

# CONTACT

SOUTH AFRICA'S NON-RACIAL REVIEW

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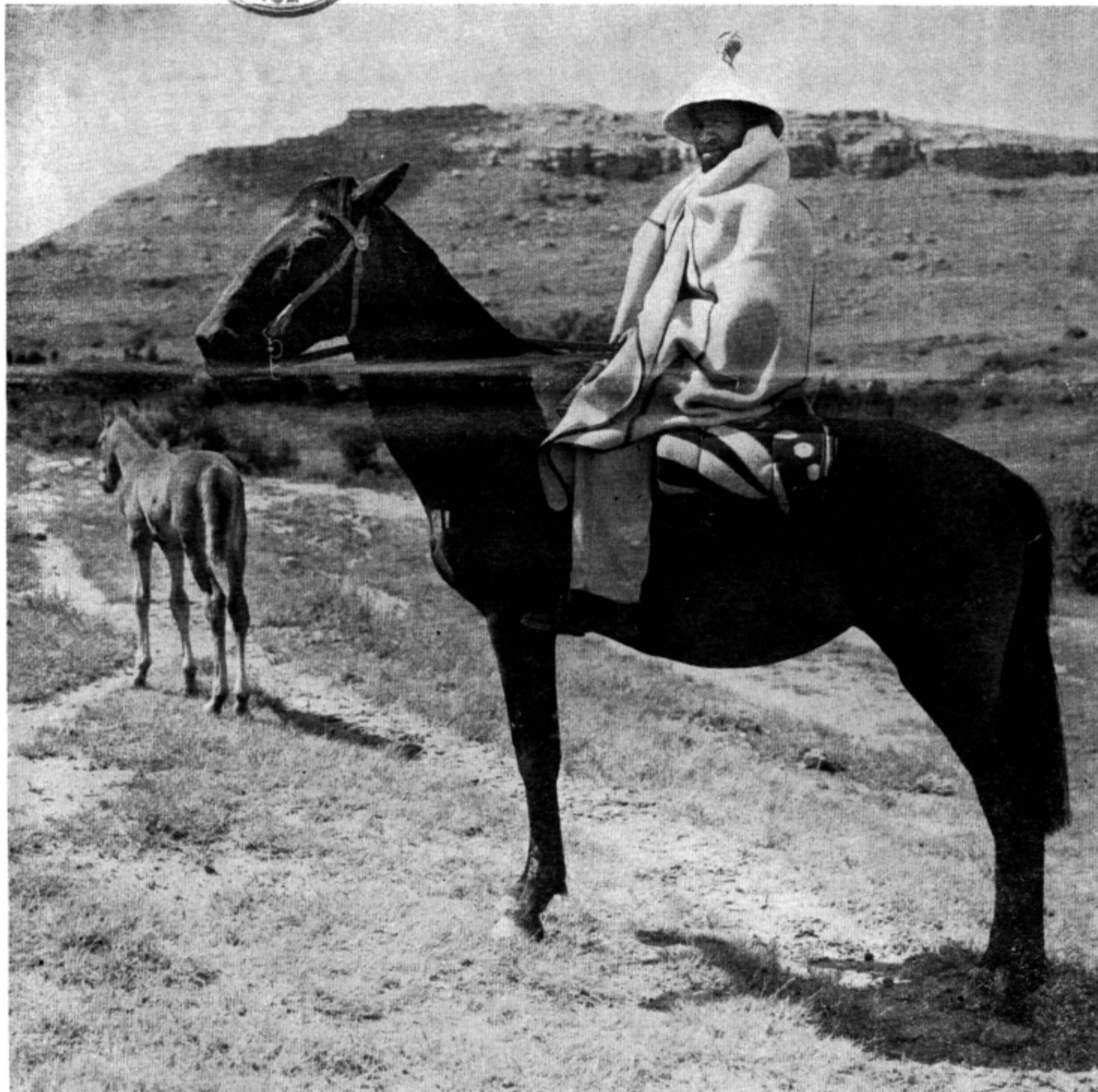


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Overall Survey of Overseas Boycott See PAGE 4

Liberals and Boycott See PAGE 7

g g Undefeated Uganda Boycott See PAGE 8



Thabo in his mountain homeland. All Basuto men will be able to vote for their new "Parliament" in November — see Page 3

THEY CLAIM 25,000 MEMBERS

# P.A.C. Fails To Reach First Target

From Contact Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: "National Heroes Day" was celebrated for the first time on Sunday (August 2) at five regional conferences of the Pan-Africanist Congress held in the major centres of the Union. The day, set aside to pay homage to past African heroes, also commemorated the twelfth anniversary of the death of Anthony Lembede, a founder of the A.N.C. Youth League, and an early African nationalist leader.

A speech by the Pan-Africanist Congress President Mr. Robert Sobukwe, which was read at all the meetings stated: we are today going down the corridor of time and renewing our acquaintance with the heroes of Africa's past—those men and women who nourished the tree of African freedom and independence with their blood; those great sons and daughters of Africa who died in order that we might be free in the land of our birth.

Delivering his address personally to more than 200 Africans, at the Witwatersrand Regional Meeting, Mr. Sobukwe announced the launching of a "status campaign" aimed at obtaining courteous treatment for Africans in shops and in their everyday lives.

"This is an unfolding and expanding campaign involving the political, economic, and the

social status of the African," said Mr. Sobukwe.

"We are reminding our people that acceptance of any indignity, any insult, any humiliation, is acceptance of inferiority. They must first think of themselves as men and women before they can demand to be treated as such. The campaign will free the mind of the African—and once the mind is free, the body will soon be free."

Stating that "we are fighting the whole concept of white supremacy" Mr. Sobukwe added: "right from the beginning of the campaign the leaders will be in front. They will do so under the slogan of 'no bail, no defence, no fine.'"

The national secretary, for Potlako Leballo, told the Witwatersrand meeting that the Africanists had failed to reach their target of 100,000 paid up

members by July 31. The membership, he said, in fact totalled nearly 25,000 in 101 branches throughout the country.

The reasons for the failure he ascribed to lack of money and inexperience in organisation. A new target date for 100,000 members was set for December 16, when the Africanists' plan to hold their first national conference.

## WORLD BANK LOOKS AT H.C.T.

WITH the approval of the Secretary of State, the High Commissioner for Basutoland, the Bechuanaland Protectorate and Swaziland, Sir John Maud, has appointed an Economic Survey Mission to conduct a general survey of the requirements and natural resources of the High Commission Territories and to make recommendations on the utilization for the development of the financial resources that are, or might be, made available.

The Mission has been appointed in consultation with the World Bank who have advised on its composition and on the selection of its members and have nominated its chairman.

The Mission, which is expected to begin its work in September, will be composed of Professor Chandler Morse (Chairman), Professor of Economics at Cornell University, U.S.A. and Sir Gordon Hadow, Brigadier C. G. Hawes, Mr. Norman Lees and Professor J. F. C. Phillips (members).

Contact welcomes this move. On 29th. November 1958, in a long article, Contact urged that "surely now . . . a determined plan must be drawn up for the approval of the World Bank . . ." for massive aid and massive scholarship schemes, so that the economic welfare of the three territories could rocket upwards in harmony with their political development.

## D.R.C. REAPS ENGLISH MISSION CROPS

THE BANTU EDUCATION ACT forms a very important part of the pattern of the lessening of the influence of English in South Africa. Almost at one stroke most English-speaking Churches and missions have been deprived of their mission schools. It would be misleading, and indeed completely incorrect, to say that Anglican or Presbyterian schools have been compulsorily handed over to the Dutch Reformed Church, but it is not at all misleading to say that Anglican or Presbyterian principals have been replaced by principals who are, scarcely without exception, members of the Dutch Reformed Church.

The headship of all these missionary institutions is with scarcely an exception in the hands of Afrikaans-speaking men, and the overwhelming majority of the European teachers in these schools are now Afrikaans-speaking. This constitutes a veritable revolution in African life. Within a short period almost the whole control of African education has passed from the English-speaking to the Afrikaans-speaking group. The nature of

the change is concealed by the fact that it is presented as a change from church control to State or local community control, but the effect is as stated above.

In all these schools English is, of course, still taught, but it is already in the second place instead of first, and there are signs that it may be slipping into the third place. English, Afrikaans and a Bantu language are taught in all these institutions, but the stress to-day is on the last two.

Afrikaans-speaking South Africans of the Dutch Reformed Church have not only inherited cheaply and easily the work built up by English-speaking missions over a hundred years and more, but those responsible for the change have not hesitated to go further and to attack publicly and frequently the missions and churches, the result of whose work they have inherited. The missions have been persistently denigrated as an argument to persuade Africans to accept the Act. "You have been exploited by the missions. Now we are helping you to run your own schools." In Parliament and on public occasions Ministers have not hesitated to attack English-speaking Churches, particularly the Anglican Church, which has been one of their special targets for criticism. Attacks on the Dutch Reformed Church, on the other hand, are hotly resented and described as "racialism."

In the Bantu Administration and Development Department (the old Native Affairs Department) almost every higher appointment is now filled by an Afrikaans-speaking officer. Able and efficient English-speaking

officers have been frequently passed over in promotion. Afrikaans is becoming more and

There is another field in which this process is going on, and here again the nature of the process is disguised by an explanation which has nothing to do with race or language. There is a surprising amount of inter-racial welfare work going on in South Africa, as there has been for many years past. These social welfare activities have been largely the work of English-speaking South Africans.

The policy of apartheid is now being interpreted in such a way as openly to discourage joint black-white committees or associations, and to press for all-African committees. This might seem, from certain points of view, a move forward. At least one might feel that there was an arguable case for it. What happens in fact is that the all-African committees fall under the supervision of public servants, the overwhelming majority of which are Afrikaans-speaking.

The English-speaking social welfare worker no longer hopes for help from the Government. He can only pray earnestly that he may at least be left alone without interference: it is the best that he can hope for.

I do not think that any one of the facts set out above can be seriously challenged. They are facts. Some may demur to the interpretation of them, but there is no doubt that they form a homogeneous pattern and it is hard to believe that this pattern is not conscious and deliberate.

[By an authoritative commentator writing in South Africa, London.]

### SPORTS ASSOCIATION OUTLINES

## Non-racial Sports Plans

THE South African Sports Association, which is busy removing the colour-bar from sport, is about to produce a brochure. Mr. Dennis Brutus, its tireless secretary, has written part of it. We reproduce here part of his piece, as it shows the confidence and the thinking that lies behind their campaign.

Mr. Brutus says that at the conference of S.A.S.A. held at Durban in January the springbok badge was attacked as an emblem of racialism. But today, he says, we know that this badge will soon acquire a new meaning. The change will come inevitably, and it will come soon.

When this change comes the wearer will be truly representative of South Africa, for the badge will have to be won in open competition with the best in our country.

Everyone, from the humble player in the fourth team to the president of a national body, can play his part, and play the game,

in the truest sense. We can all work for the improvement of our standards and our organisations. We can all join the fight for fair play and racial harmony in sport. Sport demands from all of us service and self-sacrifice and a fierce enthusiasm which burns steadily upwards like the Olympic flame which symbolises everything that is finest and highest in sport.

Sport has done as much as any other activity in South Africa to persuade men and women of goodwill to work and play together and to strip naked the pernicious heresy of racial discrimination.

Our immediate tasks? To work out the precise detail for the consideration of all sportsmen for our team to the Rome Olympics in twelve months' time, and to take up with greater vigour issues like World Cup soccer, Davis Cup tennis, Commonwealth Cup golf, and international rugby and cricket, to name only a few fields.

All these will be thrashed out, no doubt, at the conference of ALL national sporting bodies at Port Elizabeth in October. It is our duty to see that this conference is a resounding success, says Mr. Brutus.

### SUBSCRIPTION RATES

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## NOVEMBER ELECTIONS FOR NEW LEGISLATURE

# One Man One Vote in First Basuto Poll

From Contact Correspondent

MASERU: In three months' time registered voters throughout Basutoland will go to the polling stations in 162 constituencies and, by secret vote, vote for the candidates they want. There will be no marking "X" against a name. Instead there will be a box bearing the name and an identifying colour for each candidate and the voter will drop his ballot paper into the box of his choice.

It will mark an historic event in the life of the Basuto for people of all races, provided they are British subjects, will be electing their own representatives in their own country. Only qualifications are that they must have been resident in Basutoland for at least six months, maintained a home in the country and paid tax—which all adult fit men do.

They will be electing the members of nine District Councils which will function as local authorities with genuine if limited autonomous powers.

Greatest interest in the elections centres round the fact that, through the District Councils, voters will determine the composition of the Basutoland National Council, the indigenous legislature planned in the Cowen Report and outlined in a White Paper published last year.

*Thus, in the heart of South Africa, the people of Basutoland are setting about their own affairs, organising their own political parties and preparing to shape their own political future. This is in marked contrast to the South African Government's plans for Bantustans with that government's air of benevolent paternalism disguising an inflexible ideology and authoritarian control.*

The Basutoland National Council, however, will not carry with it complete and independent control, for while it will have legislative powers, it will not control the executive council. Moreover, only half the National Council will be elected, for deliberate and careful recognition has been given

to traditional Basuto institutions, such as the position and authority of the Chiefs.

What are the new political parties, particularly the Basutoland National Congress and the Basutoland National Party ("Congress" and "National" parties respectively) fighting for?

When the nine District Councils have been elected, they will, in turn, elect three or more members to form the National Council of 40 members to which will be added a further 40 ex-officio members of whom there will be 22 chiefs representing their "wards", 14 representing the Paramount Chief and four Government officials.

Already the political parties are at work in their 162 constituencies, with a view to capturing the votes for their candidates for the District Councils in order to control the National Council. Mr. Ntsu Mokhehle heads the Congress party in Basutoland, most militant and best-organised of the parties. The National party is banking on the fact that there is a certain wildness in some of the Congress's statements and electioneering propaganda which may turn some voters against Congress.

Much of the Congress and National parties' political programmes are similar. Both stand for self-determination, internal democracy and economic advance. The National party has only recently begun to organise and form district committees, but in some respects great differences exist between them. Congress policy is similar to that of militant African organisations in many parts of Southern Africa: sharply political, anti-imperialist, basically sceptical and on guard against communism. Compared with Congress, the National Party is a much slower-moving and more indigenous body, with a more traditional attitude towards the status of the chiefs. Leader of the National party is Chief Leabua Jonathan. The party's stand is roughly Christian-democratic. The party's executive council consists of both Catholics and protestants.

Congress has seized on this fact and claims that the National Party is Catholic-inspired, as the Catholic church is the strongest in numbers and influence in Basutoland.

Congress leaders have accused the Catholic church of an attempt to control Basutoland through white priests and their "African stooges" and this has caused considerable resentment in political circles. In spite of this, the two Catholic bishops in the country have acted with scrupulous correctness in relation to the coming elections and have not allowed the church to take sides with either party.

Campaigning has not been restricted to the Congress and

National parties. Two minor parties are in the field, the Progressive Party and the Marema-Tlou, but Congress is making the running and has challenged some of the franchise provisions in the draft electoral law. There has never been an election in Basutoland and no-one can predict what will happen.

Will Congress with its Pan-African liberatory affiliations capture the Basuto imagination, or will the National Party finally get organised and put across its not unimpressive programme of self-determination and human rights?

The importance of the coming elections is that the Basuto people will soon be able to declare their minds quite freely.

## GOVERNMENT CLOSES TRAINING COLLEGE FOR SOCIAL WORKERS

From Contact Correspondent

BLOEMFONTEIN: Africans are to be deprived of yet another institution that, over the years, has given service to them and to the nation. Speaking at the recent three-day conference of non-white social workers held here, Mr. A. E. Noble, Bloemfontein's Native Commissioner, told delegates that Government had decided to close down the Jan Hofmeyr School in Johannesburg, the only training college for African social workers. It would be closed before the end of 1959.

In addition social work among Africans would be transferred from the Department of Social Welfare, which has taken care of it from the beginning, to the BAD Department (Bantu Administration and Development).

This change is presumably in line with the Verwoerdian master-plan to remove all possible points of contact between white and non-white.

The many delegates, social workers from all over the Union, went home with a sense of acute loss. They also went home feeling frustrated, for the chairman, Mr. B. M. Masikela, had intervened to prevent what he called "political discussion". By this he meant any speech which criticised the government.

One speaker tried to discuss the problems of young recruits on the farms, and the shocking conditions in youth camps established since the closing of the Diepkloof Reformatory (created and made famous by Alan Paton, for years its head before he wrote *Cry the Beloved Country*). Mr. Masikela ruled that he was out of order and should not discuss politics.

Despite this ruling the conference disappointed those in the government who had hoped for docile, contented discussions.

One delegate said that Chiefs should be "scrapped." The Africans accepted many things only because they had no alternative. They did not, for instance, see why there should be education branded as "suitable for the Bantu."

The conference condemned the

## ANC MEMBERS DANCE



A.N.C. members doing Zulu dancing at a meeting held at Freedom Square, Sophiatown, recently. At this meeting Mrs. Bertha Mashaba, secretary General of the Women's Section of the A.N.C. presented certificates of merit to 2,000 women who took part in the anti-pass demonstration last year.

## LEAVING S.A.



After 17 years in Port Elizabeth, Canon J. P. Gutch, well-known as Port Elizabeth's fighting priest, is leaving for England for good.

Canon Gutch interested himself in all the activities and welfare of the non-whites in Port Elizabeth. He was an active member of most of the charitable organisations

## PHOTOGRAPHS WANTED

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

For those used 25/- each will be paid

**CONTACT**

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## SURVEY OF PRESENT SITUATION

# Overseas ban on South African Trade Spreads

AS A RESULT of the discriminatory policies of the present Nationalist Government, South Africa faces the prospect of losing a large part of its £10-million African market as well as valuable and lucrative markets overseas. This is the price the industrialists and manufacturers will have to pay for the country's apartheid policy.

Already a number of overseas countries have followed the lead set by Jamaica to impose a ban on all imports from the Union of South Africa. At the moment there is every indication that the boycott war will grow even further and so focus increased attention on our internal struggle to liberate ourselves.

Most serious threat to the economy of the country may well come from the Union's most important customer, Britain, where the Labour Party is considering economic sanctions aimed at countering apartheid in any shape or form in South Africa.

The campaign to boycott South African goods had its origin at the historic All African Peoples' Conference held at Accra last December. Subsequent to this, the Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference, held at Cairo, called on all its members to support the boycott.

## Memo to Minister

At that stage Government spokesmen and leading South African exporters scoffed at the whole idea of a boycott and treated the decisions of both these conferences with the utmost disdain. Now, however, the picture has changed and the selfsame people are greatly alarmed. Backed by the powerful resources of all the leading dailies they are calling and even pleading for the immediate cessation of the boycott campaign.

The first country to implement the decisions taken at the Accra and Cairo Conferences was Jamaica. Jamaica's trade with the Union is small. In terms of cash it is a bagatelle, but the Jamaican boycott is proving a serious blow to two South African industries, notably the manufacturers of glass products and fresh produce.

Mr. Louw's anxiety and resentment was an indication that the Union Government appreciated and fully understood the seriousness of the Jamaican measure. That was the only value of Mr. Louw's clumsy démarche.

Already the decision of Jamaica has had repercussions. The result is that the overseas boycott campaign has grown by leaps and bounds in a matter of weeks. Ghana's powerful Trade Union Congress (T.U.C.) has passed a resolution to boycott South African goods and not to unload cargoes from the Union. The resolution took note of the "ill-treatment of Africans by the South African Government" and announced the conference's stand to "refuse to do anything with the White minority of South Africa, and, in solidarity with the comrades of the Maritime Union, to refuse to unload any South African goods meant for discharge at the ports of Ghana". The boycott will probably be enforced in October through the Stevedores' Union, whose members will refuse

By  
Henry Simmons

to work ships carrying South African goods. It is anticipated that Guinea, under President Sékou Touré, may decide to support the boycott campaign.

On 7th July, Mr. M. E. Cox, Minister of Trade, Industries and Labour in Barbados announced that he was going to advise his Government to join the boycott campaign. The following day, Mr. Herbert Blaize, Minister of Trade and Production in the West Indies island of Grenada, said that he would recommend to his home Government to take a similar course of action.

Two days later, it was reported that another West Indies Government was to join Jamaica, Barbados and Grenada in a boycott of South African goods. This time Mr. Frank Baron, Minister of Trade and Production in Dominica, said that he would persuade his government to place sanctions on South African imports.

The Uganda Freedom Convention has issued a statement urging the people of Uganda not to buy goods from South Africa "until such time as Africans and Coloureds in South Africa received the same treatment as others".

Reports from Trinidad indicate that trade unions there and in Georgetown (British Guiana) are urgently pressing for boycotts against South Africa.

The President of the Tanganyika African Union, Mr. Julius Nyerere, has already promised to urge his people to support the campaign. So has Mr. Tom Myboya in Kenya.

## I.C.F.T.U. decision

Meanwhile, the anti-Communist International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (I.C.F.T.U.) has also called for a boycott of South African goods. The I.C.F.T.U. took this decision after two of its officials had paid a visit to this country. They had noted the appalling conditions obtaining in this country.

In Britain the boycott campaign is sponsored by the Committee of African Organisations in London. The individual sponsors include Father Huddleston, Canon Collins and the Rev. Michael Scott. Among the organisations which have since joined the campaign is the Brighton and District Co-operative Movement which has appealed to its 12,000 members not to buy anything that comes from South Africa.

In Nigeria the feeling against South Africa is running even higher than in Ghana. This was reported by the sales manager of a very large Union business who recently spent some time in Nigeria. Once Nigeria gains her independence in 1960 it is almost certain that South African goods will be boycotted.

According to a leading South

African exporter, Mauritius too is very antagonistic to the Union.

In Sierra Leone there is active opposition to South Africa's policy of race discrimination. This hostility, it is reported, may also ultimately culminate in a boycott of South African goods.

In short, South Africa (as Government spokesmen would phrase it) is surrounded by a hostile and unfriendly world which does not understand the Volkswil. As one exporter put it: "The changing tempo of economic life, particularly in Africa south of the Sahara, and the rising tide of African nationalism, are making it increasingly difficult for established South African exporters to maintain their footholds let alone open up new territories" (*The Star*, Johannesburg, 8th July).

## Scuffed at idea

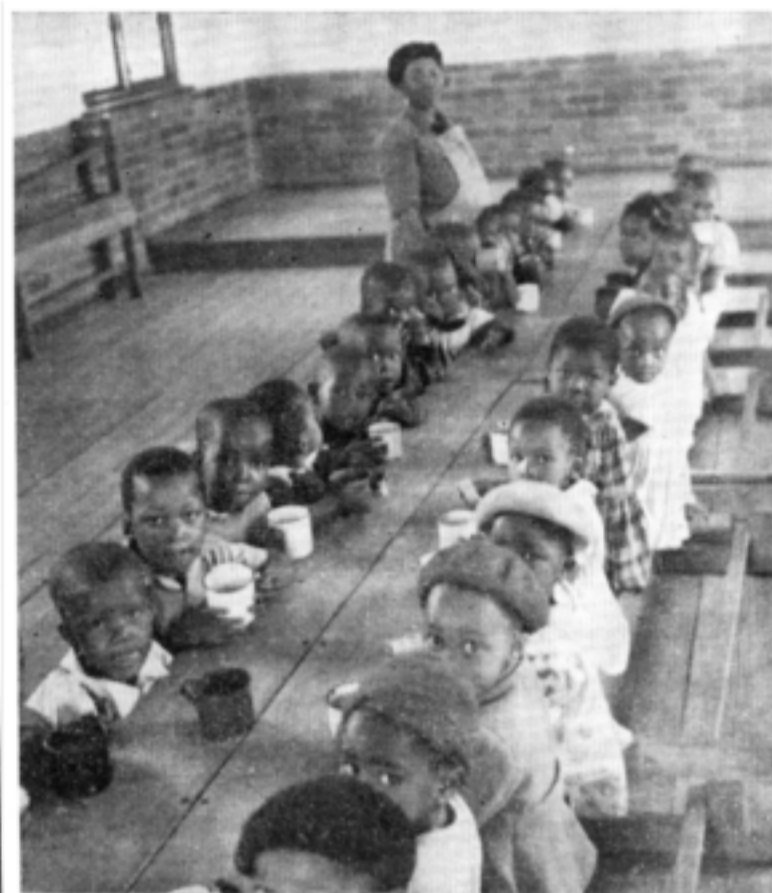
The Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut has made similar observations. In a memorandum to the Minister of Economic Affairs, Dr. Diederichs, the Handelsinstituut stated that "the disclosure that goods are made in South Africa is, in many instances, found to be a disadvantage on overseas markets, especially in certain parts of Africa." (*The Star*, Johannesburg, 10th July).

This anti-South African animus on the part of the Indian and African people of the world is to be expected, for the Nationalists pursue a policy which challenges the conscience of humanity. As long as this policy is pursued so long will South Africa to an ever-increasing extent be ostracised.

An astonishing new feature is that much support for a total overseas boycott of South African trade is being expressed in the highest business circles within the Union. It is a measure of the opposition which Dr. Verwoerd's personality and policies have aroused. These people see such a boycott as the best chance of peacefully getting rid of Dr. Verwoerd.

That it may also get rid of apartheid and start the country on the road towards non-racial democracy as well, is a possibility which such circles are beginning to view with increasing unconcern. What is obvious is that present policies are leading the country to ruin.

## A WELCOME MEAL



Building healthier and happier youngsters is the aim of the National Council of African Women. This picture shows children at one of the creches run by that organisation in Pretoria. These creches are proving of considerable value.

## RHODESIAN HELPED THE ESKIMOS

OTTAWA: Distinctions, first class passes, and scholarships gained by a Catholic African student, Charles B. Moyo, of Southern Rhodesia, who received much of his education in South Africa, led to his qualifying last month as a doctor of medicine without any failures in the whole six-year medical course.

Dr. Moyo, who was born in Chilimanzhi, S.R., of the Barotse tribe, received his first schooling at Driefontein Mission, Gwelo district.

On completing Std. VI at Chishawasha Seminary, he went to Queen Victoria Memorial Hospital, Bulawayo, where he qualified with honours as a medical orderly. During this period he studied privately for J.C., later passing this examination, first class with distinction in Latin, after one year at Kutama Mission secondary school.

His next step was to Mariannhill, Natal, where he became chief monitor of the institution and gained first class in matriculation.

A scholarship from the Oblates of Mary Immaculate enabled him to go to Pius XII University, Roma, where he obtained his B.A. degree. A further scholarship took

him to Marquette University, Wisconsin, U.S.A., where he studied B.Sc., pre-medical sciences.

Finally, in June this year, he qualified in medicine at Ottawa, Canada, without having to take



DR. CHARLES MOYO

any supplementary examination in the whole six-year course.

While studying medicine, he took various jobs to help pay his way. One summer he worked for the Canadian Federal Government Department of Lands and Forests, another year as a pharmacist at the Department of Health and National Welfare for Indians and Eskimos at Hudson Bay.

## CORRESPONDENTS WANTED

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SOMETHING SAFE AND SOLID HAS GONE

# TSHEKEDI LEAVES A BIG GAP IN BECHUANALAND

From *Contact* Correspondent

THE day after the funeral of Tshekedi Khama, I came across a weather-beaten old white man who has lived and traded in Bechuanaland for 40 years. At the back of his store alongside the dusty, rutted track that passes for the main road of the territory, he sat with his head in his hands, his eyes moist. "What are we going to do now that Tshekedi's gone?" he asked me, a stranger. "What's the whole country going to do?"

It was more than just a momentary, emotional appeal. For the passing of Tshekedi Khama, the man Smuts long ago called "the first great African", has once again spotlighted the little-known territory which erupted into the headlines a few

cate that the story is far from finished and that the second half is likely to prove even more important than the first.

There is a great vacuum left by Tshekedi's death, a vacuum which extends far beyond the borders of the Bamangwato reserve into every corner of Bechuanaland and touches every thinking white person and African. For, to all races, Tshekedi represented something safe and solid, a sort of cornerstone of stability no other single white person in any of the territories at the southern end of the continent has achieved in recent years. And he did it by sheer force of personality.

There are two important things happening in Bechuanaland today: one on the surface, the other concealed below it. At an official level, talks have started which are designed to elevate the present inter-racial Advisory Council to the status of a Legislative Council.

And in Serowe, tribal capital of the Bamangwato, a move is afoot to restore Seretse to the chieftainship and at the same time launch an African political party to federate all the tribes of the territory.

The latter development is a direct result of Tshekedi's death. An important faction within the tribe feels that the Tribal Authority (of which Tshekedi was secretary) which

was set up when Seretse was deposed, has not been a success. They point to the crumbling walls of many of the villagers' huts in Serowe itself, and to the broken fences throughout the sprawling capital, once the prettiest of African towns. And as the rubbish swirls down the dirty streets, the elders recall the rigid discipline exercised by former chiefs, and by Tshekedi when he was Regent.

There was open envy among the Bamangwato during the funeral week in Serowe, when neighbouring tribes sent their chiefs as mourners. Indeed, it was round the funeral fires which burned nightly at the *kgotla* that the first talk of the reinstatement of Seretse began among the tribe that lost its head.

Now that Ruth is accepted by the whole tribe as "the Chief's wife" it is unlikely that she may prove to be a stumbling block in any reinstatement campaign.

The political party is only at the stage of a draft constitution. Its sponsors are mainly the better-educated intellectuals of the tribe who see in the establishment of a Legislative Council, when it comes, the beginnings of a black-white issue hitherto completely unknown in Bechuanaland. They also feel that the first move towards Black unity is a union of tribes under the paramountcy of Seretse.

## WHY MANY JEWS ARE RADICAL

Mr. S. Almog, S.A. Jewish students' cultural adviser, said that he did not think that any people had given modern Europe as many radical leaders as the Jews. The Jews in emancipated Europe felt a very concrete need for radicalism, because the Jew had a common bond with the oppressed groups in Europe. "This is not something of which we should be ashamed," Mr. Almog said that one of the reasons why Jews were so much inclined to be radicals, to liberate society and to free the oppressed of their chains, was their "inherent humane attitude." (Evening Post, 18 July.)

years ago when Ruth Williams, the London typist, married Tshekedi's nephew, Seretse.

What that union did is history, but the events now shaping in Bechuanaland indi-

## THIS IS THEIR HOME



This Kliptown, Johannesburg corrugated shack is "home" so far as Mrs. M. Nkosi and her six children are concerned and to keep the home going, Mrs. Nkosi does washing for which she earns £3.10.0. a month with which to maintain herself and her family. (This little family includes two sets of twins.)

## SADISTIC THRASHINGS TERRIFY CHILDREN

From *Contact* Correspondent

BLOEMFONTEIN: From time to time children in Bloemfontein find themselves before the magistrates charged with minor pilfering from market stalls, begging in the streets, annoying white motorists or perhaps committing a nuisance at the municipal market by importuning white women to allow them to carry their baskets.

The crime may often be as trifling as romping on the pavements near the market, thus causing 'obstruction' to well-fed farmers and well-loaded housewives in a hurry to get home with their abundant purchases.

It is customary for magistrates to sentence such unhappy delinquents to cuts with a light cane. So far as can be gathered the number of cuts ranges between 3 and 12.

Recently a child, grey with fright and hunger, broke a window but could not prove that he did so by mistake. He received a sentence of 4 cuts. Miscreants who purloin a bicycle pump or a tin of jam may get as many as 12 cuts.

It has not been beyond the imagination of the South African Prisons Service to devise a method of carrying out the corporal punishment ordered by the Courts on these poor children caught up in the social squeeze of Bloemfontein. A batch of probably about a dozen youngsters shivering with fright in summer and both cold and fright in winter, are assembled in a room. Most warders are tall, strong and athletic in appearance and to the whimpering group of children on the point of being inhumanly caned, such executioners must look indeed frightening. No wonder the children whimper long before the first swirl of the cane is heard aloft.

The first child receives the first lash and he screams—but he is not to receive the balance of his due just yet—that is reserved and he is passed on to the back end of the queue. Another child is brought forward by strong arms and receives his first searing cut. He too, is passed on to the end of the queue. The "Devil's Parade" goes on—each child sees each other one receive cuts with a stout cane inflicted on the bare skin of each of the other crying boys,

most of them not yet in their teens. Those with the fewest cuts awarded by the magistrates are done first and they stand in a corner, still witnessing the torments of those who have not yet paid the full price for lapsing through hunger or some other tragic cause.

Ultimately the last cut has been inflicted on the child with the longest sentence and all are ejected from the jail, still weeping and chattering with fear. Let it not be thought that the cane comes down with a mild school-masterly swish. No: the wardens do not do things that way when dealing with their 'landsgenote' who happen to be darker. The jail official is invariably a powerful man and he bends to his task with manifest determination if not sadistic glee. When he lashes he lashes. Civilian observers who have witnessed this cruel performance are often too sickened to speak of what they have seen. They are haunted in their sleep and prefer not to confess that they have allowed themselves to be witnesses to such bestiality.

## AFRICAN AID ASSOCIATION Pty. Ltd.

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## AFRICAN OPENS SERVICE STATION



History was made last week when Mr. Monty van der Vyver, the Deputy Mayor of Port Elizabeth, opened the first African-owned service station in the Cape Province, at New Brighton, Port Elizabeth. The station (pictured here) belongs to Mr. Gordon Belu, who recently resigned as a Sub-Inspector from the Cape Bantu Education service. The station is completely African-owned and was completely financed by Mr. Gordon Belu.

## ENTERPRISE

# CONTACT

## THE IMPORTANCE OF THE COMING BASUTO ELECTIONS

**I**N November the Basuto will go to the polls, as described in our main article in this issue. The occasion is one of the highest importance for Southern Africa.

While Dr. Verwoerd goes forward steadily killing the political rights of Africans, and while anti-Nationalists debate their various plans for getting rid of Dr. Verwoerd, the Basuto have quietly gone ahead with their own plans for their own future, with the goodwill and support of the British.

For the importance of the new Basuto constitution is not merely that all men, and many women, will have the vote. It is not merely that for the first time in Southern Africa there will be an African-controlled legislature. Its importance lies in this fact—that the constitution is one which the Basuto themselves, aided by their able legal adviser Professor Denis V. Cowen, of Cape Town University, have drawn up.

All honour to the Basutoland National Council for their dogged insistence, over many years, that nothing less than a law-making body will satisfy the Basuto people. All honour to the Paramount Chief, for her patriotic, relentless defence over nearly twenty years, of what she believed to be in the interests of her people. All honour to the Basutoland African Congress and its monthly *Mohlalani*. For years they have fought discrimination with uncompromising enthusiasm. Yet, now that concessions have been made by the British, these concessions have been met by the Congress with a generous and concessionary spirit.

If the Basuto show the same wisdom and energy in working their new constitution as they have shown in fighting for it, they will make it a shining success. But political advance is not all: it must go hand in hand with economic advance if there is not to be trouble. Fortunately the British know this, and Sir John Maud has arranged, as reported on another page, for the World Bank to come out and look at Basutoland and the other two High Commission Territories with a view to developing them economically.

The signs are thus fair for real social, economic, and political progress in these three countries, geographically linked with the Union.

The Basuto, and after them the Bechuana and the Swazi, will voyage out into new seas, with the support and co-operation of the Commonwealth and possibly of the World Bank—two of the greatest international bodies. As they go they will carry with them the interest and the good wishes of all democratic South Africans, whose future is inextricably connected with their own.

## THE SEGAL BAN IS A BAN ON "AFRICA SOUTH"

**C**ONTACT joins its protest to all the others on the banning of Ronald Segal, editor of *Africa South*.

Mr. Segal has done a most impressive job with his magazine. Recently the London *Observer* ran a review of what it called "the little magazines"—i.e. Commonwealth magazines like *Encounter*.

This review leads off with *Africa South*. It says:

"Of the various reviews reaching this country from overseas, *Africa South*, a privately-owned quarterly published in Cape Town, has unique urgency and point.

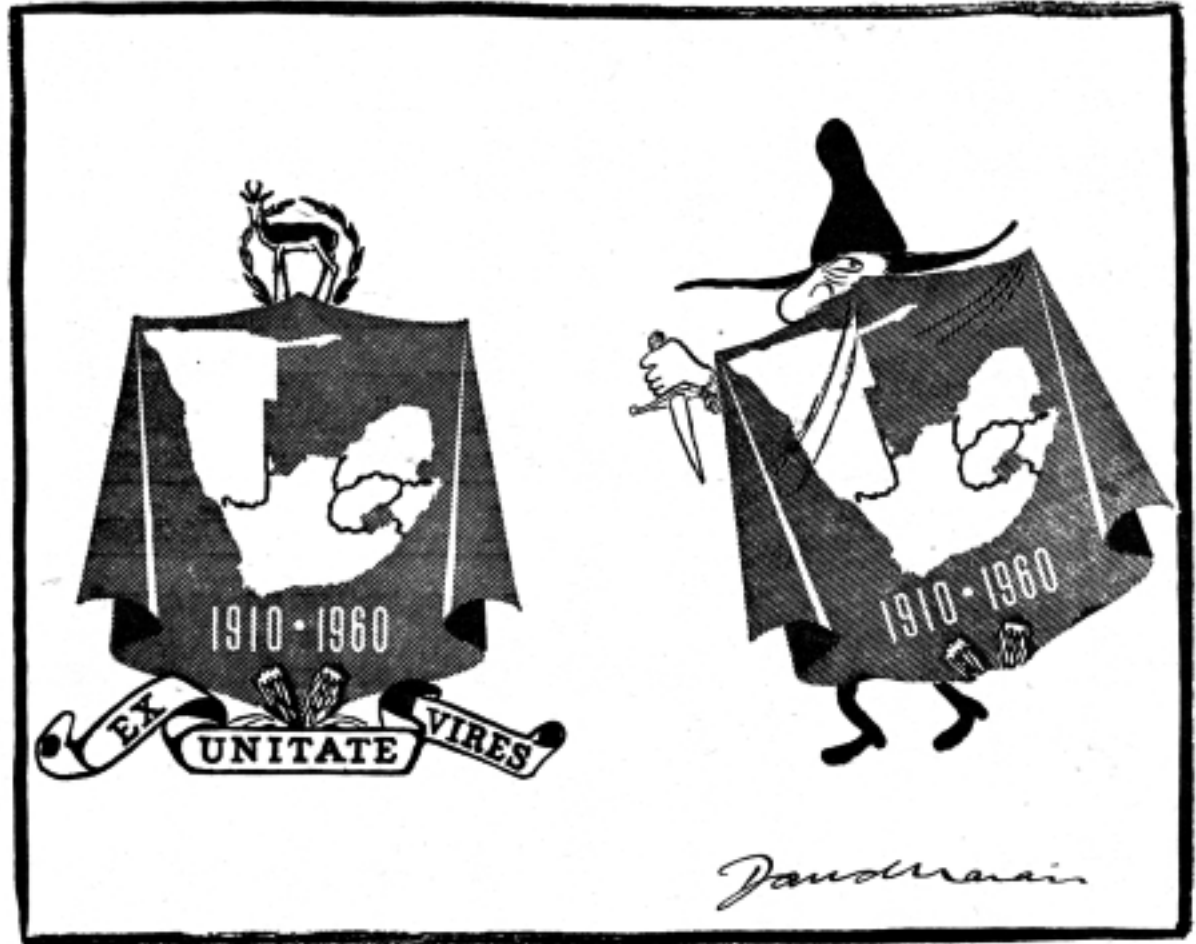
"This courageous publication, whose aim is not only to reassess the native cultures of Southern Africa but to expose racial discrimination in all its forms everywhere, has, over the last three years or so, conducted a dignified, literate, and coherently organised running battle against the policies of the Nationalist Party.

"Read in South Africa, in the grim context of daily affairs, it is anything but academic.

"At this distance, when one might expect it to appeal largely to those professionally concerned, it has still never seemed parochial."

There is reason to believe that it is the success of *Africa South*, rather than Mr. Segal's more directly political activities, that has triggered off his ban.

It is significant that the influence of *Africa South* certainly extends far further, and goes far deeper, than that of the whole South African Information Service, which is now costing the beggared taxpayer £510,000 annually.



"IT FITS ME PERFECTLY!"

## "CONTACT SELLS LIKE HOT CAKES"

**C**ONTACT sells like hot cakes on street corners, in shops, in private houses, among one's friends and workmates. *Contact* sells like hot cakes when it has the chance. It is up to everyone, who believes in what *Contact* is doing, to see that it has the chance. This is a brief account of experiments in selling it during the past nine months.

The first thing is to encourage some of one's more timid friends to take three each (cash on delivery is a spur to sales, and avoids bookkeeping) and the more intrepid ones six each. It is always a good thing to get other folk to do the work, but one must also be prepared to do a good whack too. In this way you build up a team of regular distributors, most of whom will sell to their friends (so long as they still have any) and to workmates or colleagues (who can't escape).

Now, as to the actual technique of selling. The first real experiment along these lines was done in collaboration with the Editor of *Contact* who arranged to print an article on the deplorable housing conditions in Noordgesig to co-incide with a public meeting to be held there at which two Liberal Party speakers were to address the crowd. Before, during and in the week following the meeting, several willing workers sold 200 copies without the least difficulty, and had there been more workers and more copies available, there is no doubt that three or four times that number

One of our readers replied recently to our advertisement for additional agents to sell *Contact*. First he took 12 copies and, in his own words, "sold them like hot cakes." He is now selling 228 copies and in this article tells how he does it, to encourage others to do the same—and earn good money too!

could have been sold in that township alone. That, however, is a special case. Now for the more general round.

House to house sales in areas that are suited to such a method, namely areas where the houses are reasonably close together so that little time is wasted hiking, are in the long run best, provided that the best time of the week is chosen. Saturday morning is by far the best for this, as people's hearts are usually full of camaraderie and their wallets reasonably full of money at this time, while the immediate future is full of leisure. The big advantage of house-to-house selling is that (a) you build up regular buyers, so that next time you can go straight to your target, (b) you can get your regular clientele to the point where they may take a step further and take out a subscription (you have your subscription book handy), (c) they may get interested in joining a good organisation or even become a co-worker in selling *Contact*.

In a fairly close-knit housing area, and breaking new ground, you should be able to reckon on selling up to 18 an hour. Two people, two hours per fortnight—six dozen copies per issue. Then try the shops at a slack time, with the shop assistants all leaning on their counters. Immediate success among all races, and sales at the rate of about 40 per hour.

Fordsburg again, in the street and in the shops on a Saturday morning—over 40 per hour, even with back numbers. Centre of Johannesburg again on a Saturday morning, the best so far, 60 per hour.

With regard to one's approach in selling: the first of your allies is the cover picture, which is usually so arresting that people want to buy it before you ask them. Sometimes in the street, people are waiting at your elbow proffering their money while you are concluding your previous sale. Therefore, it is vital to hold your papers in such a way that people can get a full view of the picture. The other day as I walked into a café with my supply (in actual fact to refresh myself, not to sell) a man who was coming out glanced at the picture, thus giving me my cue. I asked him if he would like one. "You hold them, so ostentatiously, I couldn't help it," he said, and bought one.

A supply of sixpences, and what more can you need?

Incidentally, most of these experiments took place while the paper cost ninepence. Now, with the price down to sixpence and the possibility of making threepence profit on each copy by ordering straight from Cape Town, the possibilities ahead are enormous. There must be dozens of young lads who would be willing to sell it in large numbers at such commission.

If *Contact* readers believe in what *Contact* stands for, then they will realize how vital it is in this land where racial prejudice and ignorance hold sway, that the news and views which *Contact* provides should be seen by as wide a public as possible. Here is a sphere of services to our country which anyone can undertake to some degree. How about it?



Peter Brown, Chairman of the Liberal Party.

# NOT TO BOYCOTT IS TO SURRENDER

LIKE a rash, boycotts are breaking out all over the place, in South Africa and beyond. Within the Union the "potato boycott" has aimed to draw attention to farm labour conditions. The general African National Congress boycott has been aimed at "Nationalist" goods. Outside, the Government of Jamaica has decided to prohibit the importation of South African goods, and other West Indian states are threatening to do the same. East and West African Trade Unions are thinking along similar lines. The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, largest co-ordinating Trade Union body this side of the Iron Curtain, is interested.

More starkly than any previous campaign against it, this new development has brought home to the Government of South Africa, and white South Africa in general, just how nakedly isolated it is in the world.

*The threat is not only in the economic field. In sporting and cultural circles it also gathers momentum. Will South Africa compete in next year's Olympic Games? Will the All Black tour come off? If it does, will there ever be another?*

The Nationalist reaction to the threat of economic boycott from overseas has been confused. First Eric Louw suggested that the British Government could prevent the Jamaican boycott if it really wanted to. It was a serious insinuation and showed just how seriously he regarded the matter. Since then a new tactic has been adopted, Dr. Diederichs assuring everybody that there is no need for panic, the whole thing will probably fizzle out anyway. And, as I write, Eric Louw is arguing that boycott is a two-edged weapon, liable to do as much harm to those who use it as to those against whom it is used. This last is an argument which will trouble many people sympathetic to the struggle of the Non-White people, and I want to deal with it.

For some time now the Liberal Party has recognised boycott as a legitimate political weapon in the South African context. It is a dangerous weapon, not one which any Liberal would use by choice, but what

are the available alternatives? The fact of the matter is that fifty years of busy entrenchment of the position of white privilege has left non-white South Africa very little choice. The Indian franchise has been eliminated, first municipally in Natal, later nationally. The African franchise has been eliminated, first from the Cape common roll, now altogether. The Coloured franchise has been emasculated and limited to four members who have no remote hope of influencing the decisions of the Government.

The non-white people of South Africa have no normal, constitutional channel left to them through which they can hope to influence the way in which they are governed. What must they do? Must they do nothing? If they did nothing they would be less than men, silent supporters of the status quo, laying up a future, for their children, as miserable and frustrating as the present.

What, then, are the non-white people of South Africa to do? As I see it they have only three means of bringing pressure to bear on those who hold power — they can withhold their labour through strikes, they can withhold their buying-power through boycotts, or they can give up all hope of peaceful change and embrace violence. But strikes are illegal and those who take part in them can be arrested and imprisoned, or risk losing their jobs. Are non-white people to be persuaded that violence is the only effective redress for their grievances? The balance must be a fine one where, as in Durban, all the reasoned cost-of-living arguments of research and social workers and political leaders could not produce in years the pay increases which a week's upheaval did. Are Africans to conclude that this is the only way out?

*South Africa is indeed lucky that all its main non-white political leaders are publicly committed to non-violence. This being the case, what weapon remains to them but boycott?*

Beyond the Union there have been consistent appeals from every corner, at UNO and outside it, to the South African Government to modify its policies and give some sign that it is prepared to turn them in the direction in which the world is moving. Not one of these appeals has provoked any concession of any importance from South Africa. Is the world to stand by and watch while its appeals go unheeded and most of South Africa's people are denied any effective means of improving their position? Evidently part of the world has decided not, and it has decided that boycott may bring South Africa to its senses.

It has been argued that the first people to suffer under an

overseas boycott will be the African people themselves. No doubt that is true. But it is significant that no African to whom I have spoken, realising this fact, does anything but welcome this new development. Asked "But you know that it is you people who will suffer first?" the invariable answer is "Yes, but we have already suffered all our lives for white supremacy and ten years for apartheid. It is time the burden of suffering was spread a bit, so that more people can come to realise what apartheid means. In any case, will things ever be any better for our children unless we make some sacrifice for them?"

The cold truth of the matter is that unless new pressures are developed within our South African situation, and unless we are prepared to accept these

new pressures as an inevitable and necessary thing, we might as well resign ourselves to the status quo. Without them every single advantage lies in the palm of the hand of Dr. Verwoerd.

There is one last vitally important point I would like to make. Who are the Nationalists that they can point a finger at anyone on the score of boycott? In the past they have been the one section of the community, above all others, which has fostered its own and tried to divert Afrikaner money to Afrikaner businesses and blatantly used its own special group appeal to build itself up. Who have been the initiators of anti-Indian boycotts? Who, during the thirties, spread anxiety and insecurity among the Jews by the threat of boycott?

In its eleven years of office, this Nationalist Government has gone much further than that, perfecting the ban, blood-brother to the boycott. It has used its overwhelming political power to discriminate politically, socially and economically against those who had no effective answer to its attacks upon them. It will rob people of their homes and businesses with its Group Areas Act, and of their jobs with its Industrial Conciliation Act. Now the boot is being put on to the other foot, and the Nationalists are finding that it pinches.

In responsible hands boycott is a legitimate means of bringing pressure to bear on a government which has shown itself quite impervious to argument or appeal. It has been made legitimate, not by the arguments to those who advocate it, but by the actions of those whose main concern is to ensure continued white supremacy in South Africa. Certainly it is dangerous, certainly it may involve innocent suffering, but the alternative is to make no serious challenge to things as they are.

## FAIR COMMENT

by Patrick Duncan

MR. WALTER STANFORD, M.P., (Lib. Nat. Rep. Transkei) has written to the *Times* in London urging overseas countries not to boycott South Africa. He says that such a boycott will cause suffering among the non-whites, and that it will harm businesses in South Africa that are hostile to the Nationalists. Our readers will know that I don't agree with Mr. Stanford, which is a pity, as I have admired many of his speeches in Parliament, and the tough fight he has put up against Big Broeder in his Transkei take-over. The point Mr. Stanford seems to have missed is that the non-whites are already suffering, and that things are getting worse. If the overseas boycott becomes total, does he think apartheid could survive? And there is every hope that it will become total.

*THE Compass* (Toc H. monthly) for June features prominently a two-page article by Alan Paton. Coming from one who for years occupied the highest position in the organisation, the article speaks with special authority. It is called "Depart Hate! Unity in diversity—the Goal of Toc H." The article is introduced by the editor in these words, among others: "the author . . . goes to the very heart of Toc H and its purpose and challenges us to work out this purpose in our multi-racial society . . ."

*NEW AGE* has been a little unkind to *Contact*. They do not seem to have liked my open letter to Chief Lutuli of a few months back. They found it offensive, and said that it "impertinently 'warned' (Chief Lutuli) that he was allowed himself to be too friendly with 'communists'". I wonder if it isn't *New Age* which is out of step, not *Contact*? Most periodicals which oppose apartheid are outspoken in their loathing of communism. The other day, when Mr. Ronald Segal was banned for five years, he described his paper, *Africa South*, as being "virulently anti-Communist." And there are others, too many to quote here.

*THE* visit of Mr. Jassat, one of the South African organisers of the West Indian tour, to the West Indies, has been taken on all sides as a sign that the tour is off. *Contact's* readers will remember that in our issue of 2nd May appeared an authoritative article called "There ain't gonna be no tour". This was when nearly every other paper wrote that the tour was definitely on. Where do we go from here? To clean up the 1960 Maori threat.

*THE* Devlin Commission, with all the majesty of British justice, has found that there was no substance in the "massacre plot" which the governments of the Federation used to justify all their harshness in March this year. I will not comment further than to quote from the pro-Welensky Central African Examiner of 28th March:

"The revelations . . . of the extent of the massacre plot in Nyasaland, however shocking . . . have to be accepted, for to do otherwise is to make both liars and knaves of the Governor of Nyasaland, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the Prime Ministers of the Federation and of Southern Rhodesia, and the police forces of all three territories."

*JAWAHARLAL NEHRU*, the very embodiment of Afro-Asia, has acted against the communists in Kerala, and has established "President's Rule" pending new elections there. Thus has ended the only communist government ever to have been set up as a result of free democratic elections. The prospects are that the reds will not come back.

The people of Kerala have learned the truth about communism the hard way; and India as a whole has been shocked by communist imperialism in Tibet. The people of Kerala used gandhian methods against communism. The peoples of Eastern Europe may learn from them, and may yet free themselves.

*I* WELCOME the campaign, launched last last week in Cape Town by Archbishop De Blank, which calls for sweeping reforms of the South African constitution. I also welcome its decision to have no part in the "Union Feasts" which the Government is organising next year, and at which the various communities will be expected to give thanks for the blessings of Nationalist rule.

It is certain that when all those who disapprove of the Nationalists come together to oppose Nationalist apartheid policy in an uncompromising manner; when those who uphold democracy unite to demand full democratic rights for all; the days of Dr. Verwoerd and apartheid are numbered. Dr. De Blank's conference has brought this day nearer.

## SELF-APPOINTED "GOODWILL AMBASSADOR"

# How Mr. Boydell's Australian tour was wrecked

MR. BOYDELL is going round South Africa making speeches about his Australian tour. One of the things he boasts of is that he was front-page news, and that the only thing that got him off the front pages was the death of John Foster Dulles. Mr. Louw has claimed that Mr. Boydell was stopped by the wicked machinations of Mr. W. A. P. Phillips lecturer at Adelaide University. What actually happened has been revealed by a correspondent living in Australia.

Mr. Boydell lectured in West Australia, South Australia and New South Wales. He appeared to operate under the aegis of the state education departments. He lectured to school children and university students. Criticism began to appear in the

press as people began to realise what case he was making.

His lecture at the Adelaide university was marked by a crudity of outlook—"would you want a black man messing around with your women?"—and inaccuracy.

He spoke flatteringly about Dr. Verwoerd's Bantustan plan. The basis of his approach seemed to be that white and black could never live peacefully side by side.

Following this lecture the students approached Mr. Phillips and asked him if he would help them word a motion of protest. He did so, and a protest meeting was arranged.

The motion (deploring Mr. Boydell's tour) was passed by an audience of some 300, with only seven against. Soon after this the New South Wales education department banned Mr. Boydell

**"If I were a Native I would fight for apartheid and fight to keep away from the whites."—Mr. Thomas Boydell, in Australia.**

from their schools. The meeting wished N.U.S.A.S. to be informed of what had happened.

Following this the Adult Education Department approached Mr. Phillips and asked him to tour the country giving the other point of view and correct any impressions that might have remained of Mr. Boydell's talks. He did this, giving talks all over the place.

It is noteworthy that almost all the press comment in Australia was hostile to Mr. Boydell and apartheid.

nominations of Mr. Molaoa and Mr. Nthite had been over-ruled by the chairman. Earlier, they had violently criticised the executive for "failing to give a political lead."

Mr. Molaoa has stated that both he and Mr. Nthite are members of a Youth League branch. "We are not aware of any splits in the League," he says, adding that the disagreements in the League are caused by "careerists".

## TRANSVAAL A.N.C.Y.L. BREAKS WITH EXECUTIVE

JOHANNESBURG: The Transvaal executive of the African National Congress Youth League has decided unanimously not to recognise the League's national executive which was elected at a conference in Durban less than a month ago. The decision was taken on the grounds that the new national president and secretary, Mr. Patrick Molaoa, and Mr. Peter Nthite, did not belong to a branch, and could therefore not be considered members of the organisation.

But underlying this objection is the fact that the Transvaal wants the Youth League—and the A.N.C.—to fight apartheid with greater vigour and militancy. They want open defiance of the Government, whatever the consequence.

At the Durban conference, a section of the Transvaal delegates, led by their provincial president, Mr. Stephen Segale, angrily walked out of the meeting after their objection to the

AFRICAN WRITING: (See also pages 10 and 11)

## THE RIGHT TONE

HENDERSON THE RAIN KING. By Saul Bellow (Weidenfeld & Nicolson)

SAY listen, you big slob, here goes for a best seller! Got me? Okay. That background music, see—like Bach, Handel, terribly sweet stuff, guess I can hear it too, though I'm deaf in one ear. You say it sounds like coins chinking—one dollar batting after another into a whole load of dough? What of it? Same thing, ain't it? Michelangelo, Beethoven, Plato, war, girls, dollars—same thing. You get the right tone and the rest follows.

So here it is, wise guys. Hero, a millionaire, no less and no jumped-up pusher but old genuine pure American blood, ancestors fought at Hastings, crusaded around Jerusalem (Pal.), discovered Europe. Aw hell, anyways they was the right outfit and none of your Ivy League, button-down, broken-hipped civilians.

Henderson, millionaire, powerful, all of six foot four (what's a foot one way or the other) but getting old, battered, sex-frustrated, still looks for his soul. It's an American soul. Ch—t, what's it look like? He don't know, nobody knows. First he palled up with a bear, got bearish; then pigs, got to be a pig. Took violin lessons, sweating over Mozart. Agony, agony! Oh, ho Henderson, a hellish noise but no soul. Loves kids, loves women

but can't make them love back. [Tense writing this, finely turned as a piano wire, painful and affecting. A masterpiece in the making, wait till you get a load of what's coming. Wait till Henderson gets his great blundering, broken pure-hearted hands on Africa.]

Why Africa? Well, geographically speaking it don't matter a damn. The object is not what you find but what you leave behind.

[But you haven't been there and you're writing a book about Africa?]

Aw listen — did Baron Munchausen have to go to China or Cape Town or wherever; and that guy Gulliver who wrote Swift's travels, when was he in Lilliput?

Okay, Henderson's in Africa, page 40 Chap. 5, and what about a Man Friday? Say you, Romilayu, can you shoot a line of old-time nigger patter?

Sho sah, me talk bettah den Unc' Tom.

Right, you'll do, jump up back of the jeep. You stick around Romilayu, be a faithful servant and you'll earn plenty, including the jeep. Henderson, that's me, don't come looking for ivory, black girls, land, money. He's looking for his soul. "A high-spirited kind of guy. And it's the destiny of my generation of Americans to go out in the world and try to find the wisdom of

life. It just is. Why the hell do you think I'm out here, anyway?"

"I don't know, sah.

"I wouldn't agree to the death of my soul."

Well, Henderson, he's inevitable, he's big, he's basic, he's rich, he never does the right thing but he comes out tops. Oh yes, he searches, he becomes, he is. By a pure fluke the wildest of untamed barbarian Africans talk American so Henderson talks philosophy with them. Tough Middle-West stuff, see? He finds out. He becomes Rain King. Pals up with a lion, becomes lionised, I mean, he gets the real stuff, the lion soul (Say, who's laughin'?) Then he's the King himself, inherits 62 wives—big, black, lush, naked beauties.

But Henderson, aw hell, he don't touch those broads. Guess he remembers his wife Lily and the kids. He gets out, 'course Romilayu faithfully helps him. But he brings away a lion cub with him (his soul?) and (the big ugly broken ton of vile flesh) he pals up with a sweet lil' innocent white orphan boy an' he does a load of slobbering over him. But it's good clean 1,000-dollar slobber, and so the cold, clear, pure, tingling medicinal North-Atlantic sun rises on a happy soul and a big-money success.

Okay, you cornballs. Got it?

JACK COPE

## FAIR PLAY PLEASE —



"KILLER" MADELA

## FOR NON-WHITE BOXERS

PARDON me for indulging in some mud-slinging. I did not really mean to stretch out my neck but the gross injustice that has been and is being meted out to non-white boxers has forced me to let off some steam.

Here in South Africa we are supposed to have an authority that looks after the interests of professional boxers and is responsible for the recommendation of boxers for Empire rating. If my memory serves me right (I may be wrong) the local boards have yet to recommend the name of a non-white for Empire listing. Now is there any particular reason for this omission? When will we get a change of attitude? From the past it would seem that they have accepted apartheid.

Among the non-whites is the finest bunch of fighters in the country, and while boxing critics (white) have come out with an open admission that the blacks here have plenty of championship material, the boards keep silent on the issue. You don't need proof of this for a quick glance at the Empire rankings would show that only the names of white South Africans appear regularly on records.

If there are fighters with better skill than the non-white boys, they are certainly not in South Africa and I am prepared to wager that when racialism in this sport goes, our boys will occupy the top rungs of the boxing ladder. We have men of the class who would make the grade in Empire rankings overnight if given the break. We certainly have men who are great examples of boxing skill.

Because of the part the boards play, white South Africans get in to the ranking easily enough and get early opportunities of putting in a challenge for the Empire titles. And of course it has become the practice for these men, once they have won the Empire titles, to return home and sort of put their titles into cold storage for, apart from contenders, nobody else gets a break to meet the champion.

Well, to begin with, champs don't keep their titles by being afraid. (Don't misunderstand me for I don't mean to say South African white champions are afraid to meet their black counterparts, but the people who manage them certainly are). It would seem that it is the unwritten prerogative of a South African

By  
Rajendra Chetty

Empire champion to defend his crown against a man of his own colour and none else.

We have several cases and superb examples of classy boxers whose slick effective aggression, coupled with their natural skill, would overpower many rated men and lead them to tag Empire titles. There's no paucity of boxing talent amongst us, and all we need is the big break. How about it?

We need a categorical assurance from the provincial boards of control that they exist to protect the interests of all boxers irrespective of the colour of their skin. The boards should fall in with the wishes of the sport's vast majority. It is high time some down-to-earth talking was done about it.

We will be very grateful the day the Boards change their attitude. This business of safeguarding the interests of white boxers only is not good for the game and the country.

Only the other day, well-known boxing columnist Norman Canale of Johannesburg, commenting on Empire flyweight champion Dennis Adams, stated that the boxing public was surprised that Adams was being allowed to make a farce of the Empire crown for of the nine fights he has had in the last 18 months, he has lost seven of them. "It would appear that Adams should be shorn of his Empire title", observed Mr. Canale. Mr. Canale went on to state that the man for him would be Fred Ngidi, the Transvaal flyweight champion who is regarded as a greater prospect than Jake Tuli, former Empire champion.

"The non-European front", went on Mr. Canale, "can boast of some outstanding fighters who could win Empire titles—IF they got the chance to campaign overseas." Need I say more!

Besides Fred Ngidi, we have men of outstanding ability in Sexton "Wonder-boy" Mabena, Joe Ngidi, Elias Tshabalala, Enoch Nhlapo and several others, including, of course, "Killer" Madela, Eric Ntsele, and flyweight champion John Mtinkulu.



SIX LEADERS ARE DEPORTED, BUT ...

# Arrests Fail to Break Uganda Trade Boycott

From Contact Correspondent

KAMPALA: Despite the Uganda government's ban on the Uganda National Movement and on the political parties that have succeeded it and the arrest of six of the movement's most popular leaders, the trade boycott of Asian shops and European products has still not been broken.

The government has found no long-term solution to the confusion of Uganda politics by banning the Uganda National Movement and *Contact's* forecast (June 13th) that it might not even be able to break the trade boycott, has been fully supported by the events of the past weeks. As expected, the boycott-idea has proved so strong and popular with the Kabaka's Baganda people, that it has continued long after the ban of the U.N.M. and the arrest of its leaders.

Now that the leadership of the movement has been effect-

ively broken up, the Uganda government finds it impossible to negotiate any settlement. The only policy they can now follow is to suppress unorganised attempts of violence whenever they occur, in the hope of stamping out intimidation and boycotting by force.

*In one week the following incidents were reported from Buganda: One beer bar burnt to the ground; two attempts to burn down shops; three farmers in different parts of Buganda had their coffee and banana trees cut down; a man buying cloth from an Asian shop had it seized and burnt; the Uganda Commissioner of Police imposed a curfew in three counties with a penalty of £50 or six months' imprisonment for breaking it, and the Governor announced the deportation of six leaders of the Uganda National Movement.*

This brought the total of incidents reported to the Uganda C.I.D. up to 257 since the boycott of Asian shops and European products began in February.

The Resident of Buganda, Mr. C. Richards, has written an open letter to the Buganda people saying that he was gravely worried at the bad effect of the trade campaign. He said it was giving Buganda a bad name and foreigners would not want to invest any more money in the country. He said that it caused fear everywhere and hatred among the Africans themselves.

He estimated that revenue from Buganda Province would fall by £225,000 in the current financial year, while an official in the Uganda Ministry of Finance said that this estimate was conservative and that the actual loss may be well over £300,000. The Uganda breweries alone say that their income tax payments would be £35,000 less, through the fall-off in beer sales.

With the deportation of the six Uganda National Movement leaders—Messrs. E. M. K. Mulira, I. K. Musazi, E. Mwagi, A. K. Busungu, J. Sekabanja and P. Muwanga—the government is no longer able to negotiate a peaceful settlement. Some commentators have suggested that a solution might have been found if the Governor of Uganda had not insisted that the Constitutional Committee should "devise ways and

means of giving adequate representation to minorities" during its current tour.

The Labour M.P. John Dugdale, has stated that the leaders of the U.N.M. might have been prepared to compromise if this idea of reserving seats for Europeans and Asians had been dropped, but the vast majority of U.N.M. supporters had made far wider demands.

They were not prepared to negotiate with any Legislative Council committee at all. In fact they wanted the Legislative Council abolished altogether.

Since Augustine Kanya (who has now been imprisoned for threatening to burn down a bar) launched the boycott in February, the campaign has fed itself on the Baganda hatred of the Asian shopkeeper. It is a hatred that is not likely to be put out by constitutional concessions.

Now that the Uganda government has decided on a policy of eradicating the boycott, it must continue to use its police with restraint and moderation, in the hope that constitutional political parties like the Uganda National Congress will channel Buganda grievances into constitutional reforms that can seriously be considered. Until the destructive force of the U.N.M. can be converted into practical political proposals, violence and repression are likely to continue.

## RECORD CROWDS AT TODD MEETINGS

From Contact Correspondent

SALISBURY: Mr. R. S. Garfield Todd, the former Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, continues to draw record crowds to his meetings. Recently in Bulawayo, he attracted a 300-strong audience to a hall where the Prime Minister had only fifty people a few days later. His audience at the Harare African Township this week was estimated at about 3,000, mainly Africans.

White politicians continue to say, however, "Let us face it, Europeans in this country do not want Mr. Todd." What apparently nobody appreciated is that Africans do not want anybody else but Mr. Todd, as their support of his party and attendance at his meetings show.

## TROUBLE FOR AFRICAN FEDERAL M.P.

From Contact Correspondent

SALISBURY: Mr. Dauti Yamba, the African elected member of the Federal Parliament, has run into trouble. Mr. Yamba has the longest parliamentary experience of any African in the Federation. As an independent he twice won his seat in the Federal Parliament. But last month he formed a political party called the Freedom Movement Party and this was the beginning of Mr. Yamba's troubles.

No sooner had his party been launched than some of his lieutenants began accusing him of all sorts of things and demanding that he should resign his seat in the Federal Parliament. Now Mr. Yamba has to divide his time between fighting the United Federal Party and Dominion Party and putting matters right with his own party.

Mr. Harry Nkumbula, President of the Northern Rhodesia African National Congress,—the only Congress in Central Africa that is not proscribed and whose leaders are not detained—also has plenty of trouble on his hands. Follow-

ing a series of attempts to remove him from the presidency, even the small band of officials who had remained loyal to him, have at last joined the opposition camp.

Congress launched a boycott of mainly Indian shops as a protest against the appointment by the Governor of an Indian to the Legislative Council. Mr. Nkumbula is against this boycott and has locked up the Congress offices and suspended all his officials including the General Secretary.

The suspended officials have opened another office and are running the organisation as usual.

## NYERERE GETS TOUGH

MR. JULIUS NYERERE, leader of the Elected Members in the Legislative Council of Tanganyika, and President of the Tanganyika African National Union, recently made a speech opposing the budget on the ground that it did not demonstrate the increasing war on poverty, disease



NYERERE

and ignorance which was the country's prime need.

Money which could be used to buy ploughs and tractors was squandered on building, he went on, and salaries were extravagantly high—a young African, newly qualified at Makerere, was now paid £500, and that in a country of mud huts.

"We are not going to enter the Government to make money", he said. "I warn our future civil servants that they must think in terms of the country and not compare themselves with anyone from outside this country. We are not going to get into power promising to create fat salaries for Makerere graduates, fat salaries for Oxford graduates, fat salaries for X, Y and Z."

MINISTER MUST LIVE IN LOCATION ...

## NO FORCED INTEGRATION IN RHODESIA

From Contact Correspondent

SALISBURY: The policy of partnership in the Federation suffered another defeat recently when Mr. J. Z. Savanhu, Sir Roy Welensky's African Junior Minister, was told that *apartheid* in the Land Apportionment Act of Southern Rhodesia did not permit the government to allow him to occupy a Ministerial house in town. The two African Ministers in Northern Rhodesia live in a white suburb of Lusaka.

In Nyasaland Dr. Hastings Banda and Advocate Orton Chirwa had their homes in town, but in Southern Rhodesia not even the influence of the Federal Government could get an African Minister an exemption from *apartheid*.

The Southern Rhodesia Government has also been greatly embarrassed recently by the Hotel Association. Only a few weeks ago, Sir Edgar Whitehead, the Prime Minister, and the United Federal Party were telling all and sundry how liberal they were in passing an Act to allow £50,000 hotels to apply to be multi-racial. Months have rolled by and not a single hotel has applied to have the right to admit Africans and worse still, the only hotel that takes Africans at present in

Salisbury, has threatened to impose a colour bar.

The government's embarrassment was not made lighter by the arrival in Bulawayo of Mr. Mills-Odoi, the Ghana barrister who was appearing for Nyasaland detainees before the Devlin Commission. All hotels in Bulawayo shut their doors to him and not even the intervention of both the Federal and Territorial Government officials made any impression on the hotel managers.

Behind closed doors discussions are known to have taken place between the managers of the three major hotels in Salisbury. It is believed that one manager was unable to apply to "go multi-racial" because his hotel has other sister hotels in

the country which would never consider going multi-racial.

Another manager is known to have said that he just could not face a possible decrease in the number of his clients. The only hotel that takes Africans is believed to have claimed that it has suffered because of this and has criticised the government for sending only its non-white guests to it.

It is believed that hotel managers would rather have no option in the matter. They would prefer the government to legislate and force them to take people of all races. But Sir Edgar Whitehead means to stand by his election promise that the United Federal Party will not force people to integrate.

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## SAM SLY'S CORNER

FORTNIGHTLY NOTES ON BOOKS AND THE PRESS



### A commendable dent

The public is eating up Delius's *The Last Division*. It is the first poem that many South Africans have read since "Smiling the boy fell dead" and other classroom gems, making a commendable if tiny dent in South African philistinism. And what philistinism! Try and find a decent bequest by English business in South Africa to any artistic or literary cause but the stodgiest and most established. Look at the English press. May I, in execrable taste, take a poke at the *columnists* in the English dailies? Even your Quains, Chiels, Wayfarers are as nothing to the nauseating Cape Town trio on *Cape Times* and *Argus*, three purblind and prehistoric figures of fun who don't, in the popular phrase, know a book from a bull's foot. South Africa, where, wrote Campbell:

... the precocious tadpole,  
from his bog

Becomes a journalist ere half a  
frog.

depends on newshounds for its news and businessmen for its example—and just look at what they give us! Honoured Sam Sly found out the businessmen 104 years ago:

"So long as it is considered a reflection, and appears idle for a merchant to be found seated at the Library, so long will it be only a serious farce to talk eloquently of Literature and of the grand strides and advances it is making in Africa."

*Africana Notes & News*, III, 61

Campbell and, recently W. F. Ashburner in *Gentle Men of the Press*, gave the press the old one-two, and now Delius has taken on the Senate and the House. And people are reading him, in spite of total silence from most reviewers outside the Cape.

### Reflectors

The press isn't as bad as all that. Let's make this Quotation Week and recall that Dr. Edgar Brookes said: "In South Africa the faults of journalism are less pronounced and its virtues more evident than in many less favoured lands." That was in

1935: one would automatically write "more favoured" to-day. He found that "on the great issue of colour the majority of the larger South African daily papers have led opinion rather than reflected it, and have served the true interests of South Africa with great wisdom and moral courage." It's these columnists, reflectors of public opinion at its smug worst and not of editorial policy, that I find it hard to cherish. Their daily dose will substantiate this, for the curious or depraved. I'm not going to house them here.

### Black Bourbons

A very senior professor told me that he found the African Writers' Conference "very irritating". It could have taken place 25 years ago, yet how much further are we? To my submission that it would have been a smaller conference 25 years ago, he replied with weary cynicism that the results would have been the same, and sighed: "The Africans are so like the Bourbons—they forget nothing and they learn nothing!"

### Constringed views

Next issue we shall print the rest of Nadine Gordimer's views on the Novel and the Nation. In them she moves through *God's Stepchildren*, *Too Late the Phalarope*, *Wild Conquest*, *Episode*, *A Dance in the Sun* and *Turbott Wolfe to The Story of an African Farm*. Her survey was given as a talk to the N.U.S.A.S. conference at Wits. in July (as was Harry Bloom's, though his has also appeared in *Unicorn*, Rhodesian University monthly—July issue and was the subject of a *Star* leader). Her criticism, though philosophical and sociological rather than literary, I consider more valuable than almost anything that transpired at the 1956 English Writers' Conference at the same university. The full paper must appear in *English Studies in Africa*. Ours is compressed, of course. What do you mean, of course? It nearly killed the poor devil of a colleague who had to constringe it to a fifth of its length.

## MONSTERS ARE LURKING

INSIDE THE SOUTH AFRICAN CRUCIBLE. By A. B. du Preez (H.A.U.M.) 35s.

DR. DU PREEZ is Professor of Theology at Pretoria University and this book is his attempt to reconcile his Christianity with his enthusiasm for *apartheid*. It would be tedious to quote and refute his arguments, to point out his historical inaccuracies and ludicrous generalisations. But it is interesting to note what sort of a man this orthodox non-*Sunday-Times*-contributing professor is.

Firstly, he is remarkably naïve. Not only does he accept all the Government's *apartheid* blarney on its face value, but he says such things as this:

"Happily racial superiority, the bug-bear of Nazi-Germany, has played no part in the history of the South African race-problem."

"The term 'creatures' (skeptels) does not express derogation in Afrikaans but rather a tender sympathy, a feeling of solicitude for the fate of a fellow-man."

Then after noting that the words "race discrimination" connote for some a degradation and devaluation of persons, the Professor writes: "In this sense there is really no race discrimination in South Africa and it is never intended by the policy of *apartheid*."

And so it goes on. One very comic caption reads:

"Dr. H. F. Verwoerd . . . addresses the Bantu leaders of Zeerust and ensures efficient co-operation between the Bantu leaders and the Government."

It is an odd picture. The learned professor with his head in a haze looking around at Zeerust, Bethal, the pass raids, the banings, the banishments, job reservation and the daily "yes John?" humiliations—and seeing only a sunny land in which gentle Christians tenderly uplift the charming but primitive *skeptels*.

Occasionally, the calm pool stirs and we get a glimpse of the monsters lurking in the depths. Get your psychoanalyst to read over this paragraph, for instance:

"If the protection afforded by the law against miscegenation and immorality were removed, the moral weakness of the Non-Whites could easily be exploited by unscrupulous degenerates who shrink from the stricter White moral code and seek an outlet for their perverted sexual cravings amongst the Non-Whites, who tend to condone sexual intercourse. Such a course would also entail exceptional dangers for the Whites whose womenfolk would be exposed to barbarous assaults; and it would greatly accentuate the painful problem of a race of half-breeds who are social outcasts."

The only hopeful thing to come out of the book is the feeling one gets that the Professor's real object was to convince himself. Was it not a nagging doubt that Professor B. B. Keet might be right that drove our professor to churn out 250 pages of repetitious argument (it must have been as painful to write as it is to read)? Why else did he chase round 23

European universities firing a 90-question interrogation at 78 professors of theology?

I like to think that Dr. du Preez sometimes wakes up at three in the morning with the chilling certainty that he has no right to amend the commandment to read: "Thou shalt love thy neighbour—provided he is in his own Group Area."

KENNETH MACKENZIE

## "SLAVERY HAS NO BIRTHDAY"

FREEDOM FROM FEAR: THE SLAVE AND HIS EMANCIPATION. By O. A. Sherrard (The Bodley Head) 18s.

THIS book has two main purposes: firstly to describe slavery generally from the earliest times through to the present day, and secondly to remove certain misconceptions, and in particular to clear the name of England in certain respects.

It is a remarkably good book, and an interesting book. Slavery in ancient times is examined, and it is made clear that there never has been a time when there was no slavery: "Slavery has no birthday". Aristotle's views, the Spartan helots, and the Bible, all take their place here easily and interestingly.

The narrative moves swiftly on to the discovery of the Indies and of Africa. The incredible cruelties of the Spaniards in Haiti are touched on, Haiti where slavery meant the death of six out of seven of the indigenous Indians. Then we grieve over the man-hunts and the middle passage, the *via dolorosa* of the enslaved Africans on their way to

America and the plantations.

Much space is given to the English movement of emancipation, and the different parts played by Clarkson, Wilberforce, Pitt, Buxton, and others are clearly laid out.

Finally it is shown that slavery is not dead. Traditional slavery continues in Arabia and parts of Africa, and new forms of slavery have been developed by the U.S.S.R. In Latin America a cruel form of peonage maintains itself.

What can overcome this dark and fear-ridden thing?

"In all history the only power which has ever faced and overcome slavery is Christianity which . . . affirms that God is love."

To see slavery truthfully in its historical setting is to rid oneself of two facile and commonly-held errors: firstly that emancipation can only come from action by slaves; or, put in a modern South African context, that one must be a member of an oppressed group to be able to help exorcise the evils of slavery and serfdom. The glorious achievements of the English emancipators, seen factually, dispel this illusion.

The second illusion is one that is repeated by dialectical materialists: that the freeing of the slaves was not a virtuous act; that there are no such things as virtuous acts, and that emancipation was done merely to make more money out of the enslaved.

This illusion is pulverised by the book which, in this context, quotes from Channing's letter on the Annexation of Texas: "The English nation, with one heart and one voice . . . decreed freedom to the slaves. I know not that history records a national act so disinterested, so sublime."

PATRICK DUNCAN

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# THE NOVEL & THE NATION

**Harry Bloom:**

## IS THE SOUTH AFRICAN NOVEL OUTMODED?

THE term the South African Novel has become the trade name for a special type of literary product—a kind of Pilgrim's Progress in race relations, presented usually, in the form of a black man's brutal awakening in the white man's city. The tone is tragic, poignant, often hopeless, the hero carries a cross, or rather, like a ragged street-corner prophet, a placard—"I am a Lost Child. Lead me to Salvation." Inevitably in this framework, the story becomes a parable or sermon, sometimes told in a kind of

THE truth is that the clash of colour and culture, the engulfing of the black man by white society are facts of life in Africa. It is idle therefore to expect writers to ignore these issues. So I must disagree with Mr. Mphahlele when he says that writers have cynically exploited the race issue. I disagree also with what seems to be his resentment at white authors writing about Africans. One of the special problems of our writers is to equip themselves to cross racial and cultural frontiers, and if they do not face up to this, the art of fiction will disappear in South Africa.

BUT I agree that the time has come to stop and review the whole situation of the novel in South Africa. The odyssey from kraal to city has become as familiar to readers as a drive round the park. Even reading the earlier books—which served the indispensable role of clearing our minds of our own kind of tribal clutter and preparing us to accept the African as a man, not a servant, buffoon or savage (noble or otherwise)—one is left with the feeling that somehow, somewhere, they are no longer true.

IT is not easy to suggest where they have gone wrong. The situation in Africa has become enormously complex in the last few years, and we are too close and too involved to be reliable witnesses. To assess the situation one must be able to fix and predict the pattern of an event unfolding on a vast scale in, apparently, chaotic, spasmodic, unconnected surges and subsidences. The novels we have been discussing do not portray African problems in this new dimension.

SO the first feeling one has when rereading the earlier books is that their scale is too minute. Today, Alan Paton's Absalom would be trampled in the rioting at the beer-hall, his message swamped in the curses and anger coming from the crowded gaols. The old style black pilgrim could be saved by the mission station, the welfare centre or by kindly emancipated Europeans. Today these lifebelts sink with him. Or, if he were to be rescued, it would be meaningless against the misfortunes of ten of thousands not lucky enough to find a saviour.

AND he is too naïve. The peasant no longer gasps at a motor-car. Up to date on the police, the pass office, and with Bantu Authorities right in kraals, few are so wide-eyed and innocent as not to realise what is in store for them in the city. So the use of quaint fable to describe travellers' impressions of the city and the numbing sickening surprise at discovering the city's wickedness and cruelty are no longer valid devices.

SOMETHING else is wrong with the old pilgrim's tales. They are pervaded by an air of gloom and despondency which

today is simply not the mood of the African. He does not consider himself defeated. Something tells him that the future is coming his way, and he therefore buoys himself up against the miseries of the present with a healthy, raw, stubborn spirit.

The mood of the Europeans is quite opposite. They talk endlessly about the "Native question" and trying to guess what will happen has become the favourite parlour game of white South Africans. European novelists have unconsciously projected their pessimism into their African characters—a mistake which vitiates, as can now be seen, much of the writing about South Africa.

RACE emergence, not race conflict, is the central issue in the African situation to-day. Looked at in this way, one sees what is happening in South Africa

as a positive event. The emergence of a whole continent of people to maturity and civilisation is an act of realisation, something creative. The conflict, the riots, the injustices, cruelties, the disrupting of life, these do not fade out of the picture and in fact will become more prominent as the event progresses—but they must be seen as a by-product, not as the central issue.

WHAT the novel needs now is a new pilgrim with a new message. The new characters and the new plots which will occupy the next generation of South African novelists are still hidden in the obscurity of the whole situation. But this need not be disheartening: South African writers, or indeed writers from all parts of Africa, have a stimulus and a challenge that should keep them busy for a long time.

**Nadine Gordimer:**

## CREATIVE IN UNCREATIVE CIRCUMSTANCES

HOW has the novel affected us, the nation, and how have we, the nation, affected the novel? South Africa has never achieved the super-identity of a nation. Collectively we are no more than just ourselves. We are not even a community, since, as the existentialist philosopher Karl Jaspers defines it, a community is a historical concept, something that grows, with a past that has been handed down. This may describe parts of us, but for most of our 14 million the past began yesterday. We are rather, in another phrase of Jaspers', a technological collectivity, which lives in the moment, is the product of planning, and treats man as a means, as a part, as a function. The world is going away from the community, to technological collectivity, while we have never known the state of being a community. We seem destined to pass directly from homelessness to regimentation.

This phenomenon should have the greatest possible influence on our culture, which is the means, and perhaps the end, of civilized living. Jaspers describes culture as the substance of the community, which enriches man's inner being as it grows fuller. The creative individual represents this substance and recognizes himself in its echo.

AT this point, then, the novelist and the nation bump into each other. The South African novelist has begun to create literature, to add to this pitifully thin substance of ours, at a time when, I repeat, the community is on the decline and technological collectivity is taking its place. Along with the South African poet, playwright, painter and composer, the novelist has begun to be creative in uncreative circumstances.

THIS is in apparent direct contrast with the popularly-held belief about the impetus of South African writing. Conflict, they say, kicked us into print. But while conflict can provide a deep

and powerful stimulus, a culture as a whole cannot be made out of the groans and the sparks that fly. The thirst that comes from the salt of conflict will need some quenching. Africa is a dry land in more ways than one.

THE novelist in our country does not live in a community and has begun to write from scratch at the wrong time, therefore, but he survives and will survive, although there are kinds of novel we are unlikely to produce. There is, for instance, the novel-in-depth, that takes the reader into the world of the writer's ideas without any game of dressing them up, the "pure" novel of the imagination. We are still at the stage of trying to read ourselves by outward signs, of letting our readers orient their own behaviour by the characters we give them. It may be necessary for us to pass through this stage, in order to get at our souls.

ONE must say a word or two about commitment, and get it over. There are a number of things to be committed to in South Africa—colour groups, language groups, political groups—and to be committed to one is to find yourself in bitter opposition to one, or some, or all of the others. If the novelist's commitment enters the novel not as part of his own conception of the grand design, but as an attempt to persuade other people, then the book is not a novel but propaganda with a story. When—as in *Trooper Peter Halket*, Olive Schreiner's allegorical novel about the Second Coming—a real novelist, who has struggled with the strangeness of life, decides to write propaganda-with-a-story, the result is likely to be unreadable. Where, in the *African Farm*, she gets away with a completely convincing picture of innocence and humbleness in the impossible character of the old German, Otto, she cannot produce innocence in the person of Peter Halket. She is not trying to illuminate for us but to persuade, and

all the extra-sensory feelers of her talent have pulled back like the horns of a snail.

IT is a pity we should have started off by considering Olive Schreiner as a bad propagandist instead of as a good novelist. Chronologically, of course, these discussions always begin with *The Story of an African Farm*, but this is not a chronological consideration of the South African novel, nor is it a catalogue. Nearly all the novels I shall discuss provide examples out of a choice of several writers who are, so to speak, working the same vein of the colour question.

THE problems of Africa, the mixture of the old legendary continent and the new one drawing its first breath when the rest of the world is tired—this abstract Africa is becoming an element of the spiritual consciousness of the peoples of the modern world. It is a fearful place, but in the danger lies the hope of virtue. This Africa is a new name for an old idea—man's deep feeling that he must lose himself in order to find himself. It has become so prominent that, with such a novel as Saul Bellow's *Henderson the Rain King*, it is beginning to have its own literature. Yet under the terrors of these same problems we, who live on the earth of Africa, have shrunk rather than expanded. Instead of seeking new



HARRY BLOOM

mock poetic biblical prose. Squalor, crime, poverty, are the background for saintly suffering with occasionally a rainbow at the end—of philosophical acceptance, political understanding or religious consolation. This, more or less (and allowing for some caricature) is the look of the South African Novel.

IN his autobiography, *Down Second Avenue*, one of the ablest of the new African writers emerging in the Union, protests severely and perhaps too sweepingly against the stale, contrived treatment of the tragic race situation. In condemning writers who imagine that their novels "must subserve an important message or discovery they think they have made in race relations," Ezekiel Mphahlele expresses the weariness we are beginning to feel at this kind of writing. Yet some of the best and most enduring novels to come out of South Africa—the very writing which has given South Africa its high literary reputation—belong to this genre. It has had a long and successful run with a catalogue including Alan Paton's *Cry, the Beloved Country*, Laurens van der Post's *In a Province*, Mopeli-Paulus's *Blanket Boy's Moon*—books which will not be overlooked in any evaluation of South African writing. The best of Nadine Gordimer belongs to this category, although she is too skilled a writer to twist situations in order to teach or preach. But subtract the element of race conflict or race difference and what is left? The subject is too clamorous—it cannot be ignored.

CONTACT



NADINE GORDIMER

freedom for man's spirit, we have felt the accepted moral values of Christianity too large and have changed them to contain us more rigidly and narrowly.

FURTHERMORE, the colour question, the greatest single factor in the making of our mores in South Africa, is more to us than a matter of prejudice or discrimination or conflict of loyalties—we have built a morality on it. We have created our own sense of sin, and our own form of tragedy. We have added hazards of our own to man's fate, and to save his soul he must wrestle not only with the usual lust, greed and pride, but also with a set of demons marked made in South Africa. If our novels must exist within this white tribal morality, at what a curious disadvantage must it put us with the peoples of other nations, whose writers are concerned with man's survival and the meaning of his life on earth!

[Concluded next issue]

8th August 1959

## Disappointed With Mr. Stanford

**SIR,**  
So Mr. W. Stanford has seen fit to inform the London *Times* that the boycott of S.A. goods will bring hardship to the non-Whites first and in greatest measure. This is an obvious attempt to influence people overseas not to boycott. In view of some of Mr. Stanford's parliamentary speeches in the past, I am very disappointed, as I expected such a letter from the U.P. or Nationalist members.

Unlike the white oppressors in this country who in *apartheid* want to have their cake and eat it too, we non-whites are prepared to sacrifice, and we have not to sacrifice too much. We have always had to exist on pittance; we have always been put off first; farm labourers have always existed on the barest minimum, and would not suffer much more if they had to go round begging.

The great hope of the boycott, national and international, is that because shareholders will receive smaller or no dividends, Nationalist firms' profits will be cut drastically, and because the results will be unfamiliar hardship to some oppressors—hardships to which we are inured—moderates will come together to oust the Nationalist oppressors, the original sponsors of boycotts in this country and first squealers when it is used against them.

SUFFICIT  
Cape Town

### "Liberals Shouldn't Side With Nats."

**SIR,**  
Recently two members of your party certainly took off those 'liberal' masks when they sided with the Nats. in condemning the economic boycott. The world is in sympathy with the enslaved Non-Europeans, despite these 'liberal' heroes' threats.

The Non-Europeans will not accept any new chains from the Liberal Party or any other party.

It would be good advice for Non-Europeans to resign from this party and join the organisations that would really want to see the Non-European free; and for the Congresses not to associate themselves with a suspicious 'ally'.

T.N.  
Port Elizabeth

## U.C.T. STUDENTS "APATHETIC"

**SIR,**  
Your correspondent "Capetonian", (July 11th), appears to see at the University of Cape Town a glorious vitalisation of political thought, action and feeling indicative of a vanguard of young voters who will drive the Nationalists from office through the medium of the ballot box. (I hope he is the only *Contact* reader who still cherishes the illusion of democracy won at the white polls.)

Let me disabuse him: the vulgar as politics; we reserve that picture he paints of young South Africans at U.C.T. for our segregated Inter-Varsity sports events.)

Perhaps the most active group of students is the fairly large one linked to the United Party Youth movement. (Can you believe it? Students belonging to the U.P.! Well, that's still safe, anyway.) The only sign of hope is that a growing, but as yet still negligible, number of students are beginning to identify themselves with and to actively support the Liberal Party.

Why does this disgraceful situation exist here? Perhaps because Cape Town is too divorced from the real horror spots of *apartheid* atrocities (although Windermere, Langa and Nyanga are not exactly outposts of Utopia.) Perhaps because of the traditional political reserve of English-speaking South Africans, which goes with their money-grubbing habits. Have they been "discouraged" by their school-teachers, most of whom were under control of the Nat. Provincial Council? Perhaps they're just too comfortable, or have already lost hope.

Whatever the reason is, the fact remains that the mass of students is far gone, but not irredeemable. Here is a task for the Liberal Party. Come and help us get them.

STUDENT  
Cape Town

### U.P. Committed to White Supremacy

**SIR,**  
Mr. V. G. Davies challenges me to substantiate my charge that the United Party is committed to the maintenance of White supremacy.

In his address to the Union Congress of the United Party in Bloemfontein in November, 1956, Sir de Villiers Graaff stated "Our policy is not equality. It never has been, is not and never will be our policy."

These words seem to me to be a clear statement of a policy of White supremacy.

PETER BROWN  
(Chairman of the Liberal Party)  
Pietermaritzburg

### "Massacre Plot" Will Help Reds

**SIR,**  
Now that the truth about the so-called "Massacre Plot", allegedly planned by the Nyasaland African National Congress, has come to light, I wish to make my observations in the matter.

It has all along been fashionable in Britain for the Conservative Government to accuse the Labour Party opposition of "playing into the hands of the Communists", whenever the Labourites ventured to express human and realistic views on the politics of the Central African Federation, other British colonies and South Africa.

In the C.A.F., Mr. Garfield Todd, his white followers and sympathisers have been facing similar hair-raising charges, levelled at them by the racialists in the United Federal and Dominion parties.

In South Africa, too, the Nationalists—supported by the United Party racialists—have consistently smeared the Liberal Party and individual whites holding humanist views towards people of colour, with the charge of "playing into the hands of the Reds".

And last but not least, this ludicrous—but destructive—cry about the Red Bogey has been hurled venomously at many British, C.A.F. and South African churches in general, and so-called "turbulent priests" such as Huddleston, Collins, Reeves, de Blank, etc., in particular.

Now, the alleged plot by Dr. Hastings Banda and his colleagues to "massacre" the white people and officials of Nyasaland—a "plot" so well dramatised by the British and Federal Governments!—has been pronounced to the lie that it always has been.

Who is "playing into the hands of the Communists" now? The U.K. Government and the white-dominated C.A.F. Government, of course! British and Federal attempts to discredit the black nationalists have proved to be an unpleasant boomerang! Certainly, the Reds—Moscow Radio and Radio Peking, and the Communist press on both sides of the iron curtain—will capitalise on the findings of the Commission.

This is one moment when the democratically-minded people can give the forces of reaction a dose of their own medicine—"playing into the hands of the Reds".

LOTUS BLOSSOM  
Starser

## Poverty-Stricken Liberal Case

**SIR,**  
The Editor's footnote to my letter of July 25th is a prize example of the poverty of the Liberal Party's case against the United Party.

My statement that United Party policy is obviously very much more liberal than Nationalist policy, is based on the political programme enunciated in the United Party's official handbook, and on the past eleven years of the United

Party's unremitting parliamentary opposition to Nationalist excesses.

Against all this the Editor can but quote a chance remark uttered in the heat of debate!

With confidence I leave fair-minded readers of *Contact* to judge between us.

V. G. DAVIES  
Camps Bay

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