

The South Coast looks forward to another 55,000 holidaymakers—mostly swimmers and fishermen—who spend an average of £1,500,000 in about ten tiny resorts strung out along the coastline.

With so much at stake, Natal lost no time in mobilising its defences.

The South Coast towns formed an anti-shark committee and immediately began an urgent investigation.

## Theory

The Committee was given a variety of reasons by a variety of people for the influx of sharks.

They included:

Dirty water, caused by Africans tilling the riverbanks of coastal rivers in the Native Reserves.

Inshore whaling.

Line fishing from the rocks.

Human effluent released along the coastline.

Bright bathing costumes.

Suggested remedies:

A ban on riverbank cultivation. A ban on whaling within ten miles of the shore.

Nets to catch sharks.

Nets to keep sharks out.

Underwater explosives.

An underwater pipe releasing air bubbles.

A string of multi-coloured lights under the water around bathing areas.

Carbolic soap smeared on bathers' bodies.

The committee sifted more than 70 suggestions from all over the Union and the Rhodesias.

Always it came back to nets (to keep sharks out).

Durban's shark nets, protecting all major beaches, cost the corporation £15,000 a year but six shark-free years have convinced it that it is money well spent.

Durban's Mayor, Mr. "Jacko" Jackson pointed out proudly that 1,126,000 people swam off Durban beaches in five weeks during the shark scare without a single misadventure.

## Action

The contractor who supplies Durban's nets told the anti-shark committee that it would cost £72,000 a year to protect all the recognised beaches on the South Coast in this way.

Major A. S. du Toit, inventor of the World War II flail tank, produced a scheme for a continuous net which would cost about £2,500 per beach.

The South Coast towns have not spent too much time counting the cost, however. Margate is installing a metal mesh net invented by two local men, Sidney Rostron and Cornelius Meeuwis. Kingsburgh Council has bought a steel mesh net for Warner Beach which should be in place by Easter.

Scottburgh has placed an order for nets in Cape Town—£500 was promptly subscribed towards the cost by Scottburgh businessmen.

Although the cost for any one town—even Durban—alone is prohibitive (£80,000 for the machine and £30,000 for spares)

the Natal towns are still toying with the idea of pooling their resources to buy a helicopter.

It would be used to lay nets and hunt sharks.

## Appeal

The shark attacks have brought a boom in swimming pool construction. Many towns are building rock swimming pools alongside but cut off from the sea.

South Coast town councillors shudder a little at mention of the reckoning, but hope that they might get help from the Natal Provincial Council.

Durban's Mayor is also to visit Cape Town to ask the Cabinet to regard the shark menace as a national danger and help Natal meet its shark-fighting bill.

Natal's defence measures were supported by a determined publicity counter-attack designed to restore the confidence of worried holiday-makers. Bravely, not a single hotel cut its tariffs.

## Hope

As the season neared its end relieved hoteliers reported that the campaign had worked. There had been no landslide of cancellations, although there was a slight falling off in the Margate crowd.

And a Durban hotelier returning from the Transvaal, where he had sounded out next year's potential visitors, said he had even found the South Coast's misfortune a blessing for Durban as it had shown up the effectiveness of Durban's shark net system.

## E. L. Counts Blessings

CASTING a wily eye on the misfortunes sharks have brought to Natal South Coast holiday resorts, East London hoteliers and business men are preparing to drum up the biggest holiday season ever this year.

They reason that thousands of people who usually go to the Natal coast will have read with gloom and fear of the shark attacks on bathers. And they are convinced that East London—with its warm water—will be the obvious alternative if accommodation is adequate and the holiday spirit sufficiently provided for.

A few days ago the City Council went into session on the city's beaches to scrutinise every detail with an eye to improving the attractions there which, in comparison with Durban, are primitive.

## Boggled at Cost

The viewing took place against the background of City Engineer T. F. Clayson's long-term £1,000,000 beachfront development plan, presented to the Council 20 months ago and quietly pigeon-holed. It was put away because Councillors boggled at the cost and shied away from reaching a decision on a crucial issue—what to do about non-European bathing facilities.

"Tommy" Clayson recommended that non-Europeans should no longer be allowed to use one end of the Eastern Beach (at present the city's secondary beach, earmarked for eventual development as the main one) and that facilities should be provided for them along the distant, rocky West Bank coast.

At the recent inspections it looked as if the Council might sidestep the issue. There was talk of reorientating and improving non-European facilities at the Eastern Beach.

## Publicity Drive

Meanwhile the East London Publicity Association, headed by ebullient "Robbie" de Lange, ex-Mayor and prospective Nationalist Party candidate for the East London North seat in the general election was laying plans of its own.

High points:

A vigorous attempt to persuade the Department of Defence to release part of Signal Hill for development as a beachfront playground (adults and children) above the city's premier beach, the Orient.

A large-scale publicity drive in the Free State, Transvaal and Southern Rhodesia.

An all-round stepping-up of Publicity Association attractions to keep the expected hordes happy.

## Sea Point's Rock in the Dock

ROCK-AND-ROLL, frolicking on the heels of its slightly more dignified cousin, Bop, has swept across South Africa like a veld fire, to roar up in a blaze of controversy at the country's tip.

In Sea Point, Cape Town, flat-dwellers in the Christmas pudding baroque of the beachfront, are rumbling with discontent.

Sea Point, they claim, is a high-toned residential area, not a White Harlem disfigured by rolling ducktails and roeking ponytails. They live there, they say, to listen to the Atlantic waves lie still and dreaming, not to be blared at by saxophones, and driven to ear-clutching hysteria by the undisciplined decibels of roaring motor-cycles.

For the roll sessions take place at the "Lido," a vast structure on the beachfront, which also houses the Starlight Theatre, where teenagers split the night air with howls as they gave the raspberry to performers they don't like.

Anguished letters to the Press, appeals to all and sundry, including the police, have failed, the complainants say.

The Green and Sea Point Rate-payers' Association, at an executive meeting, decided to ask the Municipality to ban the rock sessions and to close the Starlight Theatre, where they allege the noise of youth having its fling was becoming intolerable.



Goode

## Multi-Racial Jackpot

AFRICAN Theatres, pressed into reluctantly staging "The Pajama Game" for a non-white audience, has made the intriguing discovery that there is no business like multi-racial business.

The decision to put on a special performance of the big imported musical for non-whites was forced on African Theatres by Equity, the British actors' association.

Equity has decreed that its members shall not accept South African engagements unless their contracts cover arrangements for shows for non-Europeans as well.

But in the case of "The Pajama Game" Equity made a concession, in view of the expense involved in staging such a show, that one performance for non-whites would suffice.

Despite this, it seemed for a while as if African Theatres might back out of the arrangement. There were difficulties about the venue and rumours that the non-whites might be given only a shortened, open-air version of the show.

Eventually, however, after another warning from Equity, African Theatres announced a full-scale show for non-whites in the Witwatersrand University Great Hall. The time was awkward: noon on a Saturday. The advertising was scanty: the first advertisement appeared only a week before the show.

But it was almost a sell-out, with the cheapest seats at 4s. 10d. and the cast voted the gala non-white audience the most exciting it had played to.

Comments: Comedian Jack Goode said, "They picked up a number of strictly American cracks which have sometimes passed over the heads of audiences at His Majesty's. It was like playing in New York. It was terrific".

Father Martin Jarrett-Kerr, successor to Father Trevor Huddleston as chairman of the non-racial Arts Federation of South Africa, reported to Equity that the show had been a "humdinger".

Equity said its action had been "splendidly vindicated".

Box-office pundits claimed the hall could have been filled many times over.

Postscript: The South African Theatre Managements Association, after years of struggling to fill theatres from the small white population, has decided that as many plays as possible must be taken to the non-Europeans and is negotiating with the various authorities on the practical problems.

Meanwhile, the rollers rock unconcerned, perhaps comforted by the benevolent patronage of Mr. Ospovat, now silent as "the matter is sub judice".

Rock has settled on Sea Point as its Cape Town home largely because of the overblown "lido", where it is allowed to flourish to the tune of sea waves and jingling coins.

It is probably more firmly entrenched there than it is even in Durban, where it first entered South Africa. There too, the reaction was not altogether favourable.

Mr. L. L. Millar, social welfare officer, was prompted to remark:

"Rock-and-roll gives sanction to the lowest form of uninhibited youthful reactionary urges".

He was echoed by the *Kerkbode*, official organ of the Dutch Reformed Church, which thundered: "An unpleasant reek rise from the ruins of our culture and religion".

Yet the first minister to open his church hall to rock-and-rollers belonged to the D.R.C. He even rocked himself. He certainly rocked the *Kerkbode*, which was so perturbed that it did not even mention his name when administering the churchly rebuke.

The real crux of the issue is the nature of the Sea Point beachfront. Rollers and holidaymakers alike regard it as a natural amenity, not the exclusive preserve of those who happen to live there.

# DR. DE BLANK DECLARES WAR ON MIGRANT LABOUR

## Significant Move

**I**N the most far-reaching statement ever made by an Anglican minister in South Africa, the Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev. Joost de Blank, has served notice that the Church of which he is the head in this country "utterly rejects" the doctrine of white supremacy and will actively campaign against the Union's migrant labour system.

In a message conveyed through "Good Hope", official organ of the Diocese of Cape Town in the Church of the Province of South Africa (the Anglican Church), the Archbishop said:

"... the issue forces itself on the individual Christian conscience and on the life of the Church as a whole. European domination we utterly reject as inhuman and unchristian."

Referring to the migrant labour system as practised in South Africa he said:

"Christians cannot but condemn a policy which involves the deliberate beaking up of families; and families are bound to be broken up when migrant labour is approved but the provision of permanent homes for parents and their children is not normally allowed."

### STERN WARNING

The Archbishop also delivered a stern warning that he would not give episcopal communion in churches which practised apartheid.

The significance of the Archbishop's announcement lies even more in his reference to the migrant labour system than in his condemnation of "White domination".

The migrant labour system has become hallowed by "tradition" in South Africa. It is exploited as a "cheap labour" system by powerful financial interests — even though many economists have in recent years begun to condemn this "cheap labour" as false economy.

The Archbishop's statement therefore implies the possibility of a head-on collision, not only between Church and Government but between the Church and massive vested interests.

### LITTLE COMFORT

And although the Archbishop's denunciation was aimed specifically at the Nationalist policy of apartheid, it holds little comfort for the opposition United Party.

The United Party is committed irrevocably to the principle of White supremacy which the Archbishop condemns, and it also endorses the migrant labour system.

The United Party is unlikely, therefore, to defend the Archbishop too vigorously against the Government's attempts to smear him as "another political priest".

Its politicians have avoided reference to the Archbishop's statement, even though challenged by the Government, in Parliament and outside, to do so.

"Weekblad" the new United Party newspaper in the Cape, however, chided the Archbishop, as a newcomer to South Africa, for not showing sufficient "patience and tact" in dealing with a situation which had endured for 200 years.

### 'TREASON' SALE

Undeterred, however, the Archbishop did not hesitate to accept

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an invitation to open an Africana auction: sale in aid of the Treason Trial Defence Fund.

There he dealt with the "political priest" argument:

"It is not," he said "a case of churchmen stepping down into the political arena; it is a case of politicians stepping up into the theological arena."

"The churchman who says: 'So far and no farther' is not stepping down—it is the politician who is stepping up."

Even before the Archbishop made his announcement through "Good Hope", there were indications that he was preparing to commit the Church to the apartheid fight and that the migrant labour system was the specific issue on which intended to make a stand.

### BACHELORS 'BLITZED'

The Cape Town City Council, partly because of a long-standing

pondokkies, and the bachelors moved out.

But many of the "bachelors" protested that they were in fact married men—even if they could not prove that the women living with them, bearing and bringing up their children, were their wives.

### THRUST APART

The Urban Areas law makes light of all but the most demonstrable of legal unions, however, and the demolitions went on. Men, women and children who had always thought of themselves as families were thrust apart and sent to their various separate decreed destinations.

Even families which had undeniable proof of their right to exist as a unit found themselves on the unwanted list. Although the Council did not make them the main target, it had to bear in mind that Dr. Verwoed had redesigned the Urban Areas Act so that a woman is entitled to live in a "white" town with her husband only if he has been employed there, by one employer, for more than 10 years.

Women whose husbands did not have the necessary "qualifications" were warned that their passes to remain in Cape Town would not be renewed.



desire to clean up one of the city's worst slums and partly in response to Government pressure, began a blitz on "bachelors" at Windermere.

It set out to screen all residents of Windermere in terms of the Natives Urban Areas Act. Bachelors were to be sent to single quarters at Langa; unmarried women without employment were to be sent "home", at their own expense, to the Native Reserves.

The bulldozers moved in, knocking down the bachelors'

And those who defied the influx control regulations to stay "illegally" with their husbands were hauled before the Magistrate at Langa and, to use the words of one of their spokesmen, subjected to a "divorce by force".

### BLUNT PROTEST

So many families had been broken up in this court that Africans in Cape Town began to refer to it as "the divorce court".

It was at this stage that the Archbishop, at the head of a



Mrs. Winnie Mnqubisa (left) with her stepdaughter, Nosisa, and Mrs. Evelina Katshwa, two of the women who have been ordered to leave Cape Town because their husbands do not qualify for permanent residence in the city. Mrs. Mnqubisa has been married less than a year; Mrs. Katshwa has been married 25 years and came to Cape Town to work so that she could support her sick husband.



deputation of clergymen from five denominations stepped in.

In characteristically blunt terms he made his protest.

The Council explained that it "had no option" but to carry out the Government's wishes—if it did not do so the Government would do the job itself. And the Government would probably be much less humane about it.

The Archbishop publicly expressed his appreciation of the fact that the Council was trying

went on, but at a recent Council meeting, after a lively 24-hour debate, the Councillors agreed unanimously that no more shacks should be knocked down at Windermere until alternative accommodation had been provided.

### SHORT RESPITE

While the Churches' intervention may not have been the sole reason for the Council's consent to a "stay of execution", their deputation must certainly have contributed to the factors influencing the decision.

But the respite gained is only local and temporary.

Now the Archbishop and the representatives of the Congregational, Methodist, Presbyterian and Baptist churches who were with him on the deputation are considering the next move — perhaps a direct protest to the Government.

The Archbishop has so far had the full support of these Churches. There is every sign that they are ready to follow his lead on the vital spiritual issue of the sanctity of family life, and to go with him farther into the fray.

**Footnote:** After the Archbishop's statement had appeared in the Press, an invitation for him to give the sermon at a South African Navy service at Simons-town was hurriedly withdrawn. Navy spokesmen would give no reasons for what they said was an indefinite postponement. The Archbishop and other Church leaders refused to comment, but some observers read sufficient comment into the fact that the Archbishop made use of the cancelled engagement to go instead to preach to the non-European people of Windermere.

The Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev. Joost de Blank, meets one of the families which have been given notice to leave their Windermere shacks.

to be as humane as possible. But he made it clear that he did not think this was good enough; that he felt the Council should refuse to do the Government's dirty work.

Leaving the Council to ponder its protest, the Church leaders then withdrew.

For a while the demolitions

**GERHARD COHN**  
Photographer

POLLIACK'S Corner  
Johannesburg.

22-9884

## ANALYSIS

# MORE SHACKLES FOR EMPLOYERS

INDUSTRIAL job reservation has been accepted by employers and workers in South Africa, since the passage of the amended Industrial Conciliation Bill in 1956, as an unpleasant fact; but few people seem to have realised that without any of the bluster and bombast that accompanied the I.C. Bill, the Nationalist Government has also now succeeded in quietly imposing on the country the machinery for job reservation in commerce.

In a Government Gazette Extraordinary, published on November 1 last year, proclamations were promulgated under the Group Areas Act which will have a far-reaching effect on trading licences, the employment of domestic servants, the operation of cinemas, restaurants, tea-rooms, eating house and clubs.

They will also make enormous inroads in an employer's right to employ whom he will.

An effort was made in this direction on October 14, 1955, but failed because the regulations then proclaimed were *ultra vires* on a technical fault and the Act's definition of "occupation" ("habitual physical presence") was not wide enough to cover the interpretation which the Government and the Group Areas Board wanted.

But a senior official of the Board in Port Elizabeth made a significant statement of policy:

"The (1955) regulations are designed to give the Board control over the mixing of the race groups in business. Once Group Areas are finally proclaimed, these regulations will no longer be necessary. But in the meantime the Board must have some control over the racial complexion of business premises. . . . If an employer can show that there is good ground why he should engage members of a race group other than his own, he may be granted a permit. . . . The ultimate aim of the Act is that people should live and work among those of their own group."

The idea that people should work only among their own group had never been put forward before, except in so far as it was intended to move all Indian shops into the Indian group areas and thus throttle their trade with other communities. But the 1955 regulations were clearly designed to introduce into commerce through the Group Areas Act the equivalent of industrial job-reservation under the Industrial Conciliation Act.

## "Camouflage"

One reason for this was given by Mr. De Vos Hugo at a press interview on November 2, 1955, when he referred to "camouflage businesses established with the aid of employees whose occupation was exempted (whites) for the benefit of persons (Indians) whose occupation was not permitted." But the recent 1957 proclamations have gone much further than merely "coping with this mischief."

A new definition of "occupation" has now been written into the Group Areas Act which equates it with mere physical presence on land or premises for a period of time. This may be as short as a cinema show 2-3 hours).

Now, explicit regulations have been gazetted (November 1, 1957) controlling employees in businesses in proclaimed group areas (proclamation No. 329 of November 1), specified areas (No. 336) and controlled areas (No. 337).

In proclaimed group areas, Section 23 of the consolidated Group Areas Act prohibits the "occupation" of land or premises by all those of other race groups except under permit. The only statutory exemptions in the Act are em-

**THIS revealing report, exclusive to CONTACT, brings out clearly for the first time in print the tremendous scope and significance of the Group Areas proclamations published in November. They constitute, says the writer, the machinery for stringent commercial job reservation similar to that imposed on industry by the amended Industrial Conciliation Act.**

ployees of the Government or statutory bodies, *bona fide* visitors to an hotel for not more than 90 days, patients or inmates of hospitals, asylums, prisons, work colonies, etc., and domestic servants working for Europeans only.

## Permit Proviso

To this list of exemptions proclamation 329 adds certain other categories of minor importance and *bona fide* employees of persons or companies conducting trade or business, provided that the employer and the owner of the business belong to the same race group. This proviso, common to the specified (336) and controlled (337) areas, eliminates "camouflage businesses."

But there are two more highly important provisos to 329. One excludes all white employees from working in a non-white Group Area, except under permit. Dr. Dönges and Senator de Klerk were probably thinking primarily of the 104 whites (64 of them women) who were discovered in the employ of Indians after an expensive all-Union investigation.

As banks, building societies, insurance businesses and funeral undertakings are also excluded, investors in Volkskas, Saambou, Sanlam, and Avbob can relax. They may employ whatever race groups they please.

The other extra proviso in 329 is, however, the most sinister. It excludes from exemption all persons employed as "chargehands, executive, professional, technical or administrative employees, managers or supervisors." Any such person will, if he belongs to a group different from that for which the group area is proclaimed, only be allowed to work under permit.

## Exclusion

If as the Port Elizabeth official said in 1955, "the ultimate aim of the Act is that people should work among those of their own group," this has far-reaching implications.

Many minor clerical and semi-skilled posts, which were included in the 1955 regulations, have been dropped from the 1957 ones. But there is nothing to prevent them or any other categories being added by a further regulation whenever it suits the Government. *Die Transvaler* has long been asking for the exclusion of African chauffeurs, typists, clerks etc. from the "white areas".

However, proclaimed group areas are still few and far between.

And they do not come into force for at least a year after proclamation—nor even then if the validity of the proclamation is contested in the courts. Thus even a spate of new proclamations now as part of the Nationalists' pre-election tactics will not alter the fact that, for present purposes, the regulations (336) governing the specified (mostly urban) areas are of most immediate concern.

The differences in the regulations for 329 (proclaimed areas) and 336 (specified areas) are marked.

In the first place specified areas fall under Section 15 of the Act which prohibits "occupation" by persons who were not lawfully in occupation on the specified date (1950 for the Transvaal and Natal, 1951 for the Cape), except under permit. The prohibition, therefore, only applies where there has been a change in the race of the occupiers" after the specified date.

## "Control"

Businesses which employed persons of various races before then can continue to do so, until a group area comes into force and brings the premises under 329. But where a business was entirely Indian or Coloured and becomes white after the specified date, or vice-versa, or where a new business is established after the date, the prohibition on "occupation" applies.

Regulation No. 336 now exempts all employees of persons or companies engaged in trade except those in the executive, professional, technical, supervisory categories listed in 329. The effect of this, according to officials of the Group Areas Board, is to bring the employment of persons of one race in these categories by employers of another race under what is called "permit control".

But, in fact, the wording of 336 does not support this construction. There is a curious difference in the wording of clause (2) (c), which applies to persons in trade, and clause (2) (d), which applies to companies in trade.

## Paper Waste

But it appears to be a difference without a distinction. No (2) (c) for the companies appears to do everything which the much longer and more verbose (2) (c) does for the individual traders. No official has so far been able to explain the reason for the different wording, since the purpose of each sub-clause is said to be the same.

But neither wording supports the Board's belief that the clauses only control employment of executives, technicians, managers etc. of a race different to the employer. On the contrary, the clauses clearly apply to all persons in these categories. The effect is that, if the racial occupation of the business has changed since the specified date, all persons in these categories will require permits, even if they are whites working for whites, Indians working for Indians etc.

Why has such a complicated, time-wasting and paper-consuming regulation been framed? There seem to be three possible explanations.



Dönges

1. It is an error in drafting. In trying to "close certain loopholes" the Board has in fact stopped up a good deal more than it intended. This is far from impossible. It has happened before.

2. It is conceivable that, wanting to apply these stringent restrictions to, say, Indians only, the Board has felt constrained to make them appear non-discriminatory by applying them to everyone. But since the discriminatory nature of 329, excluding white employees from non-white areas, is obvious, there is no particular reason for the Board suddenly to feel squeamish.

3. The true explanation probably lies between these two. The Board almost certainly does intend not merely to eliminate "camouflage" Indian businesses. It probably also intends (if the clauses are framed as meant) to prevent the expansion of existing Indian businesses.

## Another Inroad

This it can now do, even within the jurisdiction of those few

remaining municipalities which are willing to grant Indian traders or companies new licences, by withholding permits from the managers, supervisors, etc. to run new branches of such businesses, even if they are themselves Indians—perhaps relatives of the original trader now grown up and looking for outlets for their enterprise.

Thus the regulation can constitute a yet further inroad upon the authority of municipalities and yet a further denial of opportunities to Indians.

But in the process it has done two things the Board almost certainly did not intend. It requires white managers, supervisors, executives and technicians to get permits to work for white employers. A case in point (though there are many more in Natal where white businessmen have been buying up properties from Indians after the specified date) would be Lydenburg. There, thanks to the late J. L. V. Liebenberg M.P., the Rent Board was abolished; and Messrs. Lydenburg Voorspoed Koöperasie Beperk and Koöperatiewe Handelshuis Beperk evicted three Indian tenants in 1954.

## Vice Versa

Now, although Group Areas for Lydenburg were proclaimed in the middle of last year, they do not come into force until four years after that (and not even then if litigation ensues).

So every superior employee of these two Afrikaans firms operating on these ex-Indian sites will have to ask the Group Areas Board for a permit to continue his work.

Secondly, since the regulations specifically prohibit the employment of persons in these superior categories except under permit, they for the first time implicitly legalise the employment of whites in inferior capacities by non-whites in all specified areas—throughout most of the urban areas of the Union today and for many years yet.

Christopher Gell.



**CIRCULAR**, in both official languages, sent by the Natalse Landboukoöperasie Beperk to all its members: "We notice that you visited our depot on 27 and 28 December, 1957, and were attended by an Indian and this letter is to offer our apology for this unfortunate incident. We only heard on Saturday that our European clerk was not there and the Indian did the work there without our knowledge and consent. Please be assured that this incident is regarded in a very serious light; normally we would never allow our members to be served by a Non-European".

**Preamble** to Law No. 3 of 1897 (Transvaal), still in force: "Inasmuch as the people allows the dissemination of the Gospel among coloured people, and provision was made by Law No. 3 of 1871 that the marriages of coloured people should be regulated by law, and inasmuch as the people will not tolerate any equalisation between whites and blacks, either in Church or State; and inasmuch as there are coloured persons who by education and civilisation have become distinguished from barbarians, and who therefore desire to live in a Christian and civilised manner and accordingly wish to be lawfully united in marriage, be it hereby enacted as follows . . ."

**Report** in the South African morning newspapers: "Mrs. Julia Buba, a Fingo woman living in Duncan Village, East London, who, it is claimed, is the oldest African in South Africa, celebrated her 123rd birthday yesterday . . . The secret of her longevity was, she said, good food—mealie pap and calabash milk".

**News item** in Natal's Sunday Tribune: "A political move to replace crocodiles with Nationalist voters is threatening the existence of Natal's game reserves, says Councillor Charles Williamson, of Durban".

## THE PEOPLE

# VARYING MOTIVES: COMMON MOOD

ALMOST unnoticed by the South African Press a multi-racial "workers' conference" is being planned in the Union which the organisers claim will be bigger and even more important than the mammoth Congress of the People.

The conference was proposed by the South African Congress of Trade Unions and has been endorsed by all the other members of the Congress movement in South Africa—the African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress, the Congress of Democrats, and the South African Coloured People's Organisation.

It is to be held in Johannesburg on March 15 and 16 and preceded by regional conferences on February 15.

Although the Press has ignored the preparations for the event—as it did the preliminary plans for the dramatic 1952 defiance campaign and the fateful Congress of the People—the Government has shown itself to be very much on the alert.

It is this plan for a workers' conference which led the Minister of Justice, Mr. Swart, to challenge the United Party in Parliament recently about its attitude to the proposed "pre-election strike in support of the United Party".

### Private View

On this occasion the Minister's information seems nearer the mark than usual. The organisers publicly deny that the aim of the conference is simply to organise a pre-election strike.

They say that the conference will meet to discuss what can be done to further the £1 a day campaign, the campaign against the Group Areas Act and the anti-pass movement.

But privately they admit that proposals for some form of industrial action are certain to arise at the conference and that in the present mood of the non-Euro-

pean workers it is likely that early strike action will be decided on.

The suggestion that this is the aim of the organisers is borne out by the statement of the National Consultative Committee of the Congress movement, which says: "This conference can be of decisive importance in carrying out our task between now and the general election."

### Our Future

"It can provide us with the opportunity of discussing with the various delegates at the conference plans for leading the whole population into mass action around these slogans at a time when mass action can be important for our whole future."

Stay-at-home strikes by non-European workers have been conducted with increasing success on June 26 for several years. Non-white workers will almost certainly welcome the opportunity of staging an even more telling demonstration of their economic power.

But there is division among supporters of the conference about the timing of any industrial action.

### Respite Needed

It is being widely suggested in the congress movements that a strike just before the general election would bring home to the white electorate the extent of the non-whites' dissatisfaction with the Nationalist Government.

It is argued that a strike would, therefore, improve the chances of the United Party being returned to power and thus gain the hard-

pressed non-white people some respite.

But others question the motives behind the idea from the point of view of principle. A third group questions the timing from the tactical point of view. Some say that there is no difference in principle between Nationalist and United Party policy and there is no need, therefore, for the non-whites to try to influence the outcome of white elections.

Those who argue on tactical grounds say that a pre-election strike by non-whites would be disastrous for the United Party, particularly if there were any suggestion that it was being staged for the United Party's benefit. They say it would stampede white voters into supporting the "kragdadige" nationalists.

### Double Game

Some suspicion has even arisen that those who are promoting the strike idea might be playing a "double game", pretending to help the United Party while, in fact ensuring the return of the Nationalist Party.

Such a motive is readily understandable when it is appreciated that it is in reaction to White Nationalism that Black Nationalism prospers.

Despite the apparent tangle of motives, however, it is apparent that the non-white workers are ready and eager for an opportunity to display their economic strength in support of their political claims. The proposed workers' conference therefore is certain to be an event of great significance which deserves the close attention of all South Africans.

## THE PREMIER:

## HOW SICK IS MR. STRIJDOM?

HOW sick is Mr. Strijdom? The bulletin issued by the Prime Minister's doctor said that he had suffered before his recent illness from a heart condition, that following a bout of influenza he had had a pleural effusion (liquid in the lung), but that his condition was now back to what it was before he had 'flu.

The bulletin did not say, however, exactly what the nature of Mr. Strijdom's heart trouble was, or exactly how serious it was, nor what influence it would have on his future activities.

The result has been a fresh spate of rumours, some of which first began to circulate years ago, about the nature of the Prime Minister's illness.

In view of the public interest in and the importance to the country of the Prime Minister's health, CONTACT publishes the following discussion, based on good medical authority, of the probable nature of the Prime Minister's illness.

**Rumour No. 1:** When Mr. Strijdom visited London some years ago it was rumoured that he was visiting medical specialists in connection with a suspected cancer of the larynx. The fact that he did so little public speaking was cited as evidence favouring this diagnosis.

This rumour can be discounted. Victims of this sort of cancer could not remain untreated by surgery or radiotherapy for several years without revealing symptoms becoming clearly noticeable.

**Rumour No. 2:** According to this rumour Mr. Strijdom was suffering from leukaemia—a blood disorder somewhat similar to cancer, where there is a wild growth of white blood cells.

This is unlikely. There have been no reports of any symptoms (such as anaemia) indicating this, and no suggestion that he has been receiving appropriate treat-



ment (such as blood transfusions). **Rumour No. 3:** Cancer of the lung has also been suggested. Any male in later life who develops a pleural effusion can be suspected of harbouring a lung cancer. This diagnosis, however, is not tenable in view of the fact that Mr. Strijdom has been in poor health for years and in the light of the other facts set out in his doctor's report.

**Possibility:** The report of the Prime Minister's doctor suggests that Mr. Strijdom has chronic disease of the aortic valve of the heart and a collection of fluid in the pleural cavity.

Most valvular disease is caused by rheumatic fever in childhood. The heart valve becomes inflamed and once the acute infection has subsided the valve is often scarred for life.

This means that it cannot close properly and blood that should be carried to the aorta leaks back into the left ventricle. If the valve is very incompetent the patient may then develop a piling up of blood in the lungs, which drain into the left side of the heart, and this condition is known as pulmonary congestion due to left ventricular failure.

A heart may suddenly become incompetent as the result of an illness such as influenza causing a general malfunctioning of the body. Or germs can settle in the diseased valves and grow there, causing not only general infection and illness but adding to the pre-existing valve damage.

If this is the case, medical opinion would be strongly in favour of plenty of rest and a very tranquil way of life.

than Africans may be excluded, puppet councils, senates and other unnamed bodies, will be established.

But if, as must be, the Separate University Education Bill is radically altered before it is presented to Parliament again, so must also be its ugly sister, the Fort Hare Bill. And if it is radically altered, the Hybrid Bill procedure must be obeyed again: the Bill withdrawn, notice of a new one made in the Gazette, the required months elapse.

And if, as seems inevitable, Parliament is not asked to discuss the Separate University Education Bill or its modified successor, until 1959, then a new Fort Hare Transfer Bill will not be introduced before late in that year, or even 1960.

Then, in the phrase of the Education League's Dr. Hesse, university apartheid will have gone into its eleventh year of urgency.

# Education: Trimming the Torch

IT is becoming clear that an integral part of Nationalist plans for separate university education is to be a thorough sifting of academic staffs of non-White universities.

The docility and conformity of those permitted to pass on a carefully-trimmed torch of learning will be assured, first by staff selection and then by severe disciplinary provisions.

In the case of Fort Hare, these are constructed to deal, not only with deviations developed after selection, but with any non-conformists who have survived the original auto da fe. These may be disciplined for offences alleged to have been committed before the Fort Hare Transfer Bill was implemented.

The shape of things to come is discernible in a circular from the State Attorney's Office, sent at the end of last term, canvassing the opinions of each member of the Fort Hare staff and Council on the proposed Transfer Bill.

The circular asks—in the picturesque language of the Parliamentary Agent to the Government—whether the recipient assents to, dissents from, or is neutral in respect of, the Bill.

### Odd Formality

Dr. P. A. W. Cook, Deputy Director of Bantu Education, who represents the Department of Native Affairs, blandly assured the commission on the Bill that this inquiry was just a formality.

His view, however, does not

accord with that of a senior House of Assembly officer, who has said that this kind of quiz by questionnaire is not a necessary part of the procedure at all.

A good deal of light was unintentionally thrown on Government intentions when Dr. Cook, during an exchange with Mr. Alex Mepple M.P. during the sittings of the Commission on the Separate University Education Bill, tried to allay misgivings over the severity of the disciplinary provisions for staff members.

These provisions would apply, Dr. Cook said persuasively, only in "exceptional cases", and could in any event be relaxed when "the fear that the (tribal) universities might develop in a way contrary to policy had disappeared."

### Reluctant SABRA

Pursued by Mr. Hepple, Dr. Cook declared first, that one of the dangers to the new colleges would be that their members might engage in "unwise political activity" and second, that the Minister should decide what were unwise politics.

The Minister, he explained, was answerable to Parliament and his activities were more accessible to criticism than are those of a University Council.

Finally, he thought that the

danger would in any case not be great because the college staff could be subject to selection.

Thus was laid bare the diseased body of Nationalist educational policy. How deep the disease has thrust itself was emphasised by three reluctant friends of the patient, the SABRA professors. They were led with cavalier confidence and with admirable disregard for current apartheid mumbo-jumbo, by Prof. Nic Olivier.

"As academic people," he said, "we cannot possibly acquiesce in disciplinary provisions of this nature." A university teacher had the right to engage in political agitation if he wished to do so; this was his right as a person and a citizen.

### 'Not an End'

And the colleges, once their councils had been appointed—a majority of members by the Government—must be absolutely free to appoint staff and permit their staff members entire freedom in determining what and how they taught.

And if that meant having black and white teachers on senates and boards, what of it?

"Apartheid is not an end in itself," said Prof. Olivier sternly to a discomfited Mr. Maree, who had proposed a Verwoerd-in-Wonderland system of advisory black councils and senates which would be given a real authority on the never-never plan. "Apar-

theid is only a means to an end. I do not know on what philosophic or moral grounds such a separation could be made.

And the open Universities must stay open because the tribal colleges should prove their worth on a free market. What the three professors proposed, in short, was that an essential part of the patient's cure was the patient's death.

### Tight Cleft

SABRA'S frank arguments, vulnerable though indeed they are if countered on the first principles of separation or not-separation, revealed the depth of the cleft stick into which the Government have introduced this atrocious and ill-formed Bill.

They sounded a plain warning to the Government that the Nationalists are out of sympathy with Sabra on this issue. In the result, the Government is likely to be frightened into proceeding more cautiously and more circumspectly.

Meanwhile the contents of the Fort Hare Bill to transfer the maintenance, management and control of Fort Hare to the Minister of Native Affairs, have been announced.

At the specified date, Dr. Verwoerd, or his successor, will assume all the powers, functions and duties of the Fort Hare Council. White students will not be admitted, non-Whites other

## TANGANYIKA

Impatient  
Upsurge

A marked growth in African nationalism and increased activity by new political parties are referred to in a report on Tanganyika now being considered by the United Nations Trusteeship Council.

Tanganyika, formerly German East Africa, is a United Nations trust territory, administered by the United Kingdom.

The report is by a United Nations visiting mission which toured Tanganyika in August and September last year.

Noting that the territory is undergoing a process of rapid political advancement, the mission says: "It was inevitable that, mindful of the Administering Authority's declared objective under the Trusteeship Agreement of bringing the territory to self-government or independence, many Africans have seen, in the accelerated advances of recent years, a promise of rapid progress and have become desirous of assuming increasing responsibility for the management of their own affairs.

"This, coupled with the impact of events elsewhere in the world, notably in Africa, has given rise to an upsurge of African nationalism affecting a large segment of the population which tends to become easily impatient and frustrated if political change appears to it to be unduly slow."

## Tensions

The report says that the Administering Authority has affirmed that its objective is to develop a democratic multi-racial society and has emphasised that its entire policy is directed toward bringing up the indigenous inhabitants to take their place side by side with the immigrant communities.

That in this transition "tensions have been kept to a minimum" is attributed by the United Nations mission to a desire of most political leaders of all races to work together for the common good and to the "moderating influence" of the Administering Authority.

The hostile physical features of the territory have in the past retarded economic development and the effect of this delay, the U.N. mission says, is still to be seen "in the great economic and social gulf which separates the majority of African (98 per cent. of the population) from the small European and Asian minorities."

The report reviews the various constitutional advances which the mission considers have been made since its last visit to the territory in 1954.

## "Bold"

The next step will be the country's first election, in September 1958 and in 1959, to select the representative members of the Legislative Council. Each voter will be required to vote for one European, one Asian and one African. The trio will jointly represent each constituency.

The mission notes that the Governor of Tanganyika regarded the introduction of elections on a common roll as "a bold experiment" which had yet to be tested in practice and deserved a fair trial. The general policy of the United Kingdom was to "prepare the territory as quickly and as thoroughly as possible for self-government on a non-racial basis."

Congo Cash Register Rings  
Up 'No Sale'

MUNICIPAL elections don't usually stir the political depths or shake continents. Especially not if their outcome is more or less what should have been expected. But in the profound silence which has followed the first multiracial municipal elections held recently in the Belgian Congo there can be felt the stirring of a vast question and the tremor of basalt foundations.

This is precisely because the elections fell into line with developments everywhere else in Africa—they showed a sharp turn towards what Lord Hailey calls "Africanism", and John Gunther more dramatically calls "Black Nationalism".

For nearly 500 years the fabulous and haunted country of the Congo (12,000,000 Africans, 75,000 Whites, 70 times the size of Belgium) has been supplying the world with alternately exciting and shattering news.

Nothing has been quite so exciting to many observers of Africa in the last decade as the spectacular economic progress in the territory—no votes for anybody, Black millionaires all over the place, primitives rushing to the banks with their savings wrapped in banana-leaves.

"We're making certain," said the Belgian administrators, "that when the first Black voter casts his ballot, he will be a solid Western type ratepayer with a stake in civilization."

## Same Mind

Well, now he has cast his vote, and there is this deep ruminative silence all over Africa, but especially in those many beautifully appointed back-rooms in Leopoldville administration blocks.

The Black voters of Leopoldville, Jabotville and Elisabethville have shown that they are very much of the same mind as the Black voters of Ghana, Nigeria, Kenya, Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia, French Equatorial Africa, the Western Cape and Sierra Leone.

Those calm, intelligent and welfare-minded officials, who direct the great white hope of Africa from beside the Stanley Pool, now face exactly the same question as troubles so many other White (and even Black) administrators elsewhere on the continent: "Where do we go from here?" They have arrived at exactly the same point as all the others.

Their approach has only gone to show that whatever way round you take, you reach the Great Rift at last.

## Welfare Handouts

Nobody can say that the Belgians made their approach injudiciously, or insensitively. They encouraged the arts as well as industries, they built splendid housing schemes, put a million little black boys and girls to school, filled the great spaces and forests with some of the world's most enlightened missionaries, dropped racial discrimination quite rapidly, raised the standards of the Whites, and gave every conceivable welfare benefit to the Blacks.

Even when inevitable demands for greater rights were posted up in papers around Leopoldville, they handled the matter with a tolerance and percipience not usual in Africa.

BY  
THOTH

The Congo is, in addition to the general high quality of its officials, blessed with a brilliant Governor-General, a man whom history may reveal to have been one of the greatest administrators Africa has known. He is Leon Pétillon.

The story runs that when the radical demands began to appear, he sent for those Africans responsible for their publication. "I have read your proposals, gentlemen," he said, "and find them very interesting. Now I propose that you put forward a plan showing how we are to carry them out." The Congolese leaders returned to model homes and offices (built with generous Belgian aid) thinking furiously.

## Crowning Glory

M. Pétillon already had his own plan cut and dried for making a start towards greater political rights. Indeed, it had already been formulated some three or four years before. The Africans were to be given the vote where the benefits and pleasures of European civilization were overwhelmingly obvious. That was round the rapidly growing Congo cities which were surrounding themselves with modern factories and gay housing schemes at such an astonishing rate.

Here, if anywhere, the Black man would forget his tribes and witch-doctors and become an uprooted, cash-conscious Western man. The more brooding, obscure hungers of the human mind would be dispelled in the joyous acquisition of new satisfactions, tastes and excitements. The municipal vote would come as the crowning glory of economic well-being.

This was going to be a controlled political experiment. With infinite care and circumspection, the rein would be slackened and the dark horse given its head. One day, the Congo would be Africa's shining example—the one territory with a responsible electorate. (It would, indeed, be the one country in the world.)

Within less than a year of those demands, around Leopoldville the experiment was begun. The great terrapin of the administration took its first cautious step into the political future. And Leopoldville, Jabotville and Elisabethville voted as they did.

## Five Years . . .

M. Pétillon and his assistants may have conferred with the same person on the subject of elections as John Gunther did. John Gunther is not a particularly profound journalist, but he does button-hole passing prophets and set down

their views. He writes in his "Inside Africa": "I asked a man who is quite possibly the single most powerful living Belgian how long Belgium could hold the Congo, how long the rule of the White man was going to last. He replied, 'Sooner or later we will have to have elections. After that, five years!'"

Whether or not the elections held recently were the sort this distinguished Belgian was thinking of, it is interesting to take his prophecy five years into the future. That makes late 1962.

In the early 'sixties the face of Africa will have altered strangely and in many places. Kenya will probably have a new constitution by then, Nigeria will be free. Ghana will be having her second independent general elections. French West and Equatorial Africa will almost certainly be completely controlled by "Black Frenchmen", the Sahara developments will be overshadowing those in the Middle East oil fields, the Central African Federation will be plunging on towards another stranger phase in its approach to independence, and South Africa will be meeting the huge confusion left by apartheid.

If the Belgian Congo cuts loose at this time it will certainly go down some of the most seething rapids in African history. Even if the Belgians are still in control, they too will have to go down these rapids. And will they be holding the fragile rudder-bar of extended municipal elections, or a bigger rudder-bar, more difficult to handle?

## Liberals' Problem

This problem of how to meet the inevitable is not only becoming a real one for administrators—but also for Africa's liberals. Are they happily persuaded that everything is going to come right in Ghana, and that even in Liberia the best is yet to be?

What would liberals advise M. Pétillon to do now? Go on extending his municipal vote, or open the whole of the Congo to develop towards the universal franchise at whatever speed the African Nationalists declare it possible?

Does the beautiful day-dream of the Capricorn Africa Society really square with the brusquer demands of an all-conquering "Africanism" or "Black Nationalism"? What do we liberals do in the sweep towards the Holy Grail of "Freedom"—can we do anything even if we try?

Perhaps the kernel of an answer to the liberal dilemma (as much the dilemma of Sabra as it is of the Race Relations Institute) is to be found in the distinction which Lord Hailey draws between "Africanism" and "Nationalism". He does not see everywhere in Africa the darker forces thrusting behind the movement towards independence as certain people see involved in Nationalism.

He says, "That vision (of Africanism) is not purely an indigenous product; it emanates as a rule from Europeanized groups of Africans, who apply to the conditions of Africa the ideal of self-determination which was born not in Africa but in the Western World."

## TRENDS

A SCHEME to provide six or more scholarships for Asian and African students at the School of Oriental and African Studies (London University) is being advocated by Professor C. H. Philips, Director of the School. The proposed scholarship would cost about £1,000 or £1,200 each for a 3-year stay.

A scholarship scheme under the Rockefeller Foundation, which started at the School this session, provided a bridge towards the new British project.

"The main emphasis should be on postgraduate work," Professor Philips said. "We have more to offer at this level."

For the allocation of scholarships between Asians and Africans, he advocated a sliding scale. "There might have to be more Asians at first, then more Africans later," he said.

The studies would be concerned mainly with the economic development, culture, political science, archaeology, history and geography of the students' own countries.

\*

FURTHER steps towards self-government for Sierra Leone are proposed in a White Paper published by the Sierra Leone Government.

A ministerial delegation had talks at the Colonial Office in London last December on constitutional changes, and the White Paper now proposes the appointment of a Prime Minister.

The leading minister now is Dr. M.A.S. Margai, who has the title of Chief Minister.

It is proposed that the Governor's reserved powers should be re-defined but that he would retain responsibility for external affairs and defence, police and public services, and that Government shall be by Executive Council who the Governor will consult.

In 1956 the franchise in Sierra Leone was widened and the Legislature was enlarged.

\*

THE Kenya Government has declared illegal a Kikuyu society, the Kiama Kia Muingi, or "People's Party", and arrested 85 of its members. Sentences of seven years imprisonment are being imposed on members and 12 years on the leaders. But the Government says that "at present there are no indications that the society intended to resort to violence".

\*

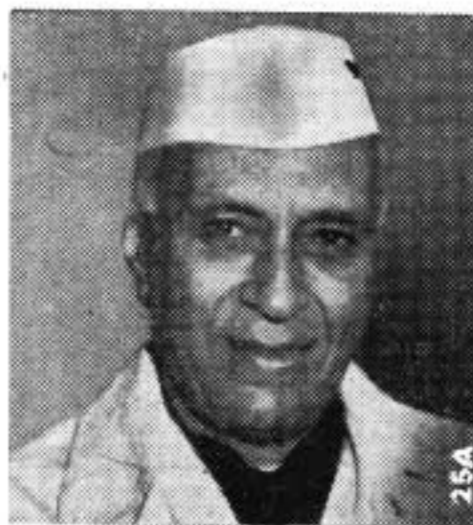
A NEW political organization, the Marematlou Party, has been launched in Basutoland. It is said to open a wider field of political differences among Africans in the territory and to pave the way for the creation of party politics there.

\*

MR. GARFIELD TODD rightly argues that the present danger is not from the left, but from moderates who allow fear to sway them to such an extent that the reactionary element may take over control of the ruling party.—London News Chronicle on the Rhodesian Cabinet crisis.



Eisenhower



Nehru



Krushchev



Chou en Lai

## THE SUPER-POWERS SQUARE OFF

**T**HE arrival of another year sees the way to world peace as misty, elusive and difficult as ever. It cannot well be otherwise, for in this century there is no dominant power capable of ensuring peace.

There is no *Pax Romana*, as there was fifteen hundred years ago and more, in the days of the Roman Empire. There is no *Pax Britannica*, as there was last century when Britain was mistress of the seas and industrial leader of the world.

Instead there are two great powers grappling for ascendancy, Russia and the United States. Both are more powerful than any nations have ever been before. Both possess, in the hydrogen bomb, the most terrible weapon ever devised, a weapon capable of putting an end, not only to themselves but to the rest of the human race.

It is in the shadow of this titanic struggle and this abominable weapon that the men, women and children of the Twentieth Century have to live. *The Pax Romana* was destroyed by barbarian invasions which plunged Europe into darkness, fragmented it and led to centuries of wars.

*The Pax Britannica* was smashed by the challenge of Germany. In two world wars, Germany made bids for supremacy over Britain and in those bloody contests both Powers so weakened themselves that neither has since been capable of supremacy. The same fate fell even more heavily on Britain's ally, France.

### Enter, Russia

After the first of these world wars, it was thought that the United States might emerge as the new dominant power, and there was talk of this being the American century. But the end of the second world war made it clear that this was not to be so.

The end of the second world war saw another super power, Russia, on the stage, and the two stood facing each other across the "orthodox" ruins of Europe, in the West, and the ominous devastation of an atom-blasted Japan in the East.

Russia had the sledge-hammer Red Army, which could invade Europe, and she had, in communism, red-hot ideology for export. The United States had the super-sting of the atom bomb and the air strength to deliver it.

This was a moment of fateful choice. The two super powers could decide on co-operation or on rivalry, on establishing a peaceful condominium or on seeking supremacy.

### Atom Gesture

The United States, in a friendly gesture, put forward a completely unworkable plan for the international control and exploitation

of the atom. At the head of Russia was the foxy Stalin, suspicious, wary, "realist", forgetting nothing. He remembered that after World War I the Western Powers had tried to strangle the infant communist state in its cradle, and that between

In the first of a series of articles on world politics, CONTACT'S foreign affairs commentator etches the background to the most titanic struggle in history with simplicity and clarity. Other articles will deal with more specific questions.

the wars the Western Governments turned a blandly blind eye on the aggressions of the most avowedly anti-communist powers, Germany, Italy and Japan.

He remembered that, even in the war just ended, the United States and Britain withheld from their Russian ally the information that they had a devastating new weapon.

No doubt he thought that to accept the United States plan would be damaging to Soviet prestige — and might not the United States have thought the same if Russia had been first with the atomic bomb? So Stalin's reply to the atomic bomb was the cold war.

He accelerated a process, begun after the non-aggression pact with Hitler, of extending Russia's frontiers to strengthen her strategic position. He tightened his grip on the Eastern European countries and on East Germany so as to place more territory between his industrial centres and the West.

### Veto Applied

He plundered these territories of machinery, transporting whole factories, to speed up the industrialization of Russia and the recovery of that country from the ravages of war. He gave priority to the building of an atomic bomb. He applied the veto liberally in the United Nations and generally created an atmosphere of tension which gave a sense of urgency and integration to his people.

He refused to co-operate in the Marshall Plan for restoring prosperity to Europe. The response of the West was to form the North Atlantic Alliance for the protection of Western Europe.

This elephantine defence organization now comprises 15 countries: the United States and Canada, most of the Western

European countries except Sweden, Switzerland and Spain, and to the east, Greece and Turkey. In more recent years there has been a struggle by both sides to strengthen their global positions by winning friends and influencing allies.

Russia's greatest victory has been the turning to communism of China, a vast and wealthy country of 600,000,000 people which seems destined to become a great Power in its own right. Actually China's ideological switch-over occurred as a result of Western foolishness rather than of Russian skill; but Russia and China are now linked in a military defence alliance.

### Encirclement Policy

The United States, in pursuance of the Truman policy of containment of communism, which is also followed by Eisenhower, has sought to encircle this monolithic communist bloc by forming other military alliances in addition to the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, or Nato.

In the middle East there is the Bagdad Pact, made up of Turkey, Iraq, Persia, Pakistan and Britain. The United States inspired this pact but is not yet a full member of it.

In the East there is the South East Asia Treaty Organization, born out of the Korean and Indo-China deadlock, whose members are Australia, France, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines, Thailand, Britain and the United States. There is also the Anzus Pact, comprising Australia, New Zealand and the United States.

In addition the United States has defence treaties with Formosa, South Korea and Japan, and military bases in a number of other countries, such as Saudi Arabia, Morocco and Spain, so that it can be said that she has acquired a defence system on which the sun—and Soviet suspicion—never sets.

### Other Groupings

There are also other groupings in the West that should be mentioned. There is the Organization of American States, under which the 21 American Republics have agreed to co-operate in various ways and consult together on policy. One of these Republics, Brazil, is by virtue of its wealth and size a candidate for greater Power status.

Then there is the British Commonwealth of Nations, which is predominantly pro-Western and whose members, although independent, have tended to stay together for reasons of security and other mutual benefits.

But the division into two huge camps, communist and non-communist, does not account for all the nations of the world. Out of the ashes of the world wars

there arose a third great group, made up from the fragmented empires of the warring powers. This is the Afro-Asian group of nations, a third force standing at the fulcrum of world affairs and increasingly wooed by both sides.

This third group is of special interest for any South African who cares to observe events beyond these borders, because its members, occupying a key position in the global struggle, are non-Europeans. These Afro-Asian nations are mostly backward and the mass of their peoples live in poverty. But some of their countries are strategically important and others have vast natural resources. Indonesia, for example, is the third wealthiest region in the world after Russia and the United States.

### Manpower Key

Moreover their manpower resources are enormous. The population of Indonesia is 80,000,000 and that of the Indian sub-continent more than 40,000,000. Professor Gordon Childe, the archaeologist, accustomed to viewing history in terms of thousands of years rather than centuries, believes that numbers are decisive in history in the long run.

Certainly these millions of Asians and Africans, whose level of living and of literacy can be rapidly raised by the methods of modern technology, are likely fairly soon to become a very considerable force in world affairs.

Nationalism is strong in the Afro-Asian group as a response to present or recent Western domination, but its leader, the Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, is not nationalist. His concern is to see that the Afro-Asians remain a third group between East and West. Mr. Nehru is, then, one of the three key figures on the present world stage.

To the South African who combines anti-communism with colour prejudice, this line-up of world forces must present a terrifying dilemma. He is with the West against communism, but he is fearful of that rise of Asia and Africa which could be a counterpoise to Communist expansion. As long as he views the world in terms of skin colour, that terrifying dilemma will remain.

But has he really any choice? Certainly the two super Powers, in their search for friends and allies, are not going to worry themselves about question of pigmentation, nor are they going to shape their policies to satisfy the prejudices of a handful of Whites at the tip of the African continent.

## WHAT'S IN A WORD?

**L**IBERAL Party chairman Alan Paton has put several members of Durban's International Arts League of Youth in a tizzy by telling them that their use of the word 'international' in their title carries obligations which extend beyond the boundaries of art.

Accusing them of upholding a colour bar in their cultural activities, Mr. Paton has told them that to be 'international' they must at the same time be inter-racial.

Defenders of the league in the matter of its cognomen maintain that you can have international relationships without crossing the colour line. They point to other organizations which, they say, foster such relations and still uphold a colour bar.

Mr. Paton's view has won the support of two distinguished artists. Sir Laurence Olivier has resigned his patronage of the league over the issue and Yehudi Menuhin has told the league that either they invite an Indian yogi friend of his to their next festival or he, too, will withdraw his patronage.

### 'A Vendetta'

Many supporters of the League say that they are sympathetic to the Liberal cause but that they cannot support a party whose national chairman is "conducting a vendetta" against a cultural organization which is doing good work to promote harmony between English and Afrikaans-speaking South Africans.

More active Liberals, and many non-European, have riposted that the 'liberalism' of those who claim to be alienated by Mr. Paton's strictures is not even skin deep.

The league formerly held many mixed gatherings, and were addressed both by Europeans and non-Europeans.

Last year, however, perhaps because of the intimidation techniques of the Government, their programme did not include a single contribution from a non-White.

The National chairman, Mrs. Mary Asher, however, says the league executive has resolved that "when and wherever practical, provision will be made to either accommodate non-Europeans at concerts, lectures, ballets, plays, exhibitions, etc., or special performances for non-whites will be arranged.

## TRENDS

**T**HE Arabic union of Egypt and Syria under President Nasser of Egypt, will probably be joined by the Yemen, to form a neutralist, nationalistic bloc. This is seen as a diplomatic victory for Russia, but is probably the result of Nasser's successful nationalization of the Suez Canal, and the unpopularity of the Baddad Pact and the Eisenhower doctrine.

\*

**I**T is stated semi-officially in Washington that President Eisenhower's disarmament adviser, Harold Stassen, is likely to resign. This would be victory for "Brinkmanship" Secretary Dulles, and "get-tougher" State Department policy.

PATRICK DUNCAN, writing of his hopes for CONTACT, says . . .

## South Africa is no Write-off

HERE and overseas a lot of people spend a lot of time "writing off" South Africa. We are told that it is a hopeless situation. We are told that our problems have no peaceful solution.

I do not believe this. I know that the whole world is going through a difficult and dangerous time. In this respect South Africa is no different from most of the rest of the world.

I believe however that the human race in the world as a whole will learn to live together in peace. And I believe that South Africa is going to sort out its difficulties peacefully too.

Here the real political struggle is between the forces of union and the forces of disunion. The present government represents the forces of disunion. Everywhere they can they encourage group to separate from group and race from race. The logical end to this process is a division of this country into two—a "white" area and a "non-white" area.

### Race War

The fate of the Tomlinson Report showed that this could not happen peacefully. Partition could only happen as an act of war—a race war. This is where *baasskap* is leading us.

Race war would tear apart our economic system and destroy the factories which our forefathers built up at such a cost. It would ruin non-whites as well as whites. It would write off South Africa for more than a generation.

But this is not the only force working in our country. Everywhere, in the open and in the dark, are working the forces of union. Politicians may try to keep our people apart, but those same politicians, in the numerous factories they are associated with, are working for union.

CONTACT, I hope, will be a mouthpiece for the forces of



Duncan

union. Everywhere people ought to be encouraged to come together, group with group and race with race, on a basis of complete equality and non-racial democracy.

### Natural Growth

Our path is the path of peace and security. We want to give the various peoples of South Africa the chance to grow nearer to each other, and to do it in the way that comes naturally.

I hope that CONTACT will find readers among all racial groups. Through its pages I hope that South Africans of one sort may come to value and honour the cultures and achievements of those

THE views expressed on this page are those of the individual writers. CONTACT takes no responsibility for them and does not necessarily endorse them. Nor do these writers necessarily subscribe to CONTACT'S views.

of other sorts. May CONTACT teach us the value of diversity as well as the value of unity.

I would like to end with a special message to the Afrikaner people who, for the moment, have special responsibilities to the whole people of South Africa.

I feel proud to belong to the same nation as the victors of Majuba, and the dogged guerillas of 1902. In front of the most beautiful memorial of our country, the *Vrouemonument* in Bloemfontein, I feel something of what every Afrikaner must feel as he stands there.

### An Appeal

I believe that much done in the name of Afrikaner nationalism has been justified, and that rights had to be fought for. Having said this I beg Afrikaners to use their eyes and minds.

See through the unjust and outworn slogans that endanger the future. *Apartheid* leads to injustice and hatred. *Baasskap* will remain for ever unacceptable as a relationship between human beings.

The time has come to choose between peace and justice on the one hand, and war, injustice and death on the other.

Remember that over 10,000 years of history man has found no substitute for justice.



Hommel



Krige

UYS KRIGE, urging the "Cape Doctor" to cleanse the soul of man as it scours the streets of Cape Town, says . . .

## Kom, Dokter, Kom

HUL sê jy is ons almal goedgesind  
wit, bruin en swart en oud en jonk, man, vrou en kind,  
want jy is mos die Kaapse Dokter, kwaai ou wind,  
al breek jy ook die akkerboom se sterkste takke af,  
al kom jy soos 'n malkop hings hier aangedraf,  
al is jy één groot sweep wat sonder ophou striem en sny en straf

—want soos jy almelewe net maar waai en waai en waai  
terwyl jy du'sende derduisende appels van die bome skaai,  
waai jy miljoene kieme in die blou ou Baai.

Jy mag die goue druif bederwe wat bestem is vir d'e kuip,  
jy mag meer skade aanrig as hy wat deur die donker sluip.  
Wat maak dit saak? Dis jy wat dalk 'n plaag self in die see versuip.

Al blaas of brul of bulder jy dus ook hoe boos,  
jy waak in jou witpak oor ons, Dokter Suidoos.  
Daarom verhef ek nou my stem bo joue sonder te blik of bloos.

Wat baat dit om die liggaam skoon te hou, skoon soos 'n boot se  
kiel,

wanneer die woekerende siektes van die gees, die siel,  
eerbied en agting, naastel'efde en trou, tot in die grond verniel?

In hemelsnaam wat was verkeerd? Moet ons ou Kaapse boedel  
juis só beredder word? Word alles dan besoedel  
deur ons teenwoordigheid? Dié kiem, dié siekte, hierdie plaag, waar  
orals woed hul?

Is jou vel wit, lê alles, alles, wawyd voor jou oop.

Maar is dit bruin, word alles enger, nouer, ja, mag jy nie hiersó  
staan of daarsó loop,  
word jy 'n burger van die Kaap-Hy's-Sonder-Hoop.

Elk Slegs-Vir-Blankes-bord is soos 'n splinter in ons hart.

Waar kan ons gaan met ons gedagtes vol opstandigheid en gans  
verward?

Strand toe miskien? Skreeu al die meeuë daar nie dalk: „Apart!  
Apart! Apart!?”

Jul hiet, gebied na hartelus. Gister die trein. Vandag die bus.  
En môre—wat? Ons woonbuurt? Of die blou blou lug? Dis  
wet op wet—te kus  
(maar die deur ons!) en ja, te keur (deur Blankes slegs). Laat jul  
ons nooit met rus?

Sê, Dokter Wind, is ons nie mense nie? Of is ons kieme,  
swere, smette, swamme? Ons hart bloei dood van al die steke,  
prieme.

Dié smaad, dié vloek sny deur ons erger as jou sterkste strieme.  
Is elkeen met 'n wit vel dan 'n Baas?

En elkeen met 'n bruin vel slegs 'n Klaas?  
Ly hier 'n hele volk (ja, ons én jul) dan aan melaats?

Want dié vernedering dag in dag uit bring vroeg of laat  
'n diepe grief en daardie grief word weer 'n kankerende wrok, 'n haat  
—en haat's 'n bese kring, baar haat op haat.

En haat bring vrees en pyn en angs vir hater en gehate.  
Teen haat help niks, selfs nie die beste van ou Boererate.  
Is daar 'n geestestoestand op Gods aarde meer verlate?

Dus laat ons, Dokter, nie alleen, verlate in dié pyn, ons wrok; verlore  
in dié angs, ons haat. Maar bulder luid, al luider in ons ore  
en blaas oor daardie blou ou berg met 'n gegalm van duisend kore  
seëvierend . . . En ruk die vrot ou takke af van al ons hate,  
wrokke! Vee

die siektekieme van ons algers siele voor jou uit! Ja, sleep hul mee  
en smyt hul soos 'n bak vol vullis in die suiwer see!

Opdat hier in ons aller harte, hard en koud en blind en stom,  
opnuut, nes 'n Godsgawe self, 'n steggie van die hoop mag blom,  
so swak, so tingerig, maar o so fyn, so fraai, so vol belofte! Kom,  
Dokter, kom . . .

Maurice Hommel, Transvaal  
Coloured schoolteacher, talks  
about

## Pride And Colour

CAPE Town was busy the day  
I arrived—two days before  
Christmas after six long years.

I was back in the city where  
the word Coloured means some-  
thing special: a special political  
status on a junior rung way down  
apartheid's ladder of seniority.

How far from Johannesburg,  
where the Coloured man has no  
status, but finds his refuge in the  
inverted racialism of intense pride  
in being Coloured.

I looked up at Table Mountain  
and memories flooded back. Then  
came more recent memories—  
memories of a Transvaal free  
from Anti-Coloured Affairs organi-  
sations and Unity Movements but  
shackled as far as many of its  
Coloured people are concerned to  
a "Colouredism" as virulent as  
Afrikaner Nationalism.

I wondered again, as I had  
wondered so often before, how  
many of my Transvaal friends  
still believed in the tradition to  
which they clung. Was their  
"Coloured pride" not just a con-  
venient cover for cowardice?

\*

BUT what of the "Liberal  
Cape"? We were having  
drinks at the home of a former  
schoolteacher friend who is now a  
doctor. A Capetonian jibed: "I  
suppose you chaps find it stimu-  
lating to be in the Liberal Cape?"  
We knew what he was getting

at.

In the Transvaal only the  
"lucky" ones get liquor permits,  
entitling them to a bottle or two  
of brandy and a few bottles of  
malt each month. To qualify  
they have to get good salaries and  
live in decent homes.

The process of proving one's  
qualifications is humiliating—but  
there are few who do not apply.

\*

A FEW days after the conver-  
sation at the doctor's house  
I met an old Transvaal friend  
coming out of one of Cape Town's  
Coloured hotels. I stopped to ask  
him how he liked being back in  
the Cape and whether he would  
ever again trade it for the "old  
Transvaal". He threw up his  
arms. "What, go back? Never".  
He was shouting, but the bibulous  
uproar from the bar behind him  
made him almost inaudible.

Nevertheless there was pride in  
his voice as he jerked a thumb at  
the sordid, noisy hostelry. "Have  
you in the Transvaal got anything  
like this?"

\*

THERE were other Transvaal  
friends, also holidaying in  
the Cape, who embarrassed me.  
There was that one particular  
woman who, at every party, com-  
mented in astonishment that  
never before had she seen so  
many light-skinned Coloured  
people and so many Coloured  
people with straight hair.

"Play-whiteism" is, of course,  
much more prevalent in the  
Transvaal than the Cape. In  
Johannesburg, in fact, it is  
assuming the proportions of a  
major social disease. It is fine  
for those who cross the threshold  
of privilege and get their jobs in  
the "European only" class, sit on  
"Blankes Alleen" seats, play in  
the parks or swim in the "white"  
swimming baths.

But for every Coloured who  
"crosses over" there is a brother, a  
sister, a cousin, or just a friend  
left behind, bewildered victim of  
despair, wondering what it is all  
about.

# CONTACT

THIS is the first issue of an independent journal which aims to provide the background which is essential to an objective understanding of the complex and race-muddled scene in Africa.

Although we have sympathy with broad liberal principles, we are tied to no party and we refuse to have any party labels tied to us.

"CONTACT" has been chosen as the name for this publication because we firmly believe that in this word lies the key to understanding, racial harmony and material and spiritual well-being not only in South Africa, but in the whole of the African continent and the world.

We make no apology for the fact that much of this issue is devoted to human relations on a personal basis. It is only by seeing people as individuals and not as symbols in some racial or political equation that the peculiar problems which beset South Africa can advance one step towards solution.

We thank all those who have shown their belief in our principles and their faith in our ability to carry out our task by taking out subscriptions and helping us in other ways.

Readers will find that we do not aim at a dry-as-dust polemic. We try to combine simplicity and readability with the truth as we see it.

We hope to find readers among all races, and all who believe in the sane and healthy future of South Africa. Our columns will, consequently, be open to all forward-looking and analytical organizations and opinions.

Alan Paton takes . . .

## The Long View

I AM writing this in Nigeria from the All Africa Church Conference. From up here one gets a clear view of the South.

South Africa is a white fortress. Each day, each month, each year, the Nationalists make it stronger. They make the walls thicker, they make them higher. Each year more and more of the white inhabitants are called from other jobs. They have to guard the fortress.

Yet in the long view, no one believes that the fortress will endure. Sooner or later it must yield. But till then the inhabitants must all be on guard.

Is there no other way out than this? Must white South Africans live like this all their lives? This paper doesn't think so. It thinks there is a better way. This paper is being published because some people believe there is a better way.

We don't think it will be an easy way. We expect it to provide some headaches and heartaches. But it offers a man

something better than a fortress life, something better than to spend his life guarding the status quo.

### The Problem

What is our political problem? It is to move from white supremacy to non-racial democracy as quickly, as soundly, as we can. We have to do this because we ought to. But we also have to do it because we have to. The world demands it, quite gently now, more loudly tomorrow.

Slavery went, child labour went, the inferior status of women is going. Apartheid will go too. It has become, not merely distasteful, but downright offensive to most of the world. It has become embarrassing to the rest, because it could set the world on fire.

Up here in Nigeria they are angry with Britain for abstaining from voting on apartheid in the United Nations Assembly. Many told me they would not stay in a Commonwealth that regards race discrimination as a domestic affair.

Up here in Nigeria, South Africa is the most important topic in the world. They talk all the time about South Africa. Ten young student teachers from St. Paul's College in Ibadan came to see me and to ask me what they could do to help South Africa. Everywhere we went, the Nigerians wanted to talk to the South Africans.

### Passions Flared

People up here don't think these are matters of politics. They think they are matters of justice, and therefore of religion. They think so with an intensity that must be seen to be believed.

How I wished white South Africa could have seen it! Perhaps they will one day, on television. Or perhaps they won't, because it will be declared to be racial incitement.

Even at this Church Conference, passions flared up on the question of race discrimination. They flared up once on the use of the word "Native". They flared up again on the question of segregation of the land.



This is the kind of world our children are being born into, the countries of Africa advancing everywhere to independence, first the British colonies and dependencies, then surely the Belgian and the French, ultimately the Portuguese. This is the kind of world we have to prepare ourselves and our children to live in.

That seems to me to be the only political question worth discussing in South Africa. How do we move by sound and constructive steps away from white supremacy? How do we avoid violence and catastrophe? How do we get white people to agree to want to share liberty, responsibility and power?

### Realism of Despair

It seems to me that not only the Nationalist Party, but also the United Party, stand to maintain white supremacy, the first by force, the second "by consent".

Is this the most realistic thinking that white South Africa can produce? This paper doesn't believe it, and this paper intends to support realistic thinking.

Of course the Nationalists say that they are the realists. They say that the Liberals are kicking against the pricks of inflexible white determination to remain the "baas". But great events will change that inflexibility into flexibility.

The realism of the Nationalists is the realism of despair. And in the end it will lead, if it is not checked, to the destruction of all that Nationalism stands for, including Afrikanerdom itself.

### Hope for Peace

I believe, and my Liberal Party associates believe, and this paper believes, that white South Africans must learn to see their fellows as men and women, with like fears and hopes, with like potentialities, with like willingness to do their duty, and to serve their country. We believe that anyone who wants to live in Africa must be willing to live there on the same terms as anyone else.

We believe that all men are equal, and that while it may be dangerous to give them equality, it will be fatal not to do it. We believe that every right and every responsibility should be open to all men and women. We believe that the maintaining of this belief creates confidence and gives hope for peace.

These ideas we will propagate as persuasively, as intelligently, as faithfully and as long as we are able.

## BALANCE OF PROGRESS

### Credit

THE African Automobile Club, formed in Pretoria recently, is a body open to all races which plans to give its members a service similar to that provided by the Automobile Association and the Royal Automobile Association for its European members.

As from April 1 a city law will come into force in New York making it illegal to refuse to rent a flat because of a prospective tenant's race, creed or national origin.

The Ku Klux Klan has been disbanded after a Klan rally in North Carolina had been scattered by more than 1,000 Red Indians.

Mr. Gideon Roux, Director-General of South African broadcasting, said there was a movement to revive a 1936 convention, to which South Africa was a signatory, for the use of broadcasting in the cause of peace.

A lightning coup drove out President Marcos Perez Jimenez, ending a 10-year dictatorship in Venezuela.

### Debit

THE application of apartheid to the nursing profession and the transfer of control over training and practical work of nursing assistants to the all-white S.A. Nursing Council were provided for in regulations under the Nursing Act which came into force on January 1.

Anti-integration extremists in Little Rock have launched a drive to silence their principal local foe, the moderate "Arkansas Gazette", biggest Arkansas daily. The method is to press advertisers and readers into boycotting the paper.

A Bill requiring the labelling of human blood has been introduced by the Georgia State Legislature. It stipulates that blood be divided into "Caucasian," "Negroid," "Mongoloid" groups.

Official apartheid notices will be put up at Fish Hoek beach, Cape Town, as soon as the uncertainty over boundaries has been removed by the High-Water Mark Commission.

## LITTLE BROEDER

by — David Marais





# Parliament in perspective

**T**HE current Parliamentary session is proving the shortest, snappiest pre-election setting in the history of the Union Parliament. It began on January 17 and is expected to end next week, its main business being to pass financial Bills to tide the country over until the Budget is presented after the General Election.

The Government can be thankful that it does not have to introduce a Budget at the present time, because from all accounts an increase in taxation will be unavoidable.

The session has two ancillary purposes: the introduction of one or two items of legislation like the hanging Bill and the resolution on the removal of the Mamathola tribe—both designed expressly to embarrass the United Party; and the launching of the parties' propaganda campaigns.

The Nationalists are supremely confident of the outcome of the election. They base their hopes on the following factors: the favourable re-delimitation of Parliamentary constituencies; the fact that a new generation of voters, claimed to be predominantly Nationalist-supporting, will go to the polls; the removal of Coloured voters from the common roll in the Cape Province; and the susceptibility of the Nationalist electorate to the familiar campaign slogans.

Nationalist Parliamentarians are prepared to wager that the Government will increase its majority in the House of Assembly; in fact, the acting Prime Minister has prophesied—and staked his political reputation on this prophecy—that the Nationalist Party will increase its representation in Parliament.

Privately, Nationalist politicians declare that the Government's total of seats in the Lower House will not fall below 102—at present they have 94.

## Turning Tide

The United Party, however, are also confident, although on a more moderate scale. They concede that a Nationalist defeat is perhaps out of the question, but on the other hand they feel that there are unmistakable signs of "a turn in the tide."

They report widespread enthusiasm for the United Party cause, especially in the platteland, and also increasing disaffection among "disillusioned" Government supporters.

One of the reasons for this disillusionment, according to the United Party, is the growing realisation among Nationalist followers that there can be no practical application of apartheid. The United Party also believes that it is successfully destroying the "myth" that the Nationalist Government is the only true friend of the farmer and of the urban Afrikaner worker.

## Spirits Up

United Party spirits have also been buoyed up by reports of disension in Nationalist ranks, particularly in the hierarchy. United Party M.P.'s draw attention to what appears to be obvious signs of "anti-Verwoerdism" within the Nationalist Party, and also of a strong revival of provincial jealousies which have manifested themselves in a sharp Cape vs. Transvaal clash.

The illness of the Prime Minister, Mr. J. G. Strijdom, has put a sharper edge on the situation,

## BY QUILL

and the realisation that Mr. "Blackie" Swart—an ineffective leader with virtually no personal following—is next in line of succession, is stimulating these provincial rivalries.

By contrast, the United Party points to the undoubted popularity of its new leader, Sir de Villiers Graaff, and the apparent unity of the United Party team.

## Labour's Test

As for the Labour Party, it faces the most crucial test of its existence. Of its four M.P.s, two have no intention of seeking re-election they are Mr. Hymie Davidoff (Johannesburg City) and Mr. Len Whitely (Durban Umbilo), both of whom have been suffering from ill-health.

But the other two Labour Members, Mr. Alex Hepple (Rosettenville) and Mr. Leo Lovell (Benoni), have no intention of disappearing from the political scene without a fight. They claim they are meeting with support from United Party followers throughout their constituencies.

One can only guess at the outcome of these two highly interesting contests, but should Mr. Hepple and Mr. Lovell pull off a Labour victory, the repercussions on white politics in South Africa would be tremendous. The result could easily be a reorientation of white political thought.

The myth would be exploded, once and for all, that the Nationalists' ideological grip on the urban worker was invincible. Any South African who is genuinely concerned over the deteriorating race situation, particularly as between white and non-white workers, must wish Mr. Hepple and Mr. Lovell well.

If the United Party had any long-range vision, it would "soft-pedal" the campaigns against these two Labour M.P.s.

## Prim In Public

The most noticeable feature of the session is the anxiety of M.P.s of all parties to get back to their constituencies. Meanwhile, they have taken the opportunity in debate of raising issues designed to keep them prominently in the public eye.

The most popular of these issues has been the welfare of the urban worker. Several debates, whether on the cost-of-living or on job reservations, have pivoted around this topic.

There was also some top-level argument on the state of the national income, investment capital, and the trade balance. Members behaved primly—as primly as a backbencher can behave. They all tried to abide by Mr. Swart's injunction for an election campaign on a high plane—at least while they were under the public gaze in Parliament.

But the session is the prelimin-

ary skirmish. The rough-and-tumble is reserved for the campaign in the constituencies. Let Parliament babble about the national income and the industrial index; on *huisbesoek* the conversation turns to other topics:

## Party Line

"Good morning, madam. I am the Nationalist candidate. I am sure it is not necessary for me to remind you of the menace of Catholicism to our folk. I have come to assure you that our Government will take steps to deal effectively with this menace. We must pluck this viper from our bosom . . ."

"Good morning, sir. I am sure that it is not necessary for me to remind you of the menace of Freemasonry . . ."

"Good morning, Oom. It is not necessary for me to remind you of the menace of the Sons of England . . ."

"Good morning, Mr. Manager. It is not necessary for me to remind you of the menace of Jewish-capitalist-liberalism . . ."

"Good morning, Mr. Oudstryder. It is not necessary for me to remind you of the sufferings of our folk in the Second War of Independence, at Majuba, at Slachter's Nek . . ."



"Good morning, liewe Tante. Do you want your daughter to marry a kaffir?"

"Good morning, Ouderling. I am sure we can count on your support in our struggle against the English Bishops and their liberal-Christian doctrine of equality between White and Black . . ."

"Good morning, Professor. We need your help in combatting this 'uitlander' philosophy of giving kaffirs a liberal education in the White man's universities . . ."

"Good morning, sergeant. I know that you appreciate the fight our party is putting up giving the lie to the scandalous campaign of accusations against the police force of knocking kaffirs about . . ."

## How Long?

One wonders how much longer South Africa can endure these political tactics. Is the theory of peaceful co-existence of the races an utterly hopeless one? The optimists in political life—and we count ourselves among them—believe that the cause is not irretrievably lost. It is still possible for South Africans to work out their salvation peacefully. But the progressive struggle is an uphill one.

## METEOR HITS VADERLAND

**T**HE struggle for power within *Die Afrikaanse Pers* (publishers of *Die Vaderland*), which has raged over the past few years, has taken on a more acute form since the death of its chairman, Mr. "Klasie" Havenga, former Minister of Finance. Mr. Havenga, with General Hertzog, was one of the founders of the newspaper.

Effective control of *Die Vaderland* is vested in the hands of the Havenga nominees. Dr. Ben Havenga, of Bloemfontein, was appointed chairman of the Board of Directors some months ago, taking the place of the late Mr. J. H. Viljoen, Minister of Education, who had been Mr. Havenga's Afrikaner Party colleague in the Cabinet. Thus the chairmanship has remained consistently in the possession of the Havenga coterie.

## Purification

The challenge to this Havenga coterie has come from Dr. Albert Hertzog, son of General Hertzog, who quarrelled with his father many years ago on his (Albert's) Broederbond affiliations.

Dr. Albert Hertzog has veered away completely from the Hertzog-Havenga school of thought. For a number of years, he was regarded as one of the bright young men of the Strijdom camp. His special mission was to indoctrinate White mineworkers with the Nationalist concept of trade unionism.

He has tried assiduously to capture control of *Die Vaderland* on behalf of the Strijdom camp, and to bring the policy of the paper into line with that of "purified" Nationalist organs, like *Die Transvaler*. When Mr. Viljoen died, Dr. Hertzog intensified his efforts, but was blocked again. Now a further move has been made by the Havenga school, which has appointed an Editor-in-Chief of all *Die Afrikaanse Pers* publications. This includes not only *Die Vaderland*, but also two magazines, *Rooi Rose* and *Brandwag*.

## Intervention

The new Editor-in-Chief is Mr. Dirk Richard, whose rise in Afrikaans journalism has been meteoric. A young man, he has been promoted over the head of the Editor of *Die Vaderland*, Mr. Willcox, and apparently is actively intervening in the affairs of *Die Vaderland*. Mr. Richard, clearly, has been appointed to ensure that *Die Vaderland* adheres to the political lines of the Havenga school.

Mr. Willcox, a son of a former Administrator of the Free State, (who was a close associate of both General Hertzog and Mr. Havenga), has been Editor of *Die Vaderland* for nearly 15 years—ever since the dramatic resignation of Mr. Willem van Heerden (and other senior employees).

## General Election — Sea Point

THE  
OPENING MEETING  
in the campaign for the 1958  
General Election, to be  
addressed by

**GERALD GORDON**

(Liberal Party Candidate)

Supported by

MRS. M. BALLINGER, M.P.

and

SEN. LESLIE RUBIN

will be held in the Sea Point  
Town Hall

on

Tuesday, 18th February, 1958  
at 8 p.m.

## TRENDS

**A** SECTION of the Criminal Procedure Amendment Bill (Mr. Swart's "Hanging Bill") seems designed to overcome difficulties which the Crown face in presenting its case at the treason inquiry. The section provides that if a person's name appears on any document as an office bearer or member of an association this shall be *prima facie* proof that that person is in fact an office bearer or member of the association. Minute books are to be regarded as *prima facie* evidence of the holding of meetings. Critics of the bill point out that it could usher in an open season for malicious forgeries designed to incriminate innocent people.

**A**FRICAN nurses, already resentful of the apartheid provisions thrust on them in the recent amendment to the Nursing Act, have been freshly angered by the South African Nursing Council's attempt to force them to carry passes. Unrest and tension is building up among non-white nurses throughout the country.

**E**AST LONDON business men are beginning to wonder whether the many obstacles to the city's industrial development put in their way by the Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. Verwoerd, are not the forerunner to an eventual announcement that the entire industrial complex of the area should be handed over to the Native Reserves as "White South Africa's" positive gesture in the name of apartheid.

**M**R. P. BAILEY BEKKER (ex-United Party, ex-Conservative, currently Independent) assured Parliament so emphatically that nine branches of the United Party wanted him as their election candidate that members began to wonder whether in fact someone might not be thinking of using Mr. Bekker as a convenient bridge to the promised land of coalition.

**"T**HE organisations of the Africans, Indians, Coloureds and progressive Europeans have achieved a unity and friendship far greater than I have come across anywhere in Africa and this is one of the most hopeful things, I feel, for the Union's future."—Barbara Castle, M.P. in an interview with *New Age*.

**A** BILL to increase African representation from eight elected members to 14 passed through all its stages in the Kenya Legislative Council in 30 minutes. The eight African elected members boycotted the debate in protest at the imposition of a "Lennox Boyd constitution". The Africans demand 23 seats; the Council has 60 seats at present.

# TALKING BUSINESS

WITH  
**RALPH HORWITZ**

Author of "Expand or Explode," a much-praised recent book which set out to awaken South African businessmen to the economic dangers of apartheid.

**POLITICIANS** of all parties when general election time approaches are always unanimous about only one thing — *this* election is "decisive". Such vociferous certainty is understandable from politicians, who are today largely "professionals" and consequently professionally anxious to impress upon their customers how "decisive" it is that they make the right choice.

It would hardly contribute to their collective prestige, if the public should come to feel that it was not "decisively" important which particular professional combination secured control of the Cabinet.

There are rare occasions in the history of a country when the coming to power of a new political force may introduce a revolutionary or near-revolutionary change in political, social and economic relationships.

Few elections are "decisive" in precisely this way, but, on the other hand, it is true that all elections are decisive in another way. At every election we vote in *some* change.

Perhaps the change is no more than the continuation of a previous trend of policy but a trend extended for five-years on five-years gathers to itself a directional impetus that carries policy and reality far distant from the original starting-point.

## 90's Parallel

It is in the latter aspect that April 16, 1958 will be a "decisive" general election in South Africa. Even the unexpected return to power of the United Party would not

substantially deflect the South African course of political policy and economic events.

The relationship of political conservatism to economic dynamism in South Africa in the 1950's is disturbingly parallel to a similar conflict in the South Africa of the 1890's.

Into the old Transvaal Republic, wedded to its patriarchal isolationism, burst the gold-mining industry and its attendant cosmopolitan capitalism. The response of President Kruger was to achieve and to enforce a monopoly of political power for his burghers.

On the other side a monopoly of economic power was rapidly acquired by the uitlanders. The situation was inherently unstable.

Total political control must have as its purpose to advance the economic position of the politically dominant group. A monopoly of economic power cannot be sustained without some minimum influence and share of control over political power.

## New Dynamism

In the old Transvaal Republic, President Kruger was utterly determined to maintain the political dominance of his isolationist conservatives and would concede nothing to the

new economic dynamism. The uitlanders on the other side were convinced that without a share in political control, their economic monopoly could not be indefinitely maintained. The end, of course, was civil war.

South Africa in the late 1950's is caught up in a similar uncontainable tension between these conflicting forces of political conservatism and economic dynamism.

The whites generally and the Nationalists fanatically (more or less in isolation from and opposition to the outside world) will not unpetrify their absolute political monopoly; the non-whites sensing ever more clearly that they represent the erupting — almost revolutionary — new source of economic power are increasingly resolute to obtain a measure of political control.

In the 1950's as in the 1890's there is this inherently unstable relationship in South African society.

Whether the clash between political monopoly and a rapidly increasing new economic power group will be resolved in violence or in peace, no one really knows. What everyone except the blind, the deaf and the dumb knows for certain, however, is that there will be — must be — change.

## D-Day

The present situation transparently cannot continue indefinitely. Though not the D-day that the Nationalist Party and United Party would claim for it, April 16 is in many respects a D-day.

Even within the white group of South Africans the conflict between political monopoly and economic monopoly is sharpening to a new stage of decisiveness. The Nationalists have achieved political monopoly for Nationalist-minded Afrikanerdom. The 1958 general election is intended to consolidate that stranglehold for all time.

If achieved, the drive to use such political power for the economic advancement of Nationalist-minded Afrikanerdom will obviously be greatly intensified.

On the other side, English-speaking South Africa still enjoying the larger share of the economic cake (containing most of the cherries) is partly conscious that, more and more, the economic cake will be baked and cut by those who control the Government and the more perceptive of English-speaking business men are aware that their total exclusion from political influence must diminish their economic power.

## New Forces

The years after this coming 1958 election will therefore witness a rapid increase in the tension that is the inevitable consequence of political monopoly, obsessively conservative and isolationist, facing explosively developing new economic forces.

Those who are liberals and opposed to concentration of power, whether political or economic, may not be able significantly to influence this coming general election but they alone have both a political and economic philosophy of individualism, which could ensure that the "decisive" post-election changes are peacefully resolved.

It was, after all, the Liberals who effected the real peace after Vereeniging.

# E.L. All Plan — No Progress

**PLANNING** is usually the prelude to progress. But East London, the Union's fourth largest (third smallest) port seems in imminent danger of sinking below the surface of a sea of blueprints, with little, if any progress, even remotely in sight.

A run of misfortune since World War II, coupled with an indigenous inertia, has plunged the city into a state approaching dangerously near to economic stagnation.

There has been furious planning—but little fruit of it. For the planners, engrossed in their blueprints, forget one factor — the African.

Among the schemes in rosy blueprint are two, for development of the city as a premier holiday resort and the establishment of a free trading zone. But the African, on whom the economic structure of the city largely depends, has been left quite out of the picture again.

Yet much of the planning will mean nothing unless the African is available for his labour. And the Minister of Native Affairs, (Dr. Verwoerd), has ruled that the East London City Council may not establish any new industrial townships because of the lack of housing for Africans in East London.

## African Houses

The Manager of Native Administration, Mr. P. Venter, has put the position bluntly to the Council. East London has now reached the stage where any further development, industrial, commercial or residential, must be closely related to the development of African townships, he stated with emphasis. There is a tremendous backlog of African houses, but building for industry and for whites has gone ahead out of all proportion.

The plain fact is that once the industrial sites in the existing townships have been bought and built on, East London faces a static future.

Admittedly, there are still about 160 acres of industrial land available now for sale. At the present development rate, this land should be enough for perhaps eight to ten years.

## Is Serious

But the outlook is serious because there is no indication now that at the end of that period the city will have established the huge new African township it has been talking about for several years.

East London's present African population is 63,100. Without allowing for any industrial expansion which must bring more workers to East London this population will double itself in the next 20 to 25 years, the Council has been told by an expert.

The new African township scheme involves estimated capital expenditure of £8m.

It is almost inconceivable that East London, with its limited purse, can spend even £1m a year to finish the scheme in eight years.

## Verwoerd's Edict

Thus, it would be at least eight years, assuming a start could be made at once, before the city's African population was adequately housed and adequate provision made for the optimum population of the next 25 years.

Meanwhile the Council is still under the threat made to it by Dr. Verwoerd that if it hesitates much longer to establish the township on a site 12 miles from the city, he will see to it that the city loses its place in the queue for loans through the National Housing Commission.

# FREE FOR ALL

**CUSTOMS** barriers begin at the quayside in South African ports and most of the commercial harbours of the world. Imported goods become dutiable on hitting the land from the ship's hold.

Scattered around the globe are ports of another kind—the "free ports" or "free trading zones." There the customs barrier has been pushed back.

Imported goods can be landed free of duty, stored until favourable marketing conditions arise, and re-packed and re-exported free of duty.

Partly fabricated articles can be landed for final processing before re-exporting or exportation through the barrier. Raw materials can be imported, processed in the port, and exported again free of all normal dues.

In East London, South Africa's fourth largest port, attempts are being made now to establish a free trading zone. Kingpin is Mr. G. F. Slabbert, a chubby, greying director of companies. He wants to push the customs perimeter back to enclose one of two large tracts of ground near Buffalo Harbour.

In this zone overseas capital will be invited to establish factories to process raw materials brought from the Union hinterland or overseas.

Working free of customs, cost burdening, the factories will employ labour from the nearby Native Reserves, use water and electric power supplied by the city.

Result: East London's sagging economy will boom; the city will be out of the economic doldrums that have becalmed it since World War II.

So far Mr. Slabbert has been rewarded with little more than horse laughs from his fellow townsmen.

His requests to the Chambers of Commerce and Industries for co-operation in pushing the idea were turned down flat. The City Council politely declined to commit itself.

But five Cabinet Ministers—Messrs. Naude (Finance), Sauer (Lands), Louw (External Affairs), Dönges (Interior) and Verwoerd (Native Affairs)—have asked for details of the plan, responding to Mr. Slabbert's line that a free trading zone could be a massive contribution to South Africa's industrial development. The Prime Minister, Mr. Strijdom, has assured him that if the plan seems to have merit it will go before the Cabinet for consideration.

Puzzled East Londoners are still wondering how Mr. Slabbert dreamed up this idea that seems to be snowballing in spite of their scepticism. He got it from an overseas visitor who spent a holiday in his Seaview boarding house on the beachfront three years ago. It was mentioned casually in conversations about South Africa's economic future.

"I thought about it on and off for a long time afterwards," says Mr. Slabbert. "Then I saw a piece in the local paper one day about a free port. And I said to myself, 'Why not East London?'"

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## Between the Lines

THE reaction of the South African Press to the Prime Minister's illness has been a study in expressions: the expectant glint in the Opposition Press's eye as it probed with cautious insistency; the anger and agitation of *Die Transvaler* as it clucked protectively around *Libertas*; the enigmatic look on the face of *Die Burger*—no admirer of Mr. Strijdom's—as it proclaimed blandly that the Prime Minister's absence from the Parliamentary session was a "grievous disadvantage" for the Government; and the cold stare of *The Star* as it observed: "Mr. Strijdom must get rid of the idea that he is the exclusive property of the Nationalist Party and Mrs. Strijdom. He is the head of the State and, while he holds that position, is as much a subject for comment as the weather."

With five Cabinet Ministers on its Board of Directors (Messrs. Strijdom, Swart, Erasmus, Dönges and Verwoerd), *Die Transvaler* had no hesitation in appointing itself protector of the Prime Minister's person. Indeed, these days, *Die Transvaler* describes itself openly (in circulars to subscribers) as an "official Government organ," which is always "first" with the "correct news."

### Editorial Frenzy

*Die Transvaler* went into paroxysms of rage over speculation in the English-language Press concerning the Prime Minister's health. It erupted in editorial frenzy every two or three days, screaming, "Lies, lies, lies!"

Piously, it exclaimed that "the good tradition of the people is that rumours and disputes are silenced in the face of illness . . . but unfortunately . . . we have again an Opposition Press which in an unworthy and dishonouring manner has for years exploited the illnesses of Nationalist leaders for political ends, and what is more has exploited it shamelessly."

Then it published prominently on its front page a special message from the Prime Minister "to Nationalists and other sympathetic persons," directing them to pay no heed to the "undermining" and "contradictory" reports and "speculations" in the Opposition Press in regard to his state of health and the course of the country's affairs.

### Eagle and Flies

The Editor of *Die Transvaler* who, in common with other Nationalist Editors was in Cape Town just after the opening of Parliament (why were they summoned?), sent up in addition sizzling dispatches for inclusion in his *Neels Natte* column.

Just before that—before it was known for certain that Mr. Strijdom would not attend the session—*Neels Natte* had referred to a report that Mr. Strijdom was planning to leap into the no confidence debate as soon as it opened.

"My feeling," wrote the solicitous (and far-seeing) *Neels*, "is that it is really not necessary for the Prime Minister to concern himself overmuch with it." *Neels* then recalled how Mr. Strijdom had once told Mr. Strauss that an eagle does not catch flies (*aquila non capit muscas*).

To the innocent reader, it must have appeared that Mr. Strijdom was becoming too exalted even to take part in no confidence debates—one of the biggest debates of the session. As it turned out, the eagle had heart trouble.

BY  
P. E. N.

In all these fulminations, *Die Transvaler* got precious little support from its Cape colleague, *Die Burger*, which preferred to splash over its front page with undue enthusiasm the news that Mr. Strijdom would not attend the opening of Parliament—and which persisted in its annoying habit of spelling "Strijdom" as "Strydom," apparently on the advice of its language consultant who thinks the "ij" form pretentious.

*Die Burger* is the only newspaper in the country, English-language and Afrikaans-language alike, which has consistently ignored the "ij" spelling, ever since the Prime Minister made it known in 1955 that that was how he preferred it to be written.

Meanwhile, *Die Transvaler* became shriller and shriller in its condemnation of the Opposition Press. It was worried about the uncertainty that was being created in the minds of Government supporters, and it also saw an opportunity to throw a hefty bucket of mud at its traditional foe.

### "Is Transparent"

From his sickbed, Mr. Strijdom added his spadeful.

His "special message" to "Nationalists and other sympathetic persons," declared: "The game of these newspapers is transparent, namely, to create suspicion and uncertainty in the Nationalist ranks. By now all Nationalists should be fully aware of the tactics of the Opposition Press and should attach no importance to anything that this Press disseminates."

With the report of the Commission of Inquiry on Undesirable Literature still fresh in its memory, and with the publication of the Press Commission report looming around the corner, the Opposition Press could be pardoned for showing signs of sensitivity. It trod more warily thereafter, but it stuck to its guns and continued to disclose the facts of Mr. Strijdom's health as it saw them.

It pointed out that when the first official bulletin was issued on December 9, announcing the cancellation of all Mr. Strijdom's appointments for the rest of the year (he was to have been the chief speaker at the Voortrekker Monument on the Day of the Covenant), it was stated that the Prime Minister was suffering merely from an attack of 'flu.

### Pooh-pooed

The *Rand Daily Mail* then reported that the Prime Minister would retire from political life within a year, and a few weeks later the *Sunday Times* said that he would take no part in the general election campaign. Both these reports were pooh-pooed at the time in the Nationalist Press.

But very soon there came another cancellation—a last-minute cancellation of the Prime Minister's journey to Cape Town for the Parliamentary session, leaving a small crowd of well-wishers waiting in vain at Pretoria Railway Station.

Again, the Opposition Press suggested that Mr. Strijdom would have to miss the whole session, and again the Nationalist Press was voluble in its denials.

Right up to four days before the opening of Parliament, the acting Prime Minister, Mr. C. R. Swart, on his arrival in Cape Town, was saying calmly that he expected Mr. Strijdom to come down for the session.

Two days later, Mr. Swart was directing the Nationalist Party Parliamentary caucus to "request" Mr. Strijdom to remain in Pretoria for the duration of the session. A report in the *Rand Daily Mail* said that all this had been arranged the previous week!

### Bore Fruit

At this stage, the new "non-political" Afrikaans newspaper in Johannesburg, *Die Suid-Afrikaanse Stem*, which is backed by United Party capital, intervened irrelevantly to announce that Mr. Strijdom was not seriously ill and that he would attend the session.

Since this misfire in the sphere of political prophecy, *Die Stem* has stuck to sober little paragraphs on the Prime Minister's likely movements.

Fortunately the Opposition Press's complaint that the official bulletins were not telling the full story has borne fruit. "Influenza" became "a pleural effusion at the base of the left lung," and this in turn led to a bulletin disclosing that Mr. Strijdom had been suffering from a "minor degree of valvular disease" of the heart, which had been complicated by the attack of 'flu and the lung affection.

### How Good

But, added the bulletin as far as his (the Prime Minister's) heart condition is concerned, his condition is again as good as it was before he became ill. That should have left the

public completely satisfied—except the question then arose: How good was Mr. Strijdom's heart condition before he became ill?

Two forecasts in the English-language Press have still to be proved true: that Mr. Strijdom will take no important part in the general election campaign, and that he will retire from politics fairly soon after the general election.

As if to confound the prophets of the Opposition Press, the Nationalist Party offices in the Transvaal have announced that Mr. Strijdom will address an election meeting in the Johannesburg City Hall on March 10, another in the Pretoria City Hall on April 10, and one in the Cape and another in his constituency of Waterberg, both on unspecified dates.

### Out of Action

To begin with, this means that Mr. Strijdom will have been completely out of action for three months—December 9, and even before that, to March 10—in a critical political period.

Then the question is being asked whether Mr. Strijdom's health will, in fact, enable him to keep the appointments that have been announced. Or will his appearances perhaps be simply nominal ones—quiet, short speeches, and then back to *Libertas* for another period of rest?

All these questions will be answered in time, and the Opposition Press will publish the answers. Undoubtedly, *Die Transvaler* will then attack it for "misrepresenting" the situation and "invading" the Prime Minister's privacy.

## Mail Gets New Man, New Word

USE of the word "African" instead of "Native" has been laid down by the newly-appointed Editor of the *Rand Daily Mail*, Mr. Lawrie Gandar, as the newspaper's official "style".

The *Rand Daily Mail* thus follows the lead of Port Elizabeth's *Evening Post* which under the editorship of Mr. John Sutherland has militantly pioneered the use of the word since Sutherland started the *Saturday Evening Post*—forerunner of the present afternoon daily.

The *Evening Post's* stablemate, the Eastern Province Herald, clings to "Native", however, in spite of boycott warning once administered by the African Nationalist Congress in the Eastern Province.

The Mail's afternoon contemporary, *The Star*, has also refused to be shamed in to change. Taken to task by a letter-writer, it explained somewhat tortuously: "If *The Star* continues to speak of 'Native' it is not because we would deny to this section of the non-whites the dignity which our correspondent and others associate with the name 'African'. It is because we take our stand on the official usage running through the terminology of the South African State".

*The Star*, which uses "European" to describe all white-skinned inhabitants of the African continent, claims, that "African" is "too comprehensive" a description.

Footnote: *The Star* sells an estimated quarter of its circulation to non-whites.

## COWER OF THE PRESS

THE South African Society of Journalists, the professional body which watches the interests of editorial staff members, faces the prospect of, at worst, a serious split or, at best, the loss of a number of senior members.

The Society has been forced to come to grips with the national bogy, *apartheid*, and is emerging from the unequal contest dishevelled and disrupted.

Cause of the discontent, which is expected to lead to widespread resignations, is the fact that most of the Society's members seem prepared to string along with the Minister of Labour, Senator Jan de Klerk, in his attempt to impose *apartheid* on trade unions.

### Three Courses

The Society had the *apartheid* argument thrust upon it by the amended Industrial Conciliation Act. The Act gave it the choice of:

1. Becoming an all-white union and leaving non-European journalists, if so inclined, to form a separate splinter Union;
2. Establishing within its framework non-white branches with inferior status;
3. Accepting deregistration and thus losing the "protection" of the Minister and the right to appeal for his intervention in the event of a dispute with employers.

Nervous in the face of this ultimatum some members put up a resolution to the Society's Congress urging it to abandon its "open" constitution—no non-European has ever taken advantage of the constitution's tacit invitation—and to become a "white" union.

This was withdrawn in the face of opposition from the Cape.

Next came a hurried tour of the Union by the Society's President, John Chilwell, who, although he had previously advocated *apartheid* now preached "semi-*apartheid*" (Course No. 2) as a fate infinitely preferable to deregistration.

### President's 'Whip'

Meetings of the Society's branches during and after the presidential "whipping", merely served to heighten members' confusion.

Called on to ballot on the issue, most of the Society's members voted in curious contradiction of their newspapers' policies. Although the results of the ballot had not been officially released at the time of going to Press it is known that most members voted for Course No. 2. Some of them later defended their action saying that they were misled by this being called the "mixed union" clause into thinking they were voting against *apartheid*.

The Society's wholesale timidity is the more remarkable in view of the fact that there are few journalists of the pro-Nationalist Press in the Society.

The argument that loss of the Minister's "protection" could mean the surrender of laboriously built-up privileges and wage scales also looks slender against the fact that those privileges have all so far been enshrined in voluntarily negotiated agreements.

Fearful members failed to realize that even without the Minister's blessing the Society could still exist and negotiate such agreements.

At the behest of the Cape Town branch the Society applied without success for exemption from the colour provisions of the Act.

NEWSNAME

# Friedrich Carl August Wessel

TO preside, with an appearance of almost unruffled geniality, over 156 people facing allegations of a capital offence, particularly when the allegations smack of the bizarre inherent in the words "high treason", must be a little trying.

If this experience tries Friedrich Carl Wessel, he gives little indication of it.

Yet behind that carefully controlled professional mien there must have been a gathering sense of relief as South Africa's marathon treason case neared the stage at which he bowed himself out of it, the most exacting task of his career faithfully discharged, 95 suspects committed for trial on a charge of high treason.

For in the bleak, semi-military atmosphere of the Johannesburg Drill Hall, Magistrate Wessel has sat now for a year, high on his dais above an enormous crowd of bored people of many races—a sight as strange in South Africa as the circumstances attending the inquiry.

A handsome, kindly-looking man, silver-haired and precise, he has given the case his full attention, taking an occasional note, listening intently to the dulllest of evidence, while many of the suspects read, wrote or dreamed of better days.

**Bright Attention**

At the preliminary stages of the inquiry, which consisted of the handing-in of gargantuan piles of documents, when the voices of policemen droned on and on, and when defence lawyers were unable to appreciate the relevance of much of the evidence, Mr. Wessel stayed bright, alert, and by his swift replies to defence applications showed that at least his attention had not wandered.

Occasionally, though, Mr. Wessel seemed less genial. Usually this happened when he over-ruled an application. Then he was very definite and clear, quite refusing to allow himself to be rattled.

There was, for instance, this exchange with defence counsel:

Mr. Joe Slovo, one of the suspects who is an advocate, appear-



ing for himself, objected to the admissibility of the evidence.

Mr. Wessel: "I am not prepared to listen to your argument."

As Mr. Slovo sat down, junior counsel, Mr. Coaker, began his own argument.

"I have already ruled. I am not prepared to hear you, Mr. Coaker."

"But you ruled before I had the opportunity to address argument."

"I do not wish to hear further argument."

"There are new points I wish to put."

"I have ruled."

"As your worship pleases."

**Not for Laughs**

Mr. Wessel had many brushes with Mr. Vernon Berrange, who has borne the chief burden of the defence during the long months of the inquiry.

One exchange that caused comment went like this.

Mr. Wessel: I have noticed that you are sometimes inclined to put your questions in such a way as to raise a laugh. I don't say you did it this time.

Mr. Berrange: Would your Worship be so kind as to tell me at the time?

Magistrate: It was not the present occasion.

Mr. Berrange: Then I would appreciate it if the matter was raised at the time. Is your Worship administering to me a rebuke? Magistrate: That is so.

Mr. Berrange: Then I wish your Worship would raise it at the time.

Magistrate: I found it convenient to do so at this stage.

Mr. Wessel's whole time has not been taken up, however, with listening benevolently and overruling defence objections. The prosecution has also suffered.

There was, for example, the tart order for the removal of the "cage" in which the accused people were at first placed.

**No Shivers**

Mr. Wessel's powers of concentration have often surprised those who have had to hear the tidal wave of evidence that rolled through the Drill Hall.

He was listening one day to a shorthand transcript of a lecture on Hungary, read in a strongly Afrikaans accent by a Special Branch man.

Suddenly his head jerked up. "What was that name you said?" he asked.

"Nag-y", replied the policeman. "Oh, you mean Nahzh", corrected Mr. Wessel.

Another thing that surprises on-lookers is Mr. Wessel's unruffled imperturbability. In the blistering heat of the Transvaal summer, nicely refracted and concentrated by the inadequate architecture of the Drill Hall, he never seems to get hot. In the equally searing cold of mid-winter, no undignified shiver ruffles his magisterial aplomb.

Much of this, perhaps, Mr. Wessel owes to his old-world civil service background.

For Mr. Wessel, one of the Union's most senior magistrates, is a lifelong civil servant (he joined the Department of Justice at 17) and he looks the part—neat, of medium height, quietly-spoken, with just a faint trace of a Cape Province Afrikaans accent when he speaks English.

**Hard Slogging**

He joined the Department as a clerk in Ladismith, where he was

born and educated.

Two years later he was transferred to the turbulence of Benoni, during the troubled year of the 1922 strike.

Since then he has spent many years on the Rand in senior capacities, with occasional breaks, including one as the Chief Magistrate of Windhoek.

For many years after Mr. Wessel joined the Public Service promotion was by seniority, and the prizes of promotion meant a hard, long slog.

So Mr. Wessel worked hard and long. He took his civil service senior law examination in 1928. Between 1938 and 1943 he studied extra-murally with the University of South Africa, and obtained his B.A. and LL.B. degrees.

At the time of the treason arrests he was Chief Magistrate of Bloemfontein. Now he has been appointed Pretoria's Chief Magistrate, but he will not take up the appointment until the treason inquiry is over.

After this long experience of South African courtrooms, it is not surprising that his conduct of the treason inquiry has been polite and meticulous throughout.

Into his relationship with the mass of accused people crammed in front of him, he infuses an odd, paternal quality. When he bumps into any of them in the streets of Johannesburg, he greets them with a little benevolent smile.

**Onerous Climax**

This vast and important hearing, whatever happens to him in his new Pretoria post, was the climax to his career. The eyes of the world and South Africa have been fixed with disconcerting scrutiny on the Drill Hall. If Mr. Wessel feels at all perturbed by this, he gave no sign as with impeccable step, after the orderly had called "Silence in court", he walked sedately across the wide hall to the platform where his magisterial bench stood.

And when finally he stood down from his dais at the end of the inquiry it must have been in the knowledge that the faith of those whose selected him for this onerous prominence had been amply rewarded.

## Deep Pockets But No Seats

THE United Party, in its eagerness to Afrikanerise its general election candidates list has antagonised an influential section of the Jewish community in Cape Town.

As one nomination after the other was made known and it became evident that Jewish aspirants were being cold-shouldered and some sitting Jewish members excluded from the candidates list, Jewish members of the Party who had dipped deep into their pockets to contribute to Party funds became restive.

**Gardens**

They were particularly annoyed when, shortly before the Gardens nomination was to be decided the United Party leadership introduced a platteland protégé into the constituency.

In Gardens Mr. H. M. Timoney and two members of the Jewish community—Mr. A. H. Honikman and Major A. Z. Berman were friendly rivals for the candidacy until the edict came from the leadership that one of two platteland Party members should be considered for the plum: Mr. Jack Connan of Prieska or Mr. Paul Malherbe of Paarl.

Gardens, at the instigation of three Jewish members, asked the United Party Leader, Sir De Villiers to meet the branch to discuss the candidacy. He accepted the invitation, but later cancelled his appearance and before long the branch was forced to accept Mr. Connan as its candidate.

**Sea Point**

Sea Point was next on the list. There the choice lay for some



Malherbe

time between Mr. Fritz Sonnenberg, Mr. Hymie Matthews, and Mrs. Catherine Taylor, with Mr. Jack Basson as outside favourite.

Mr. Basson or Mrs. Taylor might have taken the nomination from the Jewish aspirant without much objection from the Jewish community there, but then came word from above that Mr. Paul Malherbe was the favoured nominee.

Sea Point demurred, but it was quietly hinted that if the division failed to make the appropriate choice the Peninsula candidate's committee would ensure that Mr. Malherbe received the nomination.

At the time of going to Press the nomination had not yet been announced but Mr. Malherbe was still well ahead of the field as it had originally been envisaged by the Sea Point division.

## Said...

"I DON'T know what a ducktail is... I know only ducktail-newspapermen." —South Africa's Chief of Police, Major-General C. I. Rademeyer.

"Apartheid will stop the African people from believing they have to be spoon-fed all the time".—Mr. G. Moloi, Free State president of the Bantu Federation of South Africa.

"Social mixing between White and non-White in church activity is not human".—Report of a Gereformeerde Kerk special commission for presentation to the Reformed Church synod at Potchefstroom.

"Strikes, boycotts, riots there may be—but not, in my opinion, general bloody revolution."—Mr. Quintin Whyte, Director of the S.A. Institute of Race Relations.

"One of the main objections to the United Party Senate plan is that it violates certain principles of the South Africa Act".—The Minister of the Interior, Dr. Dönges, House of Assembly.

"There is virtually no European worker who is paid the minimum wage".—The Minister of Labour, Senator De Klerk, House of Assembly.

"A vote for the Nationalist Party is a vote for Black nationalism".—Mr. W. P. Stanford (Natives' Rep., Transkei), House of Assembly.

## And Done

Mr. Harry Bloom, Johannesburg advocate and author of "Episode", has moved to Cape Town where he will practise at the Cape bar and complete a second novel ordered by his publishers.

Miss Genoveva Marais, South African girl graduate of Fort Hare University College, has been appointed an inspectress of schools by the Ministry of Education in Ghana.

Mr. Andrew Lukele, of Alexandria Township, a Law Society prizewinner, has become the fifth African attorney to be admitted to practise in the Transvaal.

Dr. Basil Schonland (62), the South African scientist, will succeed Sir John Cockcroft as director of the British Atomic Energy Research Establishment at Harwell on February 17.

Colonel R. D. Pilkington Jordan M.P., of Cape Town, has agreed to accept an African on articles in the family firm of lawyers. The newcomer's name: Mr. Bransby Jordan.

## PAINTING

# Subjective Mexicans and Steadfast Diffidence

THE lot of a painter in a bourgeois society—which to the untutored eye seems to express itself mainly in money-collecting and politics—is not always a happy one. Corduroy trousers and ducktails express revolt on different levels.

Bohemianism, however is light on the shoulders of Peter Clarke; a young (28), diffident ("painting is less of a grind than writing") painter whose second exhibition opened in the Africana Gallery, 47, Parliament Street, Cape Town, on January 28, and will close on February 15.

Mr. Clarke smiles pleasantly at mention of technical difficulties, shrugs away his lack of formal training and faces vast problems of interpretation with a flippancy that veils a very serious and steadfast purpose.

He left school in Simonstown at 15 and spent several years working in the Simonstown Dockyard in various unspectacular capacities, including ironically, that of ships' painter.

If he was a lonely young man, with fierce and inchoate desires collecting around brushes and easels, little of this appears through a bland demeanour.

## Warming Up

At 18 he started painting.

"I was warming up," he says. "Then I went to the St. Philip's Group Art Centre in District Six and that gave me the courage to carry on. Before that I didn't come into contact at all with anyone who was painting. The world was new and strange and stimulating."

Mr. Clarke is enthusiastic about John Coplans, his teacher, who is now painting in London.

After a year's study, Mr. Clarke faced the future with confidence, which unsympathetic commercialism, and technical difficulties have done nothing to dispell.

He has been influenced mainly, he says, by the German expressionists, and the Mexicans, with a sidelong glance at Picasso.

"Their painting has a vitality and a vividness which appeals to me subjectively, and fits in with the environment I try to express."

## Propaganda

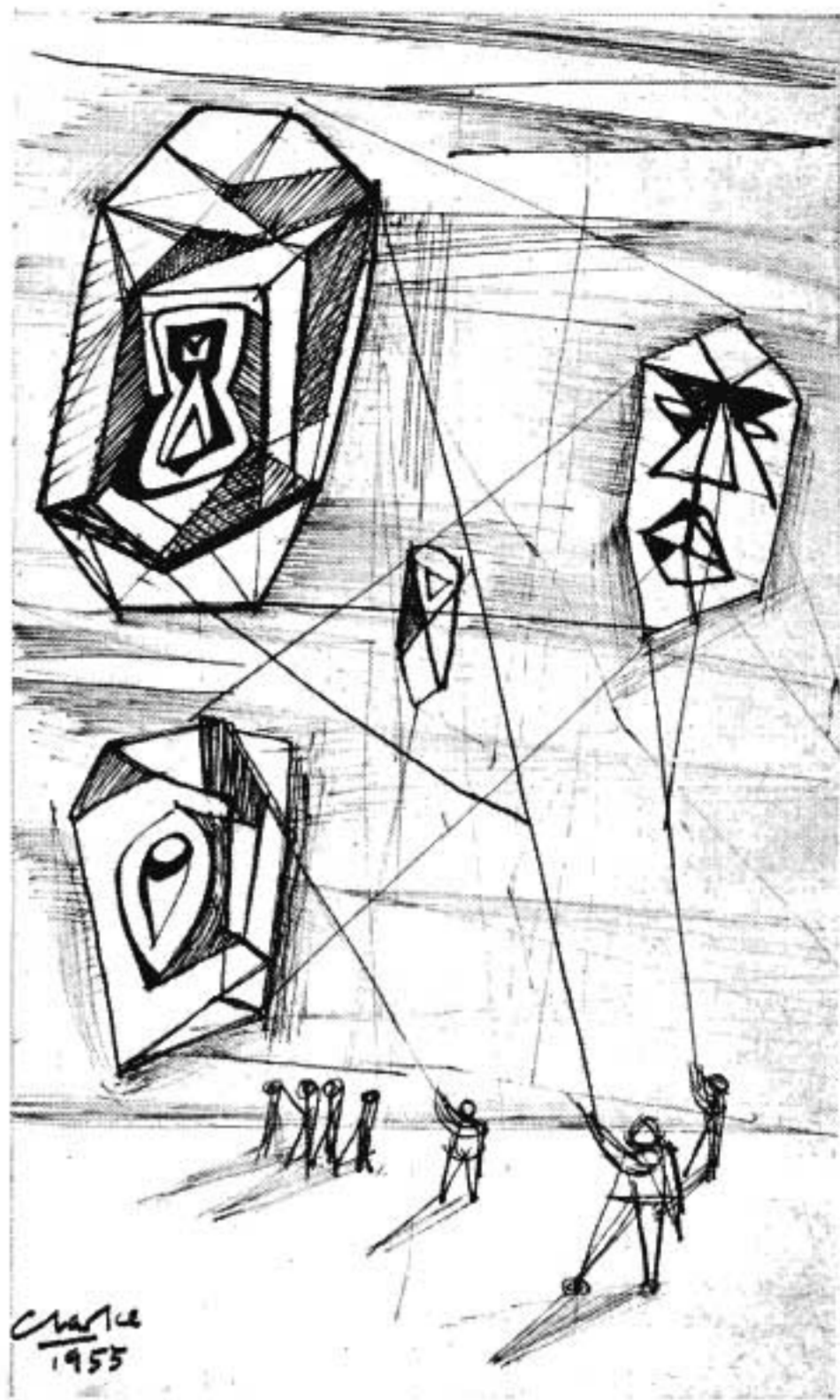
Environment is important to him. Art has a propagandist value, he declares. It must also have a subjective, emotional appeal. The combination of those factors, in stark black and white, is his goal.

Not over-worried about his limitations, he says he would like to study in Europe, "but there is no hurry." Problems of emotion and environment in Cape Town are enough to keep him going for the time.

He finds the municipal flat he shares with his family in Simonstown a sufficient, if slightly cramped, studio; the long summer days and vivid shades of the Peninsula give him all the light he wants; and now that he has given up his job in the Dockyard, he finds leisure enough for an acute and developing purpose.



Clarke  
1953



This is the first of a series of CONTACT features introducing and reviewing the work of new artists and discussing and re-examining that of artists who are already known and established in Africa.

The subject of this issue's appraisal is Peter Clarke, a young Cape Town painter. At left is his sketch, "Woman Resting" and right, "Kites".

## Promise Thrusts Through Conflict

VARIOUS struggles go on in Peter Clarke's work, with materials, with conflicting methods between the amount of skill in hand and the subject demanding rather more.

There is also something I hesitantly guess to be a dispute between the instinctive vision germane to this artist and a theory, a conscientious "idea" of what should be expressed.

### A Contact Critique

He is blessed with some good natural gifts. An agile and observant eye, an ability to take in a group of figures and relate them to their surroundings, an individual and delicate colour sense, and, emerging here and there, a distinct feeling for pigment.

All these qualities come out in varying degrees in paintings like *The Women of the Sea*, *Boy with Music Box*, *The Laundresses* and these, in spite of certain flaws and infelicities, have authenticity and give one confidence in work to come.

But in paintings like *Girl with Bouquet*, *A Sad Spring*, perhaps even, *Hungry Children*, though that is freer, the "idea" seems so to have got between the painter and

his innate responses that the feeling appears forced, even false, and the arrangement of figures flat and awkward.

### Black Force

His most pressing need, roughly speaking, is to draw better, to be able to make really coherent and expressive images. His drawing generally is harsh and flat, but the freshness and freedom of *Corner Lounger* and *Studies from Life* show how well he can manage.

I have not seen his work before and perhaps the black line that forces, hardens, and too often destroys his forms is a hangover from earlier, more decidedly patterned and decorative work. Whatever its origin it is certainly at war with a strong, if uncertain sense of how paint should be handled and a reaching out towards a more complex and fuller rendering of form.

In *Women of the Sea* it is least disturbing. This is perhaps the most painted, most complete of the canvasses. Four women stand in a row, but this row is so managed that they make a compact group. Character is emphasised but except for the third woman, not disruptingly so, and the colours, whites, carefully placed, blues, greys, brown and green are sensitively varied and balanced against the blue and grey of a freshly painted sea. His blues always have quality.



Clarke

An interesting painting is *The Laundress*. The black line is rather obtrusive but the heavy slightly swinging movement of the figures, the luminous white bundles of washing are good and combine with a simple background very well.

### Stammer

*The Woodgatherers* is another painting in which figures, in themselves not very good, are so well placed in the canvas, so well re-

lated to their surroundings, and have such a curious sense of steady rhythmic grace and intimate connection that the impression remains extremely clear.

The large, and in the sense of a good deal attempted, important and bold painting, *Kite Flyers* is a thorough mixture of eloquence and stammering. He hasn't pulled it off, but it is very difficult and he has done some things.

The groups of boys (except those on the wall) are admirable in feeling and attitudes, especially the child standing on the foreground roof, the delicately firm grip on the kite string, the absorbed intentness of the whole pose, but the drawing is clumsy. The sky is painted lightly and freely and the kites float in the air. But the vermilion signature,—it echoes the houses with its red, certainly, but it flattens the sky. Blot it out and what a depth the sky gains.

The interesting upward stepping stones movement of one rectangle of roof and wall to another is wrecked by a dark patch of roof so badly painted as to be meaningless. It is exasperating. The handling of the paint altogether is very unequal, here flat and thin, there, sensitive and felt.

I think this painting is a failure, but if I were Peter Clarke I should do it again and I hope he will.

Cecil Higgs.

# Cavalla Kings

FILTER



..the cigarette with  
the flavour that says  
**“BEST TASTE YET”**