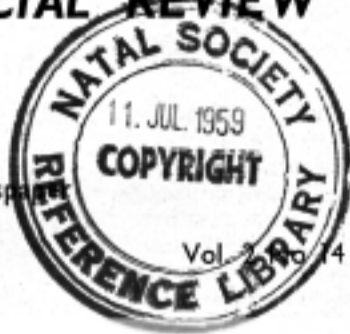


CONTACT

SOUTH AFRICA'S NON-RACIAL REVIEW

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WEEK ENDING 11th July 1959



SIMONSTOWN GROUP AREAS THREAT

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HOW COMMUNIST IS GUINEA?

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POLICEMAN TAKES £25 AS PASS BRIBE

See PAGE 4



Mr. D. P. Kessow, of Simonstown. He is threatened with legalised theft of home and business under Group Areas law — see page 2.

Simonstown Group Areas

NON-WHITE TRADERS, RESIDENTS FACE RUIN

IN AUGUST the Group Areas Board is going to hold a meeting in Simonstown, southernmost South African town, and one-time British naval base. For over two centuries Simonstown has been truly South African. There has been less colour discrimination there than in any other of our towns. White and non-white worked together on a basis of equality in the dockyard. White and non-white lived and traded together, with almost no divisions. And with certainly no friction.

Up till the Nationalist victory of 1948 the non-white people of Simonstown could look forward to a decent future for themselves and their children. They lived quiet, respectable lives. Some of them were elected to the town

BY
PAUL MEYER

British conscience a nice-sounding clause was put in by Mr. Erasmus



Part of Dido Valley, two miles out of town, now a rubbish dumping area, but thought suitable for Simonstown's non-whites to live and trade in.

council and served the public as well as they knew.

Then two disasters hit them. In 1948 the Nationalists came to power, pledged to inflict apartheid on South Africa irrespective of the feelings of the majority of the people.

Then, after years of nagging, the South African government was given the naval base by the British government. As a sop to the

that suggested that the non-white inhabitants would not suffer by the change.

What is happening to them I saw when I visited Simonstown last week.

As to work: it has been made difficult for Coloured apprentices to enter the dockyard. Everything possible is being done to favour white youths. (Contact 16 May reports the failure of the white

youths to take their examinations seriously).

As to trade: proposals have been advertised which would include the whole business part of the town as a "white area" (Contact 21 March). This means quite simply, that traders and business men who are not white will have to pack up and go.

What is proposed for them? They are supposed to move to Dido Valley, some two miles away from the town. Much of this valley (see our illustration) is a slag-heap. In this valley they will not be able to trade, because they will be in the veld.

I interviewed many residents. I talked with Mr. D. P. Kessow (see our cover picture). He owns one of the biggest general stores in the town, situated on the Main



Mr. Hadjie-Bakaar Manuel (81), the first to introduce schools for Malay children, and still secretary of the burial aid society. Towards the end of a long life he will have to start all over again, despite the fact that his family have lived in Simonstown for generations.

Road. In 1956 Mr. Kessow invested some £14,000 in enlargements to his store, having got a permit to do so from this same Group Areas Board.

What did he think of the move to Dido Valley? "Dido Valley," said Mr. Kessow, "is where they bury the dead."

I talked with Mr. Davis, who is a tailor. He has eight brothers and sisters in Simonstown. And his family has been living in Simonstown for over two hundred years near where the mosque is. Mr. Davis's great-grandfathers walked to Simonstown across the mountains from Cape Town, and were the town's first masons. He himself specialised for twenty-five years in making naval uniforms, and he still has the unofficial appointment to the South African Navy. He told me: "I depend on the Navy. But the Navy also depends on me." If he is to be moved out of town where his

Liberals Back Wage Study

THE Natal Division of the Liberal Party of South Africa "notes with approval" the pronouncements of leading Durban public spokesmen that the regrettable occurrences in Cato Manor have as their cause the economic plight of the Africans. In a statement on the subject, the Natal chairman of the Party states that at its Easter National Congress the Liberal Party decided to devote its activities during 1959 "chiefly to a study of the wages of unskilled African workers, so as to fit itself for action designed to bring about an improvement in these wages. From the results of the survey so far, the Pietermaritzburg Branch finds that the situation there (Pietermaritzburg) is no better than at Cato Manor and responsible citizens should see to it that wages are increased."

Cato Manor Riots

PRESSURE INCREASES FOR AFRICAN WAGE RISES

From Contact Correspondent

DURBAN: The recent riots and bloodshed in Durban's African slum area, Cato Manor, has resulted in some deep thinking by municipal officials and businessmen—thanks largely to the plea for better wages for Africans made recently by Mr. S. Bourquin, Director of Durban's Bantu Administration Department; and there is every hope now that wages will be increased.

The Bantu Administration Committee has agreed to urge the City Council to accept the principle of higher wages for Bantu workers, as recommended by Mr. Bourquin. It was decided to send a copy of Mr. Bourquin's report to the Wage Board, which is at present investigating the position of unskilled labour in Durban.

The Mayor of Durban, Mr. W. E. Shaw, said that the Council felt that the Board would indicate an improvement in African wages.

"My own personal view," he said, "is that commerce and industry and all sections of our community are more or less of one mind that increases in non-European wages are not only in the interests of non-Europeans themselves, but would be of considerable benefit to the population in general."

The Chairman of the Regional Committee of the S.A. Institute of Race Relations, Miss Hansi Pollak, strongly backed Mr. Bourquin's appeal. "The Institute has for 30 years conducted research into African incomes

and has stressed the ever-widening gap between earnings and essential family expenditure," she said.

"The perpetuation of the present inadequate unskilled wage breeds the many social evils of African urban society, destroys the health and morale of the people and undermines the solidarity of family life."

Mr. M. J. Fletcher, organiser of the Textile Workers' Industrial Union, said that his union agreed with Mr. Bourquin that the basic cause of the recent Cato Manor rioting was economic. "But before the poverty of the majority of S.A. workers can be relieved, the causes of this poverty must be removed. These are job reservation and the Industrial Conciliation Amendment Act," he said.

"It is a matter of deep regret to us that in spite of constant pleas for a minimum living wage and the removal of discriminatory labour legislation, employers, as well as Government and municipal officials, have remained unpersuaded."

SIMONSTOWN

family owns much property, he would not know how to feed his two children "because we can't sell naval uniforms in the bushveld."

I talked with Mr. Raffee a grocer (so-called Indian) most of whose neighbours are Coloured and Malay people. Under the proposals he would be segregated from his present neighbours, belonging as he does to a different racial group.

I talked with Hadjie-Bakaar Manuel. At 81 he cannot believe that a law written on a mere piece of paper could ever deprive him of his home. He is the fourth generation of his family to work in the dockyard. Our picture was taken as he admired an old photograph showing him greeting the Duke of Kent during his visit to Simonstown.

Two years ago he bought his house for £300, everything included. He is paying it off at £30 a year. If he is moved to Dido's Valley his rent is certain to be much higher—and he says that he would never be able to afford it.

To Hadjie-Bakaar Manuel Group Areas means the diffe-

rence between decent self-respect and serfdom.

At the corner of Thomas Street, named after her forefathers, I talked with Miss Thomas, once the only teacher in the town. At 85 she denies being old, and says that there are many older than herself. At present she is knitting socks for sale at the morning market which is being held to raise funds to help keep Group Areas away from Simonstown.

And then I talked with Mr. H. I. Manuel. He worked for 42 years in the Naval Store, and his sons continue working in the dockyard.

He is a good Moslem. He told me that he wondered whether the Group Areas Board was going to build a new Mosque in Dido's Valley. "But anyway," he added, "they'll have to build two new mosques—one for the Malays, and one for the Indians. Because the Indians belong to a different 'racial group' from the Malays."

As I came away I wished that all the world could know how harmless lives were being smashed in order to fit the real people of South Africa into the crazy Nationalist apartheid pattern.

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LUTULI BAN PROTEST

Liberals-ANC-TIC Hold Mass Meeting On Rand

From Contact Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: "The banning and banishment of ex-Chief Lutuli is neither a democratic act nor a judicial one. It is a device employed by autocratic and fascist governments in order to stifle criticism and intimidate government opponents. South Africa has found its own method of Siberian silence and isolation."

This was the view expressed by Mr. Jack Lewsen, speaking at the City Hall, Johannesburg, recently at a mass meeting attended by well over 2,500 people which included many Europeans and Asians, called by the Liberal Party in conjunction with the African National Congress and the Natal Indian Congress (as reported briefly in Contact June 27).

Mr. Lewsen was the principal speaker. He and others including Mr. J. Unterhalter, Mr. P. van Rensburg, Mr. Peter Brown (National Chairman of the Liberal Party) Mr. F. J. Sithole (A.N.C.) and Dr. M. M. Motala (N.I.C.) emphasised Chief Lutuli's great charm, personal integrity and moderate views and declared that if the Government wished to drive African leaders into the extremist camp, it could not have taken more appropriate action than by banning and banishing such men as Chief Lutuli and Mr. Oliver Tambo.

Continuing, Mr. Lewsen said: "to suffer banishment, no crime need be pinned or even charged. A man is banned because the Government is determined that the lawful things he has to say shall not be heard. Criminals

Rand Council Now In Cahoots With Oom Daan

JOHANNESBURG: Increasing evidence is available of the close relationship that has been established between Mr. Daan de Wet Nel, Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, and the former "rebel" United Party City Council of Johannesburg.

It has become the proud boast of Mr. P. R. B. Lewis, chairman of non-European Affairs who took up where the new M.P.'s Dr. Boris Wilson, and Mr. Hymie Miller, left off, that never before has there been such "co-operation".

Mr. Lewis has achieved a much-publicised compromise with Mr. Nel over the closing of the beer halls. In doing this he scored a visible victory over the Johannesburg Nationalists, who had repeatedly spoken against any compromise.

But while Mr. Lewis in resolving the beer halls issue may have done something concrete in the interests of the 500,000 African citizens, he has, perhaps in compensation, tightened the screws on the Council's African tenants.

In this clamp-down, the council is a party to sending to jail some of the many breadwinners who are in arrears.

The offence is not a criminal one in civilised countries.

and law-breakers are not banned; they are sent to gaol. It is those who are guilty of no crime that are banned and banished. The treason charges against ex-Chief Lutuli were withdrawn in December 1957 by the same Minister of Justice who banned and banished him 17 months later, in May 1959.

"Chief Lutuli has been banned because he is the elected representative of civilised and integrated Africans of the towns; the very people whom the Government claim have no place in the political fabric of South Africa. He is the leader of the men who have learnt most and most quickly from the South African industrial civilisation to which they have contributed their labour and toil. But the African townsman has no place in the Verwoerd day-dream of Bantustans.

"Moreover, he is being banned because his influence has extended to all men of peace—white and non-white.

"Increasing numbers of members and supporters of the Nationalist and United Party, know in their consciences that Lutuli's claims are just and that he is their best defence against African extremism and violence. Most of these men are too frightened to speak up because they know that their political chief, or over-lord Verwoerd, does not accept criticism. He believes that through his Bantustans, through banishment and other oppressive laws, he can wipe the slate clean, but written there indelibly is the message of Congress—"Africans are South Africans, and the only peaceful future is to accept them and work together".

"That too is the message of Lutuli. It has engraved itself in the inner consciences of white as well as black. For this message he is being banned, but the banishment has nothing to do with democracy or civilisation, for they cease to exist when criticism is banned, protest outlawed and the alternative viewpoint silenced. He has been banned, not because he is a Communist or a wrongdoer, but because he is a man of influence and prestige who was listened to alike by white and non-white.

"By any test of Western civilisation, Lutuli is as civilised as any Government official or Cabinet Minister. If sober, responsible and tolerant men like Lutuli are pushed aside, not by the choice of the own followers but by the ruthless and tyrannical act of Government, their successor will not speak with his moderation and humanity.

"The men who have been banned are exponents of non-violence, moderation and sanity. All his life Lutuli held a position of prestige, trust and leadership. He did so without surrendering to anger or bitter-

ness, to the violence or excitement of extreme Nationalism. He has shown himself as one of the rarest political leaders;—the incorruptible man of principle, who will not be misled by the temptations of popularity, the fear of being supplanted and all those other reasons which politicians put forward to excuse themselves when they abandon principle.

"Lutuli is and always has been a man of peace; a man who abhors violence, whose appeal is to reason, and whose faith in human beings is built upon his proven and humble acceptance of Christian doctrine. The impatient men, the adherents of extremism, have, by the act of Minister Swart, been given their best opportunity to supplant him.

"The demand that the ban should be withdrawn is not only a demand based on justice; it is based too on self-interest, for without Lutuli, extremism and strife will grow. The moderate demands of Lutuli will never be silenced; they will merely be restated by men less sober, less responsible, less tolerant and less civilised."

Mr. van Rensburg referred to the meeting of the Pretoria Political Study Circle at Pretoria last year when Lutuli had been assaulted. He himself had been present at that meeting and had noted Lutuli's courage in continuing to address the meeting in spite of his injury, and his equanimity in refraining from bitterness after the provocation offered.

No resolution was offered at the meeting at the City Hall, Johannesburg, but the audience by its thunderous applause indicated its overwhelming agreement with what was said.

Employers To Blame For Durban Misery

DURBAN: The misery and degradation faced by many Africans obliged by poverty in its most stark and devastating form are referred to in the annual report of the Durban Bantu Child Welfare Society which is doing so much to help those in need.

In reviewing the work of the past year, the Society's organiser, Miss E. Whitaker, says that the Society feels called upon again and again to reiterate its condemnation of a system which permits thousands of people to live in semi-starvation. The main blame is attached to employers of labour who fail to pay a living wage and to recognise the fact that the employer is bound in conscience to ensure that the worker is justly recompensed.

WORN AT ROYAL ASCOT



Although in regular use in Basutoland this hat caused pleasant surprise when worn at the Royal Ascot races recently.

CHIEF RABBI'S CONDEMNATION

"ALL JEWISH FARMERS (EXCEPT ONE) RELEASED PRESSED LABOUR"

JOHANNESBURG: A sermon on the subject of Jewish farmers and farm labour was featured recently throughout the press and was commented on in one of the debates in the House of Assembly. In it, the Chief Rabbi, Professor L. I. Rabinowitz, said that as a result of representations, all Jewish farmers, with the exception of one on the platteland, had released their African labourers and would no longer employ them.

This, however, was later denied by two Jewish farmers and also by the Rand Labour Bureau, the latter stating that it continues to receive requests almost daily from the platteland asking for such labour.

In his sermon to a large congregation in the Great Synagogue, Johannesburg, the Chief Rabbi appealed to Jewish farmers not to make use of pressed African labour as, apart from taking advantage of cheap labour, the practice was against the religious principle of respect for the human being and of human rights.

He said: "If ever there was a need to rededicate ourselves again to a spiritual and ethical ideal, to a divine ideal of the Bible, that need cries out to-day in this country and at this time. Government legislation, irrational prejudice, fear and the undoubted facts of their slow stage of development, out of which they are virtually precluded from emerging, have brought about a situation that the market value of the vast majority of the population of this country—those who are distinguished by the fact that their skins are not white—is low. They represent the fact of cheap labour, and as long as we are in this country and are part of its system, we acquiesce

not only passively but actively in this fact of the inferiority of the market value of these human beings. Each and every one of us who has a Native servant is taking advantage of that cheap labour.

"And yet, I would not regard this as a matter for such grave concern, were it not for the equally undeniable fact that inevitably, albeit unconsciously, inexorably if unexcusably, out of that debased market value there emerges a lowering of the conception of the value of that person as a human being, endowed with a divine soul.

"Is there anyone who will deny that allegation? When we open our papers daily and read of the brutal assaults, when we hear of the banning of free speech, when the revelations of the evils which accompany the illegal sending of Natives for farm labour, when we read of the conditions under which they live—do not all these, and countless other examples, add up to one salient and undeniable fact, that they are all derivatives of the lack of appreciation of the basic worth of human souls?"

I have come to the conclusion, which is by no means a startling one, that the inevitable result of that cheapening of others is that one becomes cheapened oneself."

World's Oldest Ironworkers Were In Africa

IN INDIA, Africa south of the Zambesi, and in Western Sudan are located the oldest iron-working countries in the world. Here iron was produced long before the craft of the iron-worker was developed in Europe—in fact, even before such work was attempted in the early Egyptian civilisation. Round about 1300 B.C. the Egyptians probably coined the word they used for the iron imported from the Sudan, but it was at least a thousand years later that the first iron was actually worked in Egypt. (1)

It was only during the last few decades that the craft of iron-working began dying out in primitive Africa, among the last of the tribes to sustain the craft being the Lozi people in Barotseland, who as recently as the last war made a variety of articles in iron.

In the old days the Lozi employed other tribes to do iron work, rather than perform the actual tasks themselves, for this masterful tribe conquered some other 25 tribes in Barotseland, among them the Kwangwa, long famous as the smiths of Barotseland. But, although the Kwangwa did the actual work, the Lozi provided the incentive for them to embark on it. For long the Lozi and the Kwangwa fought for mastery in the Upper Zambesi region, those fertile plains, well watered, teeming with game, and most desirable from every point of view.

When the Lozi prevailed, the Kwangwa were forced to settle on margins of the vleis, encouraged to work the iron of the region. Later the Kwangwa went to live with another tribal group, also notable for skill with metals and in time a few other tribes joined this group, the workers noted for their ability to produce articles from native-made iron. (2)

Among the products of these smiths in recent years is the common hoe, skilfully ridged across the blade to its spike, which is set into the handle to strengthen it. In working this metal, otter-skin bellows are used, the skin brayed with particular care because of its rarity.

Otter-skin was so much a symbol of this craft, that other types of skin were rarely chosen. In fact, it was once the custom to lay each newly born Kwangwa child on an otter-skin near a forge, a formal act of dedication to the traditional craft of the tribe.

Later it was the responsibility of a near relative to train the growing boy in such smithy work. Some of these Kwangwa smiths survive, and perhaps others will be trained in the future, but then they will be

By
M. KING

occupied more with the repair of imported metal implements and tools rather than in the manufacture of their own hoes and spears. (3)

Now there is little indigenous iron working in the African regions, for the importation of cheap implements and other metal goods, all so much cheaper and often better than the indigenous article, has discouraged the primitive ironmasters of Africa. African workers generally produced a type of iron suitable for forging rather than casting, and a procedure perfected centuries ago has remained standard ever since. There was no research that might have revealed processes to make steel, the manufacture of which has remained a mystery to the African worker. (4)

The design of the primitive furnaces, too, allowed only for the attainment of a comparatively low temperature, so that iron could not be smelted effectively. Air of normal temperature, not the hot air blasts of the modern steel mill, ran into the furnaces through long pipes so that the best that could be hoped for was a marriage of ore and carbon, eventually yielding a kind of puddled iron.

The original African iron furnaces were fashioned without an air blast of any type. Even in these days certain iron furnaces of this type are found in Togoland, where they are built up to ten feet in height, the idea being to promote a strong natural draught from the bottom to the top. In a few remote areas, from ancient times right up to the present day, the iron-worker has been a keyman in African economy, needed as much in times of peace as in war. (5)

While he made vast quantities of stabbing spears and such equipment, he also fashioned the axes with which trees were felled and the hoes to cultivate the ground. He made the fine-barbed fish-spears and the spears and arrows to hunt game to feed the people. Upon the skill of the iron-worker depended the well-being of the tribe, and thus in most parts of Africa the smith stood high among his fellows.

The Zulus gave the smith the same respected title as the doctor and the magician, who were the *izinyanga*. In South and Eastern Africa only the Masai are said to have looked down upon their smiths, putting such workers in an inferior caste, yet without them the Masai could not have waged their often successful raids on the other tribes. (6)

For these and other reasons the ancient craft of iron-working, especially smelting and forging, was the basis of African legends about the beginning of the world. The Karanga people of Rhodesia said

that when the world was created the only two persons in existence were Mwetsi (the moon), who was the first man created, and the first woman, whose name was Marsassi. They discovered the art of making fire, identified by the African people with all forms of active creation.

So Marsassi gave the earth its first coating of grass, bush and other vegetation, grains, vegetables, fruits and the other food needs of the people. While she was engaged in this enormous task, Mwetsi devoted himself to the production of iron, from which later he forged axes, hoes, spades and other implements to till the fields so that the yield of food from Marsassi's plants would be increased.

Annoying keenly of this industry, Moari, the titular god of the tribe, presented to Mwetsi his second wife, the "evening star," Morongo, who busied herself with the procreation of the first animals. With the earth yielding lavishly plants and trees, thronged with game, Mwetsi became king over all the land he could survey, a man apart from his fellows because he held the secret of making and working iron.

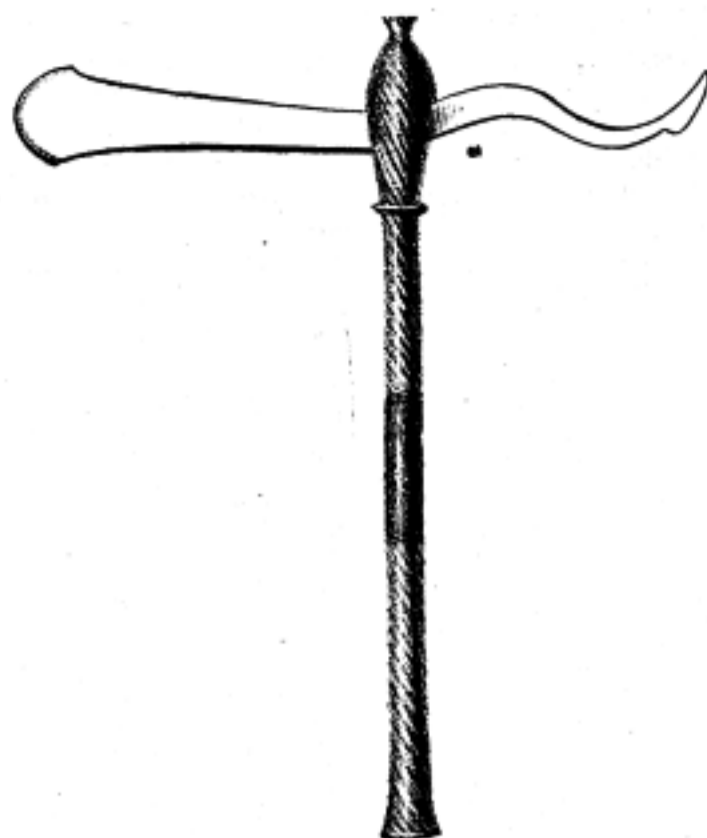
As his days drew to an end he became seriously ill. When the witchdoctor consulted the bones he found that it was time for Mwetsi to return to the tribal god. He was strangled by his son, apparently the first ritual murder of a king. At subsequent performances of this custom the ritual demanded that a story-poem be recited, telling anew the story of Mwetsi and how he created the world.

Thus the whole art of working iron in Africa was bound up with myth and tradition. Among the Venda people of the Northern Transvaal three different professions were concerned in producing iron. There was the ore carrier or miner, whose job was to ensure that adequate supplies reached the smelter, who from this material produced the wrought iron lumps passed to the third party, the blacksmith, who exchanged crudely manufactured iron goods for this raw material. (7)

The smelter, the most vital man of the trio, master of the secret of smelting, knew where to obtain the ingredients to compound the medicines essential to his craft. As with so much else in African iron-working, this vital knowledge passed down from father to son.

1. Dr. P. L. Breutz "Metallurgy in Africa".
2. "British Steelmaker" August, 1955.
3. Rhodes-Livingstone Institute.
4. Prof. J. W. Gregory, University of Glasgow.
5. African Observer, May 1936.
6. Mr. Geo Reyburn, editor "Iscor News."
7. Glasgow Evening News Nov 26, 1932.

AFRICAN LINE OF BEAUTY



This 100-year-old iron axe from Portuguese East Africa has a wooden handle covered completely by a metal mesh patterned with great precision throughout its entire length. The blade is also of fine workmanship and design.

POLICE BRIBERY

£25 FOR A PASS

CAPE TOWN: Serious allegations of bribery in the administration of the pass laws were proved in a recent case heard in the Magistrate's court, Wynberg (Cape), when Mbulelo Botile (39) a member of the S.A. Police was charged on one count of theft, one of assault, and one of corruption. He pleaded not guilty to all three counts.

In the third count, the Crown alleged that Botile accepted £25, promising to get a permit enabling a witness to stay in the Peninsula.

Ndumdumo Makonco, of Langa, said that on December 16 last year he was arrested in Cape Town for being in the Peninsula without a permit. He was found guilty at the Langa Native Commissioner's Court and fined £5 (or 25 days).

His brother brought him £5 and he was told to pay his fine. He was waiting in the queue with many others when Botile came to him and told him to give him the £5. He would pay the fine for him, Botile said.

But after that he was taken to Roeland Street jail and served a 25-day sentence. His fine, he found, had never been paid.

Jackson Ntenti, of Langa, said that on April 6 he and a friend were walking in Bhunga Avenue in the location when he saw Botile. He greeted Botile.

Botile asked him what he had said and the next moment struck him in the face, knocking him down.

Jackson Qobo, of Langa, said he had come to the Peninsula last year to seek work. He had no permit. He soon met a certain Tom Dywashu, who said he would get him a permit for £25. His younger brother gave Dywashu some money and his reference book.

He waited but never got a permit so in March he went to the registration office in Langa and got a permit there. But it was not with Dywashu's help.

Dywashu, who said he knew

Qobo well, said that when Qobo came to Langa he (Dywashu) asked Botile to get a permit for him. Botile said he would try but that it would cost £25.

By borrowing some money and adding £9 of his own he made up the sum and gave the £25 and Qobo's reference book to Botile.

In vain he waited some months for the permit then demanded the money back. Botile never repaid it and returned only the reference book.

The magistrate found Botile guilty on all three counts and sentenced him to nine months' imprisonment with hard labour.

He was sentenced to 30 days on the count of theft, four months on the count of fraud, and another four months on the count of corruption.

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CAPE TOWN

SONGS ARE POLITICAL BAROMETER IN AFRICA

THE appearance of independent, autonomous states in Negro Africa, such as Ghana in the British realm and of Guinea in the French sphere, has attracted the politically-minded throughout the world. The world press has made great play with the theory of the new ferment which is alleged to be stirring up African peoples to strife in Kenya and to rioting in the Federation of Rhodesia.

The question arises, how true is it to describe these political changes in Africa as ferment seething through the black masses, like a little leaven that leaveneth the whole lump making it all rise up?

To answer such a question one must seek a political barometer that can be used to test to what extent this new political ferment is acting as a little leaven and permeating the thoughts of the masses, or is becoming their permanent obsession. Is there such a barometer?

The answer is yes, there is such a barometer and it is the songs of the people, for, as Jellinek in 1844 remarked "the inner history of a people is contained in its songs." Tennyson pointed that "the song that nerves a nation's heart is in itself a deed", and one is reminded of those stirring

By
M. D. W. JEFFREYS

Scottish "warsongs that would make a coward fight."

As reinforcing my contention that songs are the political barometer of a people's temper, there is the old saw: "give me the making of the songs of a people, I care not who makes the laws."

Songs, as the political barometer of a people's temper faithfully carry the voiced messages of the masses as M. Ibn Ezra in his *Selected Poems* stressed when he wrote: "Song is a faithful messenger." The *Old Testament*, of course, had said as much far earlier: "This song shall testify before them as witness."

What then are the songs that the Africans all over Africa are singing in the kraals and meeting places, on the roads and at work, by firesides and water-holes, in the harvest fields and at festivals?

Some research has recently been conducted into the question by the Honorary Secretary of the African Music Society, Mr. Hugh Tracey.

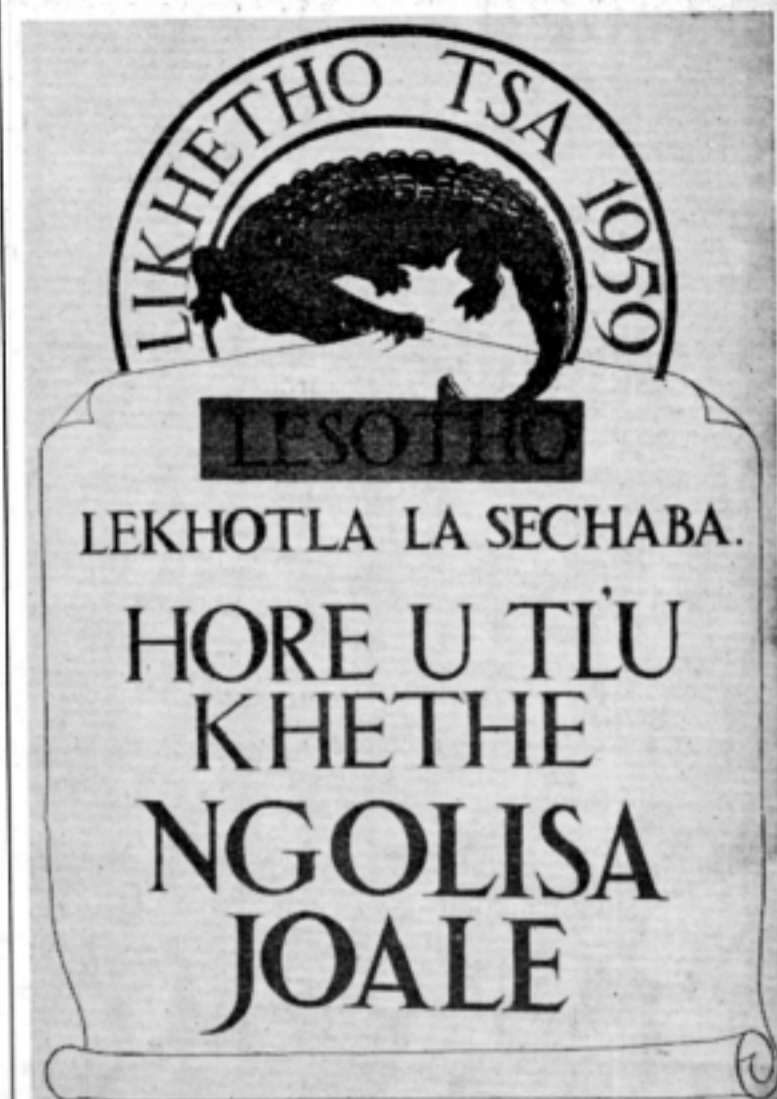
In his editorial to Vol. 2. No. 1 of the journal *African Music* for 1958 he writes to the effect "that there has been little or no mention from any quarter other than West Africa of the use of political songs composed by the folk either in town or country."

Out of more than a thousand folk songs recently collected from six different territories in southern Africa, less than point five per cent had any tinge of political content.

Mr. Tracey concludes with the words: "A true cross-section of the songs of Africa still reveals the heart of the people rather than the columns of the daily papers to which sensation rather than sense, romanticism rather than romance, and revolt rather than responsibility is saleable 'news'. The great body of solid social commonsense and activity as revealed in their songs is perhaps more truly representative of the outlook of the mass of Africans than the fulminations of politicians seeking swift self-advancement."

The song, the political barometer of a people, so far as the mass of Africans in Africa is concerned, still shows no signs of storm: is still set fair; still reveals the deep and rich humanity of the African concerned with life, love and death, suffering, song and laughter; still shows that the African has the gift for shaping into music the essentials of living.

ONE MAN ONE VOTE IN 1959

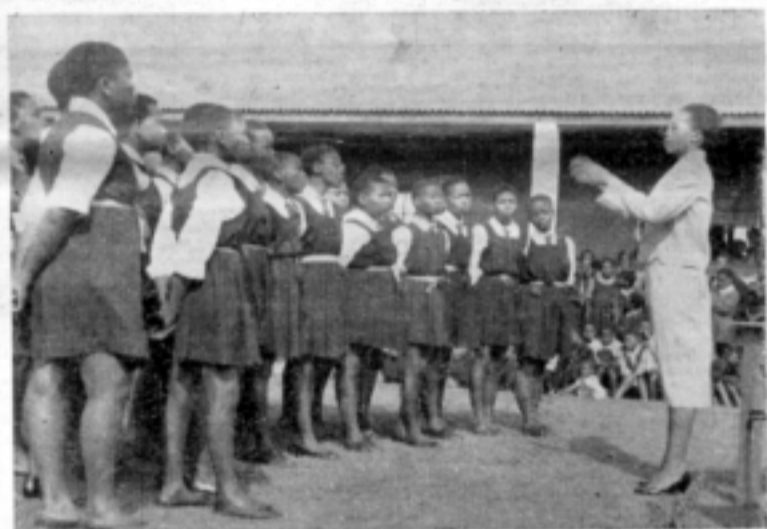


Election interest is rising in Basutoland, where all taxpayers, men and women above 21, comprising some 250,000 people out of a total population of some 750,000, will vote for 162 District Councillors in October. These District Councillors, under the new constitution, will elect 40 members of the Legislative Council of 80. The other members will be nominated by the Paramount Chief.

Six parties are already in the field, the Basuto National Party, the Basutoland Congress Party, the Basutoland Labour Party, the Marema Tlou, the Basutoland Progressive Association and (the oldest of all) the Lekhotla la Bafo (Court of the Commoners). Of these only the Basuto National Party and the Basutoland Congress Party are likely to gain much support.

Preparations behind the scenes are in full swing and a retired South African electoral officer has been brought in to help. Pictured is a poster calling on the people to enrol. It reads, in Sotho: "1959 Elections. Basutoland National Council. Register now, so that you can vote."

NOW — ALL TOGETHER



Several school choirs took part in a music competition at Port Elizabeth, recently. This picture shows Miss N. Silinga conducting a junior choir from the Molepe H.P. School, New Brighton.

ALL-AFRICA CHURCH COMMITTEE STARTS WORK

WELL-KNOWN to South Africans and to the Liberal Party, Mr. and Mrs. Jack Grant, once of Adam's College, Natal, are now living in Salisbury. Mr. Grant is now the Interim Secretary to the All African Church Conference.

In a Press release Mr. Grant has informed us about the All-Africa Church Conference. The first conference was held in January, 1958, at Ibadan, Nigeria. To this Conference went delegates from all the major protestant churches at work in the Continent — Anglicans, Baptists, Congregationalists, Coptics, Dutch Reformed, Lutherans, Methodists, Presbyterians, Salvation Army, and others—from 24 different territories in Africa.

The delegates were Black, Coloured, Indian, Ethiopian, Egyptian, Malagasy, and White.

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The Conference appointed a Provisional Committee to take appropriate steps to keep the Churches in touch with each other.

Now a full time Secretary is to be appointed at the earliest possible opportunity. It is proposed that the Secretary has his office in some strategic centre in Africa and that through correspondence, consultation, conferences, and travel, aim at forging such links as will be acceptable and advisable.

It is estimated that the cost of this new venture will be approximately £7,000 per annum, and it is hoped that this sum will be raised within Africa from the Churches and others interested.

Donations should be sent through local Ministers or Church organisations or to the Interim Secretary, the All Africa Church Conference, 1 McLaren Road, Milton Park, Salisbury, S. Rhodesia.

NEW BASUTOLAND CONSTITUTION

EXPERTS AND CHIEFS DISCUSS NEXT PHASE

From Contact Correspondent

MASERU: Following up its recent successful Seminar on Teacher Training, the University College of Pius XII, Roma, Basutoland, widened the scope of its extension and community service programme recently with a one day Seminar on Constitutional Development in Basutoland.

Professor John Lewis of the London University School of Education was chairman of the seminar panel, which included Mr. John Moffatt—Colonial Office Adviser on Community Development and for a quarter century an administrative officer in Tanganyika; Mr. C. A. G. Wallis, Colonial Office Adviser on Local Government; Mr. A. Taylor, Director of the Institute of Education at University College, Ghana; Dr. J. C. van Loenen, Head of the Department of Political Science at Pius XII University College.

Over 45 members of the National Council, Chiefs, representatives of political parties from all over Basutoland, British government officers and the staff and students of Pius XII College heard Dr. van Loenen discuss the meaning of constitutional democracy. By means of specially prepared charts, Dr. van Loenen illustrated the evolutionary character of the first stages of constitutional progress in Basutoland as envisaged in the current proposals, emphasizing the importance of the step which makes an elected Basuto Council respon-

sible for law-making in domestic affairs.

The lecturer also drew attention to the spirit of mutual good will in which delicate negotiations were carried out between the British and the Basuto, pointing to Basutoland as an example to the world of what sincere collaboration may achieve.

Training in civic understanding and responsibility in the schools and the community was strongly advocated by the panel and from the floor.

Chiefs, Councillors and others present showed keen interest in the constitutional machinery, and in the problems arising from responsibility. In accordance with the views they expressed for a regular programme of study days, the committee on extra-mural studies at the College will inaugurate plans for such a programme immediately.

11th July 1959

CONTACT

NO CELEBRATIONS IN 1960!

AT the recent conference in Vereeniging of the Inter-denominational African Ministers' Federation support was found for The Rev. James Calata's proposal that there be no celebrations next year to mark the 50th anniversary of the establishment of Union. Instead, said that grand old man of the A.N.C., prayer meetings should be held all over the country, and a day of morning should be held.

We associate ourselves with Mr. Calata's view. In our opinion next year's celebrations should include none but Dr. Verwoerd's associates. We are happy to notice that the Cape Town City Council, by drawing up a remarkably thin programme for next year's "feast" appears also to agree with Mr. Calata.

What after all has the nation got to celebrate?

What have Africans to celebrate? For the Prime Minister has this year served them with notice that they must expect to become foreigners in "white" South Africa, the 87% of their native land which the race-theorists do not class as Bantustan.

What have Indian South Africans to celebrate? Like Jacob, they have worked twice the stipulated time, and their reward is still withheld. They, too, have been served with notice under the group areas act that they are to cease regarding their own land as their home, and should instead look over the Indian Ocean to India.

What have Jewish South Africans to celebrate? Many came to this country to escape religious prejudice in other lands. And many fled the racial insanity awakened in Europe by that maniac despot, Adolf Hitler. After hopes that they had put all that behind them we see, in this year, and among the closest associates of the Prime Minister, the same danger signals as Europe saw a generation ago. We read, all but unbelievably, of the Government benches in the Transvaal Provincial Council rocking helplessly with mirth as one of their leaders put on a vaudeville act, a grotesque piece of circus buffoonery, a despicable would-be imitation of a Jew.

What have English South Africans to celebrate? After all the rosy dreams of 1910, of equality and comradeship between the two white races, they now realise that the government is composed of their implacable enemies, determined to root out the influence of English everywhere where they have power, to eradicate the memory of English among all, white and non-white, who are in the power of this evil gang. Let the public note well the names of all those English who turn up at the "feasts" and who celebrate their own shame next year.

And what have those truest of South Africans, the Coloured people, got to celebrate? Twelve years ago they could feel at home on the beaches, in the towns and in the country of their own homeland. To-day government hostility radiates from every beach, every bench, almost every street corner. Like Jews in Hitler's Reich they have been told by the powerful that they are no longer, as they thought, citizens of their own homeland. They have been removed from the voter's rolls. The central suburbs are being slowly closed to them, and they are being squeezed out into distant, unproductive, state-regimented ghettos. The Nationalist barbarians have tried to destroy the roots of the Coloured people. And now they have the insolence to ask those same Coloured people to celebrate a state-instituted feast of joy, of thankfulness for 50 years of white domination.

And so, with Mr. Calata, we say: "No celebrations in 1960." And we expect all with any sense of decency and self-respect to boycott the "Union Feast" with us.

THE BOYCOTT MUST GROW

THE Jamaican government has introduced a total boycott of South African goods. Mr. Eric Louw has protested loudly. The loudness of Mr. Eric Louw's cries is an index of how seriously this move threatens the Union government. Jamaica's trade with South Africa is small (goods worth £237,000 from, and goods worth £14,000 to South Africa). But it is an example which may well spread to other, more important, markets.

For a long time it has seemed obvious that it is only a combination of internal pressures and overseas sanctions that will make *apartheid* fall. As the internal pressures build up, so will the overseas pressures build up. In the present instance it seems clear that pressure on the West Indies not to send a segregated cricket team to South Africa has influenced Mr. Norman Manley, Jamaican Premier, to declare the boycott. The Jamaican boycott will influence other nations, and, in their turn, these external boycotts will help to encourage the oppressed in South Africa and their allies and friends to turn the heat on further. As this heat gets turned on so world interest in our internal struggle will increase, and boycotts and sanctions will spread until not one ounce of goods or gold, and not one passenger, will be able to move in or out of South Africa by sea, land, or air.

When this stage has been reached *apartheid* will fall. For this reason all democrats must rejoice at Mr. Manley's pioneering move. Could he not now use his immense prestige to insist that Mr. Worrell put off his controversial segregated tour?



"And as a small token of my regard and esteem . . ."

Why 'Bloke' Baled Out

BY
LEWIS NKOSI

I HEAR rumours from London that William "Bloke" Modisane was recently invited to give a talk to B.B.C. listeners on the problems of a black writer in South Africa. Bloke Modisane is the man who, in the language of Sophiatown, recently "baled out" of the country after having been refused a passport by the Government.

I can't think of any man, with the possible exception of Zeke Mphahlele, who is more qualified to talk on this subject.

I remember Bloke, in particular, as a man who felt the hurt so deeply and so personally that I wondered if he would not explode or commit suicide if he didn't leave the country. I remember the nights in Sophiatown just before he left. We would sit up late nights listening to what we cynically referred to as a "culture on disc." Time and again we listened to the deep voice of Canada Lee, the late Negro actor who came to South Africa to star in Alan Paton's "Cry the Beloved Country."

In a recorded interview back in New York Lee had commented on the crisis of our human relationships here. The old man seemed to have sensed the hurt more deeply than any other visitor to South Africa and when he spoke of the degradation of human dignity he gave an emotional strength to these words which urged Bloke on to think that it was possible, like Lee, for human dignity to rise above the worst affronts the white people of this country were capable of giving.

Bloke, like indeed many black writers in South Africa, was constantly irked by the barriers which prevented him from participating in the cultural experience of the country. There were moments of poignancy when the black man

was constantly reminded of his position in society. In the company of whites, for instance, Bloke would join in the discussion of great films as if he had had the chance to see them. When asked if he had, in fact, seen them, he would reply rather shamefacedly that he had only read about them. They were mostly films banned to Africans.

There was this continuous feeling that one was being cut off from a large slice of experience. These barriers were not only dangerous because they perpetuated a certain cultural poverty in which the black writer had to live unable to alleviate; but they also opened up dangerous avenues of escape from his literary responsibilities. Lack of talent and the paucity of output could be justified on so many grounds that many young people trying to write just sat around evenings grousing about their problems or getting drunk.

I don't want to suggest that this desire to escape did not arise out of a genuine feeling of entrapment. I suffer from it perpetually. Although a writer is supposed to work in loneliness, there is no deeper problem for him than lonely living. It is a loneliness born of a desire for participation, to be part of things, the freedom to live on many levels, to select friends whom to love and friends with whom to fight according to temperament. I know some spiritually under-privileged people have suggested that this is a snobbish desire in the creative artist to flee from his people.

I know this to be untrue because while Sophiatown remained intact we felt that we could endure, at least to some extent. For most of us Sophiatown, because of its community spirit, provided some emotional warmth which could sustain us for many days and

nights of cultural and spiritual sterility. The throb of life of the people here was a constant inspiration. There was even talk amongst the more ambitious of us of creating a Sophiatown literature which would declare adequately the social experience of the people who belonged to what we considered a unique non-white community.

This started us on a quest! Long nights of intense discussion, Jazz, drinking, reading, dreaming. Sometimes young people from Europe and America, stopping awhile in Johannesburg, would look us up in Sophiatown. Those were the most satisfying nights because they gave us an insight into what could be a great future for this country if people were permitted personal choice. The irony of it was that this illegal fringe to which we retreated in search of experience was the ideal because it was the only time that we and our white friends could live above the narrow, sectional life to which black and white South Africans were so accustomed.

I am sure Dr. Verwoerd will gain great satisfaction from this—if he reads *Contact* at all. He will feel that he did his duty in pulling Sophiatown apart, a place which was beginning to breed a dangerously subversive element determined to defy the South African traditional way of life.

However, it seems to me that we were so absorbed with the problem of making an escape from the depths of loneliness in which we were constantly getting bogged down that we didn't have time for anything else. We were constantly engaged in this quest for meaningful experience in the midst of a life of cultural poverty and consequently did not get disengaged long enough to create a literature. When we were dislodged from Sophiatown by police raids and the pulling down of houses, there was a lonely feeling that a community of feeling was no longer possible. But I also think that some of us began to write in earnest.



Peter Brown, Chairman of the Liberal Party.

I Salute Our M.P.s

was and who knew better than most how it might be saved, should have found herself in perpetual opposition to these schemes, seeing that they carried within them the seeds of destruction of what they were supposed to protect.

She has spent a large part of her Parliamentary career fighting brilliant rearguard actions designed to save the soul of Western civilisation from the ravaging wolves of White supremacy. It has been a thankless task and one in which she has enjoyed no support from the Nationalist Party and precious little, on many vital issues, from the United Party.

In spite of this she has somehow stuck to that thankless task and, again and again, has even silenced the taunts of the Nationalist young-bloods with the unanswerable case with which she has confronted them. True, they have not changed their views, but to induce silent attention in politicians who generally only enjoy listening to

their own views is no small accomplishment!

Mrs. Ballinger, by virtue of her long service, occupies a particular place among "Natives' Representatives" and among Liberal Party members in Parliament. But what is true of her long Parliamentary record is also true of her colleagues' briefer spans of office and perhaps the one bright spot in this last session of Parliament has been the fight which the Liberal members have put up, as the threat of extinction hung over them.

For a non-Nationalist—and, who knows, perhaps even for some Nationalists? — this must have been one of the least pleasant Parliamentary sessions since Union. Apart from the forbidding presence of Dr. Verwoerd, casting his own, special gloom over the proceedings, it has been distinguished by increasing displays of arrogance by his supporters. It has also been a session during which

more far-reaching, controversial measures have been introduced than in any other, and in which the guillotine has been applied more rigorously than ever before.

Vital Bills have come thick and fast, the one on the heels of the other, scarcely giving the thin ranks of those who have opposed them time to recover from one contest before they have been thrown into another.

It would have needed a miracle for the Liberals to have managed to answer effectively, logically and vigorously the succeeding waves of Government proposals with which they have been inundated. Yet, somehow, they achieved just that miracle. Some of their most trenchant criticisms of the University Apartheid Bill, the Bantustan Bill, etc. have been widely-publicised. But that is only a fraction of what they said. Their speeches, as they appear in Hansard, are a brilliant demolition of apartheid.

Hansard is not generally stimu-

lating reading but these speeches are and I commend them to *Contact's* readers.

I have no doubt that our members will leave Parliament with mixed feelings—part anger, part relief—anger at the manner of their going and at the final disfranchisement of their constituents; relief to escape from what has degenerated from an institution of democratic debate into a rubber stamp for the instruments of White domination. Parliament will now become a farcical contest between two sides each committed to the same end—the maintenance of White supremacy. The boxers have departed, only the shadow-boxers will remain.

I wish our Parliamentarians a well-earned rest. Once they have recovered their breath from the buffetings of the session we know that their energies and talents will be thrown behind the great task of laying the foundations of the common society towards which South Africa must continue to strive, no matter what the setbacks. They may have to fight on different fields, but the battle will remain the same.

ALL the necessary steps have now been taken to secure the disappearance from Parliament of "Natives' representation" as we have known it since 1936. Few would argue that the 1936 Act itself was anything but an infringement of African political rights as they existed at that date, and none could pretend that that Act gave the African people adequate political representation. Nevertheless, if the Act had few virtues, it did at least have two. It conceded the right of the African people to a voice in the place where the laws that really matter are made and, for twenty-three years, it sent to that place most of the best Parliamentarians Parliament was to see. The Ballingers, Brookes, Buchanan, Basner, Kahn, Molteno, Rubin, Stanford—where would one find seven white constituencies which have chosen half as well?

As they are squeezed out of office I would like to take this opportunity of paying tribute to the Liberal Party's four Parliamentary representatives — Margaret Ballinger and Walter Stanford in the House of Assembly, William Ballinger and Leslie Rubin in the Senate. And if Margaret Ballinger's name crops up most frequently it is no reflection on her colleagues but a reflection of her many years of brilliant defence of African rights.

I think it is unarguable that, since 1936, Margaret Ballinger has been the most consistent upholder Parliament has known of those values which are supposed to be basic to the Western democratic way of life. Successive South African Governments have devoted hours and days in Parliament to uttering glib platitudes about "saving white civilisation" and in concocting schemes ostensibly aimed at doing just that.

It is a strange irony that Margaret Ballinger, who really knew what "western civilisation"

FAIR COMMENT

BREAKING into an entirely new field of publicity, the Transvaal Division of the Liberal Party has launched an Afrikaans newsletter. No. 1 for June-July has just arrived here.

Provokingly named *Die Liberalis* (Nat. swear word) it has already achieved a notice in Dawie's column in *Die Burger*. Dawie said: "The Liberal Party—one of my friends nowadays talks about the Liberace Party—is now publishing an Afrikaans newsletter." Dawie goes on to claim that there have always been many good Afrikaner liberals, and rebuts the newsletter's claim that there is an important accession of strength to liberal Afrikanerdom. After more rather diffuse and pointless comments Dawie invites Professors Keet, Pistorius, and Du Plessis to write letters to show that their names should not be "hawked around" by such people as the editor of *Die Liberalis*. Good luck, and good circulation, Messrs. J. J. Oosthuizen (not unknown to our readers), Eddie Roux, Maritz van den Berg and Patrick van Rensburg, the names that appear in the first issue.

The newsletter costs 5/- a year, and subscriptions should be sent to the Editor, *Die Liberalis*, Box 5495, JOHANNESBURG. May I suggest that every reader of *Contact* who knows an Afrikaner who would be interested buy him a gift subscription? I can think of no better way of spending 5/- at this juncture.

If you have many Afrikaans friends, send lists of them to the Editor. He may be able to send them specimen copies.

A GAIN something pleasant. A Nationalist, Professor N. J. J. Olivier, of Sabra and Stellenbosch, has said that in his opinion the time had come to face squarely the question whether the Coloured voters should not be represented in Parliament by Coloured MPs. He also pleaded for the number of MPs. to be proportionate to the number of voters.

TWO members of the Liberal Party in Cape Town recently decided to have lunch at a good hotel or restaurant in the centre of town. They had not previously done so, as, being Coloured, they had not been encouraged to expect good service.

They went to one or two, and were more or less politely refused service. Then they went to one of the best small restaurants,

within two hundred yards of Cape Town's station. There they were given a table, and served with lunch. After a few stares no one took any notice. After lunch they felt like a liqueur. So they went to a nearby hotel, one of the best in Cape Town. They went to a table in the lounge, and got their liqueurs.

They were not trying to pass as white people.

There should be more activity like this. In America an organisation known as CORE (Congress of Racial Equality), represented in all the big American cities, operates by this form of direct action, and has chalked up hundreds of victories, as it slowly presses the line of discrimination southwards.

Sometimes the colour bar resists. And sometimes it gives easily—much more easily than anyone expected. This is when there is mutual respect and understanding on both sides of the counter.

This must have been how it was with our members in the Cape Town restaurants.

CONGRATULATIONS to the *Cape Times* on a superb piece of journalism. When Dr. Verwoerd was tackled on Mr. J. C. Greyling's notorious "take 'em by the throat" speech, he said that the report was a press lie. Unfortunately for him the *Cape Times* Political Correspondent, who was present and reported the speech, had read his report to Mr. Greyling, word for word as it came out in the paper before it appeared. Mr. Greyling approved it, exactly as it was printed in the paper, and called it "a good report".

A small thing, but how revealing of the Prime Minister's sense of truth and responsibility—let alone decency and courtesy.

DR. CAREL DE WET said the other day that the elderly people in old people's homes loafed and lazed. Is nothing sacred, not even honourable old age and well-earned retirement, to these power-drunk upstarts?

"THE TORCH" is the name of the weekly produced in Cape Town by the Anti-C.A.D. section of the Non-European Unity Movement. Till recently it has pursued a

by Patrick Duncan

consistent anti-white line. The three million whites in our country have been termed "herrenvolk" whether they support apartheid or not, presumably on grounds of skin colour. In foreign affairs a Stalinist line has been followed. The language of the paper is extravagant, even hysterical. Perhaps the only good thing that could be said about the paper has been that they have never collaborated with apartheid.

Now, in the most recent issue, I am amazed to read that "the Herrenvolk are prepared to sacrifice for apartheid the very last drop of blood of the last disfranchised . . . man and woman . . ." The other price, working as equal citizens in a South African non-racial democracy, appears to them unthinkable and a fate worse than death."

At last, *The Torch* has found itself able to find a place for the three million whites. The obvious deduction from these words is that if the whites here will accept equality, the non-whites will accept them as citizens. This is new for *The Torch*. I welcome it and congratulate its editor for having said this.

A little less bandying-around of this term "civilised" please. The *Natal Mercury*, commenting on the Durban riots, urged sympathy from the authorities, and added "But in return Africans will have to learn to behave like civilised human beings and not savages."

I hold of course no brief for riots and mob rule. But to suggest that riots are only found among "civilised" people is simply to confuse the issue. All human beings, in all countries, will riot when the conditions are right for riots. What about Notting Hill? What about the fearful Chicago race riots of a few years back? What about the anti-catholic riots in civilised eighteenth-century England?

Let us get our thinking straight, and realise that the best sociologists simply don't use the word "civilised" because it means almost nothing. If it has any meaning at all it means "decent", "considerate" or "law-abiding". If that is its meaning, then the African people in our country are probably more civilised than the whites. As its meaning is so vague, and as the word "uncivilised" is such a swear-word, let's just stop using it.

SOVIET VIEWS ON ACCRA CONFERENCE



Russia's seven-man delegation at last December's conference at Accra. Professor I. I. Potekhin is wearing the hat.

POTEKHIN CRITICISES MBOYA FOR NON-VIOLENCE

IN Central Africa they seem very sure that Soviet influence was prominent at the All African Peoples Conference in Accra last December. The Russians themselves, to judge from a recent article by Professor Potekhin, a member of the Soviet delegation of seven at the conference, seems less sure. In *Mejdunarodnaya Jizn* ('International Life', a serious monthly) Professor Potekhin has explained how significant Soviet students of African affairs think the conference to be; but he also makes penetrating criticisms of its composition and decisions.

First Professor Potekhin points out, rightly, that French Africa was very weakly represented. The R.D.A. was not there and French Equatorial Africa was not represented. The Northern People's Congress of Nigeria ('a very influential government group') was not there; though the Professor thinks that this may be because N.P.C. leadership is 'in the hands of very reactionary feudal elements' who may have been deterred from attending because the preliminary agenda for Accra had resolutions against feudalism.

It may surprise those who see Soviet influence in the Accra conference—but not anybody who was present—that the Professor goes on to attack American influence in Accra. He alleges that associates of the American Embassy took part in the conference's work and draws attention to the role of the 'well-known reactionary American trade unionist', Irving Brown, who acted as interpreter for a great part of the conference (Mr. Brown is a leading member of the anti-Communist I.C.F.T.U.). No less than 100 Americans participated in the conference in various ways, which Professor Potekhin thinks rather sinister.

He approves, in general, the preliminary agenda which was couched in semi-Marxist language. He complains, however, that groups like the Liberian True Whig Party opposed several points in it as interference in the internal affairs of African countries. He alleges that all such criticisms were

meant to make the conference a mere discussion, and not a gathering for action.

Like a good Marxist Professor Potekhin was upset at seeing, as well as slogans such as 'Imperialists Quit Africa' others like 'Universal Brotherhood'. Speeches by heads of delegations, he says, corresponded to the contradictions in the slogans: In particular, the denial in principle of the use of violence against imperialism, upset him.

In an interesting discussion of 'Pan-Africanism' Professor Potekhin points out that once it embraced all people of African descent, and was very weak because such people no longer shared many concrete common interests, in spite of their struggle against racial discrimination. Since 1955, he notes with approval, the main theme of Pan-Africanism has become the struggle in Africa.

The Professor, who has spent much time in Ghana and has written at length about tribalism and similar matters, notes that Africa is far from being populated by a single people. Yet all have a common interest in fighting imperialism. Nevertheless, the ideology of Pan-Africanism has 'much which is contrary to our philosophy of life'. But democrats and progressives support it because it unites Africans against colonialism. Marxists, however, cannot sympathise with the 'spirit of non-resistance to violence which inspires the pronouncements of many leaders of this movement'.

Professor Potekhin is particularly critical of the idea, often heard in the conference

that universal adult suffrage can deal with imperialism. He attacks Mr. Tom Mboya of Kenya, chairman of the conference, for using his presidential rights 'ad nauseum' to insist on non-violent constitutional means of struggle. He asks whether Mboya can represent Kenya in view of the Mau Mau risings.

There were other critics of non-violence in the Conference, however, to reassure Professor Potekhin. He is particularly pleased at the reception given to representatives of the F.L.N. of Algeria and approves the resolution finally passed, which while urging non-violent resistance and civil disobedience also supported those who had to resist force by force.

Professor Potekhin feels that the conference did not adequately deal with the problem of African unity. African peoples, he says, in his Marxist way, are divided into classes 'each of which defends its own interests'; this makes creation of a single national front difficult, and it is made more difficult by further division into tribes.

The preparatory commission of the conference included in its agenda a resolution on Chiefs... 'the time has come for the full exposure and criticism of those who support tribal separatism, who are the most dangerous black agents of imperialism... a main obstacle on the road of creating a united front of fighters for freedom... Professor Potekhin approves strongly this formulation. Unfortunately, he says, it was criticised by many delegations including the True Whig Party and the 'monarcho-feudal' Action Group of Nigeria. In the end the resolution read: 'Realising that certain African traditional institutions, particularly the power of tribal chiefs, do not conform to the demands of democracy... the conference of the peoples of Africa resolves to condemn those African traditional institutions which have clearly demonstrated their reactionary nature and their support of colonialism.'

But after all his reservations (he

SELF-GOVERNMENT FOR TANGANYIKA IN 1960?

From Contact Correspondent

DAR-ESS-SALAAM: The remarkable inter-racial co-operation in Tanganyika is known to have astonished Colonial Office officials who have been visiting the territory recently and to have favourably impressed the Tanganyika government. The next stage in Tanganyika's constitutional evolution is to get responsible government.

Though the recent elections were completed only last February a Post Elections Committee has already been set up to examine what changes should be made in the present system of tripartite voting. Other important issues such as the franchise, the possibility of a second house and the preservation of seats for special interests are also in the wide sphere under review.

Observers estimate that this will mean some form of responsible government for Tanganyika sometime in 1960. Tanganyika is likely to achieve this long before its richer neighbours in Kenya and Uganda that are socially and economically much more advanced.

The Tanganyika African National Union (T.A.N.U.) is asking for early elections followed by a majority of elected Ministers and a majority in the Legislative Council. Its members also want the abolition of the present tripartite vote (under which system each voter has to cast his votes for three candidates, one from each of the three main races.)

Finally T.A.N.U. thinks the time has come for universal adult suffrage to replace the present qualified franchise.

Elections on a universal suffrage without reserved seats for minority races in a country with 98% African population, would normally be expected to result in African members sweeping all representative seats, but inter-racial co-operation is spreading so fast in Tanganyika that Asian and European unofficial members of Legislative Council do not consider that this result is inevitable. The 500,000 strong T.A.N.U. party might even help sympathisers from other races by not putting up African candidates in opposition to some Europeans and Asians that have already proved their loyalty in Legco. T.A.N.U. might back candidates from other races against the racialists of Mr. Zuberi Mtemvu's African National Congress.

There is also the interesting possibility that T.A.N.U. may open its doors to European and Asian membership. Mr. Julius Nyerere (president of T.A.N.U. and leader of the Tanganyika Elected Members' Organisation which consists of opposition members of all races in Legislative Council) has indicated that he favours the idea, but is waiting for the right time to put it across to his party.

WHICH TRIBE IS WHICH?



reproduces the other resolutions with little comment) Professor Potekhin in the end gives the conference his blessing: 'It was an important historical event in the life of the peoples of the African continent. By overcoming serious and quite inevitable differences of opinion among its participants, the conference adopted a number of important resolutions in spite of the efforts of imperialistic agents, which will without doubt play a positive part in the further development of the national-liberation movement in Africa'.

Growing interest is being taken in the United States, even among school-children, in Africa. African and other visitors with a first hand knowledge of African affairs are welcomed at schools and universities. This typical school scene shows children at the Anne Beers School, Washington, learning to identify African tribes from figures made and dressed by students at the school.

CECIL RHODES'S DREAM

Cape To Cairo—But By Road —Is Now Being Considered

DAR ES SALAAM: Cecil Rhodes's dream last century was of a railway running the length of Africa from Cape to Cairo. To-day such a through railway still does not exist, but now the demand is for a road. In the hopes of realising a more modest dream—an all-weather road from the Cape as far as Nairobi in Kenya—talks have been taking place between representatives of the World Bank and various interested parties, meeting here in Tanganyika's capital.

The main gap in the 6,000-mile Cape-Nairobi route is in Tanganyika, where for almost 1,000 miles of what goes under the name of the "Great North Road," there is nothing approaching international standards for trunk roads. The Tunduma stretch near the border with Northern Rhodesia, for instance, deteriorates in places to a couple of wheel tracks with grass growing in between.

Several million pounds will be required to build the route up to decent standards—one estimate puts the cost at £5 million—and Tanganyika's argument is that neighbouring countries would derive far greater benefit from such a route than this U.N. Trusteeship territory itself. Strategic considerations are a powerful argument in favour of such a road right away, plus the need for more localised security in the light of Nyasaland's position, but finance remains the obstacle.

The one hope on the horizon is the World Bank and this is why the members of the visiting survey mission now in Dar es Salaam are being lobbied by all the interested parties. These include the International Roads Federation, whose Mr. Kennedy is here strongly backing the proposal.

There is no doubt that the construction of this tarmac road link between South and East Africa, tapping the Central African markets on the way, would be a tremendous boon to African trade and development. Goods,

for instance, which now take up to two months to reach Nairobi by sea from Durban in South Africa, could be delivered with less risk of damage in just over one week.

But today's road could never carry the volume of freight traffic envisaged for a proper highway. At present a couple of road services operate to fixed schedules between Salisbury and Nairobi, but their capacity is strictly limited. When the rains are on (that is twice a year in the northern section) schedules go by the board and perishable goods become a total loss when heavy transport is firmly embedded in quagmires.

Today a good, hard surface runs northwards from the Cape all the way through the Union of South Africa, then most of the way to Salisbury and beyond to Lusaka and Broken Hill in Rhodesia. From then on it becomes a dirt road, alternating between billowing dust clouds and impassable morass. The going becomes worse in Tanganyika, with winding escarpment roads wide enough for only one vehicle.

Tanganyika would be more anxious to assist financially if the route could be "bent" eastwards to tap the country near Dar es Salaam, but although this area is more productive, the detour would mean another 100 miles or so.

Kenya would have to spend about £1,500,000 on her part of the route, but such outlay is out of the question for the next few

years as this East African colony has just committed itself to a £4 million road construction project which does not take in this part of the Great North Road at all. The money has only been raised by a "hire-purchase" deal with two international construction companies, for Kenya has none to spare herself.

This scheme will, however, help in the ultimate extension of the Great North Road to Kampala in Uganda, but to all intents and purposes this is where the international highway idea comes to a dead end.

Northwards through the Sudan and Egypt to the Mediterranean a combination of trains and river steamers provide the only reliable all-seasons route. Once beyond the Sudanese outpost to Juba, the vast "sudd" swamps of the Nile bar further progress for many months on end and it is highly unlikely that any all-weather road will be built between East Africa and Khartoum in the present century, unless substantial financial assistance comes from outside Africa. But even if finance were available, there is no prospect of trade to justify the expense. Differing ideologies are not conducive to any closer links between East Africa and the Sudan or Egypt.

But between Cape Town and Nairobi, the route would be an all-Commonwealth one, meriting a high priority from strategic and economic viewpoints.

DESPITE COMMODITY PRICE DROP . . .

COLONIAL TERRITORIES ARE BOOMING

LONDON: The colonial territories in the Commonwealth are booming, notwithstanding the recent adverse world trends in commodity prices. Their growing economic strength is strikingly revealed in a Colonial Office report which shows that whereas the gross domestic product in 1948 was £1,250 million, it reached approximately £2,850 million in 1958.

Thus, within a decade, the domestic product has more than doubled. If this rate of increase can be maintained at its present level of four per cent. per annum, the future is promising. But nobody pretends that the present rate is high enough.

An extraordinary feature of the new figures is that there has been little increase in the volume of exports of primary products since 1956. But the slack has been more than offset by the increase in the total output of goods and services. This means that although fewer goods are being exported, more activities are benefiting the internal market. Thus, more food is being grown for home consumption by the colonial peoples them-

selves. Manufacturing industries for local needs, construction of roads, waterworks, public buildings and power supplies and services are all being expanded to raise the living standards in the colonies.

The Government of Western Nigeria has established a precedent for underdeveloped countries by its new policy designed to offset the fears of overseas investors about the risks of nationalisation or expropriation.

The Prime Minister of the Western Region, Chief Awolowo, has assured foreign investors in Nigeria that their capital investments "are indefeasibly guaranteed against any form of expropriation,

sequestration or confiscation."

He was speaking at the opening ceremony to mark the construction of a £4,500,000 cement factory which is jointly owned by his Government and by a number of British firms.

Considerable thought has been given in recent years to the ways in which the newly-independent countries can assure overseas investors against the risk of their investments being taken over. This fear is known to discourage potential investors from putting their capital into the younger countries.

Lord Shawcross, a former Labour Minister and now a prominent company director, recently raised the issue in a letter to *The Times*. He advocated a charter for the protection of private foreign investments. Whether the firm assurance given by the Western Nigerian Prime Minister will meet the demands of overseas investors is not certain. But it represents an important development.

When Men Build On A Volcano . . .

I HAVE never said a word in favour of force. All I have said has been against it—but I am at liberty to warn those in authority that justice long delayed, or long continued injustice, always provokes the employment of force to obtain redress.

It is in the ordering of nature and therefore of the Supreme that this is so and all preaching to the contrary is of no avail.

If men build houses on the slopes of a Vesuvius, I may tell them of their folly and insecurity, but I am not in any way provoking, or responsible for, the eruption which sweeps them all away.

I may say too that force, to prevent freedom and to deny rights, is not more moral than force to gain freedom and secure rights.

JOHN BRIGHT, 1866.

HOW COMMUNIST IS GUINEA?

GUINEA'S president Sékou Touré is a confessed marxist. Recently he took delivery of a cargo of light arms from Czechoslovakia. Like Communist China he has decreed compulsory work, and parties of volunteers spend most Sundays cleaning the streets of the Guinean towns, building roads and drains. There has been a procession of east European trade delegations to Conakry, the capital of Guinea. And when the French went they took everything that could possibly be removed or stripped, including the electric light bulbs.

Facts like these have led to the belief, held by many, that Sékou Touré is leading his country into the soviet block, to become, in Jacques Soustelle's words, a "Soviet African beachhead", the first African popular democracy.

To what extent is this so?

A correspondent recently in Guinea has looked into this

Even in its internal organisation Guinea does not fit the accepted communist categories. There is no talk of class warfare. At a recent trade union conference Sékou Touré overruled radical delegates who wanted more accent placed on class warfare. And too much emphasis should not be placed on the subordination of the individual in Guinea to the community, for traditional African ideas stress the importance of the clan over against the individual.

In 1956 Sékou Touré took his African trade unions out of the French communist-dominated Confederation Generale du Travail (General Labour Confederation) and organised a local African body U.G.T.A.N. (Union Generale du Travail de l'Afrique Noire, General Labour Union of Black Africa). This was hardly the act of a tool of Moscow.

Another exceptionally well-informed correspondent, writing in the magazine *West Africa*, recently confirmed this analysis and summed up: "Guinea's leaders do not deny that they are Marxist-inspired. Has Guinea then passed within the Communist sphere of influence? It is (reasonable) to conclude . . . that Sékou Touré remains first and foremost an African nationalist, who finds a deep chord of response among Africans . . . African society, after all, was communal long before Marx."



SÉKOU TOURÉ

question with extreme care. His report is that though marxist, Touré's Guinea is not soviet-oriented. Touré is building an African state, and wishes to be friends with the West as well as with communists.

An anxious African government put the question to him, and he denied that he and his colleagues were communist. "We are, wrongly accused of being communists" were his words. "The suggestion of marxism is one that comes from outside, which I do not confirm or deny. As for social organisation it is true that our methods are almost the same as those laid down in marxist philosophy, namely the unity and action of the people. But the basis of marxist philosophy which is atheist is not consistent with the basis of our society which is religious. In Africa the catholic believes, the moslem believes, the fetishist believes. You cannot find anyone in Africa who is not a believer."

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SAM SLY'S CORNER

FORTNIGHTLY NOTES ON BOOKS AND THE
PRESS



Light on the Whites

In the August *Drum* Miss M. K. Jeffreys will light up a subject usually hidden under a family-size bushel. The question is: "How black are the whites?" One side says 40% of our so-called Europeans have some Asian or African ancestry—the other puts the percentage at about nought. Many years of research at the Cape Archives give Miss Jeffreys a right to her view, one, I hear, which will confound the knavish tricks of the racists. She will follow through with her views on the origin and causes of race prejudice here. She has facts disproving the claim that *apartheid* in church and state is the traditional Afrikaner policy. Her review of Hoge's latest researches, which showed what they really meant (*Contact*, 21st February 1959), and her unsigned contribution to the *Race Relations Journal* (Vol. 20, No. 2, 1953), on miscegenation at the Cape from 1652 to 1795, are part of the extraordinarily small corpus of serious writing on this subject.

Uplifting Tone

All material considerations apart, if *Tone* has the wit to run articles like this *Drum* may have a rival. Vol I No. 1 of *Tone* is to appear on 20th August, will be full of picture features, largely non-political, and aimed at the Cape at first. The failure of *Golden City Post* at the Cape, a bad omen to some, is another incentive to *Tone's* backers to fill a gap. The editors tell me they will go for uplift, which is not *Post's* strongest point.

Impersonal tone

Next Wednesday, 15th July, sees the publication of *Afrikaner Volkseenheid en My Ervaring op die Pad Daarheen*, with a preface by Professor H. B. Thom, rector of Stellenbosch.

This is not another of those weird essays in mystical political theorising, but Dr. Malan's autobiography. It is the first by an Afrikaner leader since Paul Paul Kruger's, and its rarity is reflected in the healthy pre-publication orders coming to Nasionale Boekhandel, the publishers. The English edition, from Cassell's, London, will not be out this year. To a non-Afrikaner, Malan was colourless, an Attlee or Strauss, not a Churchill or Smuts, but to the Nationalist Afrikaners he was Churchill and Smuts twice over. His lack of P.R. instinct accounts for what I am told is the impersonal tone of the memoirs, and for the sparse references to his life outside politics. The only picture is a frontispiece from Mrs. Malan's favourite photograph of her husband. Our reviewer will be Professor Leonard Thompson.

Thirteen words for one

Did you draw the line at A. P. O'Dowd's "Zulu-Xhosa-Swazi-Basotho-Bechuana-Pondo-Fingo-Venda-Shangaan" as the kind of suggestion for avoiding the use of "African" that a committee of Professor Doktors might make? (*Contact* 18th April) Now read on:

"Instead of *apartheid* we should rather speak of *indigenous-development-of-races-with-a-view-to-cultural-independence-and-national-service*." (A. B. du Preez: *In the South African Crucible*, 1959, p. 52) [My hyphens, I confess, but his italics.]

Birds of a feather

Last week the S.A.B.C. was inspired to quote a Portuguese diplomat on arrival for duty in South Africa. He issued the set greeting of all new diplomats: ready-made stuff about extending good relations. I suppose they put it on the national news

in honour of Salazar's government, South African Nationalism's best friend. Salazar, who, in his own words, is "anti-liberal, anti-parliamentary, anti-democratic" is hero-worshipped by Eric Louw and no doubt envied by Dr. Verwoerd. How they must covet his Censorship Commission, by which two sets of galley proofs of every press article are scrutinized (except from Salazar's *Diario da Manhã*).

The real links

Camões and Pessoa, the father of Portuguese poetry and his greatest son in this century, both have links with us. *The Lusitads* have inspired Roy Campbell and many others: Pessoa grew up in Cape Town and Durban. In Lisbon are the tomb of Vasco da Gama in the Jeronimos, and Boer War graves in the Anglican Churchyard. These are links ancient and modern that will bind South Africa and Portugal long after their present rulers have tumbled down.

It Takes A Woman

THE HARMLESS PEOPLE.
By Elizabeth Marshall Thomas
(Secker & Warburg) 25s. 6d.

AFTER having read van der Post's *The Lost World of the Kalahari*, alleged to be about the Bushmen, I may perhaps be excused for again approaching the same subject with a certain amount of suspicion. Let me say it at once, *The Harmless People* is a captivating and well-written book, and one which I am very happy to recommend to those who love the Kalahari and who, like me (and Mrs. Thomas), are fascinated by the small hunters of the desert. Perhaps it takes a woman to make the most real contact with these shy people. Modern anthropologists have rediscovered the old rule, which the old Portuguese and other explorers knew well, that if you want to contact strange peoples a woman is always the best ambassador.

Mrs. Thomas, or Miss Marshall as she was in the days of her visit to the Bushmen, went to the Kalahari with her parents and brother and, in all, lived a year and a half among the Bushmen to study their way of life. Her picture of them is rather different from the one taught in South African history books. To her they are not fierce, small thieves, but a timid and brave little race, who ask for nothing but to be left alone and who live in almost complete community of property. It is true that dire necessity sometimes forces them to kill a newborn child, while an older child is still suckling, as the mother cannot feed two children. On the other hand, they share food and

(Continued on page 11, col. 5)

Ultimate Focus Of Idiocy

THE LAST DIVISION. By Anthony Delius (Human & Rousseau) 15s.

WHEN a poet stops in his tracks to fire off a rattling fusillade of satire it should be taken as a sign that he sees some hope. Like the sentry of a beleaguered post, he spots the dust-puff of approaching relief mushroom against the sky, taps his kettle or winds his horn and sallies out with all the remaining able-bodied (or -minded) survivors to create a diversion.

Satire girds against stupidity, dullness, greed, corruption and a dozen more of the sins and conceits with which we are all more or less beset. Wit is its weapon, humour and style its banners. It is essentially a gentle and civilised art.

But satire is not an elephant-gun. Its range is not wide: it cannot bring down an implac-

able foe. It flourishes in an elegant and cultivated society where differences are small and overweighted by a common acceptance of standards, knowledge and forms.



Anthony Delius

jargon, diplomacy, materialism, vivisection and finally the A-Bomb. With Canto 2 the pace becomes more lively. Here is the Cape (a fine and urban piece of writing) and here is Parliament in session (not so urbane!) A series of pen-pictures of nationalist politicians (Neths) is followed by portraits of the opposition and the liberals.

The chief Neth goes on orating at so great length and with such appalling bathos that the earth itself yawns and into the yawn the houses of Parliament fall to the very pit of Hell. The descent into Hell and some of the following scenes in Canto 3 are among the finest in the book and are nothing short of brilliant. There is high comedy and an amusing but horrific atmosphere in such episodes as the Devil's visit to Parliament and the meeting of the Neths with Paul Kruger. Then there is an interlude of sheer high spirits and horseplay when a Kaapse klong arrives in Hell, and for a couple of pages of rhyming jingle in the most outrageous Gammatjie language he holds the stage.

The Neths have been walling in their own corner of Hell behind a barrier of blue-books and bills until the last black man deserts them—"Let's get to Hell out of this frightening place." And aghast they see their futile task go on. As would be expected of a satirist in the true strain from the illustrious past, Delius is at his best when he comes closest to the things he loves—this country and those who are wrong-headed, weak perhaps, but not irredeemable. His portrait of the "opposition" and of the "liberals" is more successful than that of the Neths. Sometimes his voice soars into pure poetry as if he were straining away from the bitterness of his theme:

*I love this people — Africa
evolved*

*Them in its sky-wide womb of
rock and veld,*

*They, too, once knew the spirit
that dissolved*

*In day—and silence where the
shadows knelt.*

Delius departs from the traditional forms of satire (in English), the rhymed couplet of either four or five beats. Instead he mostly uses alternate rhyming lines which tend to fall into four-line verses. This makes for a slower movement and sacrifices the epigrammatic force, the zip of the couplet. What is disconcerting to the reader is the extreme liberty he takes in the use of meter and rhyme, amounting even to carelessness. This, together with a liberal sprinkling of printing errors may be no more than signs of haste in the completion of a highly topical poem, and they need not be more than minor and temporary blemishes.

JACK COPE

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The Hopes Of Democracy

THE AFRO-ASIAN STATES AND THEIR PROBLEMS. By K. M. Panikkar (Allen and Unwin)

THE only slightly disappointing thing about this stimulating book is its title. Mr. Panikkar does not extend his range to Africa: indeed, he does not even discuss Asia as a whole.

The essential problem that the author sets himself is the prospect for democracy in Asia. He starts with a chapter full of wise thoughts about democracy as such. In the end it is not the forms that matter, but the desire for democracy. And this desire is not just a question of will: it depends on habits, and on the necessary material and human foundations.

One precondition is the "doctrine of obedience." Somehow a majority in Parliament has to contrive to command the loyalty and obedience that was traditionally accorded to kings. Yet Parliaments in a democracy have, by their very nature, to limit their own authority. An opposition is one of the basic characteristics of democracy, and its function is to undermine popular confidence in the majority. Furthermore, Parliaments often limit their own legal sovereignty by making it necessary to secure a two-thirds majority or the consent of a second chamber for the passage

reviewed for the Congress of Cultural Freedom by the Rt. Hon. Patrick Gordon Walker P.C., M.P.

of certain acts. Whether or not Acts of Parliament can be challenged in the courts, all of them in a democracy are subject to the interpretation of the judges.

A particularly grave problem in the Asian democracies is the manpower needed. The elite must be large enough not only to man up Parliament and the civil service, but also to constitute the opinion outside the ranks of Government that makes up the "apparatus of judgment" without which democracy is a sham. The driving force of ideas must largely come from outside Parliament which can in the main not initiate ideas but only register them after they have won broad acceptance in public debate.

In many respects the problems of Asian democracy are peculiar. But they arise in a framework of unity that is no longer provided by Western dominance but by the universality of modern science. The problem is not the simple one of the survival of democracy in Asia: that indeed is vital for the world. But the West, from which historically democracy sprang, is not assured in the survival of its own product. Many of the difficulties in the road of Asian

democracy are found also in Western nations. The issue is in doubt and the success of democracy in Asia and the West is mutually self-sustaining.

The picture painted by Mr. Panikkar is not a glowing one. He makes clear that India (with, perhaps, Pakistan) is atypical. The continuous refrain is "except in the case of India", "only in India". There the hopes of successful democracy are well-founded: elsewhere in Asia they are doubtful.

Only in India is there a large enough elite to solve the manpower problem of democracy. Only in India is the problem of rural poverty being tackled, which all over Asia presents a revolutionary potential that could bring democracy to grief. Indeed, one of the author's main conclusions is that only radical social change can bring the stability that democracy presupposes. The independence of the Asian states has in some ways made the solution of this problem the harder, because everywhere the result has been the increasing hold of conservative religious forces.

Mr. Panikkar throws a shaft of cold light upon the gulf between the advanced and the backward countries, which many in the West think can be bridged by aid. Aid of this sort can be a socially disturbing factor. But, more important is the tendency in the urge of nuclear energy for the gulf to grow ever wider. The new States are spectators of the scientific revolution which is going forward so far and which demands resources that are ever further out of the reach of the nations of Asia. Here again only India (and possibly Pakistan) have the resources of trained human material that may enable them to catch up.

It is a virtue of this historian's book that questions are asked, not answered. It presents a challenge to the thought and conscience of the reader, whether Asian or Western.

There are two tantalising questions that arise out of this book, but are not treated in it. One is the competitive challenge of Communist dictatorship to democracy in Asia. The other is the role of the Commonwealth in the survival of democracy. It is in the Commonwealth States of Asia that the best prospects exist for stable and progressive democracy.

No one is better gifted than Mr. Panikkar to analyse these questions.

HIGHEST COMMON FACTOR

NO FURTHER WEST. By Dan Jacobson (Secker & Warburg)

THE book demands a fuller review: there is so much to describe, argue about, criticise, describe; such depth and independence of vision to convey; above all so many splendid lines and paragraphs to quote. Here is only a humble judgment on one whose status as a writer is no longer reckoned in the amorphous hierarchy of South African English writers alone.

For nearly a year, Mr. Jacobson's young family kept house in Palo Alto, California, while he taught and studied "Creative Writing" at Stanford University and his small son went to school near-by. He thus has three main topics to illuminate: home, school, and intellectual life.

Your reviewer learnt, though, in correspondence with a retired Far Eastern U.S. Consul who lives there, that Palo Alto is the home of near-rich retired and professional people. His child's school, for the same group, was perhaps unusually lavish and indulgent. And Stanford is, he says himself, for the well-to-do.

Mr. Jacobson is an original-minded man—perhaps an eccentric one. How else could he have broken his whole year in Palo Alto with only a few trips to neighbouring San Francisco and one to the Yosemite Park? His whole three-dimensional picture of American life, indeed, portrays this small and exceptional corner of one of the 49 states. Yet he sees the "Bay Area" as the highest common factor both of American life and of the life of the whole Western World. This is what we might all be heading for.

What is his judgment on it? Mass media are being kept at bay, despite the worst that radio and television can do.

The "sprawl" of urban development and the shapelessness of American society have their doubtful results, but there is no Beat "generation", Americans are quiet and tolerant, and "Liberalism can be described as the official ideology of the country". Best of all, "goodwill, peace, co-operation" are the hope of the many. The attempt to realize this hope can be seen in the schools which are "America as Americans believe it might be, could be, should be."

The lessons and conclusions of Mr. Jacobson's clear, close-up view must be read in this elegant, often funny, tightly-packed, original, sometimes pettish travel book that is not about travelling.

L.F.H.

"I Dabble"

DOMESTIC INTERIOR AND OTHER POEMS. By Laurence Lerner (Hutchinson)

MR. LAURENCE LERNER has an unfortunate, almost suicidal, brand of frankness. No other poet that I have heard of would begin a book of verses with so repellent (to reviewers) a set of dedicatory verses as introduces this first collection of his.

Mr. Lerner presents himself thus:

"I dabble, you perceive, in poetry (The reason is, that I indulge in life).

Eaten with lust, and eager to escape

From his true self, a man might take a wife,

—And wedding nights recur like rhymes until

His wanton choice subdue his wantonness.

My verses rhyme and echo: pleasing as

A husband's kiss and just as passionless."

The temptation to accept this bit of ready-made criticism gratefully and set a paraphrase of it down in prose is strong. Indeed it becomes stronger as one pages superficially through Mr. Lerner's work. His reaction against the "poetic" seems to have led him into a deliberately cultivated emotional and intellectual limpness.

So strong is the reaction, in fact, that it becomes nearly as irritating a mannerism as the more highfalutin poetic clichés against which T. S. Eliot began the revolt.

Added to which, to make a liking for him more difficult, Mr. Lerner also dabbles in the merely clever:

"I write this poem to put the moral down:

Man made the country, and God made the town."

All this is a pity because it might even stir the prejudices against such attractive and different poems as "Senchi Ferry: Ghana", "Domestic Interior", and "A Meditation Upon a Toothache"

He shows in these and other poems a quiet originality of phrase and approach which I believe he will develop further to achieve even more enviable effects.

To take two from "Toothache":

"The ache seeps upward to the brain, distorts

Like a half-mastered language all my thoughts."

"... You move

Through Odysseys of dread before you prove

The feel of endurance; before you hear the syrens

Lure you to suffer what your fear imagines."

Mr. Lerner is a South African who since his University of Cape Town days has, says the short biographical note, "lived in England, Ghana, France and Northern Ireland, and many of his poems deal with his reactions to his changing environment."

"Changing environment" reactions seem to be almost a stock-in-trade of this country's by now quite noticeable band of emigrant English poets. Plomer, Wright, Prince, Currey and others find their displacement of recurring poetic interest.

But among none of them is a certain rootlessness so apparent and troubling as it is in Mr. Lerner's verse. After watching the Bastille Day fireworks in France, he ponders:

"Who are the fireworks for? Old hags, old men,

Children up late, and straggling foreigners?

No one is old enough to know the cause,

Or young enough to feel he is not in

A troubled crowd beneath a troubled sky."

ANTHONY DELIUS

IT TAKES A WOMAN

(Continued from page 10)

water as long as there is something to share and help and nurse the sick or crippled ones. Their only vice seems to be a tendency towards jealousy.

It is not only the Bushmen Mrs. Thomas describes with love, but also the world of nature around them; the beautiful sunsets and the starry sky, the mating dance of the ants, the pink dunes and the giant baobabs, and all the berries and roots of the veld, which help to keep the Bushmen alive. She even teaches us how to cook a tortoise in its shell, how to eat live ants and how to make a poison against which there is no antidote!

J. RUDNER

NEXT ISSUE

Reviews: John Coatsman: Police; Arthur Creech-Jones: Fabian Colonial Essays; William Faulkner: New Orleans Sketches; Althea Gibson: I always wanted to be somebody; D. F. Malan: Afrikaner Volkseenheid, etc.

Reviewers (in order): Gerald Gordon, Julius Lewin, Beryl Bloom, Nathan Nakasa, L. M. Thompson, etc.

and The Liberal Mind No. 1: Robert Browning.

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Johannesburg.

Nats Are Breaking Up Home Life

THE following letter was recently addressed to a group of women who have been active for justice in Cape Town. It shows that the law has reached the stage now when a man working in Stellenbosch may not live with his wife merely because she was not born in Stellenbosch.

The women asked the Stellenbosch authorities to give Ivy a permit, but they said that it was quite impossible. The only thing would be for the husband to give up his work and go and live in Cape Town.

We think this is lunacy. Imagine how many Nationalist cabinet ministers would be able to live with their wives if the rule applied also to them—probably none.

Here is the heartrending letter, in its original English:

Dear Madam,—Its me Ivy. Its very heavy for me here in Stellenbosch. I go to Stellenbosch pass office ask me where I born, told them I born in Retreat Cape Town. They told me a girl of Cape Town can't stay in Stellenbosch. So they gift me till the end of February to get out of Stellenbosch. Told my husband to stay in Nyanga.

Husband say to them I more than seven years in Stellenbosch. They say to him you no that a girl of Cape Town can't stay here. Yes if its a girl of Stellenbosch then she gets a pass. Now I am in Nyanga, now Madam good-bye.

Its
IVY SINXEZE
Nyanga

CAPRICORN IDEAL HAS CHANGED KENYA

SIR, We in Kenya, who are members of the Capricorn Africa Society, are today celebrating Salima Day which is the third anniversary of the day on which people drawn from all over Africa, came together on the shores of Lake Nyasa to sign our Contract.

I still remember it as one of the most stirring occasions of my life and today the Contract is as valid for everyone as it was then. Indeed many of our recommendations are already being established in the normal legislative procedure of this country—specially with regards to land restrictions.

I am firmly of the opinion that Capricorn has had a profound effect on the thinking of many people in Kenya and although we have not changed, political opinion has undergone a profound change in the last three years.

Some one last week gave me some back numbers of *Contact* to read. This was a breath of life to me as, in my ignorance, I had no idea that such a

vigorous body of people existed in South Africa as the Liberals. I had no idea that a paper such as *Contact* was being published in South Africa and find any measure of support at all. My heartiest congratulations on what is a very brave effort. I think *Contact* makes splendid and inspiring reading.

I remember Mr. Alan Paton well at Salima and the contribution he made over our Immigration Provision when someone suggested that prospective immigrants should be screened. He said most definitely and categorically "No".

We, who were all unknown people, were very pleased and proud to have him there.

(Mrs.) J. D. RAW
Nairobi

C.A.P. LEADERS

SIR, I believe that you will agree that, in the long run, the boomerang effect of exaggeration tends to harm rather than help any just cause in which it is employed. It is for this reason that I wish to correct some impressions created by the article on our Central Africa Party (C.A.P.) leader, Mr. Garfield Todd, in your issue of June 13.

The suggestion that the "biggest factor" in our party's success in Northern Rhodesia was his "dramatic return" from overseas and subsequent visit to Northern Rhodesia, is I believe,

an exaggeration which Mr. Todd would be the first to deny, for it seeks to diminish the status and influence of Sir John Moffat in his home territory of Northern Rhodesia and to obscure the very real appeal of our non-racial policy to an effectively multi-racial electorate.

Our victory in Northern Rhodesia in which one of our candidates stood against a Congressman and with African votes scored a clear victory for racial co-operation against a doctrine of racial domination, was a most heartening result.

M. A. PEDDER
Salisbury

To Correspondents

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

DETAINEE APPEALS FOR BOOKS

SIR, As a newspaper man, I have no doubt that you have, at hand, the fullest information regarding the recent show-downs in Nyasaland. You might on the other hand have an opposite picture of the situation as reported in the Central African Press. However, I hope that your paper has not failed to understand that our press in this part of Africa, is one-sided.

We are detained here indefinitely, and only God knows what will become of us next. Under the Nyasaland Emergency Regulations, the Governor has the power to keep us here as long as he feels it is necessary to maintain peace and order in the country. We are, therefore, left with no alternative but make this our permanent home.

I therefore write to ask you to send me some books. I am most interested in freelance journalism and English Literature. I also enjoy reading novels, especially "the Paton-Bloom type". I would also welcome some past copies of *Contact*.

C. D. MKANDAWIRE
H. M. Prison, Khami,
Box 96, Bulawayo.

We associate ourselves with this appeal.—Editor.

BURSARY SCANDAL

SIR, The withdrawal of a passport from an African student just about to leave South Africa to take up a bursary awarded to him for studies in Norway has shocked all right-thinking people, white ones included, in this country.

On the other hand, action by students of the University of Cape Town, by which funds are to be raised to allow the African student concerned to continue his studies, deserves the highest praise for two reasons (1) the generous and human reaction on the part of young South Africans to the injustice of Government action and (2) the implied defiance of the Nationalist Government, in that white students are helping a black student, suspected by Government of being an undesirable "export."

Government would be well-advised to remember that the young people of to-day are the prospective voters at the next general election and that the chances of the Nats. ever getting back into power are rapidly growing less and less now that the younger generation realises the appalling consequences of the actions of a Government, the policy of whose members is "Party Before Country."

CAPETONIAN
Cape Town

LEFTIST VIEWS

SIR, I am sorry that I put Mr. Pat Poovalingam to so much trouble, when, in an earlier publication of *Contact* I challenged him to quote one example of *New Age* ever having smeared the Liberals.

But imagine my surprise, when reading his reply to my challenge, to note that not one of the three instances he quotes, are expressions of *New Age's* attitude towards the Liberal Party. All of them are extracts from letters to *New Age* or statements published in *New Age* by political organisations.

New Age publishes the views of Leftists as well as anti-Leftists (unlike *Contact*) and the publication of letters and statements of individuals or organisations can in no way be inter-

preted as *New Age* policy. My challenge is still open to Mr. Pat Poovalingam or anyone else to quote me one example of *New Age* ever having smeared the Liberal Party in the same manner that *Contact* regularly attacks *New Age* and the Congress of Democrats.

MELVILLE FLETCHER
Durban

We had to shorten Mr. Poovalingam's letter so considerably that other examples were omitted.—Editor.

MORE BRITISH IN INDIA

SIR, May I add one interesting fact to A. Pierce Jones's debunking of the cry that "the British have been thrown out of India", so often raised to justify the denial of the vote to four-fifths of our people? This is that there are today more British people living in the subcontinent than there were before India and Pakistan became independent.

LIBERAL
Clifton, Cape Town

CONTACT SMALLS

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MISCELLANEOUS

The Liberal Party of South Africa (Cape Division) wishes to make it known that it has been allotted a telegraphic address. This is: LIBERATION, CAPE TOWN.

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NOTICE

Would Mr. Z. Sonkosi kindly let us have his address.—Editor, Box 1979, CAPE TOWN.

11th July 1959