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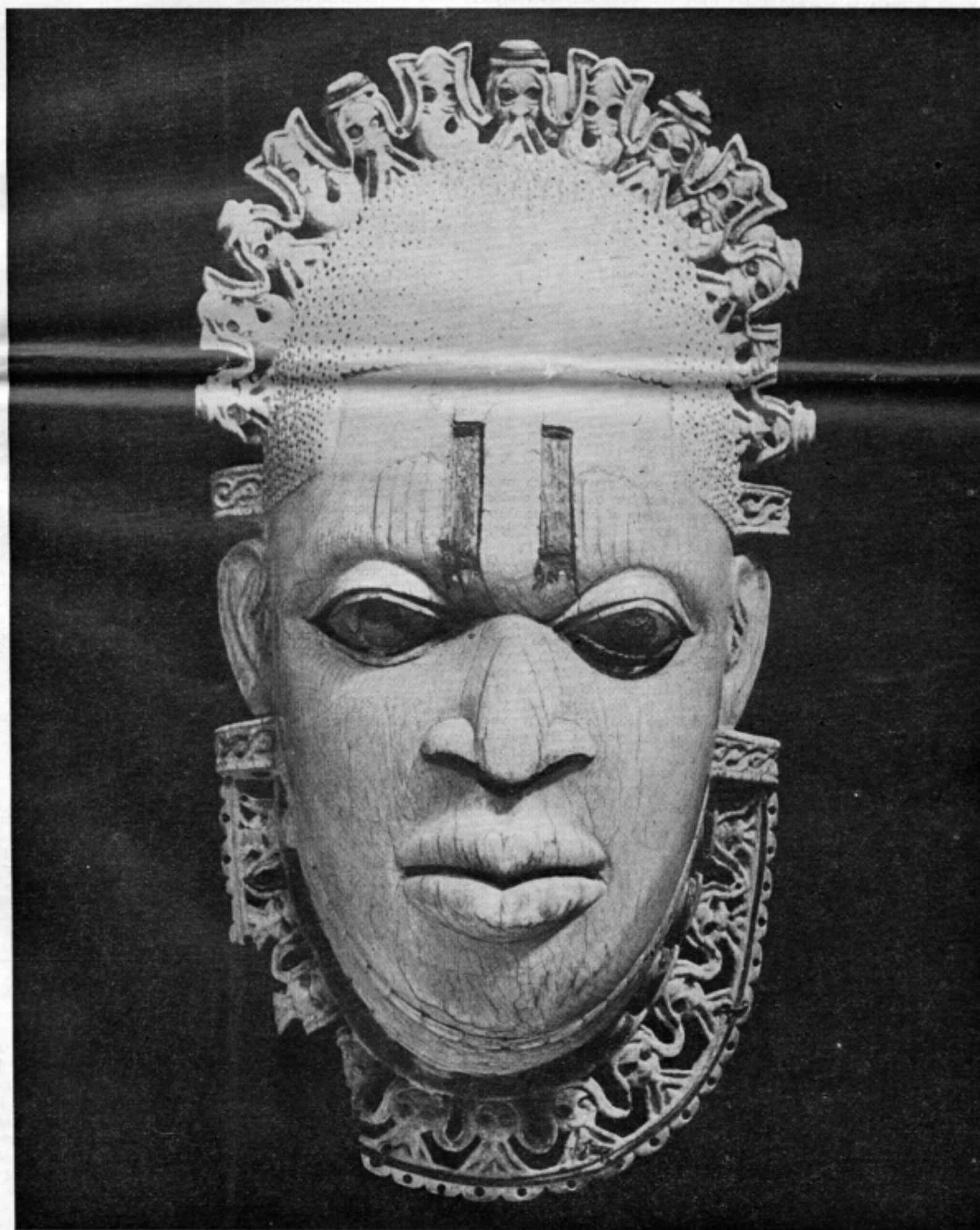
CONTACT

15th November, 1958

Vol. 1 No 21

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100 AFRICANISTS 'BREAK AWAY' AT STORMY CONGRESS OF TRANSVAAL A.N.C.



Liberal
Party start
drive to
become
main
Opposition



AN
AMAZING
ATTACK ON
INDIANS BY
DR. BANDA



Little Rock
reminds
Union
visitor of
South
Africa

Indian paper praises realism of the Liberal Party

SUPPORT for the policy of the Liberal Party and appreciation of its value in the political life of the country are reflected in an editorial in *Indian Views*, a weekly most of whose readers are Muslim, under the heading of "Liberalism and the future".

"The Liberal Party," states the newspaper, "has in the past been widely regarded as an insignificant factor on the South African political scene, even by those having a general sympathy with its aims. More recently, however, there has been a growing awareness of the important role assumed by this party, and of its great promise for the future."

"This new attitude towards the Liberal Party is reflected in two recent news items. In CONTACT of October 18 Prof. P. V. Pistorius, Professor of Greek at Pretoria University, is reported as saying, in an address to the students' branch of the Liberal Party in Johannesburg, 'the Liberal Party and National Party are the only two parties in South Africa with an ideal. I prefer the ideal of the Liberal Party...'

"Prof. Pistorius has elsewhere given his reasons, and they are convincing ones, for rejecting the ideal of nationalism. In a comparison of the two ideals and of those who hold them, there is one point which it is important to emphasise. Those white Nationalists who can be said to adhere to an ideal are very few in number."

Source of support

"It must not be forgotten that the Nationalist Party draws most of its support from those whose only sentiment in regard to racial affairs is the vague one of 'keeping the Kaffir in his place'—underneath."

"If this is an ideal, it is not the one Prof. Pistorius had in mind as that which is opposed to liberalism. The Professor undoubtedly intended to refer to the small group of Nationalist and S.A.B.R.A. politicians who envisage a form of apartheid which they genuinely believe to be in the best interests of all races."

"The protagonists of this ideal will always suffer in its execution from the uncompromising *baasskap* of the voters upon whom they depend, and of the majority of those whom the voters elect also."

"Indeed, whenever 'ideal' nationalism and mere *baasskap* come into conflict, it is the latter which is likely to prevail. *Baasskap*, in short, is the submerged (and dangerous) nine-tenths of the iceberg of apartheid. The Liberal Party, on the other hand, though small, is supported only by genuine believers in the liberal ideal."

Higher wages

"The second news item is the reported welcome by members of the Association of Chambers of Commerce of the sound proposals in regard to increased wages for Africans put forward by delegates to the Provincial Congress of the Liberal Party in Pietermaritzburg. This is something which should be noted by those who are in the habit of condemning Liberals as 'starry-eyed' and lacking realism."

"Those who seek the support of the workers are always tempted to adopt wage proposals which seem to promise great and immediate benefits for all wage earners, but a responsible party will not neglect the economic implications—and in particular the ultimate benefit of the workers themselves—in framing a wage policy. In this matter the Liberal Party would seem to be moving in a sound and responsible as well as in a progressive manner."

"It is becoming clear, as these news items illustrate, that the Liberal Party is not only proudly idealistic, but has its feet on the ground as well. Such are the characteristics of a party with a future."

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GOD BLESS AFRICA

At the request of a reader we print, below, the Xhosa words of Nkosi Sikelele, with an English translation:

Nkosi sikelel' i Afrika, maluphakanyisw' uphondo lwayo. Yiva nemithandazo yayo uyi sikelele.

God bless Africa, lift up our descendants. Hear our prayers and bless them.

Yiza Moya, yiza Moya oyingcwele. Nkosi sikelela thina lusapho lwakho.

Forward Spirit, forward Spirit Which art holy. God bless us thy children.

'IMPRACTICAL DREAM' MYTH REFUTED

CONTACT Special Correspondent

ARE South Africa's Liberals practical dreamers, novices with no more than a nuisance value in politics; or are they the practical forerunners of a movement to a non-racial society—the only real solution to the main problems of this country?

Since 1953 the Liberal Party has welded the protagonists of non-racialism into a compact, coherent group. Many others sharing similar views still hover on the sidelines, but there are now enough organised Liberals in South Africa to provide at least part of the answer to the above questions.

To find the Liberals and the answers I went out to one of the most active and militant branches in the Cape Division of the party. Formed in 1953, Constantia/Wynberg toddled for four years, was jerked into life early in 1957 and is now flourishing in what is usually regarded as a United Party stronghold.

Under its chairman, Mr. Jack Causton, and one of the most efficient working committees outside the Nationalist Party, Constantia/Wynberg is a branch in a hurry. Its committee functions on the group system—each committee member maintains contact with a group of branch members. "Within a day of taking a decision," Jack Causton told me, "we can reach almost every branch member."

The close contact is strengthened by the publication once a month of a branch newsletter and by at least two or three house meetings a month. With attendances ranging from 12 to more than 50, these meetings bring new recruits to the party and give even those who do not join some idea of the meaning and objects of South African liberalism.

Doubled membership

By means of house meetings, public meetings and also personal calls Constantia/Wynberg has doubled its membership in less than 18 months.

Since August, its committee members from Nyanga, Mr. S. Badla and Mr. A. Magwa, have been particularly active. At their request, the branch committee organised a large open air meeting on October 12. More than 400 people attended and new members are still joining as a result. Nyanga members predict that the Liberal Party may soon bet the largest single political organisation in this African township.

According to Jack Causton, most of the newer members are young men and women between 20 and 30 years of age.

"Only a few years ago," he said, "many of our new white members might have gone into

the United Party, but to-day they are looking for an active political organisation with a definite and realistic policy."

Jack Causton talks from experience when he discusses the lack of appeal of the United Party. A member of its Divisional Council in the Cape Peninsula, he resigned in 1953. For some months he remained out of politics.

"My wife was a Liberal," he said, "but I decided to wait for a while. Then in August, 1954, I attended a Liberal Party election meeting in South Peninsula. I was so impressed by the party's forthright approach and by the enthusiasm of its members that I joined soon after the meeting."

Steady growth

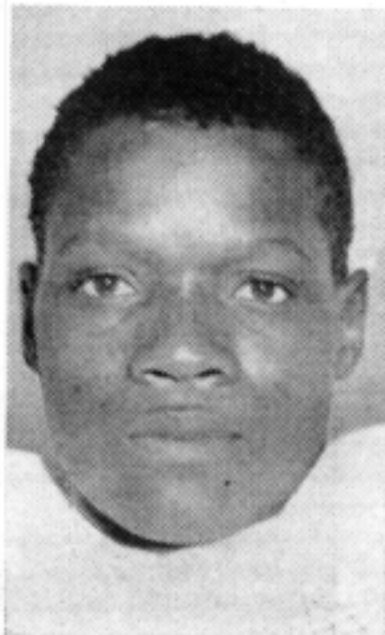
Jack Causton believes that the influx of young, active members into such branches as Constantia/Wynberg emphasises the steady growth of liberalism in South African cities.

"As soon as they join," he said, "most of them want something to do. Within weeks of joining they are working easily and naturally with liberals of all races. They find this is a new and rewarding experience and they soon become extremely competent political workers."



CAUSTON

These new members are rising rapidly in the Cape Division of the Liberal Party and, as they gain in experience and influence, liberalism is acquiring an incisive quality which should enable it to cut right into the flabby mass of the United Party and eventually pass through to confront Nationalism as its only effective opposition.



SAHLUKO

FUND FOR MAIMED AFRICAN HERO

THE South African Institute of Race Relations has sponsored a fund to help Fowete Sahluko, 23-year-old African, who recently lost both legs below the knee when he tried to save an old man from an approaching train on a railway bridge near Faure.

Both men fell under the wheels of the engine and the man he tried to save, Nicolas Vrolik, died shortly afterwards. Mr. Sahluko is gradually recovering in Groote Schuur Hospital, Cape Town, where both his legs have had to be amputated.

He will be unable to resume his employment at Faure, but efforts are to be made to find him other employment when he leaves hospital.

Gallant attempt

His gallant attempt to save another man's life has received widespread commendation and the first to respond to the appeal for funds were his Faure employers.

Contributions should be sent to the Institute of Race Relations, 205, Bree Street, Cape Town.

OUR COVER PICTURE

The richly expressive art of Africa is attracting increasing interest and appreciation in many parts of the world. Our cover picture shows a delicately carved ivory mask from Benin, Nigeria, recently exhibited at New York's Museum of Primitive Art.

TRANSVAAL LIBERALS' BIG DRIVE

Activities reach new height

CONTACT Special Correspondent

THE Transvaal Division of the Liberal Party has held its annual conference in Johannesburg and arrangements have now been completed for a big drive to canvass 2,000 additional members and enlist financial support to meet the expenses necessary to cope with the increasing activities of the party and the satisfactory progress being made.

Some 100 delegates from the party's 15 branches attended the conference and among the 450 present were Chief Lutuli, guest speaker, and the national chairman of the Liberal Party, Mr. Peter Brown.

Since the last meeting, two years ago, the party's membership in the Province has trebled to well over one thousand, activities have reached a new height and a full time provincial organiser, Mr. Patrick van Rensburg, has been appointed.

Racialism rejected

Speaking at the opening of the conference, Chief Lutuli, President-General of the A.N.C., said that he rejected the racial attitude to the groups of peoples of South Africa.

"I do not ask where you come from," he said, "the point is that you are here. You are here and you are here to stay."

Referring to the Bantu Authorities, Chief Lutuli said that one must not be dismayed by the number of chiefs who accepted them.

One had to remember that there was much coercion and even bribery, for the chiefs were threatened with the loss of their salaries and were promised that they could improve their positions if they accepted the position.

The relations, always close, between the A.N.C. and the Liberal Party were warmer and closer than ever, said chief Lutuli, amid applause.

At the end of his address he received an ovation from the large audience.

In a message to the conference, Mrs. Margaret Ballinger, M.P. referred to the system of Native Representatives, saying that while the system was not adequate it did represent the only link between the people and Parliament.

The progress of the Party is shown by the formation of new branches in Roodepoort, South Rand and Orlando. It is probable that a branch will shortly be established in Naboomspruit.

For the first time the party numbers among its members a good proportion of Coloureds and a new branch at Lenasia promises well. It was encouraging also to see African women attending the conference in numbers.

Coloured members

For the executive committee of 20, 42 nominations were received of people willing to stand. Arrangements were completed for the big drive to canvass 2,000 people, details of which appear in this issue.

Africa would make a convenient bridgehead from which to launch an ideological invasion aimed at establishing a new African empire.

Action, in addition to sly anti-semitism—open attack on the Jews seems to be considered impolitic because of the still-remembered actions of Hitler—contains the usual attacks on the bankers, on England's coloured immigrants, on liberalism in any form (it is all communism to the Mosleyites) and on Israel.

Typical headlines are: More unemployed say Lord Cohen and T.U. leaders alike . . . but Burnsteins rake it in"; "They're martyrs already" (the treason trial accused); and "Bankers' ramp: jobs in pawn".

The front page carries a panel paying tribute to Mr. Strijdom, who "amid the snarls of his smaller enemies, led his country into an unassailable position".

"Great leaders," we are told, "always win great followings when times get serious and real things have to be done . . ."

Altogether, Action should not deceive anyone in South Africa, whatever his political persuasion, provided he is able to read between the lines.

APARTHEID MOVES BY NATS. ARE PLANNED

CONTACT Special Correspondent

THE two chief propaganda weapons of the Nationalist Party at next year's Provincial Council elections will be the removal of the Natives' Representatives from Parliament and the removal of the Cape Coloured voters from the common municipal voters' rolls.

At the recent Cape Provincial congress of the party, the delegates were told by Dr. Verwoerd and by Mr. S. P. Marais, M.P.C., that the Government would abolish Native representation in Parliament and the Coloured municipal voters would be put on to a separate roll.

Individual Nationalists feel that the "Republic" will not be of sufficient emotional appeal in a provincial election, especially in the Cape Province. Moreover, Dr. Verwoerd has asked the Nationalists to be patient with regard to the establishment of the republic.

The waning enthusiasm for the Government's apartheid ideologies will have to be revived at all costs, and the proposed legislation taking more rights away from the African and Coloured people is regarded by Nationalist tacticians as the most likely to bring about that revival.

Fascists cast eyes on Africa

THE Union Movement of Sir Oswald Mosley, former leader of the British Union of Fascists, is going all out to extend its unsavoury activities to South Africa.

Action, the movement's journal, now bears next to its masthead the imprint: "Now on sale throughout Britain, the Continent and South Africa."

On page 2, its readers are informed that following the regular sale of Action and other Union Movement publications in South Africa, the formation of a "Europe-Africa Association" is going steadily ahead.

South Africans who "wish to identify themselves more closely with the European struggle in South Africa", are invited to join what is described as a "sister organisation", The Friends of South Africa, and to write to an address in Johannesburg.

Apart from the movement's desire to cash in on any extreme form of white racialism, the reason for its special interest in the Union is not difficult to find if Action is studied carefully.

An examination of the Union Movement's principles—if such a word can be used in their connec-

tion—set out under the heading "We stand for:" shows that in order to oppose on the one hand an America seen as dominated by the financiers and on the other a Soviet Russia linked with a communist Asia, Mosley dreams of a Euro-African super-state founded on good Mosleyite tenets.

"Africa," it is ingenuously explained, "is the last great living space left to Europe. When fully developed it will produce the food which Europe cannot grow at home and the raw materials which European industries need."

"We stand for sharing Africa between the white and coloured races as separate living-spaces in which they can reach the highest point in civilisation of which each is capable."

In other words, Africa would be firmly harnessed to a corporate United States of Europe, to provide living space for jackbooted colonists and to pour low-priced food and raw materials into Europe, as well as to serve as a market for her surplus products.

Mosley apparently assumes that the political aspirations of many people here are sufficiently akin to his own to ensure that South



COHN

CHAIRMAN OF NATAL LIBERALS

DR. HANS MEIDNER is the new chairman of the Natal section of the Liberal Party.

This was decided at the provincial congress in Maritzburg.

Previously chairman of the Maritzburg branch, Dr. Meidner will have on his provincial "team", Mr. Jordan Ngubane, well-known African journalist, and Mr. Derek Marsh.

Both Mr. Marsh and Dr. Meidner are lecturers at Natal University.

New Opposition to the Nat. Government emerging

THE Liberal Party, convinced that it is steadily approaching the time when it will emerge as the major opposition to the Nationalists, is to launch a nation-wide campaign to increase its size, funds and effectiveness.

The party will begin by conducting an intensive canvass of liberal-minded people throughout the country.

Every effort will be made to recruit them into the party and to secure from them a promise of financial help.

Particular emphasis will be laid on the Liberal approach to the colour problem and those approached will be sent a brochure vividly setting out the facts of the Union's racial conflict.

Imaginative photos

The farcical situation caused by the colour-bar is illustrated by imaginative photographs in the brochure, which has been produced by two of the party's most gifted members, Marion Friedmann, who wrote the script, and Gerard Cohn, who selected the pictures.

The brochure contains an undeniable challenge to the reader, and when the party has com-

pleted the 3,000 visits that it proposes to make in the fortnight beginning on November 17, it is hoped that not only will membership have been increased, but that there will have been many promises of financial help.

Money needed

The party badly needs financial support as well as new members if it is to carry out its plans.

Dismay and extremism in the ranks of the Opposition caused by the deepening of Nationalist extremism are leading many people to seek a new political home.

From its birth, the Liberal Party has always been a more active opposition to the Government than its membership has indicated.

The steady growth in membership, and the support of all sections of the population, including Afrikaner intellectuals, has led many to believe that the party will increase very rapidly within the next few years.

New phase

If recruits and money both result from the November campaign, Liberals are confident that a new and stimulating phase in the history of the party will begin.

Essential Information..

Facts and Views...

Race Classification in South Africa - Its Effect on Human Beings - A factual and moving account by Muriel Horrell - - - - - 2/6

The Ethics of Apartheid - by B. B. Keet, Professor of Theology at the Dutch Reformed Seminar, Stellenbosch 2/6

A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1956-1957 - Fact and figure, chapter and verse on every development affecting race relations during the year, from African jazz through employment, health, and justice to Zoning. 258 pp. - - - - 10/-

From all good booksellers or, with 3d. postage, from the
S. A. INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS,
P.O. Box 97, JOHANNESBURG

GROUP OF 100 AFRICANISTS BREAKS AWAY FROM A.N.C.

Open physical conflict narrowly avoided

THE clash of ideologies within the Transvaal African National Congress, which has rocked and unsettled the organisation for the past twelve months, came to a head at the annual conference held in Orlando on November 1 and 2, when a group of about 100 Africanists dissociated themselves from "the A.N.C. in the Transvaal as it is at present constituted".

The break-away by the Africanists came in the middle of a tense two-day meeting. It followed a number of incidents in which open physical conflict was narrowly averted.

The first day of the conference was open to the public, and was attended by more than 600 delegates and observers. Mr. Oliver Tambo, secretary-general of the A.N.C., took the chair, announcing that the National Executive had asked him to do so.

Delivering the presidential address, Chief Albert Lutuli, president-general of Congress, said that normally, the Transvaal president would be giving the speech.

"I need not, however, relate the sad story of why the National Executive had to come into the Transvaal," he said.

The Chief told the Conference that ten years of Nationalist rule have meant an increasing agony in the lives of the people of the Union, especially the non-whites.

Nats accused

"There has been an appeal to the emotions of the whites," he said. "Some of us do not believe that it is in the interests of South Africa for one section to set out to dominate the other. Domination does not create friendship. Domination does not create common trust."

Accusing the Nationalists of fanning racialism and straining race relations, Chief Lutuli declared: "Into race relations they have injected the virus of prejudice and sectionalism. In the non-white, and especially the African community, these pandering to tribalism are tending to resurrect tribalism and all that it stands for."

"Another factor affecting race relations is that it has caused some of us to attempt to emulate the Nationalists in claiming exclusive control of South Africa," said the Chief.

"We have seen developing—even though it is in its embryonic stage—a dangerously narrow African nationalism, which itself tends to encourage us to go back to a tribalism mentality."

Liberation forces

Chief Lutuli said that he was grateful to the forces of liberation which were trying to stem these ideas and were trying to foster the development of a broad Africanism.

"We shall be glad when the time comes when all, including the whites, will be happy to be included with us under the title of African," he said.

by
UMHLABENI

Immediate criticisms followed the presidential address. The tone for the discussion was set by Mr. Z. Mathopeng, a leading Africanist. He declared that the people of South Africa are divided into two groups—oppressed and oppressor. "There can be no co-operation between them. Their interests are clashing," he said.

"Let us cease to deceive the people that they can get friendship from the whites—they are the oppressors. Africa is for the Africans, and the whites must go back to Europe," said Mr. Mathopeng.

As he spoke, it became clear that the Africanists were present in strength. A group of about 100 men, many of whom carried heavy sticks, sat or stood at the back of the audience. They punctuated Mr. Mathopeng's statements with concerted bursts of cheering, shouts of "Afrika!" and foot-stamping.

The succession of speakers which followed, many of them Africanist in sympathy, received equal encouragement. Those who rose to support Chief Lutuli's address were heckled and interrupted.

At times, Oliver Tambo had difficulty in maintaining order. Throughout the day, however, he was quiet and calm, and showed every sign of being conciliatory and co-operative.

Basic problem

The roll-call of delegates, which came immediately after the closing of discussion, immediately threw into sharp relief the basic problem facing the conference. In several cases, a branch had sent two delegations, one pro-Africanist, the other pro-leadership. Which one was to be admitted?

The difficulty was intensified by the fact that two of the branches concerned included in their ranks Mr. Josias Madzunya and Mr. Potlako Leballo. Both had previously been expelled from the A.N.C. and both had refused to accept the validity of their expulsion.

After some 150 delegates had been seated, Mr. Tambo told the meeting that he had made a note of the problem cases.

"We shall have to decide, with everybody's co-operation, which are the proper delegations. There can only be one from a branch," he said.

Mr. Tambo asked the audience to assist him in solving the problem. A proposal was immediately forthcoming. A delegate suggested a special committee which would study the matter while conference continued to sit, and which would present its report the following day. The next speaker supported the proposal, but added that the committee should be elected and not appointed by the chair.

Inquiry sought

The Africanists, however, vehemently opposed a special committee. They wanted an inquiry into their grievances.

With the Africanists becoming increasingly restless and vociferous, Mr. Tambo stated flatly that if a vote was taken, as for a credentials committee, only the delegates already recognised would be able to participate.

Madzunya was instantly on his feet. "I cannot agree to any monkey-trick which has been carried out year after year. No further, no further," he shouted. "There is only one Alexandra branch. The others are splinter branches who simply say 'yes'."

His words were followed by yells of support and opposition from all sides of the hall.

Calmly, however, Mr. Tambo began the calling of nominations for the credentials committee. The committee would comprise five people, he said. Two would be from the office as they held the records, and three would be elected by delegates and only those already accepted as delegates would be able to vote.

He was not deterred from his course by an Africanist statement that the delegates already accepted were people "who toe the line and if the whole credentials committee comes from them it will be biased against us."

Nor was he put off by Madzunya's challenge: "What will you do if this house refuses to co-operate with your credentials committee?"

When, however, one of the more moderate Africanist leaders was asked to assist in the counting of votes, and came forward to do so, uproar broke out. A group of Africanists surged towards their colleague and dragged him back. In a moment, everybody was standing up, shouting and screaming.

Order was restored with difficulty, and the election of the

credentials committee continued, despite the undiminished opposition of the Africanists.

Next morning, the atmosphere outside the hall was quiet but tense. The Africanists, still about 100 strong, gathered on one side in small groups. At the back of the hall, about 130 men—supporters of the leadership—stood under the trees. Like the Africanists, they carried weapons—truncheons, lengths of iron and sticks.

The credentials committee had sat earlier in the morning and had effected a compromise in the case of Western Native Township. Instead of the original ten members from each of the two delegations, it was agreed to admit five from each. The Newclare Africanist delegation and Newclare South were not accepted.

Orlando East and Alexandra did not present themselves to the committee. They felt the committee would be biased and they refused to acknowledge its validity.

As the last of the delegates entered the hall, the majority of the excluded Africanist delegations, together with their supporters, were left standing outside. With them were more than 300 others—"neutrals"—who had come to the meeting as observers and who were not directly concerned in the conflict.

Critical moment

This was the critical moment of the conference. In view of previous Africanist declarations that they would not in any circumstances allow themselves to be excluded from the conference, it seemed certain that they would attempt to force an entry.

But apparently realising that the odds were against them, they chose to withdraw. The group of 100 left the grounds and held their own meeting a short distance away. A statement was adopted and was sent to the chairman of the conference. It read:

"We have consistently advocated African nationalism, and whenever we have stepped onto a political platform, we have expounded that doctrine. In 1949, we got the African people to accept the nation-building programme of that year. We have stuck honestly and consistently to that programme.

"In 1955, the Kliptown Charter was adopted by the A.N.C. We thought it was in irreconcilable conflict with the 1949 programme, and for that reason opposed it. In numerous conferences of the A.N.C., we have put across our case.

**CONTACT
SPECIAL
REPORT**

"On November 1, at the provincial conference, we again put across our case logically and peacefully. It has, however, come to our notice that armed thugs have come to the conference today at the invitation of the leadership for the sole purpose of murdering certain Africanists who are thought to be the leading personalities in the movement."

"Ours is a political battle, aimed against white domination. We are not a para-military clique engaged in the murder of fellow-Africans. We therefore wish to notify this conference that:

"(1) We are not a party to any decisions taken at this conference.

"(2) We have come to the parting of the ways.

"(3) We dissociate ourselves from the A.N.C. in the Transvaal as it is at present constituted.

"We are launching out on our own as the custodians of A.N.C. policy as formulated in 1912 and pursued up to the time of the Congress alliances."

The delivery of the letter did not pass-off without incident. The two Africanists who brought the letter were refused admittance to the hall. A scuffle ensued and a crowd of about 80 people chased away the messengers. The letter was snatched from them and was later read to the conference. The contents were "noted" by delegates.

'Over-extreme'

At 6.30 p.m., this significant meeting of the African National Congress ended. A new executive, with Mr. G. Sibande as chairman, was elected.

A highly important aspect of the conference was that, contrary to expectations, there was no co-operation between the African Nationalists and the Africanists. The Nationalists felt that their erstwhile colleagues were over-extreme in their demands and views. They therefore actively assisted in the running of the conference, and took a full share in the election of the executive.

In this lies yet another strength of the new executive. It includes within its ranks members of all the chief facets of opinion in the Transvaal A.N.C. From all accounts, the executive elections were harmonious and there was co-operation throughout.

The Africanists have left and the leadership does not seem to be unduly perturbed about their going. At this stage, their future is uncertain.

It is clear that Oliver Tambo was a brilliant chairman. On the first day, he was always conciliatory. Looking back, one can see that he was merely biding his time. He allowed the Africanists to display their strength and to state their views openly and frequently.

Retreated

On the second day, with a strong group of armed men behind him, Tambo stopped the Africanists from going any further than he wanted. The Africanists had no alternative but to retreat. To have done otherwise would have precipitated a bloody clash.

This was undoubtedly Oliver Tambo's conference. He was the master throughout.

TANGANYIKA PROMISES POSTS FOR ALL RACES

DAR-ES-SALAAM.—Opportunities for appointments at senior levels in 31 different departments of the Tanganyika Civil Service are outlined in a booklet just published.

The introduction states: "It is the Government's policy that the Civil Service should, as soon as may be possible without lowering standards, be wholly recruited from among the local inhabitants of the territory."

The booklet, "Appointments at the senior levels in the Civil Service", details the work of each department of Government, the various posts within each department, the duties, minimum qualifications normally required, salary scale, and the methods of selecting and training candidates.

All posts require a fluent knowledge of English, both spoken and written.

Girls' education

The introduction states that with the development of education for girls and the general raising of standards in many spheres in recent years, it is now open to women to apply for most of the posts described in the booklet.

After referring to qualifications the booklet states: "It goes without saying, however, that in addition to these qualifications, a candidate for appointment to a senior post in Civil Service must have all the personal qualities required in full measure and must be suitable in himself for the appointment desired as well as being physically fit enough."

"The highest moral qualities such as honesty, integrity, loyalty and zeal, are demanded of the Civil Service, while in the case of posts at the higher levels such further qualities as initiative, leadership and the ability to control junior staff and to co-operate harmoniously with other officers and members of the public of all races are also required."

Must be independent

The booklet explains: "The Civil Service is the machine for carrying out Government policy and it is of fundamental importance that it should be completely independent of all political influences. In accepting an official appointment an officer accepts, automatically, the duty of carrying out the approved policy of the Government. If officers did not do so, or if they became involved in political movements whose aims and policies might differ from those of the Government, there could only be inefficiency in the public service and confusion and loss of confidence among the public."

The Governor of Tanganyika, Sir Richard Turnbull, said in his address at the opening of the 34th session of Legislative Council recently: "... there are no limits to the fields which can be entered, or to the level which can be reached in the Civil Service by local candidates who have the necessary qualifications, the strength of character and the personal aptitude—and above all that scrupulous trustworthiness that must be the hall-mark of the civil servant."

CONTACT



Sir Maurice Dorman, Governor of Sierra Leone, dressed in the robes of a Paramount Chief of Liberia, Lady Dorman and the Sierra Leone Minister of Trade and Industry, Mr. I. B. Taylor-Kamara, watch traditional Liberian dancing at Klay during a recent visit to the southern neighbouring state.

FREE NIGERIA WILL REMAIN IN THE COMMONWEALTH

LONDON.—Nigeria will become independent on October 1, 1960. This decision, made known to the Press by Mr. Alan Lennox-Boyd himself, has been reached after three weeks of negotiation here between Colonial Office officials and Nigerian representatives.

The latter were originally intent on obtaining autonomy by April 1960. However, the proclamation of independence at that date would have been inconvenient on account of the rainy season and the Moslem Ramadan fast.

Moreover, the Colonial Secretary was of the view that the meeting of the first Constituent Assembly at the end of next year should be followed by a reasonable pause before the British authorities hand over their powers to the Government of Nigeria. In any case, the impediments mentioned would have interfered with the grandiose ceremonies, due to take place in honour of independence, had the proclamation been made in April.

Negotiating skill

This fact was readily admitted by Nigerian delegates to Lancaster House. Everyone agreed that the present conference had been much more successful than that of 1957 and tribute was paid to the negotiating skill evinced by Mr. Lennox-Boyd.

The proclamation of independence will enable Nigeria to run her foreign policy, security at home, and inland revenue system. The new state, according to the Premiers of its existing territorial Governments, will maintain ties of friendship with Britain and join the Commonwealth.

Minority question

Agreement has not been reached, however, on the minority question and the problem of creating eventually a number of new states inside the Federation has been adjourned, at the suggestion of Mr. Lennox-Boyd,

until Nigerians can settle the matter for themselves.

At the conference, it was agreed to recommend that a constitutional provision should be made for the Northern Region to become self-governing on March 15, 1959. Provisions for self-government should follow the pattern established in 1957 for the Eastern and Western Regions, with variations appropriate to the circumstances.

Overseas officers

The conference noted the undertaking by the Northern representatives that, on the attainment of regional self-government, the Government of the Northern Region would enter into a public officers agreement with the United Kingdom Government, safeguarding conditions of service of overseas officers.

It was also agreed that the appointment, dismissal and disciplinary control of judges in Native and customary courts throughout Nigeria should be divorced, as far as possible, from political and executive control and that the most senior overseas posts should be filled on the recommendation of the Governments.

The Cameroons

No immediate constitutional changes are to be made in the Southern Cameroons, but it remains open to the Southern Cameroons Government (to be formed after elections next January) to request the United Kingdom to bring certain changes into effect, in accordance with the wishes of the people of the Cameroons.

NKRUMAH'S FAME WAXING

THE wax model of Dr. Nkrumah's head has now been completed by the craftsmen of Madame Tussaud's, in London. It will be some weeks before the finished statue will be ready for display among the figures of the famous at the world renowned waxworks exhibition at Baker Street.

In "Calling Ghana" Mr. J. W. Cadney, Public Relations Officer of Madame Tussaud's, related some of the processes which are used in making the models and the specialised techniques employed.

PARTIES IN THE CONGO PUT THEIR VIEWPOINTS

BRUSSELS.—The two leading Belgian Congo political parties have announced their positions to coincide with the celebrations marking the 50th anniversary of the attachment of the Congo to Belgium.

The Kwango-Kwilu Federation, which claims to represent one-sixth of the total population of the Congo, has called for the abolition of the Colonial Council and its replacement by a purely Congo institution composed of representatives of all Congo circles and appointed by the people.

It calls for freedom of expression of the Press, thought, opinion, cult, movement and the right to strike.

Meanwhile the Cultural Association of Citizens of the Lower Congo at Leopoldville (Abako) has called for total independence for the Congo.

PROMISE OF EQUALITY FOR AFRICANS

PARIS.—Mr. H. Allardt, Director-General for Overseas Countries and Territories in the European Community, promised that Africans would be treated on a footing of absolute equality in the work of the European Community. "Competence will be the sole criterion," he stated.

Mr. Allardt, who was speaking at a luncheon given in his honour, said the future belonged to "those who know how to bring, on a footing of equality, their genius and their resources to the common cause". He said he would take advantage of his forthcoming trip through Africa to study the problem of recruiting.

The Director-General of the Development Fund for Overseas Territories emphasised that no "doctrine" ruled the sharing-out of the funds between the different territories; every decision was made according to the needs of each, "in a spirit of equity", he said.

Aswan offer upsets Haile Selassie

ADDIS ABABA.—The Emperor of Ethiopia, Haile Selassie, stated in an interview with the Press that he was "disturbed and displeased" regarding the offer of a loan of £40 million made recently by Russia to the United Arab Republic, to help with the construction of the Aswan Dam.

The Emperor pointed out that 80 per cent of the water flowing into the Nile came from the Blue Nile, whose source is in the Ethiopian highlands, and that the Ethiopians have their own plans for building dams and using the Nile for irrigation and the provision of electric power.

15th November, 1958.

Nyasaland Indians gloomy at African threat

CONTACT Special Correspondent

FOR the 10,000 Asians who have made Nyasaland their home recent days have been gloomy. This period has been charged with fire venom and uncertainty the kind non-Europeans experience in South Africa under the Nationalists.

The reason is the return of Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda after a long absence. Ever since his arrival from England some four months ago Dr. Banda has been preaching a doctrine of racialism and hatred.

Said Dr. Banda at a reception in his honour at the Ndirande Welfare Club: Indians are opportunists, profiteers and quislings. They came here because India was too full, too poor, and millions of their kind were starving." (*Nyasaland Times* . . .)

In an interview with a special correspondent of the *Chronicle* of Bulawayo, Dr. Banda said: "If Indians interfere or make demands in the politics of the country then they would be forced to clear out of the country."

Again the president of the African National Congress told a special representative of the *Evening Standard* of Salisbury: "One word from me and the Africans of this territory will boycott the Asian stores throughout Nyasaland. They know too well," said Dr. Banda, "that what this will mean—bankruptcy and they will have to clear out to Dar-es-Salaam or somewhere."

'At any cost'

Living in a select residential area in Limbe, this former London medical practitioner told me in an exclusive interview that he is determined to get independence at any cost and establish a purely African state—a state for the blacks only and in which he would give certain rights to the white and the brown, all depending on their attitude towards his fight for black Nyasaland.

He said: "I am a man who does not believe in mincing words. I believe that many Indians—not all—are dishonest profiteers and quislings. It is for them to decide about my leadership and not for me."

"The basis of my allegations that Indians are profiteers are this. Go to any African and ask him if he is satisfied with trading with Indians. Ask him about the Indian trader and he will tell you."

'No nonsense'

"The Indians must realise that just as they fought for their freedom in India, we are fighting for our freedom here. We will not stand for any nonsense from them. We cannot allow them parity with us just as we would not agree to European parity. We are in the majority and we demand our majority."

"Indians in Nyasaland must show a change of heart and unless they do this I am not prepared to consider them as sons and daughters of Nyasaland."

Asked what the position of the minorities or other racial groups would be when his party assumes power, Dr. Banda answered: "I



SACRANIE

cannot say what their position will be when we come to power. Now I am thinking purely of an African state and cannot guarantee anything to other races, at the moment. It will all depend on their attitude to our struggle.

"What we demand is an African majority. Indians have never identified themselves with the Africans, but with Europeans and Coloured. They must decide for themselves whether they want to join the Congress or not."

'All nationals'

Commenting on Dr. Banda's remarks, Mr. Abdul Sattar Sacranie, president of the Nyasaland Asian Convention, told me:

"We are all Nyasalanders, whether white, black or brown, and it is a pity that we should be referred to as Europeans, Asians or Africans. We should consider ourselves as nationals of Nyasaland and I wish to see the country ruled by nationals—even if it means such nationals will be entirely Africans."

Asked how the views of the Asian community could be reconciled with any national movement, Mr. Sacranie replied: "Our proposals are based on the necessity to create a proper political climate for the development of our relations on party lines. Asians wish to identify themselves completely with any national movement which is not restricted to any particular community."

"A restrictive national movement cannot be described as nationalistic. What we need here is a Nyasaland nationhood. It is obvious in the context of such nationalism that a national state on this basis might well consist of a preponderant African majority, or, indeed, of all African nat-

ionals. Our proposals are a means to this end. For confidence of all races it is vital to develop our political affairs on national lines.

"I think it is unfortunate that we should use expressions such as Asians, Africans, Europeans, when we talk about nationalism. These expressions are inclined to qualify and restrict the scope of nationalism."

Upon the realisation of that form of nationalist movement in which there would be no distinction on the basis of race and colour, it would be wholly immaterial whether the administration of the country were run by nationals who happen to be of a particular colour or race, because in such a state the administrators would be known as nationals only and such nationals might well be Africans.

'Must continue'

"But safeguards must continue for as long as the African feels necessary for land security purposes. He must be encouraged by all possible means to advance economically in order to enable him to decide for himself whether he would wish the continuation of these safeguards in economic terms."

"It is obvious there must be a measure of identity of views. Unfortunately no attempt so far has been made to seek such mutuality of attitude. We are always ready and willing to discuss the whole political situation in the spirit of give and take. Reciprocity in this respect is vital."

"We, of course, are very anxious to hold such discussions with the African National Congress leadership and, indeed, I have written to the President-General of the Congress, suggesting a meeting for such a purpose."

"It is also our desire to meet other communities as well."

'Not justified'

Referring to an allegation that Indians had never identified themselves with the Africans, but only with Europeans and coloured people, Mr. Sacranie said he was sure that on examination of the past five years' political history, it would show a very different state of affairs.

"I wish to note that in opposition to the Federation, the Asians were very much in agreement with the Africans. They, too, opposed the Federal scheme on the grounds, among others, that imposition of Federation against the will of the Africans could not be justified."



Dr. Hastings Banda greeted by his followers on his return to Nyasaland.

"It should also be noted that Asians were the only other non-Africans who stressed the need for universal adult franchise when they met Mr. Oliver Lyttelton in 1954."

"In 1955 we strongly supported the African demand for representation on the Executive Council. On many other occasions there was a great measure of mutuality of views between the Africans and the Asians."

"On the other hand, Asians could not agree with the Europeans on the Federal scheme; on the constitutional reforms in 1956; on the Federalisation of Agriculture; on the Immigration Act etc. I must, however, emphasise that we wish to identify ourselves with all the communities if a common basis can be found."

CHURCH ON 'SHADOW OF SJAMBOK'

THE Bulawayo Anglican magazine, *The Bulletin*, is the first to enter openly the political field before the coming general election. It does so with a forthright directive to Christians not to vote for "any party which is not absolutely liberal in its inter-racial policy."

"A suspicion of apartheid," states the magazine, "or the shadow of the sjambok in party policy must be eschewed or our church going and charitable deeds are just a nonsensical facade."

"The ballot may be secret, but conscience will see to it that your unchristian vote renders your religious life a sanctimonious mockery instead of a fight of faith."

Kenya Moslems Criticised

NAIROBI.—The Kenya African Elected Members Organisation has issued a statement criticising views expressed by Kenya Moslem League members, during their recent annual conference in Mombasa, inviting it to "mind its religious concerns and stop mixing politics with religion".

WELCOME FOR LEADER

GHANA PLANS WELCOME TO QUEEN

LONDON. — Three representatives from Ghana have spent a week here planning the welcome Ghana will give to the Queen next year. They are Mr. Enoch Okoh, secretary to the Cabinet, Mr. F. D. Amang, Secretary to the Governor-General and Mr. R. N. M. Milton, Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Labour and Co-operatives.

The Ghanaians took with them a draft programme of suggested visits and entertainment they would like to offer to the Queen but nothing will be finalised until she has given her approval of the suggestions.

As well as collecting a great variety of practical information the mission has had talks with the Queen's secretary about her preferences to make her tour as enjoyable and interesting as possible.

T.U. COURSES FOR AFRICANS

ABOUT 30 trade union students from English-speaking African territories will attend the first course of the new African Labour College run by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, in Kampala, Uganda.

The first course is planned to last four months, and members of the staff will include trade unionists from Britain, Kenya, Sweden and America.

Funds for the college come from I.C.F.T.U. sources.

COLONY'S FIRST AFRICAN D.C.

DAR-ES-SALAAM. — The appointment of Tanganyika's first African District Commissioner has been announced.

He is Mr. Dunstan Omari, graduate of Makerere College, Uganda, and the University of Wales.

He will administer the Manyoni District, 370 miles west of Dar-es-Salaam, which has a large African population.

THE UNION'S SALVATION LIES IN RACIAL UNITY

Liberal Party is building bridges

JAN BURGER of the *Star* doubts if Liberalism is the solution to the race problem which its supporters claim it is. As an African who is a Liberal I may be permitted to say why I think the ideal of a common society holds out the best prospects of peace, happiness and security for all the groups which make up the South African nation.

Unlike the others, the Liberal Party does not exist to serve the interests of any one section of the nation. It regards South Africa as a mixed nation and brings black and white together to give constructive purpose to our march to the future.

It projects before the European and the man of colour a unifying ideal which will have a similar meaning on both sides of the colour line.

Its role in South African national life is not just to be one more negative influence whose sole aim is to frustrate Afrikaner nationalism's designs. It is to foster loyalties which will transcend race and to build on these a unity of purpose among the like-minded, which could be a powerful bulwark against tyranny from either side of the colour line.

The race problem remains unsolved to-day because the frontier approach, in which the racial side which could murder the others on the largest scale possible laid down the law for everybody, is the dominant influence in our national life.

This has given to the white man's policy in handling the Africans, the character of a negative influence which serves to frustrate the will of the largest racial group. And this, in turn, has provoked reactions from the African in which his leaders organise him in such ways that one day he should exert irresistible pressures to ensure respect for his wishes.

White intransigence is hardening these demands for reforms. As a result a new school of thought has emerged among the Africans, which sees in the expulsion of the white man from this part of the world the only condition for a free and fuller life for the man of colour.

Creating a vacuum

In the meantime a vacuum is being created which apartheid, communism, Africanism and liberalism sail in to fill.

The first two are but a perpetuation of the frontier mentality, the one using race while the other uses property or ownership of the means of production, as the repository of power. For this reason they are no real answer to our problems.

For Africanism to throw the white man into the sea it would have to sink to unspeakable depths of self-degradation. In the process it could quite conceivably split the African community and place itself in a position of dangerous isolation, just as apartheid has done in the Afrikaans community.

Apartheid, communism and Africanism are all no solution to the race problem in a mixed

country simply because force is their sanction.

Liberalism comes in at this stage. It sees in giving excessive power to the executive, an invitation to disaster. The concentration of power in any one racial group will give the others a vested interest in working for the disruption of Union. It will lead to race wars and, in the final reckoning, will create unrest which can benefit only the men in the Kremlin. In all this the Liberals see a betrayal of democracy.

Our answer is that salvation for South Africa lies in agreement between black and white on ultimate goals; in a unity of purpose which will enable the African, the European, the Coloured and the Indian to defend together those values of life without which the individual cannot have the oppor-

tunity to make the best possible use of his life.

Our ideal of a common society is based on the conviction that there is a place for all in the African sun. By giving all our peoples a common loyalty based on values and not on race, we believe we can establish a society in which the minorities would have the security they need without frustrating the will of the majority.

Africans dominant

In that society the African would obviously be the dominant influence. But as race would have ceased to have much significance the danger of race oppression would have been removed to a considerable extent.

Against this background, the real role of the Liberal Party is

WE BUILD TOGETHER



by
JORDAN NGUBANE

initially to build bridges of accord between the warring racial groups by focusing the maximum attention on areas of agreement and by laying the greatest stress possible on values of life as unifying influences, instead of race.

The first of these bridges has to be built between the Party and the African National Congress. The Party has already gone a long way in doing this. Chief Lutuli, the president-general of the A.N.C. was the guest speaker at the provincial conference of the Liberal Party in Natal recently. During the course of his address he paid tribute to "the lasting values" which the Liberals

and the A.N.C. uphold and said he looked forward to seeing the two bodies co-operate in an ever-widening sphere.

Warring factions

The second task in this category will be to help discover and extend the area of agreement between the warring factions within the A.N.C. It is not the business of the Liberal Party to tell the A.N.C. how to run its affairs. At the same time the Liberals can do a lot to ensure that the A.N.C. is a strong body. The treason trials have shown what could be done.

This bridge-building should be extended to the point where we can make it possible for Professor N. J. J. Olivier and Chief Lutuli to see if there is not an area of agreement between them which would be wide enough to enable them to stand shoulder to shoulder in endeavours to give Christian or democratic ideals a meaning which will be the same on both sides of the colour line.

Single loyalty

In other words, the stream of Liberalism which flows mainly in the English-speaking and non-white communities must be merged with what Professor Pistorius once called Afrikaner Liberalism, to produce a single loyalty which will enable the African, the Afrikaner, the Coloured, the English, the Indian and the Jew to discover where their real interests are identical.

The Liberals are already building these bridges. I hope this enables Jan Burger to see them in a slightly different light.

ECONOMICS

TALKING BUSINESS . . . with RALPH HORWITZ



Is Peron's Argentina the model for South African Republic?

HOW does the Afrikaner get his "rightful" share of South Africa's business enterprises?

Dr. M. S. Louw, the doyen of Afrikaans financiers, is evidently determined to make this a matter of public discussion and then, presumably, of Government action. He has in recent months made a series of speeches which have had as their theme the "dangers of excessive foreign control", the "need for economic independence" and — most of all — that if the Afrikaner is not "given" his rightful share, then there will be a growing demand for nationalisation of private business interests.

On each occasion that he has "spoken aloud", Dr. Louw has subsequently declared that he has been misinterpreted and in fairness to him the nuances of translation can create misapprehensions. Thus, in respect of his "nationalisation" reference, Dr. Louw has said that he was primarily appealing for more private invest-

ment by Afrikaners in industry and mining.

It is none the less exceedingly unfortunate that Dr. Louw's series of statements should lend themselves to an interpretation which suggests that Peron's Argentina is to serve as a model for the economy of the South African Republic.

In one of his speeches, delivered to correct a previous speech, Dr. Louw insisted that he used the word "foreign" without any overtones of xenophobia. In that address he pleaded for a greater measure of financial control by South Africans over companies operating in South Africa but whose capital was owned outside South Africa. He made a plea for English-speaking South Africans to join with Afrikaans-speaking South Africans to persuade the Government to appoint a commission of inquiry into the issue of "foreign control".

But now, in his latest address, Dr. Louw talks not of "South

Africans" but of "Afrikaners". He must surely realise that it raises the thought whether "foreign" has now become "non-Afrikaner". In other words, Government action might be required not only to check the growth of foreign or outside investment by way of majority shareholding in South African enterprises but to use Government compulsion against English-speaking business in South Africa to pass control to "Afrikaners".

What other construction can be placed on "nationalisation"?

The use of Government power to dispossess the business interests of political opponents was highly developed in Peron's Argentina. There, too, the fanatical support of a selected group of industrial workers was secured by a kind of "job reservation" technique for the benefit of Peronists.

For the present, job reservation here is being used in an attempt to guarantee all the better paid jobs for white South Africans

only. But nothing in the law prevents the use of the job reservation clause on behalf of that section of the white population which votes for Senator De Klerk.

In the course of ten years, all constitutional safeguards against an authoritarian state have been eliminated. A complete and total monopoly of political power has been gerrymandered by the Nationalist Party.

This column has repeatedly suggested that this political monopoly would in the logic of power be used for the economic benefit of the "faithful"; that unless English-speaking South Africa (and indeed non-Nationalist South Africa) recognises that its economic position cannot be defended without some measure of political influence, that economic position will be slowly undermined and eventually destroyed.

It may be unjust to him, but Dr. Louw would be unwise if he did not realise that the thought grows that his "nationalisation" speech is part of a programme.

CONTACT

Stop being unjust to the Indians, Dr. Hastings Banda!

ELSEWHERE in this issue we carry a report of an important interview with Dr. Hastings K. Banda, by one of our representatives.

Readers may remember that, with other newspapers in Africa and elsewhere, we welcomed his return to his homeland after 30 years. After his return we received information from correspondents in Nyasaland that he was likely to pursue the path of moderate African nationalism—i.e. intransigent opposition to white domination, but based firmly on non-racialism. We believed that, together with leaders such as Mboya, Nyerere, Lutuli, Nkrumah, he had learnt so to loathe the colour bar that he would fight it—whether it hit the Africans or the non-Africans.

Then some weeks ago, his many admirers were disturbed to read that he had threatened Asians in Nyasaland with total boycott by Africans, aimed at their expulsion from the territory.

"One word from me and the Africans of this territory will boycott the Asian stores throughout Nyasaland. They know too well what this will mean—bankruptcy and they will have to clear out to Dar-es-Salaam or somewhere," was the elegant way Dr. Banda put it.

On another occasion he referred to them as "opportunists, profiteers and Quislings".

Mob ran amuck

Recently a mob, after listening to Dr. Banda, ran amuck and menaced whites and Asians.

It is possible that Dr. Banda has had pressure put on him by the extremists among his own supporters to speak like this. He may have other, internal, reasons of which we know nothing. Whatever the case may be, we wish to speak very plainly to Dr. Banda.

We wish to say this: here in South Africa we are engaged in a tremendous struggle against racialism. In other countries in Africa there is a somewhat similar struggle. This journal supports the forces of freedom everywhere in Africa, and opposes the forces of racism.

Africans suffer

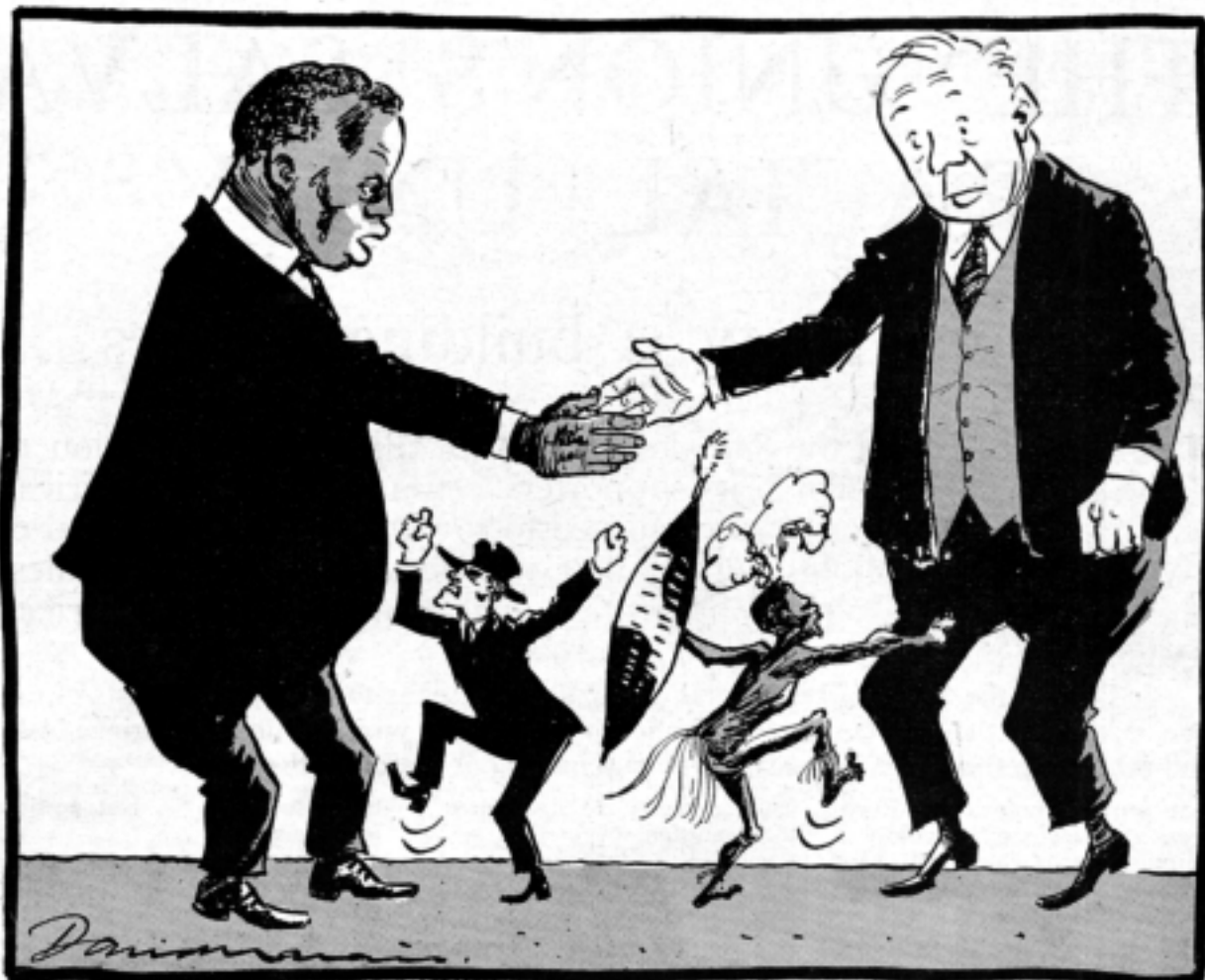
In most countries the discrimination is practised by whites and the Africans are the sufferers. But in the Nyasaland African National Congress it appears that the discrimination is practised by Africans, and that the non-Africans are those that suffer.

This sort of thing we oppose with all our strength. We oppose racism in Nyasaland just as strongly as we oppose it in South Africa, and just as strongly whether the inciter be Dr. Verwoerd or Dr. Banda.

Dr. Banda is not only wrong morally. He is wrong tactically. Does he really think that Britain is more likely to hand over power to him in Nyasaland after these irresponsibilities? Does he think that the cause of African freedom is helped on by his rioting mobs hitting headlines round the world? Does he not realise that what he is doing is precisely what the African's worst enemies hoped he would do? He is living up to the picture they draw of the disorderly African savage.

An appeal

We appeal to Dr. Banda to draw back and make amends for his conduct, which has lowered him to the level of apartheid.



"It seems we must both forgive one another our extremists."

INTERNATIONAL

CHINESE MILLIONS RECEIVING SECURITY IN EXCHANGE FOR THEIR SOULS

by DENNIS BLOODSWORTH,

who has just returned from a visit to the Chinese People's Republic.

SINGAPORE. — The Peking kiddybus is undoubtedly among the world's odder vehicles, the front half a bicycle pedalled by a sweating trishaw driver, the back an entire miniature wooden bus on two wheels.

The first one I saw was passing a long grim barrack of a building, at each window of which a woman was almost ferociously cleaning the metal lattices. Perhaps nothing could have expressed more eloquently the changing pattern of life in China.

The kiddybus removes children from their homes and takes them to a State nursery or kindergarten. It brings some back in the evening the others stay there all week, returning to their parents only over Saturday night.

The barrack is a State dormitory in which women city workers live an all-girls-together existence, although the majority of them are married.

Family tradition being ousted

As collective thinking replaces individual thought in China, so communal living is gradually ousting the family tradition.

In the agricultural co-operatives of Szechuan I saw individual farmhouses demolished and great tenements, equipped with com-

munal kitchens and canteens designed to accommodate a hundred families, rising incongruously in the fields.

In the big factory complexes of Shanghai and Hankow, the children are parked out for the week so that the wives are freed to work at the lathe, and to take their meals in the workers' canteen.

Homes and businesses nationalised

All house property is being nationalised. Shops and businesses have been turned virtually into State enterprises. Ninety-seven per cent. of all farming families have now been drawn into "advanced" agricultural co-operatives.

Only the cheapest and most essential foods, wearing apparel and household goods are within the pocket of the average Chinese.

Is the impecunious, hard-working doctrine-drunk Chinese content? On one hand there are the emaciated, ragged figures I have seen when travelling through the country by train, the ex-coolie "masters of China" in Chungking straining at an angle of 70 degrees to haul overloaded handcarts up steep hills, the silent, unlit villages which no foreign visitor may ever visit, and

everywhere the conformity too often born of fear . . .

But there are also the well-fed workers of factories and co-operative farms, the shining faces of healthy, well-clad children, the parks thronged with cheerful people, obviously and unexpectedly at ease.

The consensus of neutral opinion in China is: Yes, the vast majority of Chinese are relatively content and accept the regime. The intellectual is often unhappy in his Socialist straight-jacket, the former capitalist inevitably goes to the wall, the man who cannot fit into the pattern is ruined. But Peking has created a new collective society which offers the millions security in a new powerful China in exchange for their souls.

'Try to think like us'

And what may seem unimaginably horrible to a liberal-minded European may be perfectly acceptable to a Chinese. "Try to think like one of us," a Communist asked me. "Collective thinking is achieved by endless political debate — and we love conferences."

The Chinese has no tradition of privacy, enjoys a hubbub around him and is an easy convert to communal living.

Dormitories are not new in China, and often married couples prefer to live separately, close to their respective jobs, than to commute.

The system of collective responsibility, and what you call spying and intolerable interference in personal life—none of these are novelties here. And since when have the Chinese objected to hard work?

State works for the people

"In exchange, this regime gives us State schools and hospitals, roofs over our heads and a job of work to do. It is working for us when it builds a new factory, constructs a new dam, frees us from flood and famine and the destitution that kills."

Discontent is natural to man, whose first act on being born is to burst into tears, and no Chinese can believe that Utopia consists of a regimented society in which property, the family, and individual enterprise are thrown into pawn. But, with dynasties of insecurity behind him, it is not surprising if he is ready to take a chance on a new way of living, to turn his back on traditions linked in his mind with 1,500 years of Han to Mao existence.

ALAN PATON invites...

MR. EKKIS BLINDENDOOF

... to take the Short View



give a Bantu your little finger, he will think you are offering him your hand. Although Mr. Paton was born in our beloved country, he does not know the Bantu the same as my friends. Even my friends who were not born in the country know the Bantu better than he does. There is nothing more dangerous in our country than a good sincere man who does not know the Bantu.

*

But I am not writing about the Bantu this week. This is not because the Bantu is not important. I and my friends say every ox has his kraal, and we believe the Bantu has as much right to his kraal as any other person; and we mean to see that he gets it and likes it and stays there, just as we like and stay in our kraal. We want him to have the same as ourselves. We are opposed to race discrimination. We want only apartheid.

*

But nevertheless I am not writing about the Bantu. I am writing about that body that calls itself the United Nations. Sixty-eight nations of that body voted against apartheid.

Now I and my friends maintain that apartheid is a domestic matter. We are a democratic nation, and the people voted again and again for apartheid, and therefore they have a right to have it. We do not interfere with the way New Zealand treats the Maoris; if the New Zealanders want to play rugby with the Maoris in New Zealand, we do not say anything against it. Therefore we are disappointed that New Zealand voted against us. It is possible we may have to stop playing rugby against New Zealand in the future.

*

However, I am taking the short view, not the dark view. Five nations voted for us at the United Nations, Australia, Belgium, France, Portugal, and our old enemy but now dear

friend, England.

Why did these nations vote for us? There is one reason, and one only. All of them know the Bantu.

*

May I ask what Mnumzana U Ten Shen of Burma knows about the Bantu? Or Mnumzana Shaha of Nepal? Or Mnumzana Mahomed Noah of Malaya? The answer is nothing.

Of course Mnumzana Jantuah of Ghana should have known better, because he knows the Bantu. But where communism rules a country, you cannot expect anything better. This is the thanks we get for treating Mnumzana Simpson of Ghana like a president when he visited our beloved country.

I and my friends are most disappointed in Mr. George Harrison of the United States, for voting against us. What right has he to point a finger at us? Is it possible he has not heard of Little Rock?

We do not lynch people in

our beloved country, and we did not exterminate the Red Indians of our beloved country. We do not point our fingers at other countries.

May I ask in a whisper, is it not possible that George Harrison is a mnumzana too?

Nevertheless we shall not give up the fight to show the world the benefits of apartheid. Some of I and my friends do not like the word apartheid; we prefer the words separate development, each after his own kind, which are blessed words, because they so accurately express God's own thoughts on these matters.

One day the world will know the truth. But until that day comes we must rely on our State Information Service.

*

Thank you, Mr. Paton, for allowing me to take this short view, which I and my friends know is very much shorter than yours.

Yours faithfully,
EKKIS BLINDENDOOF

SOUTH AFRICAN LOOKING - GLASS

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

SEE WHAT THEY THINK OF YOU, COMMISSAR VERWOERD!

—Mr. J. M. Jansen, an elder of Lady Grey, maintained that if the church handed her schools to the state the Coloured population would be exposed to liberalistic views, which, he said, could easily lead to communism.—Report in the *Southern Cross* of the Dutch Reformed Mission Church Synod at Worcester.

LUCKY HE DIDN'T GO DOWN THE DRAIN, TOO!—Who said the United Party was dead? If you think so, try to book accommodation in East London this week while the party's Cape provincial congress is being held... I never thought I would see the inside of a women's cloakroom, but that is what the sign above the door says and that is where I slept last night.—*Cape Argus* reporter.

TWO YEARS WITHOUT THE OPTION?—There are people who criticise and are disappointed, but we are making progress—and give me but two years and I shall show you a new South Africa.—Minister De Wet Nel, speaking of the Tomlinson Report.

BUT IT'S A LONG WAY FROM DEVIL'S PEAK!—When all African residents of the old Alberton African Location have been removed to the new location—Thokoza—(place of joy), it is the intention of the Alberton Town Council to make the area a European suburb.

The name of the suburb would be Verwoerd Park, said Mr. H. J. Norman, the retiring Mayor of Alberton, in his mayoral address.—News item.

WE THOUGHT HE WAS HIGH-HANDED ENOUGH!—I believe the destinies of nations and people are in the hands of God and therefore believe that the task I have assumed has been entrusted to me by a higher hand.—Dr. Verwoerd.

ARE YOU LISTENING, MR. EISENHOWER?—I believe the Afrikaner nation has a calling to solve the racial problems not only of this part of Africa, but to give direction to the whole world.—Mr. M. C. de Wet Nel, Minister of Native Affairs.

FAIR COMMENT

by Patrick Duncan

CONTACT has been rude on many occasions about the poor old United Party. This fortnight we can chalk up two credits—just to show how fair-minded we are.

The Cape Provincial Congress elected as its new chairman Mr. J. van A. Steytler, representing the liberal wing of the party, and not Mr. Connan, representing the extreme plateland wing.

And, some weeks earlier, Mr. Harry Lawrence delivered in the *Argus* the most forthright attack I have ever seen on a Prime Minister.

Some handpicked phrases: "Dr. Verwoerd gratuitously insulted the United Party by declaring, with forensic indignation, that 'they will never strike the Bible from our hands'. That is the sort of political propaganda that is as nauseating as it is infamous."

"Until recently I regarded this new Prime Minister, this sawdust Caesar, as a political fanatic—but a sincere fanatic who genuinely believed all he said... I still consider that he has delusions of political grandeur and thinks that he is infallible. But his bombastic talk... has convinced me that he is politically unscrupulous."

"These are the ravings of a political upstart."

FINANCE MINISTER DÖNGES has told the Football Association of Southern Africa that matches between Europeans and non-Europeans would in South Africa not be permitted.

But are the New Zealanders "Europeans"? I always thought they were "Antipodeans", both the pink and the brown ones. Or is Dr. Dönges extending right round the world the South African criterion, which is based purely on skin colour?

But if he is, how does he class the Kashmiris? Many of them are paler than many "white" farmers in the Free State. Mrs. Pandit, Mr. Nehru's sister, for instance, is much "whiter" than several M.P.'s.

So, providing an Indian team comes from Kashmir and is hand-picked for colour, can they come? Dr. Dönges, please explain.

BETWEEN one and two thousand African women have voluntarily gone to prison rather than carry the badge of slavery—the reference book or "dom pass". Well done! We salute you who are showing the way to the rest of the country.

DR. H. F. VERWOERD, the Prime Minister, has told Cape Nationalists that the Natives' Representatives are to be "abolished". Delegates told the *Sunday Times* representative that legislation was coming at the next session of Parliament, and that Dr. Verwoerd will not wait until the Bantu Authorities Act is in full swing.

Presumably he finds that its present rock 'n roll tempo is good enough.

A PLEA to prevent "volk-erosion" and protect fine old South African surnames from being taken over by any racially dubious Dick, Tom, or Hymie was made at the Cape Nationalist Congress at the end of October.

Mr. H. Potgieter, not content with this racial sneer, went on to say: "We are always seeing notices of a proposed change of name such as Abdullah David wanting to alter his name to De Jong, or Hyman Cohen to Verster." Dr. Dönges said he was watching this closely.

What happens if a racially dubious Potgieter wants to change his name to Cohen?

SIXTY-FIVE Africans engaged in broadening the railway line in South Africa refused to work on Sundays. As a result some were fined and some were given strokes. D.R.C. please note.

IT is an amusing thought that the initials of the new Bantu Education Department, in Afrikaans, are B.O., and that those of the twin department of Bantu Administration and Development are B.A.D.

The Prime Minister must have a sense of... humour.

VAIN ATTEMPT TO 'WRITE OFF' LIBERAL PARTY

Argus throws up a smoke-screen



THE *Cape Argus*, in common with the rest of the English Press in South Africa, seems to consider that having for so long had the honour of ranking with the Anglican Church and the United Nations as the chief target of Nationalist abuse, it can preen itself on being compounded of all the virtues. Those of lucidity and logic, however, were conspicuously lacking in recent leading articles purporting to write off the Liberal Party and its policy by suggesting they are irrelevant to present-day problems and at the same time damning with faint praise the party's "good intentions".

The campaign was touched off by a successful Liberal Party meeting held in Rondebosch, when cogently argued and sincere speeches by Mr. Patrick Duncan and Mr. Walter Stanford were heard with interest and attention by an audience that obviously contained more than the already-converted.

This success seems to have irritated the Editor of the *Argus* because the main part of his paper's leader columns two days later were devoted to a critique entitled "The Liberal Failure".

The failure of the Editor or his leader-writer to attend the meeting discussed was apparent from the first sentence, which stated that it was, "largely devoted to discrediting the United Party". To anyone capable of measuring time, this statement showed an almost Verwoerdian disregard for the facts, which were that it took Mr. Duncan about ten minutes in a two-hour meeting to expose the pathetic impotence of a party afraid to antagonise its own mutually opposed wings. He showed that it does not need a grammarian or a logician to detect the absurdity of the self-contradictory term "discrimination with justice", and from then on, to the best recollection of at least one member of the audience, the United Party was never again mentioned during the evening.

Mental gymnastics

The *Cape Argus* rightly prides itself on being more than a mere parochial journal, and articles on international affairs and world trends in all their aspects are fre-



DUNCAN

CONTACT

by
ADRIAN

quently featured, often under the Editor's own name. He must therefore have undergone a strenuous effort of mental gymnastics to produce the next piece of *obiter dicta* on the Liberal Party, that, "its point of view is . . . formulated in terms of a social system and values dead these 50 years".

Threat of disaster

What, a Nationalist or a Liberal might equally ask himself, can the *Argus* mean? Liberals in South Africa focus their efforts on the front of colour discrimination, not because race relations are the most important ingredient in human affairs but because the official approach to race in this country constitutes an immense obstacle to social and economic progress and even threatens to bring disaster to all who live here.

Fifty years ago the dark-skinned races were, in some cases for better in others for worse, subordinate to the countries of Europe, economically, socially, and, in the main, politically. It is inconceivable that the Editor of the *Argus* does not know that the momentous fact of the last 50 years is that this statement has ceased to be true, outside South and East Africa, which after all, contain a small minority of the world's population.

Skin-conscious

This is recognised, if regretted, even by the pathologically skin-conscious, but only the Liberal Party in South Africa has the courage to advocate a political and economic system in accord with these realities. Who is 50 years behind the times, Mr. Editor?

The editorial then employs the well-recognised forensic technique of misquoting the opponent's standpoint and then proceeding to demolish it. We are told that the Liberal concept of economic freedom generally boils down to the idea that, "we can all live

better by living at one another's expense," and it is implied that Liberals are only concerned with sentimental generalisations about human rights, and are thus oblivious of the needs of our technical age.

Before crediting Liberals with meaningless statements, the *Argus* editorial board would do well to re-read (as they have surely already read?) Mr. Ralph Horwitz's precision exercise in economic sanity and logic, "Expand or Explode". To do so with an open mind is to be convinced that the advocates of apartheid or "discrimination with justice" are as out of touch with



STANFORD

by an excessive concern for the rights and liberties of the individual, or by the effects of measures like the Group Areas Act, job reservation and the limitation of opportunities to acquire and practise skills?

Marxian note

The argument seems to have struck an authentically Marxian note at this point (not Karl, but the Brothers!) and one is tempted to bring the matter to a conclusion by resolving to waste no



the economic needs of the time as they are with the social and ethical spirit.

We can believe the *Argus's* statement that, "the present age is one of tremendous adjustment", even if we do not relish their prophecy that, "we are heading for technocratically ruled societies run by trained elites commanding the power to plan society according to their conception of its needs".

A film depicting this "Shape of things to Come" would be awarded an "X" certificate by most civilised people, but it must be accepted that technical needs are given increasing priority in the Coca-Cola society to which the world seems to be moving.

64-dollar question

But the 64-dollar question in South Africa is, what are the obstacles to technical and economic efficiency which depress the standard of living of all races far below the level attainable with the country's resources? Is economic progress really hampered

time in the future on editorial smoke screens.

Clue to jigsaw

Even the best leading articles are evanescent things, soon forgotten, but the clue to the jigsaw, and the importance of the meanderings into fantasy in this case is provided by the Editor's *cri de coeur* on behalf of the criticised United Party, whose avowed supporter the *Argus* is.

The Nationalists have a policy, however much one may dislike it, and the Liberals have a policy embodying tenets which are taken for granted by men of moderate opinion throughout the civilised world. But the United Party and the English-speaking section of South Africans have no policy. It is true they have an uneasy conscience, something which is shared by an increasing number of thinking Afrikaners, but this is not an effective substitute. However, a conscience must promote thought, and thought, if logical and prepared to accept the facts of life, must lead towards Liberalism.

Perhaps what we are witnessing on the part of the thinking wing of the United Party is what Mr. Dulles called "an agonising re-appraisal of policy", which may lead to something constructive. It has already led Mr. Harry Lawrence to say, "Either we are a multi-racial society or we are not. If we are, then the non-European sections must have their rights . . ."

The alternatives

The implications of this statement for a "moderate" U.P. supporter are tremendous. Either one accepts the Nationalist answer, "We are not a multi-racial society", or one agrees to ultimate social and economic integration.

Attempted escape

The agony of re-appraising, however, led the *Argus* to some uncomfortable squirming in another leader headed, "The Enormous Question". They tried to escape from Mr. Lawrence's dilemma by suggesting that this was a post-liberal age and that the attitude to racial questions was less important even in South Africa than the new favourite theme of social planning.

Unfortunately no mention was made of the form or purpose of the planning. The article was diverted from this project by a brave attempt to show that there was nothing dishonest in the United Party's advocating one policy in Johannesburg and another in Bloemfontein. This apparently simply, "shows different responses to different pressures." A United Party election manager would certainly agree there!

Vicious example

Ironically enough, the most effective comment on the whole position is provided by the *Argus's* own Parliamentary correspondent's remarks on the failure of the Cape Peninsula's M.P.s to provide effective opposition to a small but vicious example of apartheid in practice, the attempt by the Government to remove the Cape Town Coloured traffic policemen: "I hope the silence of the United Party's M.P.s is due to thoughtlessness and not caused by an attack of apartheid 'me-tooism'. I wonder?"

APARTHEID A FANTASY TO CONDONE RACIAL INJUSTICE

Paradox of Group Areas Act

by LEO KUPER

PPRIVATE fantasies may be dismissed, but not such public pipe-dreams as total racial separation, which provides escape from moral responsibility, raises false hopes in the politically naive, and spreads a deceptive appearance of morality in a confusion of the issues.

The men who propagate the idea of total apartheid condone, and indeed support by their silence, many of the injustices of the present regime for the sake of a just but distant Utopia of separate development.

How else, for example, can one interpret their failure to raise an outcry against the administration of the Group Areas Act, with its threat to community life and its blatant enrichment of Europeans at the expense of non-Europeans?

There is a paradox here—a paradox not pleasant to contemplate—the tolerance of present injustice for the sake of an alleged ultimate remote justice. It is not even a case of the end justifying the means, because the Government is not pursuing a policy of total separation. The position is rather like that of some religious men so centred on other-worldly salvation as to be indifferent to their sufferings in this world, but with a striking difference.

Moral evasion

The sufferings are those of the politically and economically destitute, not those of the total apartheiders themselves, who share in the privileges of domination.

This is the first consequence of the pipe-dream, the evasion of

moral responsibility, the tacit support of injustice. Why then should some opponents of the Government's racialist policies hope for salvation from these men? I find it a mystery, which I interpret either as political innocence and unworldliness, or as a desperate clutching at straws. There is a failure to recognise the driving force of self-interest.

Well aware

The protagonists of total apartheid, so far as I know, are all men of education, often of high education, well aware of the judgment of the outside world, and troubled both by this judgment and by their own perception of present injustice.

They find themselves in a situation of conflict, and they are driven, as we also would be driven, to rationalise their self-interest and the interests of the group to which they belong. The doctrine of total separation provides an appropriate rationalisation for presenting some sort of uneasy front to the outside world and the inner conscience.

The capacity to rationalise is infinite and the doctrine of total separation will go through a myriad transformations under critical attack. There may be a concession that the vote must be given to the 2,000,000 Africans who remain in white areas in the year, 2,000 A.D.—or is it the 2,000 Africans in the year 2,000,000 A.D.? It is immaterial when one is discussing rights in a fantasy of a future millennium.

Or there may be some necessary event to herald the new dispensation — one flag, one anthem, the republic, orange pillar-boxes, two-thirds of the industrial and commercial wealth of the country. Again, it is immaterial; the crucial point is that the event must always be in the future—like the ward's coming of age under South African trusteeship.

Courage needed

To break away from these or other rewarding rationalisations requires the greatest courage and integrity. Few of us will succeed. The great majority will experience a change of heart only



KUPER

when the power relations between the racial groups have so changed as to bring home the desirability of new alignments. Those who oppose the Government would do well to rely on their own efforts, and not hope for a miraculous change of heart among the major beneficiaries of Government policy.

Cluster of Cliches

More serious than either of these consequences of the pipe-dream is the spreading of an aura of moral respectability around a system of primitive exploitation.

Some observers, particularly outside the country, vaguely suppose that the Government is following a policy of total separation; and they produce a conventional cluster of clichés, that "the people who support total apartheid are thoroughly misguided, but their sincerity cannot be doubted, and total apartheid would be a moral solution, if it were possible, which it is not". This assumption of the morality

of total apartheid must be challenged: it has no foundation whatever.

The present distribution of resources in South Africa is such that total separation would require sacrifices by the Europeans, and the supporters of total apartheid often proclaim the need for European sacrifice. But they fail to show any reasonable basis for assuming that a group with the monopoly of political power will sacrifice itself for the sake of subordinate, and despised, groups.

'Equal sacrifice'

The same situation arose under the Group Areas Act, when the Minister of the Interior gave an assurance that there would be no discrimination, that sacrifice would be required of all the racial groups. In the event, Europeans converted political power to material advantage, and spread themselves more widely over the developed urban areas, while the sacrifice, and dismissal to underdeveloped peripheral areas, were reserved for non-Europeans.

If this is the way partial separation takes place under Group Areas, what basis is there for supposing that total separation will proceed differently?

Sometimes the argument for total separation rests on the assumption that the strong will always exploit the weak, and that justice can only be achieved by total separation. But if the Nationalist Government — or any other dominant political group — cannot be expected to treat the politically weak with justice, why should it be trusted to separate the weak from the strong in a just manner?

And what could be more unjust than the proposals we have been given by the total apartheiders? They are Group Areas writ large. They assume, generally speaking, that the cities, the mines, the established industries and the ports should be European, and the relatively undeveloped areas non-European.

Imagine the reaction of these white men of apartheid if we suggested that they should divide South Africa into two portions, and that the non-whites should then have first choice! One has only to pose this suggestion to demonstrate that total apartheid is total discrimination.

'Mess of pottage'

Here we have a group of men, whose material interests are bound up with the terms of partition, and they set themselves up as the arbiters of those terms. Is this their conception of justice, that the non-whites must be forced to accept what the apartheiders, in their unfathomable wisdom, may decree?

And what about the political realism of expecting non-whites to renounce their aspirations and rights to the greatness of the country they have helped to build, for a mess of pottage—a measure of autonomy and of development, and £100,000,000, far less than the annual purchasing power of the African!

Or do they now hope to coax non-white acceptance of the new dispensation by means of consultation with hand-picked "representatives"?

Poverty and discontent are rife in Mocambique

CONTACT Special
Correspondent

PORTUGUESE EAST AFRICA is an unhappy land. I recently spent a month touring in the north, and came away bemused, bewildered and depressed. Nowhere else have I seen African people living in such poverty; nor have I in any other part of Africa come across such a discontented European community.

I stayed with manufacturers, businessmen, surveyors, missionaries, miners . . . and with all of them it was the same story. I was told of ridiculous delays, frustrations and corruption; of endless injustices and unduly harsh treatment of the African people.

Some indication of the Mocambique Africans' basic feeling towards their masters can be gleaned from population movements. Over 40 per cent of the two million people in southern Nyasaland are of Mocambique origin. In northern Mocambique it is reliably estimated that 35 per cent of the large Makonde tribe have moved across the border into southern Tanganyika.

Some reason for this migration can be seen from the circum-



Mocambique Africans building a road

stances under which they live in Mocambique.

Take wages and cost of living. The Government—fixed prices for crops in Mocambique vary considerably with those in Tanga-

nyika. Maize fetches one-half and beans fetch one-third the prices offered in Tanganyika. Basic wages on European estates in Mocambique are approximately half those of Tanganyika;

but in addition to that the bonuses offered in Tanganyika are large.

Slave labour as such does not exist in Mocambique; but conditions are not far removed from slavery. For a trip into the country one day a Chefe do Posto lent me a "boma messenger" with whom I was able to converse in Kiswahili.

He worked for three months of the year for nothing. He was given a "house", and rations that he assured me had to be augmented from home. The only other benefit that he received was exemption from his 18s. annual tax.

Contract labourers, those chosen for work on European plantations, are not much better off. They may be required at any time of the year, when their own crops are in need of their attention; but nevertheless they have to go.

In a country where prices are high, the wages are ridiculously low.

To be fair, I did meet Portuguese with a more enlightened labour policy; but even so, despite better conditions, they did not compare with those to be found in neighbouring territories.

Arkansas is fighting a rearguard action against integration

LITTLE ROCK PARALLELS WITH S.A.

ANY South African who visits Little Rock, the hot and sleepy city on the banks of the Arkansas river, is bound to feel a whiff of nostalgia, or at least of familiarity.

The parallels are uncomfortably close.

Most familiar of all, perhaps, is the atmosphere in the main Negro thoroughfare of Little Rock, West Ninth Street, which, as its name implies, is only eight streets away from the river and centre of the city.

For a white man to walk down it brings the same kind of curiosity, mixed with resentment, that you would find in Sophiatown: it has the same intense life of the streets, the same eagerness and warmth, the same character of a city-within-a-city.

West Ninth is only one block away from West Eighth, which is a white street: but it is a different city. It is an uncanny feeling, particularly after travelling widely

From
**ANTHONY
SAMPSON**

between Johannesburg and Little Rock, and finding nothing like South Africa, to come across this corner of apartheid.

Along one side of West Ninth is a row of gray wooden houses

on brick stilts, something like large beach huts: on the crumbling verandahs (much of the Southern States, black or white, seems to be crumbling) elderly Negro men swing on seats suspended by chains from the roof, and around the hut there is often an accumulation of broken chairs, sofas or disintegrating upholstery.

There is an atmosphere of village calm, patience and philosophy which reminds one immediately of crossing the frontier between white Johannesburg and black.

On the other side are the main Negro shops: the taxi-driver who first showed them to me, an amiable but inarticulate white Southerner, insisted on prefixing each shop with the word "nigger"—not in any particularly unpleasant spirit, but just to indicate that it was not an ordinary shop—nigger-laundry, nigger-hotel, nigger-café, nigger-bar. It is important to realise that in the South, however much negroes object to the word, with good reason, the expression "nigger" is used by whites in the matter-of-fact way, without any necessarily insulting flavour.

The shops had the same kind of high-sounding names and shabby premises that could be found in Sophiatown—"Tonsorial Parlour", "Metropolitan Tailors", "Varsity Barber", "Christ Temple Holiness Church". In one short stretch there is a mortuary, a funeral home and an A.M.E. church.

Shabby premises

In groups at almost every street-corner there are people talking as they never talk in the white areas—matrons in flat back velvet hats, grey old men with looks of infinite wisdom, young men in overalls with "Coca Cola" on the back.

For a white man to walk into one of these shops, or sit down in a café, would (and did) evoke at least as much surprise as in Sophiatown. The degree of social segregation is, if anything, stronger than in Johannesburg. To have lunch with an educated Negro, you must take sandwiches into his office. It is almost unheard of for whites and blacks to sit down at the same dinner table.

Only in one sphere, it seems, is the colour bar relaxed, socially though not legally. "There's a joint," my guide pointed out, "where you can get yourself a white girl or a nigger-girl, either."

The main bogey word in Little Rock, which will cause an instant lull in the conversation, is not



FAUBUS

Khrushchev or the Devil, but "Daisy". "What's Daisy going to do now?" "I suppose Daisy is behind that!" The name is mentioned in such a sinister way that one suspects it must be a code-word for an underground organisation.

But in fact Mrs. Daisy Bates, a good-looking and vigorous young Negro woman, is the local organiser for the N.A.A.C.P.—the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, the body which—although its policy differs hardly at all from its staid, and anti-communist headquarters in New York—is regarded in the South as probably communist, certainly dangerous and highly undesirable.

him at every turn in his attempt to set up segregated schools. It seems a tiny, ineffectual place to be battling against the State Capitol, the huge white dome of which dominates the city of Little Rock. In Arkansas one wonders how the Negroes with their small equipment can hope to achieve integration with a white population so powerful and implacably hostile, among whom liberals are as rare as they are in Bloemfontein.

But behind the dingy office at 616½ West Ninth Street lies not only the massive power of the Supreme Court—which, however remote it seems in Little Rock, has a habit of winning in the end.

There lies too, the incontestable facts of economics, in a state where development matters a great deal. Since the "controversy" began, the gradual movement of industry to the backward areas of Arkansas has seriously slowed down, because businessmen have been reluctant to put capital into a region where black labour is segregated, and therefore limited.

Could change plans

And the people of Arkansas are all too aware that the Federal Government itself, if it came to a serious crisis, would be well able to change its plans for capital developments, (like Air Force or Army bases), in Arkansas.

There are plenty of apparent parallels between Little Rock and South Africa, but they are really lines going in opposite directions, which have met for a moment in



At 616½ West Ninth Street, you climb up a rickety stairway and walk down a dark corridor quite surprisingly like the premises of the African National Congress in Durban. There, next door to an office labelled "Imperial Potentate III", is the Arkansas Headquarters of the N.A.A.C.P.

Two small rooms

It does not amount to much, and hardly does justice to its local reputation as a branch of Communist International. There are two little rooms, and one full-time paid secretary: everyone else is unpaid.

It is from this small office that Daisy Bates and the other N.A.A.C.P. officials are running their fight against the Governor of Arkansas—trying to baulk

time. The shortest conversation with a white citizen of Arkansas will reveal that he knows full well that he is fighting a rearguard action. Even Governor Faubus has a son at an integrated school.

Little Rock is not much aware of its closeness to Africa: the whites do not care to be told about their resemblance to Africans, and the Negroes are too much preoccupied with their own troubles to think much about their African cousins. The haziness on the subject is summed up in a little news item in the *Arkansas State Press*, the Negro paper in Little Rock, with a circulation of 5,000, which is edited by the husband of Daisy Bates: "South Africa elects Veerwoerd Premier to replace the dead Stradham".



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THE MASTERPIECE THAT ANGERED THE KREMLIN

Life of a talented lunatic

Dr. Zhivago, by Boris Pasternak (Collins and Harvil Press)

EN Russie ils mettent un écrivain en quarantaine pour encourager les autres. To encourage them to prostitute their talent, to close their ears to the siren voices of the Muses and to listen instead to the metallic directives of the Commissar for Propaganda.

The one slight consolation in the Pasternak affair is that under the Stalin régime the central figure might have suffered a similar fate to Admiral Byng and thus provided a more exact paraphrase of Voltaire's epigram. Even so, there have been in recent years few more horrifying examples of the soulless materialism that underlies totalitarian interference with artistic output.

Boris Pasternak, forced at the age of 68 to renounce a well-deserved Nobel Prize awarded for "Dr. Zhivago", confined to house-arrest and obviously "brain-washed" into signing a sort of semi-recantation, presents a tragic figure. His case is a dreadful warning to people everywhere who stand by unheeding while their rulers play with the dangerous toys of censorship and ostracism of critics.

Lesson for Reds

There is a lesson, too, for the Communist bosses of Russia themselves—if they would but heed it—in what an English writer, John Lawrence, has written about Pasternak: "... he will always be better known in Russia than abroad. But in his own country he stands far above all his contemporaries. For the last 25 years he has not found it easy to get his work published in Russia but his unpublished poems circulate in manuscript. The story circulates—and there is good evidence for it—that some years ago there was a poetry reading at Moscow at which Pasternak recited some of his unpublished poems. Several times his memory failed him for a few moments but the audience could always supply the missing words."

As far as countries outside Russia are concerned, "Dr. Zhivago"—which has not been published within the Soviet Union—would have made a lasting mark by reason of its beauty

and power. Now, thanks to the obtuse repressiveness of the Kremlin, it will reach a much wider readership because of the artificial sensation it has caused.

Perhaps the true explanation of the treatment meted out to a great man of whom any country might be proud has been discovered by David Floyd, of the London *Daily Telegraph*, an expert on Soviet affairs, who opines that the Communist Party bureaucrats were angered at the motives of those who awarded the Nobel Prize—"to acknowledge Pasternak's courage, his singleness of purpose and his purity of thought". They wished to reward him "for fighting for 40 long years a lone battle in defence of the freedom of literary creation".

The critic who is interested in literature as art and not in polemics will endorse the words of the English publishers: "If this book is read as a political book it will be read for the wrong reasons. It deserves to be read as one of those rare masterpieces that grow out of the anguish, love, and courage of a great mind."

It was inevitable, I suppose, that a similarity should have been drawn between Pasternak and Tolstoy, and particularly between "Dr. Zhivago" and "War and Peace". The parallel is obvious. Both writers chose a sweeping canvas—Tolstoy the Napoleonic invasion of Russia, Pasternak the entire Russian scene in the past 50 years through the Revolution to the disillusioning days of the continuing Marxist "experiment". Both employ the same device of deploying a large number of major characters, whose destinies are interwoven, against a background of mighty, cataclysmic events.

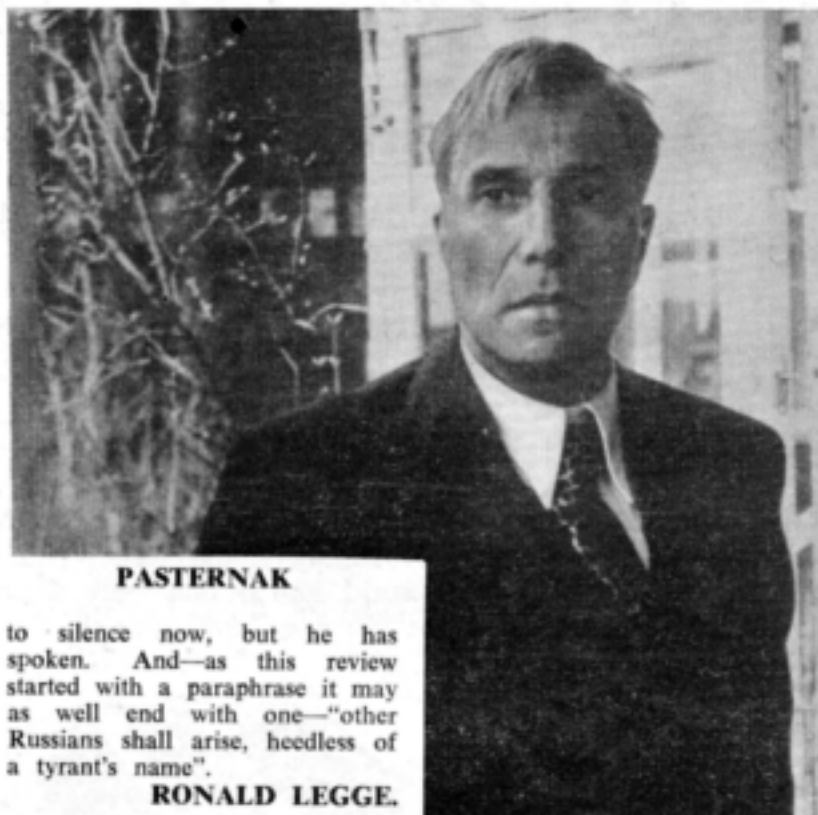
But, in spirit, I found a closer affinity between this book and the works of Turgenev than with those of Tolstoy.

Acceptance of life

There is the same warm psychological insight, the same deep humanitarianism, the same all-pervading melancholy, which, to the non-Slavic temperament may smack of morbidity, but which in essence amounts to a realistic, even glad acceptance of the sadness of a life whose meaning is imperfectly understood by the creatures upon whom it is bestowed.

A book of such surpassing intellectual honesty as this could only be written by one who has known deep suffering. The author is apparently to go on suffering because those who rule the immediate destiny of his people cannot tolerate even one "hostile" critic among them.

They can, perhaps, reduce him



PASTERNAK

to silence now, but he has spoken. And—as this review started with a paraphrase it may as well end with one—"other Russians shall arise, heedless of a tyrant's name".

RONALD LEGGE.

Theseus legend re-told in superb novel

The King Must Die, by Mary Renault (Longmans, Green & Co.) SOUTH AFRICAN-BORN MARY RENAUULT is an author whose novels have received unqualified praise from a number of Britain's leading literary critics, but for some reason which, on the evidence of this book, it is hard to understand, have not made a similar impact in this country.

"The King Must Die" is imagination to make the bull-head of Minotaur a mask—such as some African tribesmen wear to this day on ceremonial occasions. But Miss Renault's description of the slaying of the Minotaur—which she translates into the "mercy killing" of a leper, whose kingdom has been usurped by his illegitimate son—reveals an inventive skill that is truly admirable.

It is many years since I have read an historical novel that is so completely satisfying. Miss Renault has a prose style of considerable distinction; her characterisation is superb; and she reveals the highest degree of craftsmanship in re-creating the atmosphere of a classical age.

Formidable task

The task she set herself was a formidable one: to reconstruct in modern idiom the great Attic legend of the life of Theseus. The measure of her success can be gauged from the fact that her book can be read with complete satisfaction, and with a conviction of basic truth, by one who has no acquaintance of Plutarch or with the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*, and to whom the myths of the hero's adventures are completely unknown.

Miss Renault was obviously inspired by recent discoveries at Knossos and elsewhere in Greece and Crete which point to the fact that the Theseus legend was no mere fable, but had a basis in fact. His famous adversary, the Minotaur, a bull-headed man, has been found depicted on Minoan seals, and murals of the celebrated bull-dance show that this variant of the national sport of modern Spain was undoubtedly a spectacle enjoyed by the hedonistic population of the Cretan capital at the dawn of time.

The author displays great ingenuity in giving plausibility to her interpretation of the fairy-tale elements in the legend. It took no great stretch of

the chapters dealing with the bull-dance are magnificent. So cleverly does the author depict the scene, so convincingly does she explain the technique of this perilous pastime, that the reader could almost imagine he is perusing the account of an actual spectator, miraculously recovered after the lapse of centuries. For sheer excitement Hemingway's and Roy Campbell's eye-witness accounts of bull-fighting cannot compare with this *tour de force* of Miss Renault's.

Another tremendous episode, which brings the tale to a climax, deals with the great earthquake that engulfed the huge Labyrinth which was the Royal Palace of Minos. Here the author's descriptive powers are most brilliantly evoked.

Diligent research

It is evident from her note at the end of the book that Miss Renault conducted diligent research into her sources before setting pen to paper. She came to the conclusion that "the legend contains many apparent improbabilities which, when examined, reside only in some non-essential detail". Only a master of the literary craft could have eliminated that non-essential detail and substituted for it a fabric of invention that bears such an imprint of actuality.

R.L.

King Mob, by Christopher Hibbert (Longmans, Green & Co.)

THE name of Lord George Gordon is known to posterity, not for the good and altruistic deeds he performed as a politician—such as his indictment of the slave trade and his championship of the Americans against George III's oppressive colonial rule—but for his part in instigating the bloody riots in London in 1870 that bear his name.

Mr. Hibbert, basing his narrative on contemporary documents, presents the story of the murder, arson and looting that terrorised the capital for almost a week as a result of Gordon's stirring up mob feeling against the Roman Catholics.

"King Mob" is an intensely readable account of the life of a talented lunatic whose long-winded oratory bored the House of Commons to the point of desperation, yet whose inflammatory speeches outside Parliament were capable of driving the masses to frenzy.

The book gives a terrifying picture of the power of the demagogue and of the awful consequences of religious persecution. It deserves a place on the shelves of all serious students of socio-political affairs.

W.R.G.

TOWARDS A MODERN SOUTH AFRICAN PATRIOTISM

A letter to Peter Dreyer in reply to criticisms of the draft manifesto of the Bus Apartheid Resistance Committee by Ken Louw (Associate Editor of the *New Mercury*, the organ of Democracy of Content, Johannesburg.)

by K. J. HENDRICKSE

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STUDY OF A WOMAN MARXIST LACKS DRAMA

Doris Lessing's too cynical approach

A Ripple from the Storm, Doris Lessing (Michael Joseph), 15s.

READERS who enjoyed "Martha Quest" and "A Proper Marriage" will feel at home in Doris Lessing's latest novel, for around Martha, recently divorced from her husband, the author has woven the fabric of "A Ripple from the Storm".

It is the story of a young, earnest, inspired woman in the Communist Party in an African colony. That her cause is lost before it begins, Mrs. Lessing makes very clear. Varying between five and 15 members, the "group" to which Martha belongs really has no force in the political world, and in fact only functions to any purpose when temporarily grafted on to the left wing section of the local Labour Party.

But before and after this brief hour of usefulness, the comrades spend their time and energy organising Medical Aid for Russia meetings, selling literature on the Red Army, and having innumerable "group meetings" where they not only analyse the political situation, but themselves as well. In a sort of Oxford Group frenzy they expose their work and thoughts to self-criticism, and finally to the criticism of the entire group.

Anton, the Group Leader, sternly unhumorous and mostly inhuman, is married by Martha in true party spirit, because he is a German, and his pro-Russian activities are bringing him, as an enemy alien, into disfavour with the Government.

Unhappy marriage

She is not happy in this marriage, and the marriage of Andrew (another comrade) to Maisie, a pregnant friend of Martha's, becomes symbolic to her. If Andrew can marry Maisie to give her baby a name, then Martha can marry Anton to give him a country. If Andrew can make his marriage survive, she can make hers survive. Andrew's marriage fails, and so, we conclude, does Martha's.

Some of the character studies are good—Anton the German, for one, who turns out to be less of a comrade and less of a man after his marriage. Behind the shell of doctrinaire communism, he is a whining adolescent. Mrs. Carson, Martha's landlady, although a minor character, is a vivid caricature of demented race-prejudice. There are times when you feel she



actually wants the garden boy to watch her undressing. But the other characters are disappointing.

Novel suffers

Mrs. Lessing emphasises a tendency to stitch together a novel out of patches of personal experience. A too subjective approach causes her to lose opportunities for a dramatic expansion of her characters and her plot. Limited by her flat this-is-how-it-happened approach, the novel suffers. What could have been an interesting study of young intellectuals discovering the heady

wine of Marxist ideas, withers into spasmodic reportage and the kind of writing one finds in the minutes of meetings that fill so many pages of her book.

Limited freedom

Walter Allen has put his finger on it in his introduction to "The English Novel":

"The novelist is free to choose his material only in a limited sense, and his choice is governed by the deepest compulsions of his personality. It is these that dictate both the nature of his novels and the conclusions about life he expresses through them. This is why in judging a novel we are faced with the task of assessing not only the author's ability to create characters, but also the values inherent in the characters and their behaviour."



DORIS LESSING

Mrs. Lessing has the ability to create characters—this is obvious from the excellence of some of her short stories. Only occasionally in "A Ripple from the Storm" does the depth of feeling, or the standard of writing, approximate to that in her short story "A Mild Attack of Locusts"—and no one after reading "The Habit of Loving" and "Flight" in the same collection, can for a moment be unaware of the values inherent in her characters.

Better form

In the novel under-review, there are incidents and reflective passages, as the sketch of Jimmy, the R.A.F. comrade, floundering through the whole of one dark wet night in search of true friendship with his African brothers, which show Mrs. Lessing in her better form.

Why then, does the novel disappoint? It is because a novel is a totality, made up of all the words in it, and it must be judged in its entirety. However interesting that period in her life may have been to Mrs. Lessing personally, she has not dramatised the events sufficiently to enlist the reader's concern. The book fails to engage.

Only a ripple

Reading "A Ripple From the Storm" is more like turning the pages of a photograph album, having the pictures explained: "Oh, that was Maisie. I remember when . . ." and "That's my mother. We were living in Salisbury . . ." and so on, so that when the album is closed, what we feel is a mild, unlively half-interest, not a real experience. Mrs. Lessing seems to suspect this herself, for indeed nothing more comes out of it than a "ripple".

Pale portrait

Disenchanted with the values of the left wing world in the war years 1942-1945, Mrs. Lessing has approached her subject cynically—that is neither critically nor approvingly—and the result is a pale grey portrayal of the experience. Perhaps if she had cared less, or hated more, "A Ripple from the Storm" would have been a better novel.

BERYL BLOOM.

ENTERTAINMENT

Colour bar play that carries a message of shame and anguish

"THE Kimberley Train," by Lewis Sowden, staged recently at the Library Theatre, Johannesburg, (produced by Cecil Williams) is a milestone in our social history. It is the first play written by a South African upon the colour bar theme.

Since many people do not live in Johannesburg and since some who do may not have been able to afford the (rather high) prices or have the necessary skin colour for admission, some account of the play may not be out of place.

It is the tragic story of Elaine, a young Coloured girl whose skin is so white that her dark-skinned parents, Joe and Bertha Miller, see a great opportunity for her.

Mixed marriage

It chances that Joe's brother, also of pale complexion, has married a white woman, Paula. He has met his death at Alamein. So the family moves from Coronationville to Malvern, a working-class suburb of Johannesburg and there Paula is installed with Elaine passing as her daughter. The true parents are there also, acting as servants in the little house.

Elaine grows up, is convent-educated and obtains a job as stenographer. Here she pleases Mr. Powers, her boss, by efficiency and accurate spelling. She pleases also John Powers, his son, who

works with the firm. John takes her out on picnics and to cinemas and dances and asks her to marry him.

At this point the play opens with John taking Elaine to his parents' home. There Mrs. Powers and her daughter at once feel aware of something odd about Elaine, while Martha, their Coloured maid, sees the truth at a glance.

Complications follow. An organisation, known as the Kimberley Gang, threatens with dire vengeance any Coloured person who betrays any fellow Coloured person who is "playing white".

The Powers family, paying a surprise visit to the Miller home in Malvern, catch the family off-balance. Paula, whose creamy skin and brassy hair proclaim her whiteness, is in alcoholic vein. Clearly she is not Elaine's mother, and with Bertha, the true mother (most beautifully played by Kita Redelinghuys), hovering anxiously about the room setting the dinner table, the truth emerges.

Seeks protection

Elaine flees to the protection of the Kimberley Gang. John pursues her while his parents retreat in anguished disorder.

Her father, trying to prevent her from going to the Kimberley Gang, is arrested for molesting a "white girl". He gives Mr.

Powers' name to the police-sergeant, who, most improbably attentive to a Coloured man's appeal, bring him and Elaine to the Powers' flat. Mr. Powers explains that Joe is in fact the girl's father. The police-sergeant seizes her, forces her head forward and peers behind the ears where he sees the truth.

Last straw

John reveals that Elaine is going to bear his child. The Powers feel that this is the last straw and, though they "will be generous", still forbid John to marry the girl. The Miller parents however feel that the marriage is not important. What matters to them is that their hearts' desire is achieved: they will have a white grandchild.

The play cannot portray every indignity to which Coloured people are subjected in our "democratic" society, but it does show enough to bring home to the white audience the extremely inhuman cruelty of our laws. The marriage of John and Elaine, for instance, would be illegal. John's suggestion that they escape to England or America and there marry and make their lives, is rejected by Elaine who says that her life must be here, with her people, fighting for their cause, their claim to live naturally.

Living naturally is in South

Africa a privilege of "first class" citizens. Those who have third-class tickets on the train must suffer. Those who have second-class tickets are pinched between the pressures of the larger groups. Escape across the colour line is their only chance of evasion of frustration, humiliation and misery.

Such escapes are condemned, but usually by persons whose skins are so dark that they are not tempted to this device. Elaine's dark brother, teaching mathematics in a Coloured school, cries out that he must teach stocks and shares to those who have neither stock nor share in their colour-bar society.

Naked ugliness

Colour-bar legislation, born of wishful thinking and made all of arrogance and inhumanity, is revealed in its naked ugliness of cruelty and shame. It would be hard to witness this simple play and afterwards return to a Park-town home suffering no emotional disarray. It is a play that all white people should see, especially those who would prefer their drama in Afrikaans, especially all those whose secret desires are for a lasting white domination in South Africa. They ought to watch this play, with shame and anguish, then go home to join the Liberal Party.

WINIFRED ROUX.
15th November, 1958.

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NATIONAL CONVENTION CALL IS 'UNREALISTIC'

*Majority
rights are
democratic*

SIR,
According to a report in the *Cape Times* of October 16 of the multi-racial "brains trust" meeting, Dr. R. E. van der Ross (representing the Coloured view), speaking on the subject of universal franchise, said that guarantees would have to be made to the white minority group that they would not be swamped. This presupposed some form of group representation.

It is interesting to know (not having been present at the meeting) how Dr. Van der Ross described the guarantees of rights for the dispossessed and subjected Coloured group, if he did. It does seem rather that he represented the point of view of the white group.

Absolute power

Considering that the white minority group has appropriated absolute power over the life and destiny of the non-white majority over the course of over 300 years, would Dr. Van der Ross like to guarantee to the white minority group the right to retain what they have by the retention of the *status quo*?

Also it would be very interesting to know where in this wide world, where the democratic principle of government prevails, the majority do not swamp the minority?

What is wrong? How could the minority have exceptional rights in contrast to the majority?

JOHN GOMAS,
Cape Town.

SIR,
For years the Liberal Party has been accused of being unpractical, and lacking in realism.

Thanks to events like the recent Natal Congress, this accusation is being less heard than formerly.

But I have seen a roneoed memorandum of the party entitled "Constitutional Policy" in which it is said, and I think rightly, that the present South African Constitution does not adequately safeguard the rights of individuals against the state. Proposals are made for an improved Constitution.

So far, so good. But then the memorandum says: "To secure this aim (the entrenchment of a Bill of Rights) a National Convention will be summoned by Parliament at which all the people of South Africa will be as full represented as possible."

Can one be more childish? How in heaven's name do you persuade Dr. Verwoerd to do this? Or how do you vote for a successor who can be persuaded?

Pipe-dreams

No, sir, talk like this is just as unrealistic, and just as destructive of real planning and action, as are the pipe-dreams of SABRA.

I strongly advise the party, if it wants to progress in the esteem of the people of South Africa, to put this memorandum in the waste-paper basket, where it belongs.

BRAILLE,
Cape Town.

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SIR,
I should like to clarify a few points raised in my previous letter (CONTACT, October 4), as it appears that I was not understood by one of your readers.

When I referred to Britain maintaining South Africa's oppressive Government I was speaking in the economic sense (which is decisive in the last analysis). There are of course political connections, but these are secondary.

South Africa's economy is largely geared to the requirements of the Chamber of Mines—much of the oppressive legislation which burdens South Africa (the Urban Areas Act, the whole pass system for instance) is designed for no other purpose than to supply the mines, and to a smaller extent, the farms, with cheap labour.

Under pressure

If this labour supply (something like 300,000 men who receive on an average 5s. a day) were not conscripted under pressure of legislation which offers the alternatives of starvation in the reserves (or for that matter in the Protectorates) or slavery in the mines, it would quickly remove to the towns and into the employ of secondary industry, which is able and willing to pay it much better.

With this great new supply of labour available, industry would undoubtedly experience a major boom (imagine it, especially if coupled with adequate tariff protection). The labour force itself would become increasingly sophisticated through residence in the towns, and with these conditions one could scarcely envisage the apartheid set-up lasting very long.

Racial status

Another interesting point is that it has virtually become a prerequisite for the further development of industry to any extent that the system of racial status in industry be scrapped (i.e. job reservations etc.).

Now it is only necessary to understand that the gold mines are owned by British capital.

We must stop behaving as if Dr. Verwoerd and Co., are idiots—from the point of view of the Chamber of Mines and the land barons they are extremely practical politicians. From the point of view of developing secondary industry and of the nation as a whole (secondary industry already supplies the major portion of the national income) their policies are ruinous. Is it necessary to ask whom they serve?

Think about these things, Mr. Spottiswoode, and perhaps you will not find my statements so unreasonable!

PETER DREYER,
Cape Town.

RIDDLE OF THE 'AGONY' COLUMN

SIR,
A keen reader of CONTACT Smalls (back page), I have followed the messages between Mylae and Cretan with absorbed interest and speculation. It's a little related to reading someone else's mail, which normally one is not supposed to enjoy, unless one belongs to the Special Branch.

Unfortunately when reading other people's mail, or listening in on the telephone, it is not the done thing to join the discussion. But I do hope some one, perhaps Gregor or Sylvia, will caution Mylae against being too brisk with Cretan. According to Carnegie, Mylae will achieve less by anger than by, shall we say, expressing disappointment. There is always the risk of the discontinuation of these exchanges. And CONTACT will be the poorer for that.

Tired of love?

For we shall always guess but never know. Is it love, business or politics? Has Cretan (who "missed the September meeting") grown tired of love, engaged upon more profitable business, or in politics been stricken with battle-fatigue?

Yours truly,
KNOSSOS,
Mposa.

'JUSTICE' TO DEPORTED 'FOREIGNERS'

SIR,
All Protectorate Africans in the Reef towns read in the *Star* some time ago the suggestion that they should henceforward be treated as foreigners, and carry a permit or be deported.

The reason why these Africans are in the Union is because thousands have been recruited by the recruiting agencies for the gold mines. To simplify this deportation, let all these miners be deported first.

Prison farm

We should like your readers to know that a deported African who has no money for his journey home is sent to a "prison farm" camp. Such is justice in the democratic Union.

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