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# CONTACT

## ELECTIONS: LIBERAL FIGHTS NAT.

SEE PAGE 2

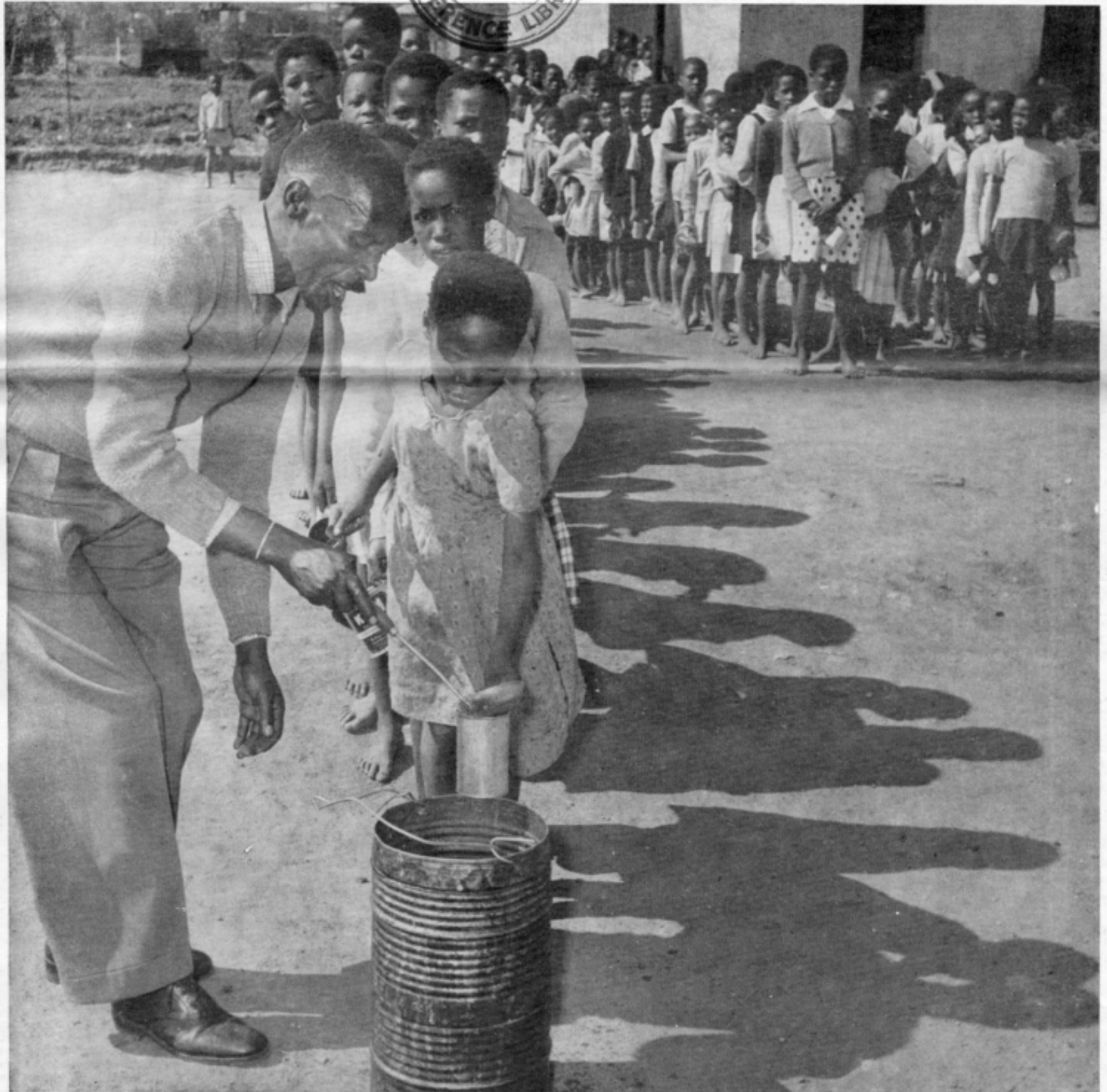
### SOUTH AFRICA'S NON-RACIAL REVIEW

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WEEK ENDING 19th September 1959

## NYASALAND GOVT. BANS "CONTACT"

SEE PAGE 5



GRAHAMSTOWN LOCATION 11 a.m.—100,000 hungry children are fed in Cape and coastal schools alone—all by volunteers since official schemes were dropped for "economy" reasons.



## LIBERALS AND THE ELECTIONS

# Colin Lang fights Nat. in Pretoria East

THE LIBERAL PARTY has nominated four candidates for the provincial elections. Two of them, Mrs. Marion Friedmann in Houghton and Mr. Patrick Duncan in Sea Point, have straight contests against the United Party. In Ixopo, Natal, Mrs. F. G. Ventress has been caught in the only four-cornered contest of the election — Liberal Party, Federal Party, United Party and an independent.

Pretoria East, a constituency which has already played an historic part in South African elections, will have a straight choice between a Liberal and a Nationalist. In 1910 General Botha was defeated here by Sir Percy Fitzpatrick; in 1948 General Smuts took this seat after he had been defeated at Standerton. Delimitations and the drift since 1948 have turned it into a Nationalist stronghold, but this has not deterred the Pretoria Branch of the Liberal Party and its founder-chairman, Dr. Colin M. F. Lang, from challenging Mr. B. Muller, the Nationalist candidate.

The son of the late James Lang, once a vice-principal of the Pretoria Boys High School and later rector of Grey High School in Port Elizabeth, Colin Lang was born in Pretoria in 1927. He obtained his medical degree at the University of the Witwatersrand and then went to London for post-graduate studies. For the past five years he has been in practice in Pretoria.

Dr. Lang is a grandson of Sir John Fraser, for many years chairman of the O.F.S. Volksraad and a candidate for the Presidency. His forbears were pioneers in the Dutch Reformed Church and his family have been leading members of the Presbyterian Church in South Africa. Two of his brothers are also prominent members of the Liberal Party—Mr. John Lang in Johannesburg and Mr. David Lang, chairman of the Port Elizabeth Branch.

## Critical Choice

During his election campaign, Dr. Lang will tell the 13,000 voters of Pretoria East that we are moving to the moment of "critical choice between ideas that stem from fear and race prejudice and a sane solution which is South Africa's destiny

— a society in which character, not colour, will determine opportunities and rights for all her citizens".

Commenting on Dr. Lang's stand, Backbencher, the political columnist of the *Cape Argus*, sees Pretoria East as one of the few bright spots in "what may become known as the provincial election of the long, long yawn". "Some South African constituencies," he writes, "seem destined to remain on nodding terms with our political history. Names of seats such as Wakkerstroom and Standerton conjure dramas of the past.

"Now the voters of Pretoria East, another significant constituency, have been beckoned on to the fickle stage of history. For the first time ever in South Africa at the provincial polls they will be asked to choose between an official Liberal Party candidate and an official Nationalist Party contender.

"It is a bizarre decision with which to confront the electorate in a constituency which in the process of time has become a Nationalist citadel."

## Making History

Backbencher envies the electors of Pretoria East "the piquancy of their choice". For the third time since Union they can "make history as they mark their ballot papers on October 14."

In Natal, where 22 United Party, eleven Federal Party, and seven independent candidates are contesting 22 seats, Mrs. Ventress moved from Pinetown to avoid a three-cornered contest with a U.P. and a "progressive" to find herself in a four-cornered fight in Ixopo. If variety is lacking in the other three provinces, Natal makes up for it. Only three candidates were returned unopposed, in contrast to 32 (18 Nat and 14 UP) in the Cape, 17 (all Nat) in

the Orange Free State, and 31 (17 Nat and 14 UP) in the Transvaal.

Houghton, which, like Sea Point in the Cape, has been greatly disturbed by the United Party split, will have a straight choice between Mrs. Marion Friedmann (Liberal) and Mr. J. P. A. de Vos (UP).

Mrs. Friedmann is chairman of the Houghton Branch of the Liberal Party and is a member of the National Executive. In her B.A. degree year at the University of the Witwatersrand, she was the first winner of the Distinguished Woman Graduate's prize. She was later awarded the M.A. degree with distinction for her thesis on Olive Schreiner.

For years an active member of the Liberal Party, Mrs. Friedmann has participated before in its campaigns in the Houghton area. This time she approaches a constituency already torn by the UP rift. Its Member of Parliament, Mrs. Helen Suzmann, was one of the leaders of the "progressive" breakaway; its first provincial election candidate, Mrs. K. Mitchell, was replaced after she joined the "progressives".

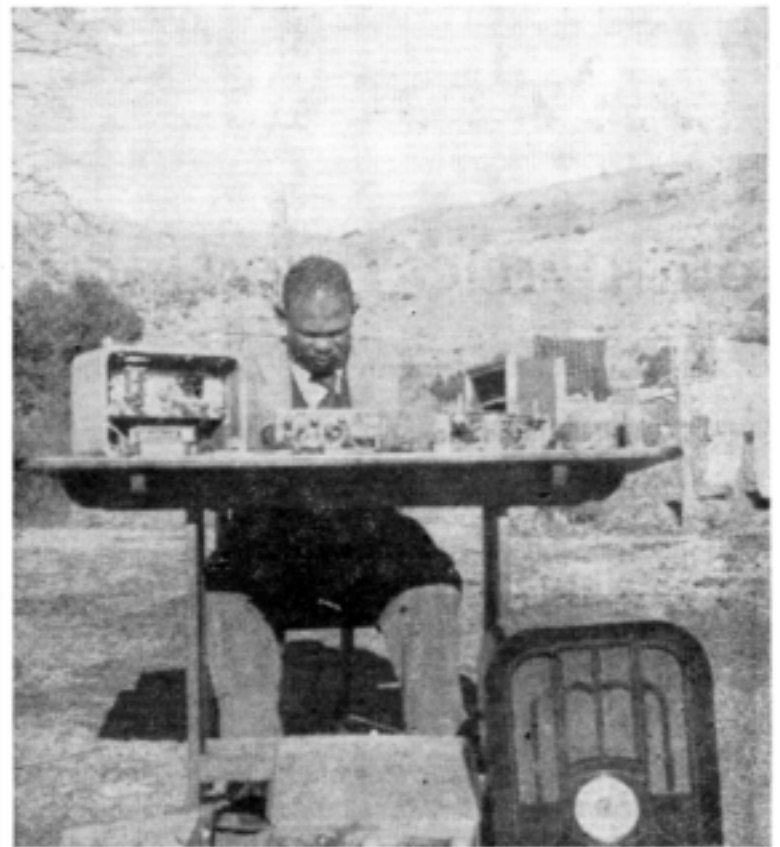
## Had other ideas

United Party squabbles and breakaways are also a feature of the Sea Point constituency where Patrick Duncan is now opposed by Dr. Jan Dommissie. The first United Party candidate, Dr. Arnold Greenblatt, kept quiet for several days after the Bloemfontein congress; he then said he was "100 per cent Sir de Villiers Graaff", but found that the most active members of his committee had other ideas; a few days after this statement he withdrew from the election saying there was no room in politics for a humanitarian unless "he was prepared to submerge his conscience into a rigid party affiliation."

Dr. Dommissie, apparently, has no such qualms. He is "four-square" behind Div. He emphasised this when nominated and repeated it in a five-minute speech at his opening meeting at Camps Bay when he and one other speaker addressed an audience of 70 (including 30 Liberals) in a 400-seat hall. Dr. Dommissie also told this meeting that, "we in the United Party are, to quote Mr. Harry Oppenheimer, a 'middle-of-the-road' party . . . Our leader is not a baas. That is why we are willing to follow him."

The election in Sea Point is being hampered for the Liberal Party by the sudden illness of Patrick Duncan. He is now recovering from a serious abdominal operation and is making such good progress that he is expected to be back in the campaign before the end of the month. He is to speak at a meeting in Sea Point on September 29 and in Camps Bay on October 7.

"Do It Yourself"—and for Others



A spare-time hobby is bringing fame—and useful pocket-money—to Mr. John W. Mohapi, of Mohale's Hoek, Basutoland. Mechanically-minded John Mohapi repairs wireless sets, gramophones and watches and his clients include Europeans as well as Africans. Mr. Mohapi is a clerk in a local store and this picture shows him at work outside his home until his workshop is completed.

## BEUKES BALES OUT: VISA FROM U.S. GOVERNMENT

THE JOURNEY of Mr. Hans Beukes to London, Oslo, and now New York to put the case of the Rehoboth people before the United Nations is one of the most startling set-backs which the Nationalist Government has had.

The "Beukes Affair" aroused considerable interest not only in South Africa but also in the United States and in Europe.

Mr. Eric Louw and his S.A. Information Service went into action immediately they laboured hard and unceasingly to convince the world that the Government was justified in withdrawing Beukes's passport.

The Government is not obliged to give reasons for the withdrawal of a passport, but it transpired that one of the flimsy reasons was that Beukes's grandfather had been a signatory to a document which criticised the Government and which was circulated some years ago.

The impression was also created that Beukes did not enjoy the confidence of his own Rehoboth people and that they did not regard him as their representative or spokesman.

It is now known that a representative delegation of his people visited him during his "exile" in Bechuanaland and assured him of their confidence in him and of their unwavering support as their representative at the United Nations. Furthermore, his people contributed towards the expenses of his trip.

So much, then, for the futile Government propaganda that the Rehoboth people did not want to have anything to do with Beukes.

There is, however, another most significant aspect of the whole affair which should be pondered over by every citizen

of South Africa. The United States have the strictest and most rigid immigration laws in the world. They are most discriminating as to whom they allow into their country.

It would be childish to imagine that after the worldwide publicity which Beukes has received, their Consul in Salisbury would, on his own responsibility, grant him a visa. He obviously consulted the State Department in Washington before doing so.

The State Department is very well informed and they know all about Beukes and the withdrawal of his passport. Despite that and in the face of a propaganda barrage by Mr. Eric Louw and the S.A. Information Service, they had no hesitation whatsoever in granting the visa.

Not only did the United States Government give the Union Government a well-deserved slap in the face, but they also gave them a salutary lesson in the democratic rights of the individual citizen.

Unless otherwise stated, all political comment, sub-editing and headlines in this issue of CONTACT, by Peter Hjul, 4th Floor Parliament Chambers, Parliament Street, Cape Town, cartoon by David Marais, 6 Gluckman Avenue, Milnerton, political columns by Peter Brown, 268 Longmarket Street, Pietermaritzburg and John Duncan, Clyst Hazel, Salisbury Road, Wynberg, Lewis Nkosi, P.O. Box 3413 Johannesburg.

## CONTACT

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## PROFILE

## DOUGLAS MITCHELL

*Bull in the UP China Shop*

**A** VERY SHREWD Nationalist politician said about five years ago "I cannot understand why the Nationalist Party worries about the United Party. Mr. Douglas Mitchell will eventually break them." That was a very prophetic statement and recent events have shown that Mr. Mitchell has contributed more to the eventual disintegration of the United Party than all the fulminations of the Nationalist Party and their Press.

Who is this Mr. Mitchell who has suddenly found himself prominent to a degree out of all proportion to his real political stature?

Mitchell, now 63, is a Natalian of Scottish descent, a farmer and storekeeper, who fought under General Smuts in East Africa in 1916 after secondary education at a now defunct private school in Natal. He speaks Zulu, is married with four children, and entered politics through the Natal Provincial Council. When an MEC he was made Administrator of Natal by General Smuts, a notoriously bad picker of men.

## By "POLITICUS"

South Coast, Natal. From the time he made his maiden speech in Parliament, it became evident that he would be an embarrassment to his colleagues in the United Party.

He had a very poor conception of the general political set-up and, what was more deplorable, he had a very hazy notion of United Party policy, such as it was.

He was irrepressible and the bane of his Whips. Their most difficult task was to prevent him

known as "Millstone" Mitchell ever since that debate.

The more politically-astute members of the United Party have always realised that Mr. Mitchell is a handicap to the Party, but they could do nothing about it, for after all, he is high in the Party hierarchy and the leader in Natal. Their fears were borne out at the recent Party Congress in Bloemfontein, when despite the pleas of Sir de Villiers Graaff and other prominent leaders, he persisted in putting his resolution, with regard to the purchase of land for Africans, in the reserves before the Congress. The results of his action are now political history. The effect has been to hasten the end of the United Party.

## What was it?

What was the motivating force behind Mr. Mitchell's fatal resolution at the Congress?

In order to answer that question adequately, it is necessary to probe into his political thinking. It is a brand of thinking that would have been more appropriate to the eighteenth than to the twentieth century, for he still clings with passionate fervour to the old idea of British colonialism. In other words, he is completely reactionary.

As far as the Indians in Natal are concerned, he regards them in the same light as the Nationalists do. They are a menace, particularly so far as "big business" is concerned.

With regard to the Africans,



1946—Administrator Mitchell

But Mr. Mitchell had greater political aspirations. He regarded himself as undisputed spokesman of English-speaking South Africans and he visualised himself as a future English-speaking Prime Minister of South Africa.

He resigned as Administrator and in 1948 entered the Union Parliament as a member for

speaking in every major debate. He persisted to a remarkable extent in rushing in where angels feared to tread. And he invariably "dropped a brick."

It was said of him during his early years in Parliament that he held the record for apologising for statements that he made during the course of a debate. The Government and the Nationalists always welcomed a speech by Mr. Mitchell. They felt that his utterances were of great propaganda value to them.

A classic example of this occurred during the last session of Parliament, when in reply to a Nationalist interjector who had challenged him to state the United Party "Native policy", he replied "I am sure to tell you what it is. I am not going to put a millstone round my neck."

The Nationalists went to town on that one and he has been



1959—Still Waiting

he is insular and petty. He grudgingly admits that we are a multi-racial society, but he adheres strongly to that ill-chosen and meaningless United Party slogan of "discrimination with justice." One would not be at all surprised if deep down he does not have a fond regard for the Nationalist brand of apartheid.

One thing is certain: Mr. Douglas Mitchell is completely out of touch with the ever-increasing number of whites who are clamouring for a just

and realistic approach to our urgent political problems. He lives in a little political world of his own: a little world in which he believes it is politically possible for him to "out-Nat the Nats."

His whole attitude appears to be one of "give us a chance to deal with the kaffirs and we will show you what we can do. We will guarantee White supremacy for the next five hundred years."

That is the kind of political expediency which he believes

will bring thousands of people back to the United Party. It is a stratagem which is not going to bluff either the Nats or any thinking section of the electorate.

The obstinate "bull at the gate" Mr. "Millstone" Mitchell is going to be a very sadly disillusioned politician.

He will come to the sudden realisation that he is not the spokesman for Natal and much less the spokesman for English-speaking South Africans.

## The Political Idiocy of Bloemfontein

—Cape Argus

**THE UNITED PARTY** is losing its few remaining friends among the English-language newspapers. Latest to break is the Cape Argus which, in an outspoken leader on 8 September, described Mr. Douglas Mitchell's Bloemfontein resolution against land for the reserves as a "crass piece of expediency" and referred to the "hollowness and hypocrisy of the position into which the United Party has been led."

Under attack by the Argus was the "resign from Parliament call" from the UP Head Committee to the "progressive" MPs who have left the Party. "Shall we then," asks the Argus, "begin with Dr. Jan Steynler?"

"As the Head Committee is so confident that those who have rejected the political idiocy of Bloemfontein have no popular support, would they hand over Queenstown to a Nationalist? We would like a straightforward answer from those who with Mr. Douglas Mitchell, UP leader in Natal, and Mr. Lionel Murray, MPC, chairman of the Cape Peninsula Council of the United party, are making great play, about 'consistency' and 'loyalty.'"

"This question of consistency can justly be pressed a little farther. In the new cult of personalism that is being pursued in the party, much fuss is being made of full confidence in Sir de Villiers Graaff. Why? Because he voted against the Bloemfontein resolution?"

"And, if consistency is to be the main theme, will Mr. Murray now proceed to vote against every educational, hospital or housing grant for the Natives because it would be helping forward Bantustan? Even the authors of this crass piece of expediency do not seem to understand its implications or the morass of contradictions into which it will inevitably plunge the party."

"Mr. Mitchell continues to talk about what should be done for the 'savages' as though he had never advocated making it official UP policy to refuse to do anything at all. On top of this now comes a policy of smearing and name-calling against former colleagues."

## Non-Racial Sports Conference

**PORT ELIZABETH:** The South African Sports Association — a co-ordinating non-racial sports body supported by eight national sporting bodies and more than 70,000 sportsmen of all racial groups—has convened a conference to which all National Sporting Bodies in South Africa are being invited. The conference will be held at Port Elizabeth, on Saturday, 3 October. The theme of the conference will be: "Problems in the Development and Organisation of South African Sport." Special attention will be devoted to the improvement of standards, Olympic representation and the elimination of racial discrimination in sport in South Africa.

## Liberal Party of South Africa Sea Point Election Fund

To win this election, we need your help and we need your donations. Please send donations to "The Liberal Party", P.O. Box 3618, Cape Town.

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Inserted by L. Freedman, 47, Parliament St., Cape Town.

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## ORDER FROM BAD DEPARTMENT

NO WHITE POLITICIANS  
IN LOCATIONS

JOHANNESBURG: Mr. de Wet Nel's Department of Bantu Administration and Development has issued a circular to municipalities which hits at the very foundations of non-racial organisations like the Liberal Party. The circular orders managers of municipal non-European Affairs departments not to give permits to white people to enter African townships to address or attend political meetings.

The executive of the Transvaal Division of the Liberal Party has already studied a copy of the circular.

It is unlikely that non-Nationalist city and town councils will be able to defy the order contained in the circular. It was addressed to managers of Non-European Affairs departments, not to local authorities as such. And these officials, although paid by the councils, are licensed Government officers — their licences can be withdrawn if they do not obey orders from the BAD Department.

Johannesburg, certainly, cannot resist the order. It has already assured the Mentz "watchdog" committee that it will not embarrass its manager of Non-European Affairs by giving him orders contrary to Government policy.

Here is a full text of the circular, number 616/313, dated 14 May.

● 1. It has come to the department's notice that at certain meetings held recently by Europeans in urban locations, speeches of a seditious and subversive nature were made.

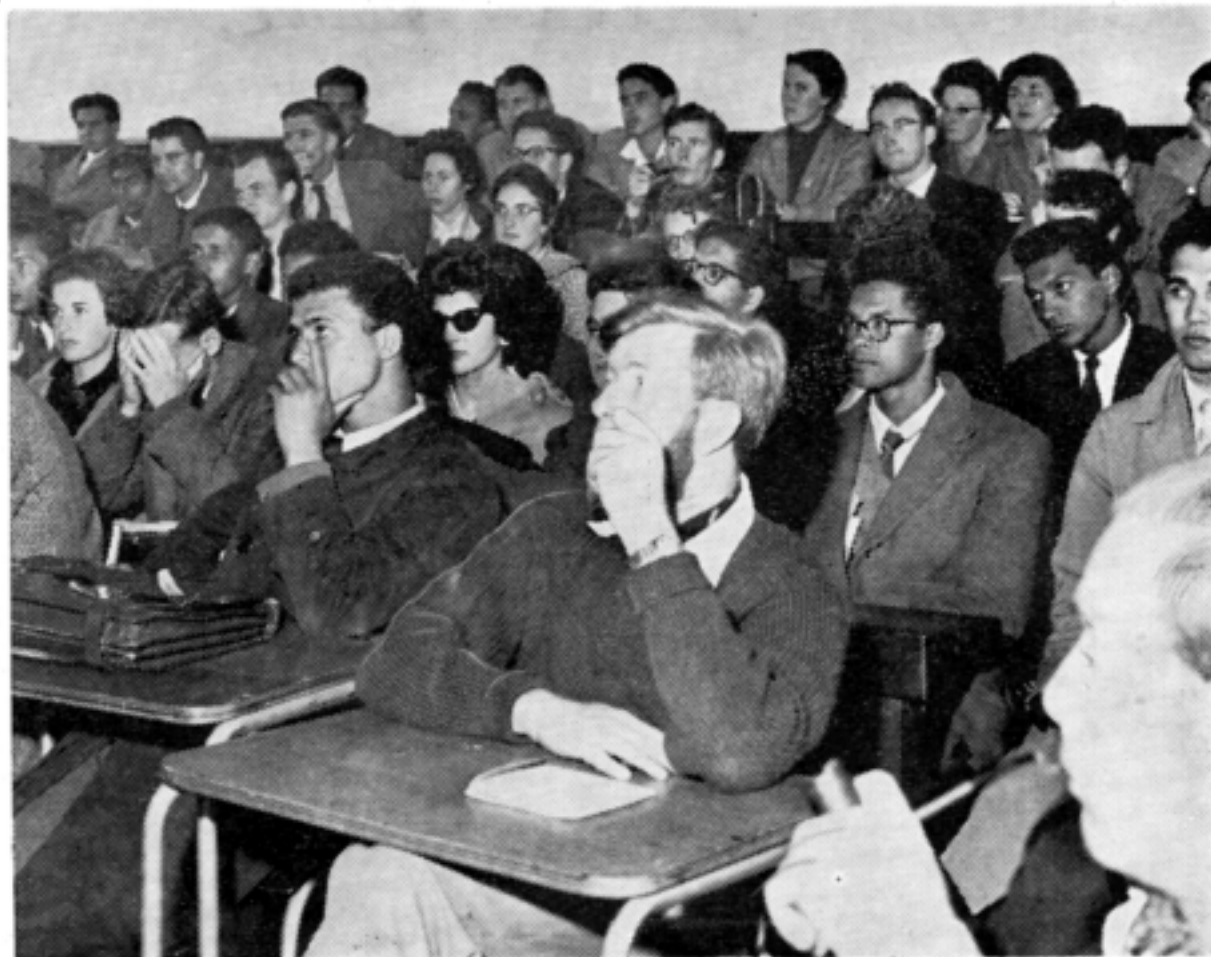
● 2. On inquiry it was ascertained that the persons making these speeches not only obtained the right in terms of paragraph b. of sub-section (9) of section 9 of the Natives Urban Areas Act to be in the locations, but that they were also given permission to hold or address such meetings.

● 3. The department regards it as highly undesirable that malicious agitators should be given the opportunity of carrying on their activities in locations and sees no reason why this should be allowed.

● 4. In order to avoid occurrences such as those mentioned in paragraph 1., entry into locations should be refused to any person not entitled to be granted the right of entry by reason of his legitimate business.

● 5. *Even where good grounds for granting applications to enter do apparently exist, extreme caution should be exercised and at the least suspicion that propaganda of a racial or political nature may be spread, such applications should be refused.* [my italics].

## Students boycott apartheid bus



For more than two weeks, students of the University of Cape Town carried on a boycott of a recently segregated bus-service to the University from the Mowbray Station a mile and a half away. This picture shows a section of a meeting held to discuss an ultimatum delivered by the City Tramways. The ultimatum was ignored and the buses have been withdrawn. Meanwhile a ferry-service is being operated by the students. An awakening of interest in politics has resulted and the withdrawal of the buses is generally regarded as being both a triumph and a prelude to further campaigns, against the system of social segregation in force at the University.

Nat-UP "Toenadering" in  
Johannesburg Council

JOHANNESBURG: Very serious charges have been made against the United Party in the Johannesburg City Council by Mr. Jack Cutten, who is a member of the Progressive group. The charges have not been answered.

Attacking the council for closing down its Social Affairs Department (the only one of its kind in the Union), Mr. Cutten, at a council meeting, said:

"I was told that an agreement had been reached with the Opposition (National) Party that if the department was disestablished immediately, the

Opposition Party would not insist on a Commission of inquiry."

He added: "The fact that in the end a commission of enquiry was asked for, makes me wonder whether someone 'ratted' on that agreement, or whether I was just misinformed."

Mr. Cutten was a member of the United Party caucus when, he alleges, he was informed of the "agreement."

But Mr. Cutten went further: "If such an arrangement was made, on reconsideration I am convinced that it was not the proper thing to do."

**THEY WANT  
SEX APARTHEID**

EAST LONDON: Sex apartheid in Police vans was requested in a motion submitted by Mr. A. M. Qangqo, at the last meeting of the Joint Locations Advisory Board.

Mr. Qangqo moved that the City Council ask the Department of Justice to have different vans for the conveyance of female and male prisoners and persons awaiting trials.

He said that people arrested for infringements of the Pass Laws, were taken in the same van as hardened criminals from Fort Glamorgan, with the result that women had been mishandled.

The Chairman, Councillor D. J. Sobey, reported that the Bantu Affairs Commissioner had requested that the matter be referred to him for submission to the Department of Justice.

The City Council's decision to shut down its department has shocked social workers throughout South Africa. Many welfare organisations elected to give evidence before the commission of inquiry to show that, in their opinion, the future of social work in the Union might suffer as a result of the Council's action.

Since the department has been closed, its work has been shared out among other municipal departments, the University of the Witwatersrand, and private welfare organisations.

What disturbs social workers, however, is the fact that the council will now perform work of a "recreational" rather than a "welfare" nature. It is alleged that supervision of children in parks has become the work of a

"nanny" rather than of a trained welfare worker with a university degree.

Mr. Cutten, in his speech, contended that there was no definite legal justification for disestablishing the department.

He said that a memorandum from the Union Department of Social Welfare did not say: "What the Johannesburg City Council is doing interferes with our own statutory rights to provide services, and thus should be stopped."

From the opinion of a Q.C., too, Mr. Cutten said, it was clear that it had not been laid down by any authority that the Social Affairs Department of the Johannesburg Municipality infringed upon the statutory rights of the Government department.

"So why did we disestablish this department?" he asked an embarrassed Council.

SHOP COURTESY  
CAMPAIGN

Where you see this Sign on a Shop Window  
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BO TLETSENG BAKAMOHELO  
LE HLOMPHO E PHETHAHET  
SENG HO BAREKI BOHLE  
MABENKELENG A NANG LE  
LONA FENSTERENG.



UPAWO LEI UYA SIKOM-  
BISO ESIFELELE SEMPATO  
NENHLONIPO E FANELE  
KUBO BONKE ABAFUNA  
UKUTENGA KWIZITOLE  
EZINALO E FESTILENI

Pictured above is the badge which more than 10,000 shopkeepers in Johannesburg and the Reef are being asked to place in their windows so that African customers will know that they are welcome. The scheme, part of a courtesy campaign launched by Johannesburg businessman, Mr. Ernest Bodley, and outlined in *Contact* 5 September, will later be extended to other parts of the country. Shop owners will also be offered the same badge in lapel form for use by shop assistants, in the hope of creating a nation-wide, informal "goodwill club." Mr. Bodley intends to send one of the badges to Dr. Verwoerd with a request that he wear it. He is also sending badges to heads of all African states and will ask them to wear them on all possible public occasions. Brief details of the campaign are contained in Sotho and Zulu-Xhosa on the left and right of the badge.

CONTACT

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19th September 1959



NYASALAND BANS DEVLIN "CONTACT" . . . .

# But Last Copy Was Sold The Day Before

**C**ONTACT has been banned by the Nyasaland Government. The first news Contact had of this ban was a report in the South African daily press in which it was stated that it had been imposed "for security reasons." The ban followed the circulation throughout the Union, the Federation and East and West Africa, of the issue of 22 August containing a ten-page summary of the Devlin Report, a front page picture of Dr. Hastings Banda, and editorial comment far less scathing than appeared in many other publications.

As a result of press reports, Contact addressed the following letter to the Chief Secretary to the Nyasaland Government, to which, so far, no reply has been received:

"We understand from press reports that your Government has banned the above journal in Nyasaland. These reports do not give any reason for the ban; nor do they indicate whether it affects one or all issues of Contact.

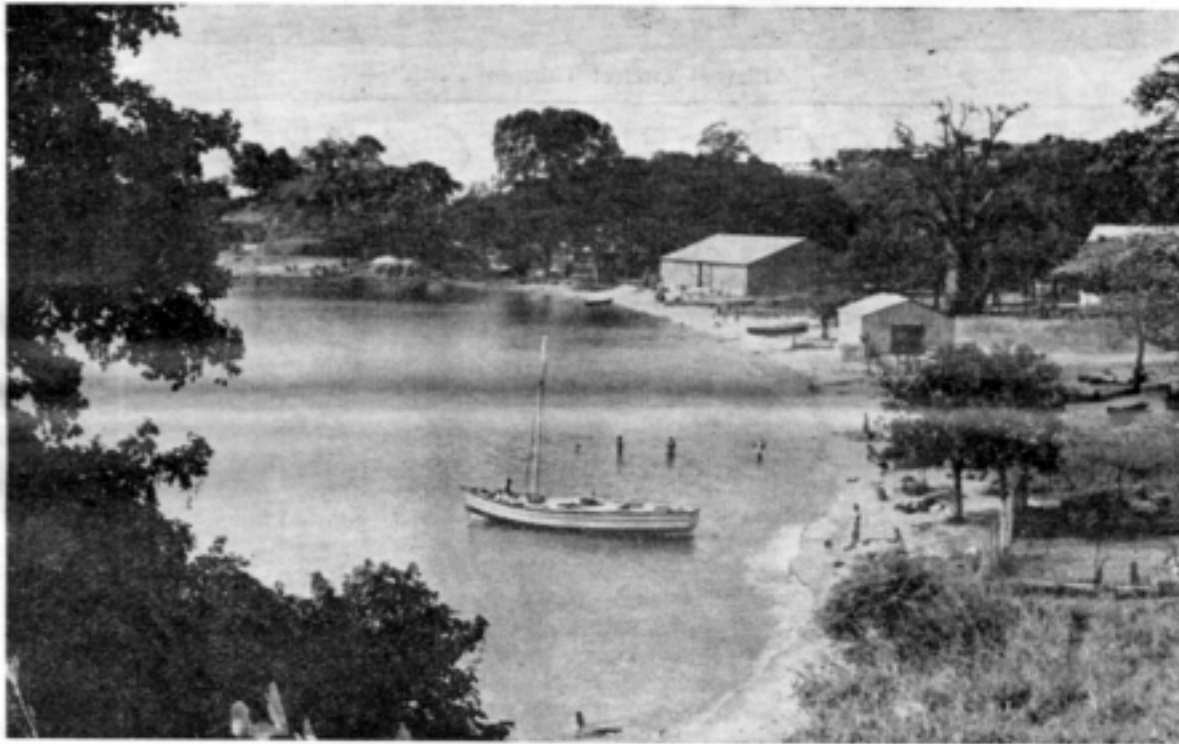
Although written in lighter vein, the gossip columns of the Salisbury Evening Standard, show the effect of emergency jitters in the Federation. This is what that paper had to say on rumours current at the time of the ban:

"Not since the famous 'Border Incident' of seven years ago—when two Rhodesians, one a woman, were arrested in Machipanda and half the male population of Umtali had to be dissua-

copies of the South African magazine Contact for delivery to the Nyasaland distributors.

"The current issue of Contact contains a ten-page summary of the Devlin Report and has on its cover a large picture of Dr. Banda.

"It was on this that the rumours were ased: that Grundy was imprisoned at Chingara on a charge of smuggling subversive literature; that he had been shot while resisting



The Land of the Lake—where Contact's "potential was almost unlimited"

"We shall be glad therefore, to receive an official communication from you giving the reasons why a reputable news magazine, circulated to and accepted in most African territories, should be denied to the people of Nyasaland." ...

Fortunately for readers in Nyasaland, the ban was only imposed after many hundreds of copies of Contact had been distributed in various parts of the country. So great was the interest taken in the issue, that repeat orders for additional copies were received in the office by letter and by telegram.

How anxious the people of Nyasaland are to read reports affecting the territory is reflected in a statement contained in a letter received by Contact. The writer says: Regarding the cable about further copies . . . We wanted to know whether you could reprint many thousands of copies since the whole issue received for Nyasaland was sold at once. Without a banning (which took place after the cable had been dispatched) the potential was almost unlimited. People are starved of all news save the crudest and most illiterate Government handouts . . . The photo of Banda was almost an ikon . . ."

ded by BSAP from crossing the border to release them—has there been such a buzz of rumour about events in Mozambique as swept through Salisbury this week.

"The cause was appropriately enough, a journalist — Denis Grundy, who left Salisbury for Nyasaland by road on Friday morning. It was known that he had in his car more than 1,000

arrest at Tete; that it was the Nyasaland, not the Portuguese, police that had arrested him; that he had evaded arrest and was being hunted by a combined Nyasaland-Portuguese security force.

"In fact, as was established later, he had reached Blantyre on schedule and without trouble, and had handed over the magazines . . ."

## Opposed to Atomic Test

**RABAT, MOROCCO:** France's atomic bomb, which she means to explode in the shifting sands of the Sahara near Reggane, has backfired upon her lately, but there is more to come. De Gaulle intends the bomb to strengthen French prestige. It may well weaken her militarily, with its cost superimposed on the enervating drain of paying for her four-year-old war in Algeria, and politically as opposition in the African and Arab worlds increases.

Communists everywhere supported the nine independent African States meeting in Liberia recently, when they condemned the proposed test as "a menace to humanity." Early next month the Arab States are meeting in Casablanca. Already the Afro-Asian and Communist blocs have made the French

bomb a major propaganda issue and this campaign will gather momentum after the Casablanca conference and thus be ready to serve up piping hot at the United Nations when the General Assembly meets shortly afterwards.

And it is the kingdom of Morocco, until three years ago a

## INVITATION TO FEDERATION

AT the invitation of the British Prime Minister Mr. Macmillan, and with the agreement of the Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, the Governors of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Viscount Monckton of Brenchley has agreed to accept the Chairmanship of the Advisory Commission which is to be set up in preparation for a review of the Constitution of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, which is due in 1960. The members of the Commission will be appointed in due course. The Commission, besides the Chairman, will consist of six privy councillors from the United Kingdom Parliament, six independent members (of whom two would be from Commonwealth countries, other than the United Kingdom), and thirteen representatives of the Federation and its several component territories and communities.

## IN LONDON

## LORD HOME RETRACTS ASSURANCE TO AFRICANS

**L**ORD HOME, Secretary for Commonwealth Relations, has retracted an assurance he gave to the African population of Northern Rhodesia during the recent debate in the House of Lords on the Devlin Commission report.

In that debate he said British policy for Central Africa was that power would be progressively transferred "not to the Federal Government, but to the Governments of the two northern territories [Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia] which will progressively become more and more representative of Africans until they have African majorities."

Mr. H. J. Roberts, Minister of Labour and Mines in Northern Rhodesia, and a spokesman of Sir Roy Welensky's United Federal Party, subsequently called Lord Home's declaration "a blast at the very foundations on which the present Northern Rhodesian Constitution has been built."

This public attack, reinforced by private representatives, has led Lord Home to issue what he calls a "clarifying statement," in which he says:

"On reading my speech again I see that the words could bear the interpretation to which Mr. Roberts has drawn attention. I certainly intended no such meaning, as I am in full agreement with the present policy set out in the dispatch of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, which is to develop non-racial politics on party lines."

"The point I meant to make," he says, "was that as more and more Africans qualify for the franchise the time will come when the Africans will numerically be in a majority on the voters' roll, though, of course,

when that time comes they should be voting entirely on party lines . . . Certainly non-racial politics must be the goal of all of us."

Thus, although Africans will in time constitute a numerical majority of the electorate, Lord Home says this is not the same thing as an African majority.

Lord Home, however, makes no retraction in his statement about the pledge that power would be transferred to an African majority in Nyasaland.

The Northern Rhodesian Government has taken drastic administrative action against the largest tribe in the Protectorate, the Bemba. The decision to decentralise the tribal administration, thereby reducing the power and authority of the Paramount Chief, Chitimukulu, is justified on grounds of greater administrative efficiency and to eliminate internal difficulties.

What is not admitted in the Government statement is that the action stems from the unyielding opposition by Paramount Chief Chitimukulu to the imposition of Federation.

He has carried this opposition to the point of refusing to meet the Federal Prime Minister, Sir Roy Welensky.

It would be surprising if the Government's decision to interfere with the internal affairs of the tribe—despite its recent official statement that it desires to maintain the traditional role of chiefs—were accomplished without further difficulties.

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# CONTACT

## Coalition With What?

THE departure of the progressives from the United Party has not solved all the problems of the so-called conservative who have remained in the party.

During the past few days, there have been denials by party leaders, Mr. Douglas Mitchell, M.P., and Mr. Henry Tucker, M.P., that certain members of the party desired an eventual coalition with the supposed "dissident and moderate" elements in the Nationalist Party.

This coalition talk is nothing new. For a considerable time, a number of United Party members of Parliament have been putting out "feelers" to the Nationalists. And the line of approach has always been the same — "when we get rid of our liberals, there will be common ground for serious discussion and compromise. The truth of the matter is that there is very little difference between the "conservatives" of the United Party and the Nationalists with regard to *apartheid*. The policies of both factions are based on "white supremacy."

Despite their oft-repeated and tireless cries of "when we get into power", Mr. Mitchell, Mr. Tucker and other United Party leaders know full well that they can never rule this country again.

More and more people are beginning to think seriously and those are the people who feel that the United Party is no longer a serious factor in our politics.

The days of bluffing the electorate with neo-nationalist slogans are gone for ever. And deep down in their hearts the policy framers of the United Party realise the hopelessness of their position. Hence the "feelers" for coalition.

But how badly they misjudge the political trends in this country! They fail to appreciate the fact that Dr. Verwoerd is at the head of an autocracy, and that there is not a single Nationalist leader of note who has either the desire or the courage to oppose him.

They also have no effective counter to the ideological and emotional appeal which the Nationalists have to Afrikaners. That appeal will continue to pay dividends until such time as Dr. Verwoerd brings this country to absolute chaos. And even then it will not be the United Party that is going to benefit. When that time arrives here is going to be a clear line of demarcation in "white" politics—reactionaries on one side and liberals on the other.

How naive can certain people be? Why do some of these misguided United Party politicians still cherish the hope that Nationalists will coalesce with them?

The Nats have power and no effective opposition in Parliament. They are carrying on with their missions of united Afrikanerdom and Bantustans and for the time being they are meeting with success.

And all the jobs that are going have to be filled by their own faithful followers and not by political stragglers from the fast-disintegrating United Party.

Mr. Douglas Mitchell M.P. and Mr. Henry Tucker M.P., can deny the coalition "feelers" as much as they like, the United Party has never been very good at guarding secrets and thousands of people in this country know such "feelers" have been put out.

The ironical part of it all is that Mr. Tucker presided at a meeting in Johannesburg last week when Mr. Badenhorst Durrant M.P., let the cat out of the bag.

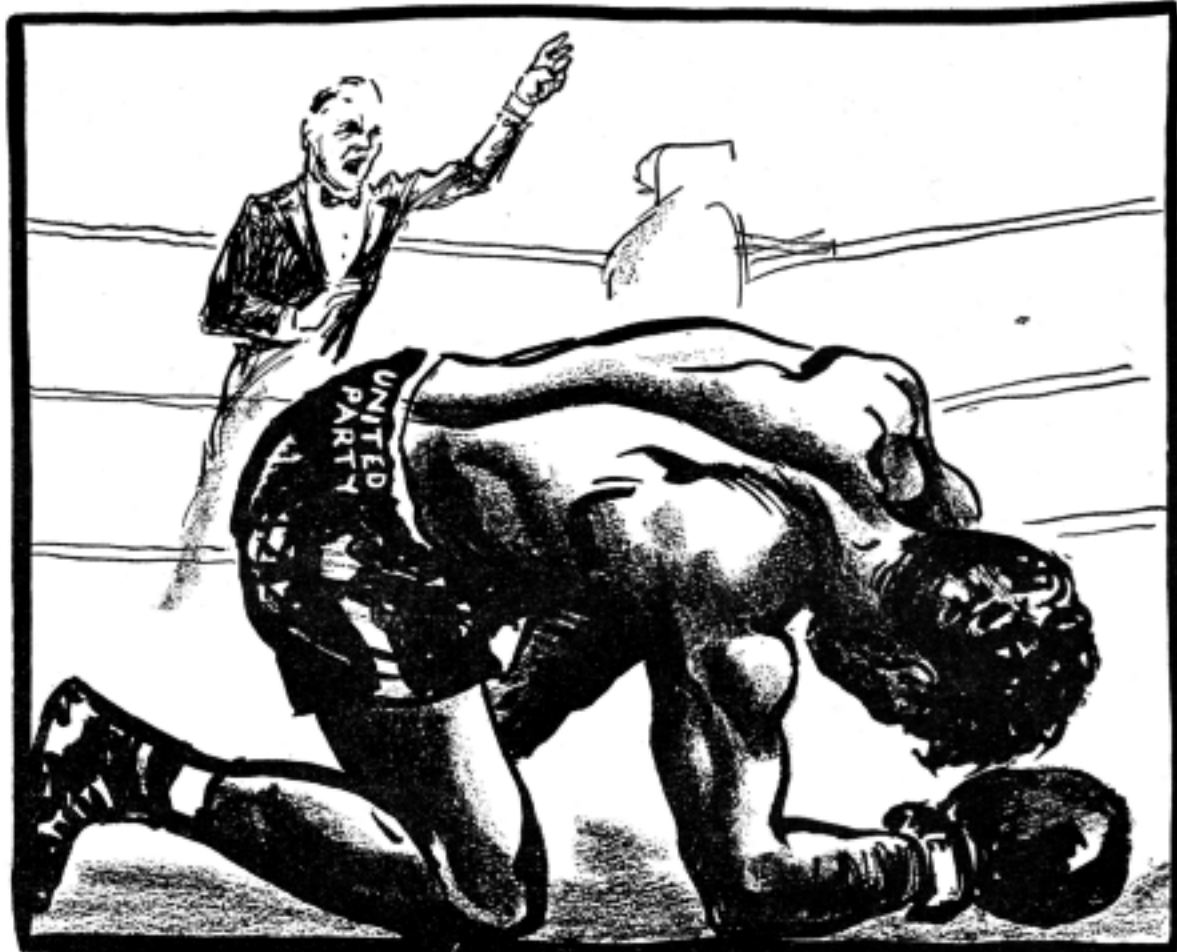
Mr. Durrant said "now that we have got rid of the liberals, any 'moderate' Nationalist" can come and talk to Sir de Villiers Graaff". Would Mr. Durrant care to tell us what he means by "moderate" Nationalist?

Is a man who watches another man beating his wife unmercifully a "moderate" sadist?

## Ban On Contact

UNDER its emergency regulations Africa's newest "police state" has banned the Devlin Report issue of *Contact*. We have received no official notice of this ban; nor do we know if it applies to one or all issues of *Contact*. What we do know is that ten pages of our August 22 issue were devoted to straight extracts from the Devlin report; that, with these extracts, we publish editorial comment no stronger than that of several British magazines and newspapers; and that on our cover we featured Dr. Hastings Banda. About 1,250 copies of this issue were circulated in Nyasaland. The day after the last copy had been sold the ban was imposed. The bumbling efforts to restrict press freedom in Nyasaland are already well known. And the banning of *Contact*, unreasonable and too late to be of any effect, merely emphasises some of the closing observations of the Devlin report.

CONTACT



"Eleven! Twelve! Thirteen! . . ."

## AN INNOCENT IN CAPE TOWN

By Lewis Nkosi

AFTER spending three weeks of my leave in Cape Town recently I am overcome by a strange conviction that may have no basis at all in constitutional logic. I am more than strongly persuaded that the Cape forms no part of our South Africa as I know it. If its people make a tentative attempt to participate in our social and political experience it is with half-hearted enthusiasm.

I am even persuaded to think that if the Cape got an ingenious lawyer he could possibly build up quite a persuasive case for secession. As a consequent we may find ourselves compelled to transfer Parliament to the Reef or Natal, where politicians engaged in their legislative tasks may feel comfortably close to reality.

Cape Town simply does not reflect the reality of our situation. While I was down there it was sometimes with dread that I discovered myself on the verge of forgetfulness as to what was going on in the country. One may be taken in by the enthusiastic manner in which Cape Town's intellectuals spend sleepless nights, delighting in theoretical arguments about this country's problems.

However it is part of my proposition that this delight in *talk* rather than *action* should be accepted as a true reflection of Cape Town's isolation from the political consciousness of the country.

Coming from the Transvaal one cannot help noticing the relaxed manner in which people here live with one another. Cape Town is more like the US town that one so often reads about, a

town still bugged by the virus of race prejudice to be sure, but warm, relaxed and even friendly. It is easy to believe that without the attempts of the Central Government to ram *apartheid* down the throat of the Cape Town people, they could solve their problems in a happier, friendlier atmosphere.

I must admit that when I got off the Joburg train I was tense; my defence mechanism still highly geared up against all sorts of possibilities. I noticed at the station that *apartheid* had already left some of its scars. There are all sorts of notices designed to sort out the races just in case Chief Lutuli should rub shoulders with Chief Verwoerd at the station entrance.

Once in Adderley Street I saw a policeman lolling round a street corner. From sheer instinct, over-worked instinct, I began to rummage for that vital paper. When the policeman nonchalantly walked past, for once I even felt let down. Maybe this was an official oversight of which our policemen on the Reef simply aren't capable, as Sergeant Arlow can tell you. I don't know whether I should pat the Cape Town force on the shoulder for not patting me on the head with a baton. Anyway this was a happy change from the all too zealous police force in the North.

I was also happy to notice that in the buses — at least for the time being—*apartheid* is a flop! It seems that in Cape Town people have neither the will, nor the enthusiasm to make *apartheid* a success. Nothing illustrates this point better than an incident which happened to a friend of mine.

One afternoon this friend of mine caught a bus which was already almost full. While the "Europeans Only" seats had all been taken, there were some seats remaining in the Non-White section. My friend flopped down next to a Coloured person. Whereupon this young supporter of *apartheid*, a young man of tender mind and firm racialistic conviction, started admonishing my friend.

"If we want *apartheid* we must be prepared to make sacrifices for it," said the young Verwoerdian. "We can't have it both ways." He then advised my friend to stand.

"I paid a sixpence in order to travel comfortably in this bus," said my friend, settling comfortably in the seat. "It's not fair for you to ask me to make sacrifices for *apartheid*. I've never asked for it."

Encouraged by this friendly atmosphere, I and my writing friend, Howard Lawrence, tried to crash a restraurn in St. George's Street. As we walked by one night we were attracted by the robust sound of jazz; so we decided to walk in. I must confess that our mental acumen had been somewhat blunted by Cape Town's white wine and it seems that we disastrously over-estimated Cape Town's willingness to integrate. I remember foggily a White girl saying: "You can't just stand there!"

I personally thought this called for a correction; so I hastened to inform her that we did not want to stand, that in fact we were all for sitting down. She looked more alarmed. Presently more waiters came upon the scene. I am not very fond of crises and this had the making of a crisis. So I advised Howard that it might be better if we walked out peaceably than that we should be assisted out

(Continued on page 12)



Peter Brown, Chairman of the Liberal Party

# The ANC Is Not Behind Natal Disturbances

FOR two months now, parts of the province of Natal have been in varying states of upheaval. Not only have there been demonstrations against the Government and municipalities in areas where there has never previously been any sign of organised opposition to authority, but, significantly, women have, almost for the first time, taken a leading part in the demonstrations.

One or two points should be made about this situation. In the first place, so far as one can ascertain, the disturbances have been more contagious than organised. It has been Government and municipal policy to blame everything on the ANC, but I have yet to meet a member of the ANC who knows how the demonstrations started, or who is anything but astounded by their extent. In the second place the new militancy of the African women of Natal seems to have taken everyone by surprise, not least their own menfolk.

It would be a great mistake to underestimate the dangers lurking in this new development in Natal. There has already been arson and destruction of property by Africans which has produced violent reactions from White people. A growing wedge could be driven between the two sections of the community which would make the eventual emergence of non-racial democracy even more difficult to achieve than it seems at present. It may sound pessimistic but it is by no means impossible that South Africa is now seeing the first signs of a drift towards a state of affairs in which arson and violence will be too common to be headline news.

Why should this suddenly be happening?

I believe that recent events in Natal are a clear sign that *apartheid's* chickens are coming home to roost. For years Liberals have been saying that South Africa would have to pay the price for *apartheid* sooner or later and I believe that it is now paying the first instalment. One of the reasons advanced for the fact that it is women

who have been in the forefront of events in Natal's rural areas has been that, since the issue of reference books to them, many of them have been driven out of Durban and back to the areas from which they originally came. They have returned to the country with a real sense of grievance and, not surprisingly, have become centres of agitation in what were peaceful and undisturbed areas.

What are the women agitating about?

The main points of their case have been their objection to paying increased taxes, the fact that wages are so low, the fact that influx control keeps their men folk out of the places where they can earn the most money, and the fact that, in rural areas, they are now being asked to perform, for nothing, community services for which they were previously paid. In addition many women complain that their husbands' wages disappear into municipal beer-halls while they are prevented from brewing at home. In some areas trouble may have been sparked off by other causes but these are the main points of discontent.

Almost every restriction or disability to which the women object is a pillar of *apartheid*. We are told incessantly that Africans will have to pay increasingly for their own services. How can they do that unless they are more heavily taxed? If Bantu Authorities are going to function at all they are going to need money to do it and they will have to raise taxes.

What of influx control?

If, as South Africa has been assured, *apartheid* will turn the tide of African urban migration back to the "reserves," then influx control can only become stricter and a growing cause of tension.

What improvement is there likely to be in African wages while the Colour Bar persists?

Already the lag between actual wages and subsistence wages is enormous. How can the gap be narrowed while job reservation is especially designed to protect the White South African from competition and to close new better-paid avenues of employment to Non-White South Africans? It cannot, and we face a future in which those 6 million Africans whom Professor Tomlinson still expects to see in his "white" area in 2,000 A.D., will be prevented from doing the jobs which would allow them to earn a decent living and will smoulder resentfully in the locations and villages of every "white" town.

*Apartheid's* chickens are coming home to roost and, as the policy is more rigidly and vigorously applied, they will become more troublesome. The

African people of Natal have reacted against the pinch of *apartheid*. The pinch will not become more bearable with time, but less so. Influx control, job reservation, increased taxation, more unpaid community service, each of these things is part and parcel of *apartheid*. As long as it is with us so will they be and as long as they are with us so will tensions mount and the drift towards racial strife remain an ever-present threat.

In this situation the Liberal has a very special role to play. The White Liberal has the task of showing Non-White South Africa that he is prepared to identify himself with the peaceful struggle to achieve full status in every sphere for all South Africans, whatever the cost may be in personal suffering and unpleasantness.

The Non-White Liberal has the task of identifying himself with the same struggle and of

accepting the same sacrifices, but he has the additional task of persuading White South Africa that it is only in a non-Colour Bar democracy that there lies any real security for himself or his children.

As the tensions mount, and it seems to me an inescapable adjunct of *apartheid* that they should, the Liberal's task will become more dangerous and less pleasant but, by virtue of his membership of an organisation with feet firmly planted on both sides of the colour line, he can play a unique part in drawing together the different sections of our community.

If he does not play this part effectively he may lose his last chance to influence developments in the direction he desires and to ensure the survival of liberal and democratic influences in our country.

## POLITICS and PEOPLE by John Duncan

WHILE Patrick Duncan recovers from an operation and contemplates the political scene through newspapers from a hospital bed, I shall venture into his column to talk about politics and political people.

I thought Gerald Gordon made the point very well at an election meeting in Sea Point when he remarked that the United Party was a platteland party at heart; that most of its delegates at a party congress came from the platteland; and that rural thinking dominated its outlook and shaped its policies. The safe city seat seems to have become the United Party reward for devoted service in the countryside.

Which makes me think of Sir de Villiers Graaff's "triumphal" tour through the Northern Transvaal. Motorcades half-a-mile long and "four square behind Div" rallies are very stimulating, but we have had them before and we have also seen one UP candidate after another voted into the ground on polling day. It is the cities which may one day lead the UP, and perhaps South Africa, back to sanity and it is in the cities where people of sane outlook and progressive ideas now have a chance of showing the way.

THE proposed nomination of a Stellenbosch University student, for the Stellenbosch seat, which was later withdrawn shows that dissent is not the monopoly of the UP "progressives". When Dr. Dönges announced, with the air of a magician pulling the rabbit out of the hat—that he was giving the vote to 18 year olds, I remember thinking that maybe this would boomerang. This Matie passed his hat round for the deposit, announced that many of the 3,000 enfranchised Stellenbosch students agreed with him and have come out against a Nationalist candidate and the Party machine.

He has a policy too (which is more than can be said for the United Party): no republic without a referendum and two-thirds majority; Africans outside reserves to be represented in Parliament; protectorates to be incorporated but possibly only after the Union has been changed into a federation; full consultation with the coloured people to find out whether they wish to be on a common or a special roll; *apartheid* to be treated as a matter of social expediency and not as political dogma; parents' choice in education; fully autonomous non-white universities, but all universities to be free to

admit whom they wish.

I would have no quarrel with this and admire the courage behind this move.

IN Fair Comment, Patrick Duncan mentioned an Orange Free State farmer who detailed among his labour costs cash wages of two shillings for twelve hours work paid to an African tractor driver. By some South African standards this farmer found his labour the hard way. On the outskirts of many county towns the farm jail has become a landmark—a grey, Belsen-like square of buildings with a sinister watchtower in the middle. These jails are built by a limited company whose shares are subscribed by local farmers—surely the only communities in the world who can own shares in a jail.

To these "squares" are herded Africans arrested for technical offences and they are hired out from them to the farms at 9d. a day.

IN a frenzy of self-righteous hysteria, the Nationalist press has been howling at the Natal "razzberry" given to Dr. Verwoerd at Pietermaritzburg. The *volk* have been told that this was not so much a demonstration against Dr. Verwoerd but was an affront to Afrikanerdom. Nonsense. The simple answer is that Dr. Verwoerd is cordially detested by the vast majority of South Africans. He is a symbol, not of Afrikanerdom, but of a narrow, selfish clique which rules not for South Africa but for itself. The Natal demonstration was a minor eruption of the volcano he is preparing for himself his followers.

"IT is the law here that the people cannot sit together? Then I say that the law is criminal and unjust and . . . ridiculous, no?" Thus Antonio, greatest of Spanish dancers, whose show at the Alhambra was picketed by Capetonians with banners saying *Down with the Colour Bar in the Theatre; Art Knows no Colour Bar; No Segregated Audiences; Antonio, Your Art is for All*. Members of Antonio's company had the banners translated, and agreed wholeheartedly with them, as did many theatre-goers. For Antonio the realization that these people could not see him came too late. "I did not know when I signed the contract that I would dance for whites only . . ." Why didn't he know? The support of artists of this calibre against the colour bar should not be lost by default.



## WEST AFRICAN ENTERPRISE

# Ghana Starts Its Own Canning Industry

ACCRA: With the probable boycott by Ghana of South African products, it is interesting to note the steps taken by Ghana during the past few years to encourage local production and the establishment of industries to enable the country to rely less on outside sources for some of its supplies. First experiments were carried out over twelve years ago, when a fish canning experimental station was established at Osu, near Accra. It was soon realised that fish could not be canned all the year round, so other possibilities were examined.

Fruits were considered to be a good substitute, and different types of them were put to the test — guava, grapefruit, pineapples, as well as meat and poultry products.

After eight years of hard laboratory work of trial and error, pineapples were accepted and the first Ghanaian fruit canning enterprise came into operation in 1948. It was run by the Fisheries Division of the Ministry of Food and Agriculture until 1956 when, as in any other democratic country where most industries are expected to be run by the people rather than the Government, it became a joint enterprise between the

Ghanaian, run under the supervision of a United Kingdom trained technician. But the equipment is imported. The machines come from America and the cans from Britain. One hundred and forty thousand cans from Britain. One hundred cans were imported in 1957.

It has an annual output of 50,000 cans at an average rate of 3,000 cans daily.

Between July last year and April 1959, 36,707 cans of pineapple juice were produced, and from September 1958 to April this year, 3,445 cans of pineapple slice came out from the workshop.

Public opinion about the

Pineapples are among the indigenous fruits of Ghana. They grow over large areas in thick forests and are so common that nobody really takes the trouble to cultivate them for commercial use. Pineapple supply in the local markets usually exceeds demand by a wide margin.

## EARLY SELF-RULE THE AIM

# Kenya Nationalists' New Demands

From Contact Correspondent

NAIROBI: The biggest political news in Kenya is the Kenya National Party's statement of constitutional demands to be put forward to the forthcoming Round Table Conference early in 1960. The demands have cut the ground from under the feet of both Mr. Blundell's New Kenya Group and the Kenya Independence Movement of Mr. Tom Mboya.

The KNP demands responsible government for the 1964-68 period and full self-government in 1968. For the four-year period from 1960 to 1964 it demands a limited number of seats reserved for each of the races to be elected on a common roll on a common franchise. Africans should be given many more seats than the other races.

Further, it suggests that a much larger number of open seats should be made available for election on a common roll. The total number of elected members must exceed the total of nominated members and a proportion of the latter must be nominated from a panel recommended by the elected members. Unofficial ministers must be in a big majority for this period, with Africans predominating.

## All elected

For the period 1964-68 the party suggests that there should be a great increase in the number of open seats. There should be no more nominated members and, apart from two civil service ministers, all members should be elected. The leader of the majority party will be the leader of the House and all ministers, except the two civil servants, should be unofficials.

The proposals state that the Council of State should cease to function next year; a second chamber, or Upper House, with an unofficial majority should be set up in 1964.

In the year 1968, the party says, all seats in both chambers should be open and elected on universal adult franchise on a common roll. Nominated seats in the Upper House and reserved seats in the lower should be done away with.

A party spokesman said it was felt that it would be undesirable at this stage to disclose the breakdown of figures which had been decided upon for the various categories of seats, the

## AT OSU FACTORY



At work on one of the canning machines.



Picking pineapples is done by both men and women.

Fisheries Division and the Agricultural Development Corporation. The Fisheries Division, however, still runs it on the corporation's behalf.

Two types of pineapples are canned, the indigenous type, and 'smooth cayenne,' introduced into the country from the West Indies. 'Smooth cayenne' is usually big, sweet and more juicy than local pineapples; but the latter are much more tasty when canned.

Locally canned pineapples compare favourably with imported ones and are preferable in some cases.

The enterprise is entirely

apple, coupled with the desire for national industrialisation, has spurred on the Agricultural Development Corporation to improve and expand the canning enterprise, and look for some other outlets.

Tomato canning is the next item on the programme. A Dutch expert in tomato canning is already conducting a survey in the country to assess the possibilities.

Meanwhile, pineapple canning is geared for domestic consumption only. Nor is it likely that Ghana will export canned pineapples in the near future; but she will soon cut down the percentage of imported pineapple.

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Mr. Tom Mboya (right) talks to Dr. Ralph Bunche (left) at a recent meeting at United Nations Headquarters in New York.



CHINA APPROVES EISENHOWER-KHRUSHCHEV TALKS . . .

## BUT NO SIGNS OF BETTER RELATIONS BETWEEN WASHINGTON AND PEKING

WASHINGTON: Surprisingly, there is Chinese approval for the coming Eisenhower-Khrushchev talks. Peking did not welcome the prospect of such a summit last year, but now *Red Flag*, the paper of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, says "this is good for the relaxation of international tension. This has increased speculation on what place in the talks China will have, if any."

There is no sign in the Far Eastern Affairs Division of the US State Department that the American and Russian leaders will discuss better relations between Washington and Peking. Nothing has occurred, says the Division—neither the death of Mr. Dulles nor the replacement of Mr. Walter Robertson by Mr. Graham Parsons as Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs—to change the American attitude. US policy has been, and still is, to resist Chinese communist expansion and it is accepted that this threat of expansion persists.

### Peking "aggressive"

"Peking's policies are aggressive," say American officials, "and everywhere in South-East Asia Peking is supporting attempts to overthrow legal Governments by force."

If it be asked why military aid given by America, including aid to Chiang Kai-shek, is rated moral whereas military aid given by Peking is not, the State Department answer is that the United States is not engaged in a struggle for power; it is not trying to grab power in Asia, but simply resisting communist China's attempts to expand. "There is a difference," say the officials, "between supporting a free Government which asks for aid and supporting a communist take-over bid; there can be no equating of attempts to influence towards freedom with attempts to influence towards unfreedom."

Even so, could not Peking be recognised, since the State Department itself has repeatedly said that diplomatic recognition does not imply moral approval, and the United States, after all, recognises Moscow? Why keep China out of the United Nations, since it is agreed that it is better to talk even with one's enemies? And if the world is to have an effective ban on nuclear explosions, will China not have to be included?

The answer given by the State Department is as follows: One does not have to have diplomatic relations to operate inspection agreements — the

Korean and Indo-China agreements prove this. It took 16 years for the US to recognise the Soviet Union, and during that period Moscow was not engaged in aggressive moves, and was not violating international agreements. The Russians rejected the principle of universality in the United Nations charter and insisted that only "peace-loving" countries be admitted. China stands condemned before the General Assembly as an aggressor and she has not purged herself of aggression by withdrawing from Korea which she invaded. Russia may also not qualify as peace-loving, but she was in the UN from the first day, and the question of admitting her or not does not arise.

What did Britain get out of her attempt to recognise China? A chargé d'affaires in Peking who is never allowed to see anyone, and £1,200 millions of

British properties in China confiscated without compensation.

The remaining State Department arguments revolve around Formosa. "The existence of a free China is of tremendous psychological importance for all the anti-communist Chinese inside and outside China. Recognising Peking would mean the end of the Republic of China (Chiang Kai-shek's regime in Formosa)."

The prospect of two Chinas is not countenanced because "the communists will not accept two Chinas, so there is no point in discussing this"; not to mention the difficulties that a US Government would encounter in adopting a policy that finally accepted the communist victory on the mainland ten years ago.

All this is the official line in which US officials declare they believe. There are unspoken aspects.

### AARON'S ROD

## Ellamay Is a Social Problem In America

WASHINGTON: Ellamay, a Negro domestic servant, went home one day and found her girl friend lying on the floor murdered. The killer was the girl's "man". Ellamay also had a man, and she used to proudly show pictures of her children and their father. But she had quarrelled with him since then. Before the murder Ellamay often stayed at work long after her floor-scrubbing was done because she said she "liked being in a pretty house" and because "the rats back home won't miss me yet awhile." Now she stayed later because she felt safer. And then, one day she vanished without trace. She had taken her children and fled, probably to another Negro ghetto.

Half of America's domestic servants are Negro women, and many make their homes in slums which scar the world's richest country. In Washington's Negro areas—and more than half Washington is Negro—there are streets where it is unsafe to walk alone at night. Even the police stay out of this territory and the more violent crimes are seldom dealt with satisfactorily.

**A liberal public figure with a record of fighting for Negro equality is obsessed by these crime streets of Washington. Why, he keeps asking, does not the national Negro leadership launch an educational campaign to improve**

**the behaviour of the Negro? Why do not Negroes do more for one another in the way of organising against juvenile delinquency, building clubs for teenagers?**

It is true that the Negroes, as a class, have a worse record for antisocial behaviour than have the whites, but reasons for this abound. Many Negroes simply don't feel it matters how they behave. Whatever they do, they believe they will be snubbed and not given a fair chance. Even in the north of the United States this is so and perhaps no aspect of this discrimination makes the Negro more bitter than discrimination in employment.

Discrimination becomes most apparent in times of recessions when more Negroes than whites are discharged. For instance, in January 1958, unemployment for whites was 6.8 per cent., but for Negroes it was 12.2 per cent., and yet surveys indicate that the Negro worker is not a worse employee than a white man. Labour unions sign contracts with employers in which secret clauses restrict the Negro to menial jobs.

### Net result

The net result is that according to the census bureau, the average Negro income is half that of the average white.

Among professional and technical workers only 3 per cent. of all men are Negroes, even though Negroes are more than 10 per cent. of the popula-

Peking has never shown any willingness to let the US retreat honourably. The Chinese communists want an unconditional American capitulation and this is a very difficult thing for an American Government to swallow. A lot of underdeveloped nations spend much of their energy condemning all aspects of the US character and on the whole, the Americans have been meek, patient, understanding of such "growing pains." But these critics are, at worst, salvageable neutralists; it is something else to accept violent insults from declared enemies.

And the insults hurt. Friendship for China was a great movement in the United States

before Mao Tse-tung's victory. The old China hand was a respected, romantic figure, despite the occasional sweet smell of corruption about him. And the old China hand is still not entirely without influence where China policy is concerned.

Finally, there is the persisting American search for idealism in the pragmatic world of politics, for moral values. It is not always easy to make such clear distinctions and the US clings to the few easy ones. The American citizen may have to back colonialist allies, and worse still, fête Mr. Khrushchev, but he can still treat Mao as the devil, and there is something comfortingly familiar about this.

## BRIDGES BETWEEN PEOPLE

*THE EIGHTH* international congress of the International Federation of Business and Professional Women held at Unesco House in Paris recently brought together nine hundred delegates from 26 countries to discuss the theme: "Building Bridges Between Peoples". Speaking at the inaugural session, Mr. Jean Thomas, Assistant Director General of Unesco, stressed the identity of the goals of Unesco and the Federation. Unesco proposes specifically to "bridge ignorance . . . to enable the unfavoured nations to benefit from the experience of the more fortunate ones . . . It is also the role of Unesco," he said, "to bridge the infinitely different cultures of the world's peoples. In resolutions adopted by the congress, the Federation decided to continue its efforts to eliminate all forms of prejudice and discrimination against women."

voice changed immediately.

He was from the Deep South and was going back. Why should anyone want to go back to where he came from?

"Many of my people need help there . . ." As he talked easily his real role became clearer: a minor local prophet, a leader of downtrodden coloured sharecroppers. He preaches to them, a simple message, to organise and to study, and to keep fighting for registration on the voters' rolls.

### Getting on

"We're getting on. A step here, a step there. I won't live to see the day but the road is clear. Those who discriminate against us, those who want us to remain a serving caste (these are his words) . . . Why, we'll be nice to them but when election time comes we'll all vote solidly the other way. They'll learn by and by, though I won't see the day."

He was not acting on his own, but was a part of a movement, a sort of open underground movement, tunnelling under white supremacy. He was "up from behind the enemy lines for a breather" and for instructions before going back.

The militants are using Negro voting power as a battering ram to break down the walls of discrimination. They have secured federal anti-discrimination measures and similar measures from 18 State Governments—particularly New York where the legislation has been most effective. To the dismay of their liberal friends, the Negro activists seem to become more aggressive with each concession they gain and they are even rejecting as paternalism, the help of the white liberals.

Pride in discovering their own strength may eventually infect the mass of the Negroes who still see their life as a contest against hopeless odds.

tion. A Negro educationist remarked wryly the other day that "if a Negro boy gets a good engineering degree, he will get a good job running an elevator."

**This is one sort of thing which makes the Negro apathetic and uncaring about being anti-social. But that is only the more general reaction. There is also the reaction of a smaller, militant group which has consistently joined forces with white liberals to increase opportunities for Negroes. Their success has been impressive. In 1939 the average Negro income was a third of the white's, now it is half. Twenty years ago only 6 per cent. of working Negroes were in managerial, professional and other white collar jobs. Today the figure is 13 per cent.**

Down at the old fish market wharves of Washington, sat a Negro wearing blue jeans and a coat of the same material and surrounded by a collection of magnificently carved hickory sticks—tall sticks, stubby sticks, sticks like snakes ("Moses's Staff") or sticks ornamented with symbols, a hand, a bible ("Aaron's Rod"). He was carving yet another piece of hickory.

The hickory carver welcomed me. But he looked more than a wood carver, and when I introduced myself—a newspaperman, not American, interested in racial questions—his tone of

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## SAM SLY'S CORNER

FORTNIGHTLY NOTES ON BOOKS AND THE PRESS



### Embassy scandal

South Africa has a true friend in the Rev. Gunnar Helander of Sweden. With Professor Herbert Tingsten, he is giving the weight of his authority to the Swedish counterpart of the Defence and Aid Fund, which Senator Leslie Rubin advocated in Sweden last month. Helander was a missionary here from 1938 to 1956, and married an Afrikaans girl. He has written several books, one of which, *Black Rhapsody*, published in 1956 in America, was praised by Alan Paton. He will be taking part in debates and talks on our race problems, as will a recent visitor, Per Wästberg, and John Stonehouse, who will be in Scandinavia in November. A friend tells me that Helander is "intensely hated by your Embassy in Stockholm, which is distributing among Swedish businessmen and church people false details about Helander's personal life, in a manner that no legation has ever dared to do in this country."

### For sensitive plants

"High-minded little group", indeed! *Time*, in an issue which also pats *Drum* on the head and praises M. K. Jeffreys's Colour articles, dismisses the Liberal Party with the above back-hander and says it's "got nowhere". Curt Prendergast, who was brilliant in his recent *Time* feature on Sekou-Touré, was not so this time. He should know that the Liberal Party is the fastest-growing political group in the country and will soon be gaining members as fast

as the United Party, Unity Movement and others lose them. Out of all the gas about progressives, land transfers and Bantustans, one fact has been clearly stated. Verwoerd at Maritzburg:

Whites and non-whites have to exercise their political rights separately or whites and non-whites have to exercise them together. There is no third way.

The words after *or* are the policy, and in its own affairs, *the practice*, of one group and one group only, "high-minded" or otherwise. Sensitive plants needn't flinch at the word "high-minded" with its echo of humbug: Roget's *Thesaurus* lists it under *Disinterestedness*, in this flattering sequence: *handsome, liberal, noble; noble-minded, high-minded; princely*. . . *Time's* Mr. Prendergast is laying it on thick!

### Not for children

"Always verify your references", said the great Dr. Routh. This is vital in any South African research, where the strangest things happen when A quotes B. I was startled by A. F. Hattersley's remark (in his fine little *Oliver the Spy* reviewed here by M. K. Jeffreys) that "as late as 1861, Lady Duff Gordon found [white] labourers working under a black overseer." In vain I searched my copy of Lady Duff Gordon's *Letters*, until I saw the words "Edited for school use" on the title-page. The black overseer had been removed from the innocent eyes of school-children and is only

to be found in the expensive complete edition.

### Coming writers

Do you remember a story called "High Fence" in *Africa South*? It was by Michael Fisher, once of the University of Cape Town, now, at 25, surgical resident at the Doctors Hospital, New York. I admired his story, "The Hot Rain" in the August *Atlantic*. Due soon is his first novel, *The Sharp Edge of the Sun*, which will be published in London next year. Another South African first novel is *A Twist of Sand* by Geoffrey Jenkins: book and author are both being launched with full best-seller ballyhoo by Collins the publishers.

## NO USE

**PUEBLO.** By Michel-Droit (Eyre and Spottiswoode) 16s.

*PUEBLO* takes us into a very strange realm. It is not so much the external details that are affecting—although these too take us out of the commoner paths. The tall scarlet cliffs; the stony, naked countryside with its bright orange, blue and green hovels; the towns with their bizarre mixture of old and new—the blanketed, impassive Indians and the garish neon-lighted Woolworth's; the blood and dust and uproar of the bull-ring; the softness of the New Mexican night—these are all vividly drawn for us. But what gives this book its real originality is that we see through the eyes of a young Red Indian.

For the rest of the world, Red Indians are legendary figures belonging to the pages of story-books, to secret childhood games, to fancy-dress parties. And it is this very conception that is the chief source of their suffering. Poverty, oppression, and the grosser forms of injustice they do not know. "Being few, we are not dangerous," comments Paco, ironically. "We no longer constitute a problem, nor ever shall again. Just a small local question, occurring here and there, simple or awkward according to circumstances, but on the whole, negligible. Be that as it may, living in a town I should have to live apart, isolated. In the East . . . I should cause surprise by not sticking feathers in my hair and doing the scalp dance."

That is their tragedy—to be treated as picturesque *objects*, never as persons. It is when Paco flings the photographing fee back into a well-meaning tourist's face, that he begins to grow to a full realisation of his people's predicament. How to receive what the Whites offer, and at the same time to escape from it? There is no answer.

A slight and improbable story neither adds to nor detracts from the virtue of the book, which is that it reveals, in all its sadness, the situation of a people who have failed to come to terms with the age of technics and for whose age-old and haunted ways the modern world has no use.

FRANCES BOWERS

## OBSCURING THE FACTS

**TRANSITION IN AFRICA.** Edited by Gwendolen M. Carter and William O. Brown (Boston University Press)

American scholars are today giving more attention to Africa than are the British. Having discovered this continent about a dozen years ago, the American foundations and some universities

are spending a lot of money on research into its problems.

This is a good thing, yet its results are disappointingly smaller than one might expect. The first reason for this lies in the reluctance of Americans to commit themselves, a habit that has now infected academic men who give one the impression of knowing all the facts but none of the issues. The second reason, related to the first, is the tendency of American writers to obscure their meaning by writing in a sociological jargon painful to read.

This book provides an example of both weaknesses. It contains articles on Nigeria, Ghana, Rhodesia, and Kenya by men who have made every effort to understand and to report on the political situation. They fail to impart much of their knowledge because their style of expression has to be quoted to be believed.

In writing about "political role systems" in Ghana, two contributors jointly say that

"the method adopted for this analysis is to rank inter-related roles and membership groups in terms of their functional diffuseness."

In case you become hazy at this point (as I did), they kindly explain that their terms

"have the following meaning. Functional specificity and functional diffuseness: the qualities of goals, and means to goals, which characterise different roles and membership groups. 'Specific' and 'diffuse' represent the two poles of the characteristic role action between which varying degrees of specificity or diffuseness may be differentiated. Degrees between the poles are designated as predominantly specific, specific-diffuse, and predominantly diffuse."

Please, gentle reader, don't pretend that you grasped the meaning of all that, if you have any lingering doubt about it. I must honestly tell you that when I got to that point, I gave up. If that is the best American way of offering me an insight into Ghana's politics, I shall have to remain in outer darkness.

It is a pity, for I know Drs. Carter and Brown to be good scholars themselves and I wonder why they did not impose on the members of their team a decent minimum of lucidity if they wanted to give the book its proper value. As it is I closed the book sadly recalling that Bernard Shaw

once remarked that Americans are separated from the English by the barrier of a common language.

JULIUS LEWIN

## SEVEN TO TEN

**SIA LIVES ON KILIMANJARO.** Pictures by Anna Rivkin-Brick. Text by Astrid Lindgren (Methuen) 8s. 6d.

If you want to show some small nephew, niece or god-child who has never seen Africa, what this fabulous continent is really like, you can hardly do it better than by sending this beautiful little book. I think age groups seven to 10 would appreciate it most, but as the book is composed mostly of photographs, even younger children as well as grown-ups will enjoy it, too.

Sia is eight, but her gentle and expressive little face shows some quality which seems far beyond her years. The book makes a very simple story the excuse for a series of photographs of the heart of Africa. They convey, better than any words, the life and spontaneous friendliness of the people, and the brilliant countryside, with its exotic vegetation and wild animals.

F.B.

## SETTLER TYPES

**OLIVER THE SPY AND OTHERS.** A Little Gallery of South African Portraits. By Alan F. Hattersley (Maskew Miller) 17s. 6d.

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(Continued on page 11)

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## SETTLER TYPES

(Continued from page 10)

into the sphere of the upper servant class of Victorian times. From the story of young Paddy Farrel we learn of the vicissitudes of destitute child-labourers in Ireland, while the career of Inspector King tells of his early efforts to organise the Cape police on the lines of Metropolitan Force in London. William Layton Sammons, the original Sam Sly, with his famous African Journal, concludes the Cape section of the sketches.

From him to the Oxford man and hunting country squire, Charles Barter, is but a step, with his background of coaching and the playhouse and his travels in the two Americas.

Ascending still higher in the social scale, we meet Dr. Peter Cormack Sutherland, medical student of Aberdeen University, who combined surveying with his medicine, explored the Arctic in search of the remains of Franklin's expedition, and finally landed on the shores of Natal. Perhaps the most curious incident in his varied career was his method of conveying a skeleton to England in the luggage of an unsuspecting lady! Ethnologist and archaeologist, he was well acquainted with the material resources of the land of his adoption.

As a back-cloth to this colourful series, is the description of conditions and of the chaos caused by industrial unrest in the British Isles, with its sharp contrasts of wealth and poverty, conditions which are strikingly similar to those of present-day South Africa.

Professor Hattersley has set out all he could collect about these elusive personalities; those who like their problems solved for them may feel it tantalising that there are so many gaps; while others may find their appetite whetted: to investigate further.

M. K. JEFFREYS

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## OUR HISTORY: THE SEARCH FOR TRUTH

ON 21 MARCH, *Contact* published a review by Patrick Cullinan of A. B. Davidson's account in Russian of the Matabele and Mashona war against English colonisation, called *Matabele i Mashona v borbe protiv Angliskoi kolonizatsii*. We are now privileged to publish a reply received from Professor Ivan I. Potekhin, who is the head of the Soviet political drive in Africa, with a final statement by Patrick Cullinan. At the new year, Professor Potekhin was made chairman of the Soviet special commission charged with supporting "in every way possible" the "national liberation" struggle of Africa, as we informed our readers in a full and illustrated profile on 10 January.

## Potekhin:

I HAVE carefully read your review of A. B. Davidson's book *Matabele and Mashona in the Struggle against British Colonisation*. You have mentioned my name several times and I deem it my duty to answer you.

You are quite right in saying that my foreword to the book "has a message to everyone" who is devoted to the study and truthful recording of events of African history.

I share your opinion that "to record anew the history of Africa in the 19th century" is rather your duty than a duty of the Soviet historians. You live in Africa and it is you who is interested most in the creation of a true-to-fact history of Africa.

I am also glad to note that you say about the book that "the facts are there and this able book takes full advantage of them." Moreover, you admit that the facts "prove the author's case."

But how can you say after all that, that the book "irritates... with its Marxist supposition", that it is tendentious and that, finally, it is a challenge to the objective historian?

You have laid grave accusations against a scholar but where is the ground for them?

Your estimation of the book as being tendentious contradicts your statement that the author's conclusions rest on undeniable facts.

## OLD ARGUMENT

You call it tendentious on the grounds that nothing is said in it about "black barbarism and imperialism." It is true; nothing is said in the book either of black barbarism or imperialism. This is the difference, the line of divergence between historians who try to depict an objective picture of the historical process and those justifying the colonial oppression of the African people.

You call Lobengula a barbarian because he "was blood-thirsty as his forefathers. He was quite capable of firing and roasting alive an entire kraal of 60 men, women and children..." But this argument of yours is not a new one, it has long been in the service of the advocates of colonialism who have tried to justify the outrages committed by the imperialists in Africa.

The African people are presented as savage and blood-thirsty while the colonialists are presented as benefactors who have come to Africa for the exclusive purpose of doing good. This is such an old argument that, indeed, I hate having to speak about it once again.

You call Lobengula blood-thirsty because he "was quite capable of firing and roasting alive an entire kraal of 60 men, women and children who incurred his displeasure." But what do you call the people who in our days drop bombs on African kraals and kill thousands of men, women and children in Kenya, the Cameroons, and Algeria because they "incurred the displeasure" of the imperialists?

You remind us that Lobengula



Rhodes and the Matabele — a contemporary cartoon.

was capable of firing a kraal but you say nothing of the bloody massacres of the African people perpetrated by the imperialists both in the 19th century and in our time.

Where is objectivity? Who is to be reproached for being unobjective?

## INTERNAL AFFAIR

But this is not all. Lobengula used to administer justice and inflict punishment cruel as it was in his native land and it was, to use a modern term, an internal affair of the Matabele and they did not ask the Europeans to intervene.

Who gave the Europeans the right to interfere with the internal affairs of the African people? You write about the imperialism of the Matabele. One should be careful about using this term.

The history of humanity has recorded a great number of migrations of peoples in all the continents. Why not speak of the imperialism of the Kelts having in mind their migration to the British Isles? To say in passing the level of their historical maturity was just the same as that of Matabele. But that would not be science but a play on words. We prefer to adhere to scientific terminology.

We can consider it generally accepted that imperialism means a certain stage of development of capitalist society. Why then speak about "the imperialism of the Matabele"? Evidently, merely to say that Lobengula and Rhodes were both of them imperialists and to justify the colonising activities of Rhodes.

But are you being objective?

It is true that the Matabele had migrated to the land of the Mashona, but the Mashona had not asked Rhodes to save them from the Matabele. Quite the contrary: the Mashona and the Matabele had jointly fought against Rhodes. The relations between the Mashona and the Matabele were their internal affair, an affair of two African peoples and they had no need for any protection of the British colonisers.

## LET READERS JUDGE

I have given you my opinion concerning your accusation of A. B. Davidson's as being unobjective and tendentious. Now let the readers judge who departs

from the scientific understanding of the African history and who is tendentious.

A few words on your comment on the references to V. I. Lenin and J. V. Stalin. You are trying to draw some conclusions from the fact that in my book I quote Stalin where Davidson quotes Lenin.

This will lead you nowhere. The explanation is very simple. I wrote on a national problem and quoted Stalin because he has written special scientific paper on this subject; Davidson wrote on the imperialistic colonial policy and made references to V. I. Lenin because it was Lenin and not Stalin who created a scientific theory of imperialism. This does not call for any guess-work.

## Cullinan:

PROFESSOR Potekhin's answer to my review is interesting because it provides a further illustration of Communist inability to realise that an objective view of history can exist. If history is to be objective it must take note of all the facts that influence a particular situation. An objective historian will not suppress facts, nor will he write history to prove a predetermined theory. He will let the facts speak for themselves. Professor Potekhin's line of attack is to make out that my review is pro-imperialist. It is nothing of the sort, but it is definitely anti-Communist and against bias of any sort in writing history. In dealing with the points raised by Professor Potekhin I, in turn, leave it to readers to judge whether my view or that of the Soviet historian, A. B. Davidson, is more objective.

I say that the facts prove the author's case because it is true that the colonisation of Rhodesia was accomplished with bloodshed, trickery and an inhuman disregard for African life by the Pioneer columns. But the book does irritate and it is tendentious because of the suppression of other equally valid facts. Does Professor Potekhin deny then that there was black barbarism and that Lobengula subjected and enslaved the Mashona nations with the same disregard for human life as was later shown by the colonisers?

## LIVING FACT

I am not concerned with justifying either Lobengula or Rhodes; but to admit, as Professor Potekhin does, that this book says nothing about the facts of black brutality and then to give this as a reason for the objectivity of the book does not, in the name of logic, make sense to me.

To point out that Lobengula was as bloodthirsty as his forefathers and capable of roasting and firing alive an entire kraal of 60 men, women and children, is not an attempt to whitewash British imperialism. It is a living fact in the history of the Matabele and as such cannot be suppressed by any objective historian. Nowhere in my review are the "colonialists" presented as benefactors, so Professor Potekhin might have saved himself the trouble of 'having to speak about it once again'. It is also just not

true to say that I do not mention 'bloody massacres of the African people perpetrated by the imperialists,' because by reading my review you will see that I do so in the first paragraph. 'Where, indeed, is objectivity? Who is to be reproached with being unobjective?'

I agree, Professor Potekhin, one should be careful how one uses the word imperialism and I am so glad that you prefer to adhere to scientific terminology. When I hear that the peoples' revolt in Tibet is an imperialist plot, when I learn that the workers' revolution in Hungary was activated by imperialist warmongers, I begin to wonder myself what exactly the word imperialism means. But if the word imperialism is used in a variety of ways, how about the term 'migration'? Some people might find it just a little weak when used to describe the Matabele reign of terror over the Mashona.

## TO BE CONDEMNED

If I use the word imperialism to describe Matabele aggression it is because the Matabele were trying to carve out, along the lines of Chaka, an African empire of their own, and not because I wish to justify Rhodes. Oppression of other people, whether you call it imperialism, colonialism, 'migration', or an 'internal affair' is, in my eyes, still something to be condemned.

I do not deny that the Mashona later aided the Matabele against the colonisers, but to a nineteenth-century Mashona dynamite and a white skin must have seemed far more terrifying than an assegai and the devil he knew.

It is, of course, not for me to tell Mr. Davidson, whose book was published in 1958, not to quote Stalin. It is true, however, that Professor Potekhin's book *The Formation of the South African Bantu into a National Community*, published in 1955, quotes widely and extensively from Stalin. Furthermore, I feel that the histories of the South African and Rhodesian tribes both involve national problems and are deeply concerned with 'imperialistic colonial policy.' Indeed, the burden of both these books is the impact of this policy on those tribes. But perhaps Mr. Davidson does not think much of Stalin's 'special scientific paper'? Incidentally, in Professor Potekhin's book the index lists not one 'special scientific paper', but seven *Works* by Stalin.

## THE TRUE STORY

To conclude, I would like to reaffirm that my criticism of Mr. Davidson's book is not that it is anti-imperialist. I say it is tendentious because it suppresses facts and ignores anything that might detract from the historical assessment he wishes to make. The true story of the Matabele and Mashona in the nineteenth century and the conflict with the white colonisers must acknowledge that there was barbarism on both sides. It must give the facts, all the facts. The book under review does not do this and that is why it is unobjective, biased and, if you can stand the word again, tendentious.

19th September 1959



# "False Accusers Wrecked My Tour"

—BOYDELL

SIR,

In *Contact* of 8th August, you have an article headed "How Mr. Boydell's Australian tour was wrecked." The answer is simple. It was wrecked because my false accusers, the church, press and some students, accused me of "indoctrinating" the children with "racial poison" from South Africa.

Could you have any higher authority than the Deputy Director of Education for Western Australia who took me to the small town schools and heard a dozen of my talks to the children, and this statement appeared in public press at the height of the banning controversy?

"I found Mr. Boydell a very gifted speaker and most impartial during his lectures in the country. When addressing an audience, Mr. Boydell emphasised he was trying to deal with a controversial subject in a non-controversial way and left it to his listeners to draw their own conclusions."

In New South Wales, where I was banned, the Minister of Education stated in the press that my school talks "had been satisfactory" and that I "had observed the strictest propriety in any references he may have made to South Africa's race problems."

Without exception I was praised and congratulated by all the school authorities who heard me. They numbered 51. Also without exception I was damned by church, press and students, not one of whom heard my school talks.

Never was truth more outraged and justice more severely raped than when my accusers said I was "indoctrinating the children with racial poison." It

was for this false accusation that my talks were banned on 16 occasions. I addressed 51 schools out of 67 at which I had been booked.

*Contact* appears to support my false accusers' contentions. I can do more than state the truth which is: I did not preach racial poison. My talks were praised by all who heard them and condemned by those who didn't.

It's a strange world, my masters.

**THOMAS BOYDELL**  
14 Arcadia, Bayview Ave.,  
Tamboers Kloof,  
Cape Town

*Mr. Boydell kindly sent along with this letter a roneoed list of excerpts from letters written by school authorities praising his talks. Reading between the lines of these it is quite clear that he was white-washing apartheid. One principal wrote that "a great deal was achieved in the creating of a feeling of goodwill towards South Africa." By South Africa, of course, this bewildered principal meant the white population that supports apartheid. And there are many such.*

*Contact never said that Mr. Boydell was not praised or gifted, or that he broke the proprieties. What Mr. Boydell did was far worse: he defended the despicable system by which one South African who happens to be white*

(Continued from page 6)

by the friendly arm of the law ... or fist!

My sense of chivalry compels me to note in passing that Cape Town is no less remarkable for its collection of beautiful girls. This does not mean that I am a young man who immediately drools at the mouth at the sight of a female form. As a matter of fact my priest used to congratulate me on my austere tastes. However, Cape Town's brown beauties are an unforgettable sight. Some of its white girls can be quite embarrassing, too.

I remember the afternoon I and Paul Meyer, Cape Town's craziest jazz critic, were driving near Camps Bay. I turned to look at a bevy of beautiful girls who were walking barefooted on the road. Mistily, I observed one of them touching her lips and boldly throwing a gestured kiss in our direction. I couldn't help looking out for a uniformed figure lurking somewhere in the bushes. I recoiled further into my black skin and behind my dark glasses in sheer white terror.

Cape Town's friendliness is too well-known to need comment. Its hospitality was characterised for me by all the people who invited me to parties. This, of course, was disastrous for both my health

and working schedule. I came to realise only too late that I was spending most nights gadding about and the days sleeping instead of achieving some of my half-hearted intentions to work.

Yet, this going out and meeting people was quite profitable in a way. I met quite a few interesting people. Some I hope I will never meet again. I also had a chance to know what people thought of my rather inept and pointless writing. Needless to say quite a lot of them like it—which is tragic. But I love them for it. Some don't, and naturally I hate them for it.

Once I had lunch with a young woman who thought I wrote badly and tried to imitate Salinger to boot. This was quite refreshing after having spent half the night in Joburg arguing with an Englishman who was dead certain that I picked my style from Damon Runyon whom, unfortunately, I had not read. At the University of Cape Town I was introduced to a horrible young man who wanted to know if I was the "Nkosi who writes for *Contact*." I quickly said "Yes," and waited to be congratulated. "I hate your writings," he said firmly. What a piece of impudence! Nobody has any business not to like my writing. That horrible young man owes me an apology.

## To Correspondents

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

*battens on and exploits another because he is not white.*

*Another wrote that "an important part of his address was devoted to an explanation of the policy of apartheid. Though many Australians thought the policy was lacking in idealism yet it was a practical way of preventing the white races in South Africa from being submerged by the black majority. The policy was to restrict advances made by the black people to improvements within their own special areas and to prevent them gaining influence in white areas."*

*Another wrote that "his purpose is to correct half-truths and false impressions of South Africa, particularly in regard to the colour problem."*

—Editor.

## We Want Self-Rule

SIR,

All Nyasas, at home or abroad, waited with great anxiety for the publication of a Report into the recent disturbances in the hitherto peaceful "Land of the Lake".

We were all grateful at the Commission's findings that there was no detailed African Congress plot or massacre and assassination in Nyasaland, as alleged in government Reports.

Dr. Banda is now in prison because of the liberation of his people. The spirit of freedom is in the heart of every one in Nyasaland—male or female. We are all politically awake, and the keeping in prison of our dear Dr. Banda does not help solve the problem.

We want self rule—Black self rule. No more, no less.

**E. J. BANDA**  
Mufulira, N.R.

## What has ANC Achieved?

SIR,

We have at last seen the long overdue split in the United Party, an organization which has been more concerned with getting into power than with the rights of South Africans. It is only right that such a group should disappear.

There exists another group in this country, however, whose hidden motives can hardly be called patriotic or democratic. I refer to the Congress alliance in which, as in the United Party, good men have to keep quiet for fear of embarrassing the left-wing types in the Congress of Democrats.

The ANC has some very good people in its ranks and yet what has it achieved? After 50 years of existence its membership is shockingly small and its record consists of one successful bus boycott and a long list of unsuccessful strikes, boycotts, and protests. Chief Lutuli can do as little good in the Congress alliance as John Cope could in the United Party.

The other organizations in the alliance are mere stooges of the COD and yet, when a committee is formed to control the alliance, SACPO, with a national membership that could get lost in one branch of the ANC, sends as many representatives as the ANC. It is not only the Nats that use the African for their own purpose.

Do ANC leaders really believe that the COD desires a state where individuals are allowed to own property, to express political opinions, to enjoy freedom of movement, speech, worship or association; rights which are fast disappearing in Russia and South Africa? Are Africans prepared to watch their women go through the Natal uprisings to establish a state which will necessitate another Budapest or Kerala uprising?

I cannot see how some Liberals, pledged to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which was rejected by Communist Russia and Nationalist

South Africa, can oppose the United Party while they hesitate to fight the Congress of Democrats. These organizations are very similar; both have a few good men gagged by the rest, both practice *apartheid* in their membership, both howl about "splitting the opposition" and about "the greater common enemy", and both believe that anyone who fights them is helping the Nats as though the doctor who fights smallpox is spreading cancer.

All that Chief Lutuli achieves when he appeals to Liberals to drop their anti-communist plank is to make his cruel and unjust ban under "The Suppression of Communism Act" look passably respectable. The chief should look down the long list of good men who have been used by communists and who have ended disillusioned and frustrated.

Countries like France, Belgium and Italy co-operated with communists to destroy "the greater common enemy" and with what result? The end of Nazi-ism was not very much hastened and these countries are still paying the price in weak and insecure governments plagued by communist influence. It will need a strong government to right the Nationalist evils and there must be no communist influence in that government.

We must work to smash the United Party and the communist-controlled section of the Congress alliance. Only in a non-racial organisation such as the Liberal Party can men of the stature of Lutuli and Cope hope to destroy totalitarianism.

**BRIAN F. BISHOP**  
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