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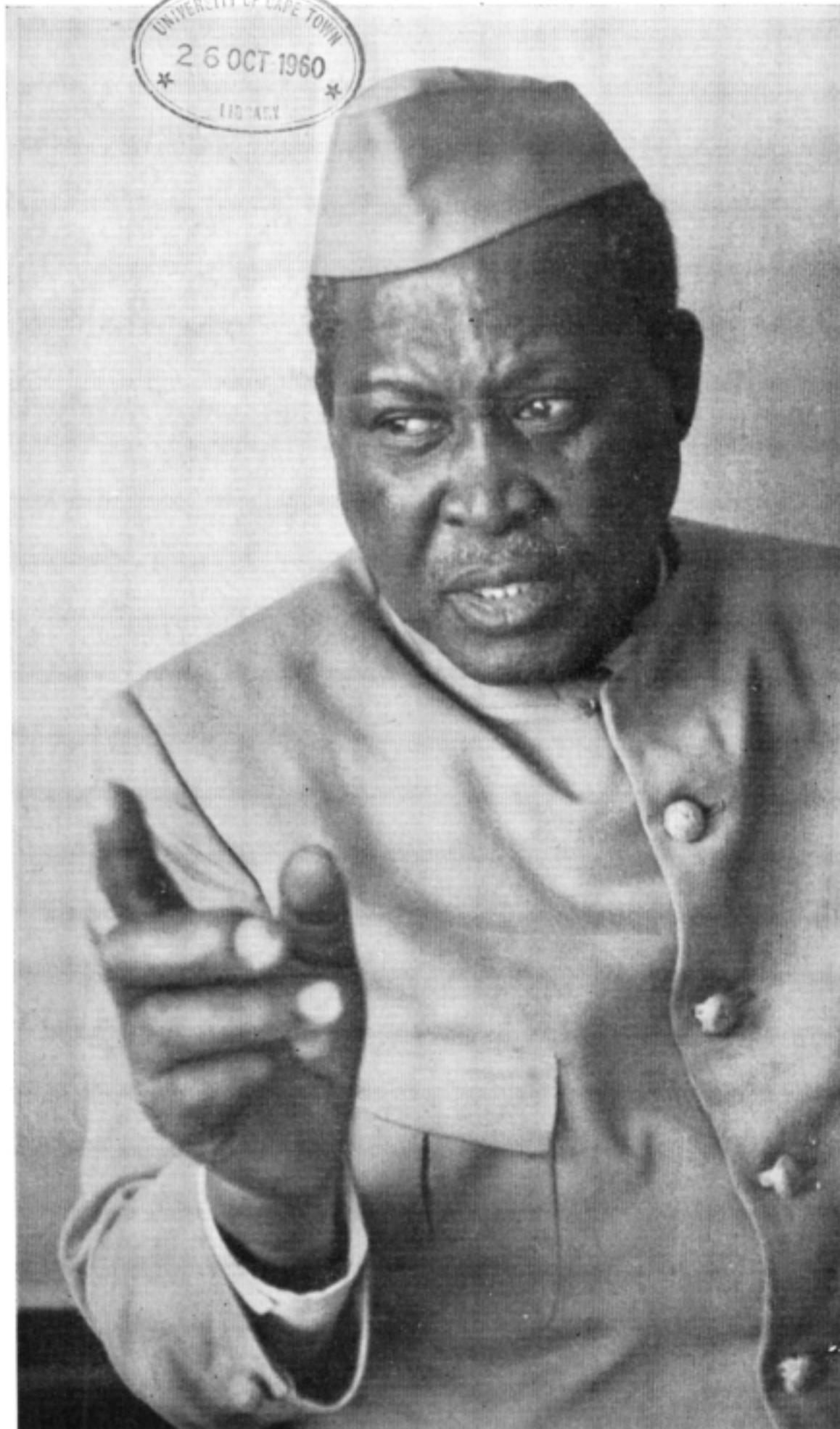
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LUTULI — See Profile, Page 3

Liberal election campaign

News From Sea Point Front

THE provincial election at Sea Point, in which Dr. Jan Domisse (United Party) is opposing Mr. Patrick Duncan (Liberal), has turned out to be well worth fighting. At the time of writing the result is not known. But whether won or lost it has given the Liberal Party an unequalled chance of putting across its message.

Some eighty volunteers have turned out to canvass, and approximately one half of the voters have been visited. Five public meetings have been held. Members of all races have spoken at the meetings, and have helped with canvassing, and it is quite clear that public opinion among the voters of Sea Point has moved a long way towards the Liberal point of view during the eighteen months since Mr. Gerald Gordon fought his campaign in the 1958 general parliamentary election.

The split in the United Party has done much to make traditional United Party supporters think again, though many thousands still support their traditional party in an unthinking way.

One of the pleasant aspects of the campaign is that neither side—with a few exceptions on the United Party side—have attacked the personalities involved.

Over £700 was collected, nearly all from members in small amounts, by the fund raising committee under the chairmanship of Mr. Jack Causton.

The Liberal approach to the voters has not consisted in an all-out attack on the United Party, but rather a suggestion that, whatever the value of that party might have been in the past, it was now out-of-date. Liberals have criticised the United Party for having no effective or clear answer to the great central question of the present day—the relations between the South African government and the non-white citizens, and for being unable to oppose the injustices of apartheid adequately.

The response in public meetings has shown that at least three times as many people, on an average, have gone to Liberal meetings as have gone to United Party meetings. In every case the Liberal speakers have obtained votes of confidence, usually by overwhelming majorities.



These pictures show (top) overwhelming support (280-45) for the Liberal candidate, Mr. Patrick Duncan, at one of several similar meetings and (above) Mr. Duncan, Dr. Oscar Wollheim (in the Chair) with Mr. Joseph Nkatlo, speaking.

AT SEA POINT MEETING



Our Contemporaries

Review of Periodicals

THERE IS A vast field of periodicals reporting progress of Africa and other ex-colonial areas in the modern world. Last fortnight we noticed excellent Cape Town quarterly *Africa South* (2 Vt Gebou, Church Square, Cape Town).

This fortnight we bring a few more to the notice of our readers. We will continue from time to time to notice others. In every case where we can, addresses and subscription rates will be shown.

TSOPANO

Pride of place must go to a most courageous and handsome venture, *Tsopano*, a new monthly produced in Nyasaland. No 1 is in respect of October.

Since *Contact* was banned in Nyasaland for publishing experts from the Devlin Report that the Government found embarrassing, Nyasalanders have been keen to get hold of a paper that is not just a Government propaganda sheet. This need was met recently by the publication of the first issue of this new Nyasaland monthly magazine.

Produced by a joint African-European editorial board, *Tsopano* takes as its aim "to provide a true and genuine medium for the expression of African opinion in Nyasaland". The sales of the first issue seem to indicate that *Tsopano* is succeeding in its aim. The whole issue was sold out in one day and 400 copies were sold in one hour in Blantyre alone. Now copies are to be found throughout the country even in the remotest villages and orders are pouring in to the editors for the next number.

There was some apprehension that *Tsopano* too would be banned by the Nyasaland Government, as even the mildest criticism of the *status quo* can cause proscription under the Emergency Regulations still in force in Nyasaland. The editors, however, had taken legal advice to ensure that nothing seditious was contained in the paper and there has been no official reaction so far.

The publication of *Tsopano* was seriously delayed by the inter-

ference of the Southern Rhodesian C.I.D. who visited the printer Salisbury and asked to see material before it was published. The printers refused as a matter of principle to let them see it, decided it would be safer for them not to print *Tsopano*. An advance was obtained (after considerable delay) from the Minister responsible for the police, the visit was "of a routine nature not intended to reflect discredit on *Tsopano*", but the printers could not alter their decision.

The issue contains an article criticising the Nyasaland Government for its suppression of *Contact* and there is a demand that all detainees should be released or brought for trial immediately. There is also an article by Guy Clutton Brock of the members of the Southern Rhodesian Congress detainees' March, entitled "Nationalism: Nyasaland's big asset."

There is a mass of good material in this beautifully produced monthly. Each number costs 6p. The Editor P.O. Box 1119, Blantyre, Nyasaland.

TOWARD FREEDOM

"We believe that the permanent elimination of colonialism—in Hungary or Angola—is essential to a free world". That is the slogan that appears at the head of the July-August issue of *Toward Freedom*, a newsletter on colonial affairs.

Homer Jack, veteran anti-colonialist, who attended Bandung, Cairo, and Accra conferences, is one of the main spirits in *Toward Freedom*. The newsletter of four pages can be obtained for \$3 a year (Room 1119, 343 S. Dear for students).

(Continued on page 10)

CONTACT

South Africa's Non-racial Review

SUBSCRIPTION RATES

Subscription rates for *Contact* (post free) are as follows:

AFRICAN POSTAL UNION (South Africa, Angola, Belgian Congo, Mozambique, Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda, Zanzibar and the following Republics: Cameroun, Chad, the Congo, the Central African Republic, and the Malagasy Republic):

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UN Witness to be President

From *Contact* Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: An Herero student who is now in New York waiting to give oral evidence before the United Nations, was elected as first president of the South West Africa National Union at a meeting in Windhoek recently.

The student—Mr. Jairiretundu Kozonguizi—slipped out of South West Africa after being refused a passport to travel overseas. He went to New York after a visit to Ghana.

The new organisation was set up as the result of a letter received from Mr. Getzen—another Herero student who is also in New York. In a letter written to several persons in SWA, Mr. Getzen said that the time was ripe for action and that all non-white organisations should combine in an effort against the white regime.

PORTRAIT OF A GREAT LEADER

ALBERT LUTULI OF THE ANC

WHEN CHIEF Albert John Lutuli, President-General of the African National Congress, was banished to his home village for two years under the "Suppression of Communism Act", the white press of South Africa extended a little finger and jabbed the news on to a bottom corner of a middle page. Two years later, when Chief was served with a further notice, banning him from all gatherings for two years, the same papers gave the story the space that they usually devote to the mailboat arrival of a British Major-General (rtd.). In May this year, the Chief was paid another visit by the political police, who served him with a notice from the Minister of Justice banishing him to his village and banning him from all gatherings for a period of five years. And the white press exploded into banner headlines and editorials.

This was partly due to a change in the white image of the ANC. Since 1952, the Congress had staged a Defiance Campaign that made even the whites in the political gallery edge forward a little in their seats, organised a number of "stay-at-homes" that had brought large sectors of industry to a stop, and reaped the reward of the successful bus boycott of '56-'57, when more than 60,000 Africans on the Reef walked twenty miles each day rather than meet a penny per journey increase in their bus fares and so forced the Government to meet their increased transport cost out of its own pocket. Above all, the Treason Trial arrests of December '56 had emphasised the swiftly growing strength of organised non-white political opinion.

White South Africa was feeling much less sure of itself in May this year than it felt in '52 or '54. With the arteries of apartheid hardening daily, white supremacy was clearly in for a coronary, and the mass movement of the non-white peoples was as a result more and more taking on the guise and prestige of an official opposition.

Behind the Headlines

Yet there was more to the banner headlines in the white press than just this. The character of the Chief himself had slowly dawned in the consciousness of white South Africa, quietly yet resolutely, to the point where banishment and banning seemed the act of a frightened tyranny against moderation, the banishment and banning of the whole culture of democracy. For the distinction of the Chief's personality had leaped over the colour bar. And when the Chief spoke in Cape Town for the first time early in his year, the sleepy whites of the Peninsula roused themselves to pack his meetings and cheer his speeches. It was a new Christianity and a new Africa that they heard a his voice.

The Chief was born to the Christianity he images. His tribe, one of the scattered remnants of the once invincible Zulu empire, had adopted Christianity from the Congregationalist mission established in its midst; and Lutuli, nephew of the reigning chief, received from childhood the training that would fit him for his tribal responsibilities. From the local mission school, he went to Adams College, the American Mission Secondary School, where he graduated to become a school-teacher himself.

Staying on at Adams to teach Zulu history and literature, he was firmly settled in his academic vocation when, fifteen years after his

By
Ronald Segal

appointment, he was petitioned by the elders of his tribe to fill the vacant chieftaincy. It must have seemed at the time the abdication of all worldly ambition—suffoca-

breaking of discriminatory laws in protest at the rioting tyranny of apartheid. The Chief did not himself go to jail, but he gave his unequivocal support to the campaign and those who actively participated in it. As a Christian, he felt that he could not obey laws which affronted his essential dignity; as from Congress or abdicate his



LUTULI

tion in the cramped tribal world of petty litigation, Sunday preaching and the hopeless interminable struggle for the fruits of an exhausted earth. For two years he hesitated, and then he chose. Both his religion and the allegiance he owed his people persuaded him to accept.

For seventeen years he governed in Groutville, presiding at the councils and beer-drinks and patiently succouring the spirit of the shattered tribe. And all the while, the political surge of the African people was drawing closer, till it engulfed even the tiny tribal world of Groutville.

After a few years of service on race relations committees, the Chief joined the African National Congress in 1946, rising soon to the presidency of the Natal Provincial Division. It was a decision governed by his Christianity and racial allegiance alike.

In 1952, the ANC launched the Defiance Campaign, an organised

breaking of discriminatory laws in protest at the rioting tyranny of apartheid. The Chief did not himself go to jail, but he gave his unequivocal support to the campaign and those who actively participated in it. As a Christian, he felt that he could not obey laws which affronted his essential dignity; as from Congress or abdicate his

In reply, the Chief wrote:

"Who will deny that thirty years of my life have been spent knocking in vain, patiently, moderately and modestly at a closed and barred door? What have been the fruits of moderation? The past thirty years have seen the greatest number of laws restricting our rights and progress until today we have reached a stage where we have almost no rights at all.

"It is with this background and with a full sense of responsibility that, under the auspices of the African National Congress, I have joined my people in the new spirit that moves them today, the spirit that revolts openly and boldly against injustice and expresses itself in a determined and non-violent manner.

What of the Future?

"What the future has in store for me I do not know. It might be ridicule, imprisonment, concentration camp, flogging, banishment and even death. I only pray to the Almighty to strengthen my resolve so that none of these grim possibilities may deter me from striving, for the sake of the good name of our beloved country, the Union of South Africa, to make it a true democracy and a true union, in form and spirit, of all the communities in the land."

Soon afterwards, he was elected

President-General of the African National Congress.

It is a formidable alliance of forces, that of Chief and Congress. For Congress is rooted in the vast urban black proletariat; its world is that of the townships, of seething mass meetings among the shanties, of strikes and stay-at-homes. Chief with his unassuming grey-haired dignity, his quiet determination, his broad vigorous Christianity, represents the elders, rurally and still hierarchically rooted, slow but formidable in their anger.

If Chief's thick-shouldered moderation, his almost stolid statesmanship, reassures the African middle class, the clergy, the traders and the clerks, and the conservative farming communities, Congress itself, muscular with the millions who work in the factories and fill the shops, speaks the language of industrial revolution and street demonstrations. Yet each of the parties has borrowed from and blended into the other.

With Chief at its head, Congress has gained some of his glamour with the African people as a whole, much of his dignity his traditional strength, and has thus acquired with his popular image something of the national personality that any successful mass movement must emotionally have. And Chief himself, by suffering together with his people in their boycotts and stay-at-homes, by ban and by banishment, has grown towards political struggle from pronouncements and petitions, from anguish to aspiration.

BANTU AUTHORITIES IN CAPE

CHIEF KAISER'S BROTHER PUTS IT ACROSS

CHIEF George Matanzima, attorney of Engcobo, Cape, and younger brother of Chief Kaiser Matanzima of Tembuland, returned to the Transkei on 5 October after being sent by the Department of Bantu Administration and Development to put over the Bantu Authorities Act to Africans in the western Cape. Asked in an interview whether he had been told by the BAD Department to explain the Act as a step towards African independence in the Bantustans, his exact words were:

"No, the only reason why the people accept it is because it is the lesser of two devils—the Bunga which had far less Government backing than its alternative the Authorities Act."

He said he thought that the system brought about by the Act had "definite weaknesses"

in not being democratic. "I think it could be improved by giving the people a greater say in the appointment of the Chiefs", he remarked.

He said that he agreed with the dictum "evolution not revolution", and estimated that the African would be ready to take a fully equal place next to the white man in 50 years.

Ghana parallel

During Chief Matanzima's visit *Contact* received unconfirmed reports of his arguments used at Tembu gatherings in the Cape Peninsula. The independence of Ghana and India were said to have been stated as a parallel to the Bantustan plan. It was noteworthy that conservative Africans were receptive and said: "Even if the Bantustans are small, we can make them bigger."

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"HEARTBREAK HOMES"



This picture shows the appalling conditions under which unemployed squatters have to live at Mandeni, Zululand.

UNCERTAINTY AT MOSSEL BAY

From *Contact* Correspondent

MOSSEL BAY: Uncertainty, resulting from the inability of the Group Areas officials to make up their minds, often causes non-white residents great financial losses, and sometimes ruin. This emerges from the end-of-term report presented to the Mossel Bay Town Council by the retiring Mayor, Mr. H. Schapira.

He told Council that a scheme for 1,700 houses with churches, schools, post office, municipal offices, etc., is now ready, and that building could start to-day. The only thing lacking is a site, and this cannot be chosen until the Group Areas Board has made its decision.

Three-cornered discussions are interminably dragging out between the Council, the Group Areas authorities, and the Provincial authorities.

In the meantime, properties are not being maintained properly. Some non-whites have sold at a loss, and are trying to begin again in the recognised, and desperately overcrowded, "non-white" area of Sunnyside.

The whole operation represents a fearful dismantling of human endeavour.

In the suburb adjoining Sunnyside, Tarka, uncertainty reigns. This established non-white area is coveted by many of the town's white residents, merely because of the beautiful view that it commands.

This almost frivolous attitude

to non-white vested rights goes side by side with desperate overcrowding. Due to the uncertainty and suspense, and to earlier neglect, for some sixteen years no houses have been built in Mossel Bay for non-whites.

There is a thriving settlement of Africans here, mostly settled in the Junior Cape Corps Camp, and mostly employed in the canning industry, in industry generally, and in the municipality.

The Town Council some time ago planned to develop "Marais's Farm" as a housing estate for them. Plans were being made for a permanent settlement here, but these were all thrown out of joint by a visiting B.A.D. official, who said that the expense of building new roads, etc. would be excessive, and that the Africans could stay where they were until the time for their removal had come.

This clearly shows the determination of the Government to press on with the total removal of Africans from behind the "Eiselen Line", and the fact that Mossel Bay is the wrong side of this line.

HOW MANY S. AFRICANS ARE LIVING

Ladysmith — Typical of Group Area Injustices

I GUESS Ladysmith is a fairly typical South African town, little better or worse than most other towns in this country. And I'm pretty certain that one could write a similar exposure about almost every other town in this country, which shows to the passing motorist only its café- and filling-station-lined main street.

Its white and African populations are roughly equal in number—about 9,000 each. In addition to this there are something like 3,500 Indians living in Ladysmith, and a few coloureds. It is a busy little town, rapidly and self-consciously becoming industrialised. Like many another South African town, it experienced a transformation from an almost purely English-speaking town to one where the two official languages are in more or less equal usage.

This Afrikanerisation was partly the result of the general movement of Afrikaans people from the rural areas to the towns which occurred as a result of the depression during the 'twenties and 'thirties; but it was also consciously fostered by the establishment of large railway yards, about one mile north of the town at Danskraal. The people employed there are almost exclusively Afrikaans-speaking.

Spells ruin

Among the Indians, the traders are by far the most significant group and own about half the shops in the main street. Under the Group Areas Act it is proposed to move them across the river a good distance from the centre of the town, where they will be out of the way for European shoppers. At present they have a large white clientele. The proposed move will ruin a great many of them. Of those Africans not employed in domestic service an increasing number are finding employment in industry.

During the past ten years, attracted by cheap land, labour and favourable terms offered by the town council, factories have sprung up, the most important being cotton spinning, textile and clothing.

Africans not employed in domestic service are expected to live in the African locations of Jabavu and White City to the north-east of the town. For several years these locations have been unable to accommodate all the Africans employed in the town. The Town Council recognises the need for more houses and is prepared to build new houses, but there is one snag—at present the road to Helpmekaar runs past these locations. Perhaps the authorities consider it dangerous to have such a road passing so close to the location; or perhaps they consider it unhealthy or unethical, but whatever their reasons, the Roads Board is not satisfied with the present arrangement. So either the Helpmekaar road or the location will have to be shifted.

The Helpmekaar road question is due to come up before the Roads Board. It has been

By
Liz Palmer

due to come up before the Roads Board for the past two years. When questioned about the matter the members shrug their shoulders and say, "perhaps it will be settled in two weeks . . . perhaps it will be two years . . . !"

Meanwhile the position is serious. The location is dangerously overcrowded and, at the same time, it is forbidden for any African not employed in domestic service to sleep in the town. The police make frequent raids to see that this regulation is not infringed. During a recent raid, an African was found sleeping in a lavatory in someone's back yard. He was paying the owner £1 a month for the privilege!

What is to be done? The location cannot hold any more people; yet these people are not allowed to sleep in town where they might find some form of lodging. So where do they sleep? They are driven out to sleep among the rocks and thorn trees on the koppies around the town; to live like tramps and hunted creatures on the outskirts of the town for whose present prosperity they are largely responsible. And around here the winter months are bitterly cold.

True picture

Meanwhile the worthy white citizens of Ladysmith gather around their snug fires and talk fearfully of "vagabonds and thieving natives" sleeping out on the hills. The fact is that this vagabond way of life is forced on these people by the incompetence and muddle-headedness of a bunch of bureaucrats.

But even supposing there were no housing problem, life would be far from easy. At one of the factories the starting wage for an unskilled worker varies between 15/- and 19/6 a week. This works out at roughly £4 10s. a month, which at first may seem reasonable as compared with the £1 - £4 earned by the average domestic worker here. But the factory hand's wage includes the food, lodging and frequently working clothes which the worker in a home receives as a matter of course. The industrial worker also faces the problem of transport to the factories, which are all some distance from the location.

Even if one sleeps out on the hills it must be difficult to live on £4 10s. a month, and what if you are trying to support someone else on that wage as well?

To do Ladysmith industrialists justice I must say that at a factory where conditions are slightly better, the starting wage is £1 5s. a week (about £6 a month). Here experienced, skilled workers earn £3 10s. (say £16 a month)—just on the bread line, and the factory prides itself that at Christmas time bicycles are given away to employees of several years' standing.

At another factory, however, Christmas is celebrated rather differently. In theory, pay increases should be in accordance with the length of time a man has been employed. Considering this principle uneconomic, the employers have devised the following scheme. At Christmas each year the entire factory staff, with the exception of a few necessary skilled workers, are paid off. Then they begin a happy New Year by signing on an entirely "new" staff. Jobs are scarce and a man is so glad to get his job back that there is no thought of complaint.

Helpless

This is possible because of the lack of organisation among the workers who, individually, are helpless to fight back, but also because the presence of a large number of unemployed allows the employer to behave in a cavalier manner towards his employees.

In no other country would sane men consider that a person could live and work in a town on £6 a month. That fact is made tragically clear by the following case which came to my notice. It concerns an African factory worker in this town. On the wage he was getting he could not afford to bring his wife and family to live with him in town. He himself, was living in the location, sharing a room with nine other men.

During the recent 'flu epidemic, he went to work on Monday but by the afternoon he was so ill that he was allowed to go home. His body was already weakened by lack of proper food, clothing and poor living conditions, and he rapidly developed into pneumonia. Four hours after going home from work he was dead. He was a Roman Catholic, but he died before either priest or doctor could reach him. He was dead before his family even knew he was ill.

This is only one case that I happened to hear of by chance. How many similar stories could be told I cannot say and I fear to ask. But this case alone is a terrible indictment against those who are prepared to employ their fellow men for such a pittance.

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JOHANNESBURG COLOURED COMMUNITY

Angry Young Leader Arouses Council

From Contact Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: Johannesburg at last is waking up to the plight of its 47,000 Coloured people. Two men, one white, one Coloured, are largely responsible for this. They are Mr. A. J. Cutten, perhaps the most independent-minded of the city councillors, and Mr. Godfrey Beck, the "angry young man" secretary of the powerful Transvaal Coloured People's Progressive Association.

What Mr. Cutten had to say at a city council meeting shocked many citizens, and resulted in a leading article in the *Daily Mail* calling for action.

Accusing the City of "shamefully neglecting" its Coloured people, Mr. Cutten, who is a housing expert and town planner in private life, said that of 1,666 families, 4,000 were without "proper homes."

He warned against complacency now that the council has embarked on two Coloured housing schemes—in Newclare and in Langlaagte. Even with homes built on these sites, there would be a shortage of 1,600 houses.

"The result of this neglect is that the Coloured people are today embittered, antagonistic, inco-operative and extremely critical of the City Council," he said.

Radical suggestion

Mr. Cutten made the radical suggestion that the City should establish a "building society" to lend Coloured people 95 per cent of the money required for new homes. He also urged that Group Areas should be obtained for Coloureds in certain areas to the west of the city.

Perhaps his most important—and least publicised proposal was that the Council should establish a separate department of Coloured Affairs.

Speaking from years of experience on the present Non-European Affairs Committee, he said that this department is too busy worrying about African administration to give time to the requirements of the Coloured people.

Mr. Godfrey Beck, the lanky secretary of the Transvaal Coloured People's Progressive Association, has also been very active. He got the Bishop of Johannesburg, the Rt. Rev. Ambrose Reeves, and the Methodist Church leader, Dr. J. B. Webb, to lead a deputation to the City Council of Johannesburg to plead for better houses; and he has just announced that Transvaal Coloureds will boycott the Union Festival and the recently-formed Union Council of Coloured Affairs.

Very little is known of the private life of Godfrey Beck, but he has a habit of entering the news room of the English newspapers whenever something is happening. He is unknown to COD and is hardly known among liberals and progressives.

He is tough. He was recently expelled from a meeting between the city's Non-European Affairs Committee and Coloured leaders. The Chairman, Mr. Harry Goldberg, ruled that his behaviour was "unruly." But a councillor who was present said afterwards: "Beck had a legitimate grouse, but he became too worked-up about it."

Old story

Mr. Beck's point in negotiating with the council is plain: he says "The Government says that it is your responsibility to house our people. You say the Government won't give the land. It's the old story about passing the buck."

Memoranda presented by Mr. Beck to the Mayor when the meeting attended by the clergymen was held include phrases like these:

"We are abandoned to oblivion.

"How can this state of affairs be reconciled with common decency?"

Lack of amenities

"The lack of amenities—swimming baths, parks, playgrounds—make our children early in life aware of the social injustices and the degradation and shame of being coloured."

In an interview, Mr. Beck said that his people will not celebrate the Union Festival because "there is nothing except job reservation, third-class citizenship and low wages to celebrate."

At meetings held by his organisation in Johannesburg and in Pretoria, as many as 300 people have cheered plans to boycott the Festival.

"Sham" Union

Mr. Beck is also certain that the "sham" Union Council of Coloured Affairs (the Government will nominate the majority of members) will be boycotted in the Transvaal when it is set up to co-operate with the new Coloured Affairs Department.

What does all this achieve? Mr. Beck is confident that the City Council, forced into action by the mounting outcry about shocking conditions, will give orphanages, an old-age home and other amenities to the Coloured community when it starts work on its Newclare and Langlaagte housing schemes. He also expects that a cinema and a

restaurant will be permitted in the city area.

But whether he gets this or not, Godfrey Beck and his committee will go on fighting—and they are rapidly winning over sympathetic and often powerful allies.

SEA POINT TENANTS HARD HIT

WORTHY RESIDENTS OF LONG STANDING MUST GO

GROUP AREAS greed has struck again—this time at Cape Town. In three of the most desirable suburbs of the town are small communities of Coloured people—Germantown in Tamboers Kloof, Tramway Road in Sea Point, and in Newlands.

These areas have been lived in by Coloured people right from the beginning. Now they have been given one month to leave. The people have nowhere else to go except to the bush round Cape Town. In the case of Tramway Road, Sea Point, a deputation went to see the Under Minister, Mr. P. W. Botha, and he told them that they might continue to live "among the Saps of Sea Point" for another year, and that they would not be moved unless new houses were available. **No such pledge has been given to the people of Germantown or Newlands.**

They, apparently, have to find themselves new houses. But there are 12,000 families waiting for houses in Cape Town, and they have very little hope of getting anything.

I went to see the people of Tramway Road. For them life has not been too bad. For generations they have built up a community that has been a little oasis of democracy and peaceful living. Some families have been there for over 100 years.

Now the Coloured people there—over 300 men, women and children—have been given one year to get out. Like thousands of Coloured families in the Peninsula, they are living in an area proclaimed "white" by the Group Areas Board.

What does this mean in human terms to the people who have to uproot their homes and their families and find their own alternative accommodation?

I went to visit them in their two and three-roomed cottages a few days after they received their notices to quit. It is a quiet, uphill street leading off Regent Road, near the bus terminus. Dilapidated outside, the houses were shiny and beautifully kept inside.

Many of the women were too stunned and shocked to discuss their eviction. All of them told me they had absolutely nowhere to go.

A CHANCE IN BRAZIL

BUSINESSMAN SAILS AWAY

THIRTY-YEAR-OLD Mr. Goolam Hoosen Mohamed Jajbhay, Johannesburg businessman and son of one of the wealthiest men in South Africa, has emigrated to Brazil with his wife and three daughters. Ladysmith-born Mr. Jajbhay sailed from Cape Town in S. S. Tegelberg on 1 October. He will settle in Sao Paulo, Brazil.

A close friend and associate, Mr. Moosa Essa of Cape Town, said that like all Indian South Africans, Mr. Jajbhay had strong feelings about the treatment of his people by the Government, and was emigrating to Brazil "to give his children a chance."

Asked why Mr. Jajbhay was not going to India, Mr. Moosa said: "He is a South African citizen—why should he go to India? He has a perfect right to move to whatever country he likes."

and every other Wednesday night the Tramway Road Cinema Guild runs a film show in the Church Hall for anyone who cares to come.

"We have lived as one happy family," Hazel Petersen told me. Hazel, a 20-year-old dancer in the Eoan Group, was born in one of the cottages as her father, John, was before her.

Families like the Thomases have been there for three generations. Their children have all gone to the small school down the road. Now the school, too, has been condemned to death.

"That will mean," Mrs. Frances Lawrence told me, "that our children will lose one year of their schooling." Mrs. Lawrence has nine children, two of whom go to the Tramway Road school.

"Where? Where? I keep asking myself. I take in washing from the white flats nearby and that helps us to feed our big family. Most of the women in the cottages here do the same. How will we manage that if we have to move out to the bush?"

I saw Mrs. Wilhemina Paulsen, an 84-year-old crippled widow who has lain for years in her bed by the front window of her cottage, watching the children play in the sun outside. She wept and shook her head.

Her daughter-in-law, Mrs. Helen Paulsen, who has lived in her cottage across the way for 35 years, asked me, "How can we move this old lady? And who will pay for transporting our home and furniture? And how will we ever replace the warmth and friendship of this road?"

Mr. Alli Parker, the elderly Indian who has run the grocery shop in the road for 50 years, and whose uncle had it before him, told me, "we will be ruined."

By
Myrna Blumberg

The Rev. R. E. Tattersall, Rector of the Anglican church at the top of the road, told me, "I have been here almost 30 years. This is—or, has been—one of the happiest communities I've known."



HAZEL PETERSEN

"We have an almost unique congregation. A Coloured boys' choir sings for our regularly mixed services: Africans, Coloureds and Whites all come together happily.

"We have never had a complaint. We have no crime."

The congregation collected £120 to buy their own projector.

ISRAEL AND SWA

ISRAEL abstained from voting when the application of the Rev. Michael Scott in connection with South West Africa was raised in the United Nations General Assembly, it was reported in the press. It was further reported that the Israeli Charges d'Affaires in Pretoria said that it was understood that Mr. Eric Louw leader of the Union delegation and Minister of External Affairs, had offered gratification on this resolution.

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WITH THE S.A.R. AT BLOEMFONTEIN

Bad Food, Low Pay Poor Quarters

From Contact Correspondent

BLOEMFONTEIN: Africans working for the railway at Bloemfontein are being obliged to do so under most unsatisfactory conditions and often on starvation rates of pay. Food provided in the railway compounds is dirty or of inferior quality. Many of the living quarters are little better than shacks. Medical facilities leave much to be desired and general conditions on some compounds are more like those associated with prison or concentration camps than accommodation for paid labour.

Africans looking for work on the railway are treated as suspects and even though they can produce official permits or passes, are bullied by the police and treated more like criminals than human beings. Those without necessary permits are given the option of either going to gaol or to forced labour on the farms.

Unappetising Food

As regards food, the porridge is often half-cooked, potatoes of third or fourth grade and often bad. Meat is of the poorest quality as are the vegetables. The cooks are insolent and fights at times break out between them and the workers. Complaints by the latter are seldom dealt with.

Because of unhygienic conditions, flies abound to constitute a constant danger to health.

With the exception of the houses near the staff offices and quarters, those in the compounds are badly built and the wooden sheds which house the labourers serve as dormitories, living quarters and stores for their belongings. There is no privacy and in cold weather, they afford little protection for those living in them. Stoves put

in for warmth are far apart and cracks in the walls more than off-set the heat given out.

Medical treatment for those who report sick is often accompanied by insulting remarks from the attendants. Complaints of inadequate attention are numerous and there is general dissatisfaction on the part of those who go for treatment.

The evil effects of job reservation are causing grave concern among the skilled and semi-skilled African employees, for the fear among the white workers that the non-whites may take over some of their jobs is reflected in the treatment of non-whites by the whites, with consequent frustration on the part of the African workers who see little chance of promotion and resultant higher rates of pay and improved standard of living.

Even wage increases promised by the authorities have not come into effect on the scale announced recently and a five shilling a month rise has taken the place of the ten shillings expected. Railway workers were to receive increases of five shillings

for casual workers, ten shillings in the case of permanent staff and £1 a month for all non-white employees with more than five years' service.

In respect of certain privileges and also over such matters as pensions, there is a great difference between those for the white employee and those for the non-whites. In fact little is done by the administration to encourage African employees either in their work or to provide for the future.

SPORT

Non-racial SA team may visit India and Pakistan

IT seems possible that India and Pakistan may arrange for a South African cricket team (non-racial) to tour those countries in 1961. It is understood that the invitation extended to India and Pakistan to visit the Union for short tours has been temporarily abandoned and the South African Cricket Board of Control (non-racial) has instead, expressed a keen desire to tour the two countries during 1961. The non-racial Cricket Board of Control is the body serving the interests of the Indian, African and Coloured cricketers and, of course, it is open to European affiliation as well.

Pakistan has already expressed willingness to accommodate the South Africans following the invitation of the South African Cricket Board of Control, but India, on the other hand has so far blankly refused to be a party to anything that savours of segregation. The Indian Cricket Board of Control has expressed its regret that such a tour is not possible owing to South Africa's policy of apartheid but promised to look into the matter at a later date.

Mr. Bob Pavadai, President of the South African Cricket Board of Control is reported to be in the process of opening fresh negotiations with the countries concerned.

Because of their views in respect of the West Indies cricket tour of

PAPWA HAS £500 OFFER

From Contact Correspondent

DURBAN: "Papwa"—Durban's Indian golfing champion (winner of the Dutch Open on a recent trip overseas)—has been offered £500 by a Durban businessman if he can break any of the existing golf club records in South Africa. He is to be permitted two attempts on each course to allow for bad weather. The Durban Indian Golf Club is launching a fund to raise money to send Papwa overseas next year. It is hoped to raise enough to enable him to compete in the British Open, to defend the Dutch Open title and to play in other major European tournaments.

By
Rajendra Chetty

South Africa (since cancelled), two prominent South Africans have been taken off the cabinet rolls of the Witwatersrand Indian Cricket Union. They are Dr. A. Kazi, President of the Transvaal Indian Congress and Dr. Yusuf Dadoo, banned President of the South African Indian Congress. Dr. Kazi



VARACHIA

is a former President of the Witwatersrand Indian Cricket Union.

Mr. Ranchod Varachia, Secretary of the South African Cricket Board of Control (non-racial) the new President, has declared that



NELSON

the Union "has no place for politicians". Mr. Varachia strongly condemned the attitude of both these gentlemen as he felt that their approach to the matter of the West Indian tour did not serve the interests of sport.

The future of Indian soccer seems ominous. There is trouble brewing already. Ever since professional soccer was first mooted, things have not moved as

smoothly as one could wish. A breach in the ranks of soccer administrators occurred soon after Mr. Louis Nelson, a well-known sports administrator on the national level advocated its introduction among non-whites. This was followed soon after by a public announcement to the effect that well-known South African boxing promoter Seaman Chetty intended to introduce it. The effect of the announcement was immediate and a split was inevitable.

There are two schools of thought in Indian soccer. There are those who want it to be introduced and this group has the firm backing of Mr. Louis Nelson. The other group is led by the Secretary of the South African Soccer Fed-



SINGH

eration, Mr. George Singh. Mr. Singh is also President of the South African Indian Football Association. Mr. Singh and his group are in favour of professional soccer but it would seem that they are not prepared to go beyond the stage of merely favouring its introduction and the matter ends just there.

WORKERS NEEDED ...

So Hostel goes up in White Area

From Contact Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: The normal rules of apartheid have been reversed near the White suburb of Jeppe, Johannesburg, so that the cost-of-living need not go up.

This is what is happening: Johannesburg City Council, at a cost of £337,000, is building a hostel for 3,000 African single men. And Dr. Verwoerd has given permission for the hostel to go up in a "White" area.

The 3,000 are very special Africans, workers in the "essential services"—butcheries, bakeries, dairies, nursing homes, hotels.

Their employers told the Government and the Council that if the 3,000 were forced to live in the black townships many miles away (as other urban Africans are), the cost of living would have to go up. The cost of transporting the workers to and from the townships would have to be added to the cost of bread, milk etc.

So the hostel is being permitted in the city area where no increase in transport charges is involved.

While the Government, aided by the council, is moving hundreds of Africans out of the "Sky Locations", it is soon to move thousands into the area known as "Eastern Native Township"

—where the hostel is to be built by African labour.

The name "Eastern Native Township" may give the impression that this is a "black" area. It is not. Only 615 properties are owned by Africans there; the total population of the area is about 5,000; and, until the need for the hostel arose and a cost-of-living increase was threatened, the authorities were adamant that no more Africans should be allowed in.

But the citizens of the surrounding White suburbs—Jeppe, Malvern, Kensington—are now informed that the population of "Eastern Native" is to become 8,000. Being good supporters of the United and National Parties, these citizens are not complaining; but they are puzzled, very puzzled by this new apartheid move.

NON-WHITE FRIENDS GRAVE RISK

CAPE TOWN magistrate recently advised a European bus driver to discontinue his friendship with a Coloured family who said they fed and helped him when he was in financial straits.

The bus driver a Mr. Norman Brown, was charged under the Immorality Act. The only evidence against him was that he had been found playing cards with the Coloured family, late at night.

In court, a member of the family said: "Mr. Brown was very down and out and we used to help. There was a time when he had no work. We used to give him food and iron his shirts. He was a very decent person. We are all human. We must help one another."

Granting the application for acquittal the Magistrate said:

"For a white man to have social contact with non-whites as you apparently have, such as playing cards, is to run a very grave risk. I advise you to reconsider your position—whether you should continue your friendship with the family or not."

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VIENNA FESTIVAL EXPOSED

OGPU Chief Heads Youth Movement

AFRICANS from many territories on the continent, including South Africa, went to the Vienna World Youth Festival, held recently in Austria. No doubt for the non-white people suffering under the oppression of white supremacy in the Union, they were greatly impressed by the colourful stories of Africans from Ghana marching with boys from Sweden and French youngsters dancing and singing with Indians and all proclaiming the solidarity of nations and their desire for peace.

Is there any reason, then, why we should not all join in the chorus of praise for the festival? Why the youth of Western Europe and North America boycotted it? And why many Africans themselves looked askance at the gathering? Of course there are reasons.

The festival was nothing more and nothing less than another communist-sponsored, communist-organised and communist-financed enterprise with its single purpose of advancing the aims of the Soviet Government by propagating international communism.

Subterfuge

The fact that the festival was nothing else but a well-planned communist subterfuge will be quite naturally vehemently denied by communists everywhere. But what are the facts? Invitations to the festival were issued by two organizations, the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY) and the International Union of Students, both universally known as tools of the Soviet Government and with their headquarters in Communist countries.

WFDY is presided over by an official of the Central Committee of the Italian communist youth organization and one of WFDY's vice-presidents is none other than Alexander Shelyepin, who was appointed head of the Soviet Secret Police last year. The IUS president is a former communist party member of parliament in Czechoslovakia.

Both organisations are financially dependent on communist countries and both have scrupulously followed the official line of Soviet foreign policy and all its tactical shifts depending on the moment. To name just two: in 1950 WFDY called the government of the world's leading neutralist country, India, an "instrument of war," and both organisations first expelled and then in 1955 re-admitted Yugoslavia in accordance with Soviet policy.

Unsuspecting

Most of the banners, posters, placards and slogans carried by those well-meaning and often unsuspecting young men and women, as they are paraded at the festival, were curiously alike—all of them featuring some aspect of Russia's present foreign policy and proclaiming that it is only the Soviet Union, communist China and the eastern European satellite countries which believe in peace, international understanding and human decency!

The standing committee of the festival provides another striking example of communist control over this "world" youth festival. Of the 18 members of the committee, 14 were members of the communist party, or trusted

By a Special Correspondent

TWO ASPECTS

ON this page we bring together the good and the bad sides of the Soviet Union's policies. On the one hand the Soviet peoples, together with the other branches of the human race, are busy making two blades of grass grow where one grew before, taming fearful deserts, and leading water to where it will be able to feed healthy people.

On the other hand you have the bad side—the Vienna Youth Festival. The Soviet Union is spending money like water on these youth festivals. They are often little more than factories of hatred, in which Afro-Asian youth are incited to hate the nations of the West who are accused of being capitalists and warmongers.

May the bad wane, and the good grow.

workers in various communist organisations. The committee's legal adviser was a Dr. Heinrich Durmayer, who was the communist head of the police in Vienna during the first two years of Russian occupation of that country.

Who paid for the festival? The budget of any function usually gives more than a good indication of who pulls the

strings, so let us look at the festival's budget. The income of the festival's preparatory committee was estimated at about £160,000 but the estimated cost of the festival itself ran to about £1,500,000.

And who paid for this deficit? None other, according to the communists' own statements, than Moscow.

FACTS ON IUS AND ISC

IUS used to be the world student organisation. Then it was captured by the communists. ISC broke away in 1950, with about twenty national student unions. Now ISC is supported by sixty-six national students' unions which, between them, account for three-quarters of the world's students.

IUS can now only count on a handful of national student unions, nearly all from the communist countries.

Following the Vienna flop it is unlikely that another youth festival will be held by IUS outside the communist world.

At its recent conference in Lima, Peru, ISC invited all the communist unions. All the invitations were refused.

It is to be hoped that ISC will continue to invite all students' unions, and that, if the cold war continues to recede as it is doing, the IUS affiliates will accept future invitations from ISC, and that an honourable compromise will be reached which will allow the world's students once more to enjoy the privilege of all coming together in a world student body.



This picture shows some of the representatives from Ghana at the Vienna World Youth Festival.

JAP VICTIMS SYMPATHISE WITH A-BOMB PILOT

NYACK, NEW YORK:

Leaders of "Yuwa Kai," Japanese affiliate of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, have written a letter of sympathy to Major Claude Eatherly, former US Army Air Force officer who flew the aircraft that dropped the first atomic bomb on a civilian population on 6 August, 1945. The letter was published in the current issue of *Fellowship Magazine*, together with an article, "The Man who Dropped the Bomb on Hiroshima."

In the letter, the Japanese Christians said they were prompted to write to Eatherly after reading in the Japanese press that "after the bombing of Hiroshima, you have become

mentally ill and had to be hospitalised recently for treatment."

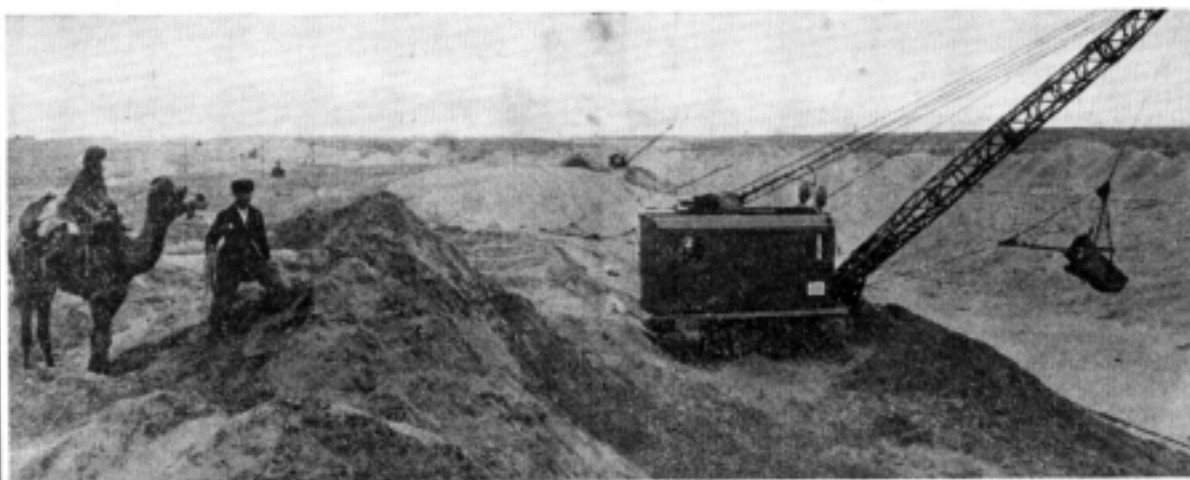
"With this letter comes to you our warm sympathy and earnest prayer that you recover speedily . . . We wish you to know that we regard you as a victim of war in much the same way as those who were injured in the war, and are praying for your complete recovery and that the day shall come when you will join the forces of goodwill, forgiving any wrongs of the past on either part, and work for establishing a peaceful world, a world of reconciliation and love."

The letter was delivered to Major Eatherly by Mrs. Harold L. Linger of Fort Worth, Texas, a vice-chairman of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation and wife of a well-known minister of the Disciples of Christ.

In the accompanying Fellowship article by the Rev. Curtiss Moody and Alfred Hassler, it was revealed that, following his participation in the post-war atomic bomb tests, Eatherly's wife had two miscarriages of malformed foetuses, and subsequent tests showed that "many of her husband's sperm cells had become peculiarly deformed." In 1950 and 1954, babies born to the Eatherlys had blood diseases, and these were attributed to Eatherly's exposure to radiation from the bombs he had dropped.

Haunted by his sense of guilt for killing over 100,000 people at Hiroshima, Eatherly successively turned to alcoholic binges and became involved in a number of attempted robberies, and once attempted suicide. During the past ten years, Eatherly has succumbed several times to emotional breakdowns and has repeatedly been hospitalised for psychiatric care.

RECLAIMING THE BLACK SANDS OF KARA-KUM



"Indian deserts are nothing compared with this boundless ocean of sand. I can think of no sight more terrible than this desert." Thus spake a representative of the British East India Company after visiting the Kara-Kum desert in what is now Soviet Turkmenia. A local proverb says: "When a man walks over Kara-Kum he loses his legs." Now the Soviet government is building a canal 550 miles long which will carry water from the great Oxus River (now called Amu-Darya) to irrigate millions of acres of this desert. Pictured is a Turki tribesman who has brought his son on a camel to watch the excavators digging the big canal, which has now reached the Murgab oasis, 250 miles from the Oxus, after five years' labour.—(UNESCO)

CONTACT

Why Liberals Fight Elections

WHY does the Liberal Party fight elections?

On the white side the taunt is heard that the Liberal Party is "shadow-boxing". The theory is that it ought to be aiding St. George (the United Party in case the identification is difficult) against the dragon. Instead of this it is accused of holding St. George's horse back by its leading rein, and making it harder for him to fight the dragon. The trouble here is that St. George long ago put off his shining white armour, and dressed up in some old rags of discarded dragon's skin which he stole out of a disused dragon's lair. It is difficult for the Liberal Party to know which is St. George and which is dragon.

On the side of the Non-European Unity Movement the criticism is made that to contest any seats at all is to collaborate with apartheid. All seats are segregated, so runs the theory, and all ought to be boycotted. The answer to this is that it is sometimes possible to use segregated facilities to hasten the end of apartheid. When members of the Non-European Unity Movement travel to one of their meetings by bus and train they accept segregated seats, yet no doubt believe that they are thereby helping to rid the country of herrenvolkism.

A more subtle criticism is that since the Liberal Party boycotted the Coloured elections of 1958, it ought similarly to boycott the "whites-only" seats in the elections of 1959.

The reply here is that the Party did not boycott the seats in question—it just failed to contest them. And it refused to contest them because it refused to gather round the corpse of the 1853 Coloured vote. The decision was one of taste and of fittingness, and, in our opinion, was none the less correct for this reason.

Lastly it is held against the Party that its chances of electoral victory are so slight that it ought not to try. This objection really answers itself. A baby is very small when it is born: a thousand-mile journey begins with but a single step.

So much for the objections. What are the positive reasons for fighting?

An election gives a party a unique opportunity of reaching into the houses of the people with its message. Doors that would be locked at all other times to the democratic idea are opened in a warm and friendly way at election time. Hearts that would remain closed open themselves to the persuasion of democratic speakers.

In one of the current elections, hotels have allowed small house-meetings on their premises; a convent has done the same; and nearly two thousand white voters have flocked to public meetings and have listened to the voice of sanity and racial peace as though spellbound. Five thousand homes have admitted canvassers, to listen to the democratic message, put across uncompromisingly. These are no mean attainments.

In the current election Liberals of all races have collaborated in the canvassing and in the public speaking. On the platform the audiences have been told, with no sugar coating, what democracy would mean for South Africa in terms of integrated schools, beaches, and swimming baths. The Liberal speakers have not sought to dredge votes; where they have had to pick between carrying their vital message and getting votes, they have picked the former alternative. In some cases they have shocked voters into opposition, but the gains that have accrued from taking the public frankly into their confidence have outweighed such losses.

For the current election Liberals of all races have dug deeply into their pockets for the election funds; the Party machine has been oiled and put into top gear; from arduous duties shared has come the joys of companionship in a worthwhile struggle.

Above all nearly everyone who has taken part in these campaigns has felt growing in his companions round him the power of goodness. A young woman's face, pale with weariness after weeks of canvassing, shines with this power. Or a young man who for weeks has given up nearly all his spare time to the campaign, shows unmistakable marks on his face of quiet authority. These come from the consciousness, growing within himself, of the power of goodness.

It is this power that is destined to halt apartheid, and to restore our people to the ways of decency. To have even a small part in helping it to grow is a privilege. To fight elections like this is the best way yet discovered of making it grow.

Fort Hare Dismissals

THE Government has not tried to conceal that the seven members of Fort Hare's staff who have been dismissed have gone for ideological reasons. When they go, the Liberal Party in Alice will have lost several of its strongest members. They would be the last to deny that they disapprove of what the Government is trying to do to higher education, and to the South African people.

Although *Contact's* readers will sympathise with those who are being dismissed, the uppermost emotion will be a salute to their steadfastness. The mere fact of having Mr. Maree as one's minister is to have a standing threat to one's independence of mind. These people have faced this threat and it has not alarmed or deterred them.

Every time the Government is forced to act tyrannously to shore up the rotten walls of apartheid it is forced to expend a little more of its waning stock of political capital. Thus the steadfastness of the seven is a notable blow for freedom, freedom for all, freedom from racial tyranny, and freedom for learning.

CONTACT



"Potgieter was right. We did have to wait 2,000 years for independence in Bantustan!"

"CHRISTIAN 'NATIONAL' EDUCATION"

New Pamphlet Unmasks Nationalist Education Plans

WHEN DR. VERWOERD announced recently that he was preparing legislation for a national education policy for South Africa, many teachers and parents took this to mean that Christian National Education would soon be upon us. What exactly would Christian National Education mean? What are the facts behind the alarm so many people feel at the mere mention of the initials CNO (*Christelike Nasionale Onderwys*)?

An excellent new pamphlet called *Blackout* has just been issued by The Education League (*Opvoedingsbond*), a group of educationists and parents who were formed to publicise the dangers of CNO as they see them. They have published several pamphlets since 1949, called "Blueprint for Blackout". They feel the period of blueprints is now over, however, and that the blackout has begun.

An important part of the pamphlet is taken up with an abridged translation of the original proposals for CNO. This is a most valuable thing to do.

Many people who were shocked by the pamphlet issued by the Instituut vir Christelike Onderwys (ICNO) eleven years ago may have forgotten some of the details by now.

Others, like myself perhaps, were not parents then, and so didn't absorb the full significance of what was to come.

The ICNO, under the auspices of the Federation of Afrikaans Cultural Societies (FAK) published its manifesto on education in 1948.

At least ten years of "silent labour", we are told in the preface, went into its making. Its sponsors were men of the greatest influence and power in the country: Dr. Dönges, Dr. Jansen; Mr. Justice de Vos Hugo, a former chairman of the Group Areas Board; Mr. Greijbe, former president of the Transvaal Afrikaans Teachers' Association; and professors of education from Stellenbosch and Potchefstroom universities.

When Mr. de Wet Nel was Min-

By
Myrna Blumberg

ister of Education, he stated that CNO was the Government's education policy. Nationalist Party congresses throughout the country have voted that the ICNO manifesto be given immediate effect.

One has to read it again now, after eleven years of Nationalist rule, to savour fully the dark and dreadful promises it contains.

And no matter how often one studies it, one's amazement can only grow that so responsible and lofty a group of men could produce prose so thick with medieval meanderings and—occasionally—quite childlike outbursts.

The preface, by Mr. J. C. van Rooy, chairman of FAK, is revealingly defensive. It displays a sad insecurity, bitter with the memories of the insults to Afrikanerdom by the arrogant Lords Milner and Somerset.

"I congratulate the ICNO," he begins, "on formulating this policy as a guide . . . in our cultural struggle which is now also a school struggle. We shall triumph in the end."

Where is the sense and perspective he goes on to say:

" . . . in 1937 and 1938 . . . the old outworn dual medium idea was seized upon again in a renewed . . . attempt to anglicise our children . . ."

"There is too much at stake for us to relax in the struggle . . . Our Afrikaans schools must not merely be mother-tongue schools; they

must be places where our children will be saturated with the Christian and National spiritual-cultural stuff of our nation . . .

"We want no mixing of languages, no mixing of cultures, no mixing of religions and no mixing of races . . ."

If this were just a plea to preserve the identity of one group by enclosing their children in the narrow limits suggested, it would be tragic enough. But when these proposals of one group are forced on a whole country it becomes a catastrophe.

What do the originators see as CNO? I have selected some of the most startling passages from the ICNO manifesto.

ARTICLE 1: All *white* children (my italics) should be educated according to the view of life of their parents . . .

By Christian, in this context, we mean according to the creeds of the three Afrikaner churches; by Nationalist we mean imbued with the *love of one's own* (my italics), especially one's own language, history and culture . . .

ARTICLE 2: The key subject in school should be religion, and the religious spirit should permeate all subjects and the entire school.

ARTICLE 4: Owing to the Fall, all children are born sinful; but the children of believers have inherited God's promise through Christ of redemption. Children of Christian parents, then, may not be brought up as heathens . . .

ARTICLE 5: It is God's will that man should master the earth, and rule over it, and he has given to each nation its own particular

[Continued on page 13]

BOTH BIG PARTIES PREACH FANTASIES



Peter Brown, Chairman of the Liberal Party

Bantustans somewhere, sometime.

Talk of independence, however remote, has apparently rattled some steadfast Nationalist supporters and, in a ranting speech in Pietermaritzburg at the beginning of October, Mr. D. J. Potgieter, Nationalist MP for Vryheid, told an enthusiastically applauding audience that, under Nationalist trusteeship it might take 2,000 years before the "Native areas" became independent. Perhaps some of us can be excused for finding Dr. Verwoerd's Bantustans a little insubstantial when we must contemplate them at this distance!

I write before the provincial elections and I do not know what their result will be. Whatever it is, they have been a useful reminder of the realms of fantasy in which most white South African politicians apparently live and in which they spend a large part of their time persuading white voters that they also live. The most astounding thing about Mr. Potgieter's statement is not so much that it is as unlikely to be true as would have been a pre-Christian Roman Senator's prediction of the state of the Roman Empire in 1960, but that, having made it, his audience should then have passed a unanimous vote of confidence in him!

Mr. Potgieter's audience may have been gullible but, unfortunately, no more than many

others. The United Party has been seeking support on no less fantastic propositions. The main target of its provincial election campaign has been the Government's Bantustan plans. Nobody can quibble at that. What one can't take most serious exception to, however, is the UP claim that, while Dr. Verwoerd is planning to hand over control of parts of South Africans, it will make sure that white leadership is maintained over the whole of South Africa apparently for all time.

I am not concerned with the precise distribution of votes between the Nationalist and United parties in the provincial elections. What I am concerned about is that both these parties should continue to persuade White South African voters to support them with promises of future security which I see no prospect of their ever carrying out. Their tranquillising potions may induce immediate, short-

term confidence in their listeners, but they lay up frightening prospects for those listeners' children.

When one looks at the events of the last 100 years, and especially at the events of the last twenty years, one hesitates to prophesy for 1969, let alone for 1959. White politicians have a duty to confront the people whose votes they seek with facts, not fantasy. The one overriding fact with which they must confront them is that their future is not going to be one of white privilege. They are a tiny minority in a country which detests such privileges and in a world which rejects it. They are used to their privileges and they like them. They have to be persuaded to relinquish them peacefully if all they have contributed to South Africa is not to be destroyed by racial resentments and rising and growing tension.

The abandonment of privilege may not be attractive election

material but it is the task of political leaders to lead, not to seduce with false hopes and dreams of no substance.

I am concerned to see survive in South Africa a democracy essentially of the Western type, even although it may be quite the same as those which function in Washington or Westminster. I am concerned that my children should live under such a system. The only reasonable hope I see of that society being established is if the rights and responsibilities at present enjoyed by white South Africans are extended, and extended soon, to embrace all South Africans. But Dr. Verwoerd and Sir de Villiers Graaff are doing their best to make this impossible, by presenting to white voters shimmering and seductive mirages instead of the hard, harsh facts of life in Africa in 1959.

It causes me concern that white South Africans should be led astray. But it causes me more concern that their children's future should be thrown away.

ALTHOUGH the broad aim of this column has always been to take a fairly long view of events in and around South Africa, I have recently been struck by the modesty of its prophecies when they are compared with those of some of South Africa's leading white politicians.

A few years ago when, as Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. Verwoerd attended a Nationalist gathering at Greytown, Natal, he told his listeners that it might take three hundred years for the full *apartheid* dream to come true. Since then he has had his new vision, with its vague talk of semi-independent

FAIR COMMENT

POLITICS is no game for those with weak nerves. Mr. B. Muller (Dr. Colin Lang's opponent in the Pretoria East constituency) said at a meeting in the campaign that he was shocked to see the alarming rate at which Afrikaners were becoming members of the Liberal Party . . . "I was shocked," he said, "to find so many people with good Afrikaans names in the Liberal Party."

Fortunately for Mr. Muller, Colin is an excellent doctor who will be able to help with stimulants.

Another reason for Mr. Muller's shock might be the size of this Nationalist meeting. Nineteen people turned up.

DR. OTTO DU PLESSIS, Cape Administrator, has released to the press his plans for the celebrations of next year's Festival of Union celebrations. The main stunt (to rouse bored press photographers) is for "flag-bearing runners drawn from youth organisations" to link distant parts of the Cape Province with Cape Town.

Otto wants to include non-whites. In this he deserves praise, except for the fact that no non-whites worth the name of South Africans will have anything to do with these completely phony "feasts". Nor will many whites.

Everywhere outside the Nationalist Party the question has gone up "What do we have to celebrate? The bitterness of *apartheid* and economic stagnation after the promise of 1910?"

My bet is that the only non-whites who will participate will be the paid servants who will no doubt be hired by the white "flag-bearing runners" to carry the heavier flags along the longer runs, when no one is looking.

THE FORUM, in praising Mr. Harry Oppenheimer, says he "is no starry-eyed liberal". I must confess that this cheap gibe, coming from *The Forum*, for so long regarded as a friend of justice, annoyed me.

No doubt when Henry Ford was designing his new factory which changed the world, *The Forum* would have called him "starry-eyed". Or Wilberforce, some ten years before the emancipation of the slaves. Or Lincoln, when the civil war began. Or Lenin, in about 1907.

If you analyse this gibe you see that all that it means is "unable to collect white electoral support in South Africa." In a Parliament which has been made "for Europeans only" and squared by the Nationalists that is a compliment. But it does

by Patrick Duncan

not mean that the Liberal idea will not succeed, and in ten or fifteen years.

If to see a mere ten years ahead is to be starry-eyed, then perhaps Liberals are starry-eyed. The compensation, of course, is that those using this taunt are those who cannot see ten years, or even five, ahead.

"ONLY Britain voted with Union" at the United Nations on the question of whether the Trusteeship committee should hear oral evidence on South West Africa. So ran the headlines. What a distinction for Britain! Presumably Britain hopes that oral evidence won't be allowed against her rule in Tanganyika and elsewhere, and perhaps also that Dr. Verwoerd may be won over to love the Commonwealth.

In the meantime Britain does not seem to mind soiling her good colonial record with the tar of *apartheid*. I hope that the Nigerias of this world will let Britain know what they think of it.

It's interesting that the three young people who were to give evidence against South Africa were attacked by Mr. B. G. Fourie who alleged that "these three American youths had, on their own admission, been sent to South Africa to secure information for the purpose of prodding the United Nations and rousing world opinion against South Africa. They were part of a network for waging an organised political campaign against South Africa's policy of separate development."

Their names are Al Lowenstein, Emory Bundy, and Sherman Bull. They said they wanted to go to South West Africa "to study the fauna and flora". I hope they had a good look at the animals and plants, as they will probably not be allowed to go for a second look for some time. Well done all three of you.

MAURICE HOMMEL, one-time contributor to *Contact*, is back from Ghana, and has exploded in the *The World* against the corruption and poverty that he found there. It is a pity that Mr. Hommel has not been able to see the wood for the trees. The great issue in the modern world is the winning of dignity and status and freedom by the ex-colonial, largely non-white peoples. On this issue Ghana stands right in the clear: South Africa in the dock.

In all ages and all lands there has been provety and corruption. Mr. Hommel has done the cause of freedom a great disservice by having allowed himself to exaggerate what he found wrong in Ghana, and to obscure what are the real issues.

SOUTH AFRICAN LOOKING - GLASS

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

Verwoerd is giving the Kaffirs ground, and you give them the vote. What is going to happen to me, living next to the Reserves?—a United Party delegate to the "Progressives", in one of the closed Bloemfontein sessions.

"If I were dictator for one day", wrote a reader to *Die Burger* "no non-white would ever again see a drum-majorette."

The Deputy Minister of Labour and Mines, Mr. Marais Viljoen, has said that the time would come when England and the United States would send deputations to South Africa to get themselves out of a mess they had got into. He referred to England "with its Notting Hill and America with its Little Rock."

If the progressive group can find the answer to the problem for which the Nationalist Party has half a solution and the United Party no solution at all, and can escape the wild lack of realism of the Liberal Party and the ANC they will have done a great service.—Prof. P. V. Pistorius, Pretoria.

Under the Nationalist Party leadership it would possibly be 2,000 years before the Bantu areas obtained self-government, said the chairman of the party in Natal, Mr. D. J. Potgieter, MP for Vryheid.—*Cape Times*.

Let, therefore the Government of South Africa consider seriously the appointment of a Church of England priest who will answer Father Huddleston and the clerical critics. Let facts and figures speak for themselves and let the same Minister spend the rest of his time in good-will publicity on British soil. "Clericus", St. James, Cape—letter to *Financial Mail*.

LED BY FAMOUS SOCIALIST . . .

INDIANS MOBILISE OPINION AGAINST AGGRESSION IN TIBET

DELEGATES from all parts of India, meeting in Calcutta recently at a convention sponsored by a group of prominent citizens, set in motion machinery designed to mobilise world opinion on the Tibetan tragedy and to create an international commission of neutral nations to investigate violation of human rights by the Chinese Communists in Tibet.

A resolution adopted by the All-India Tibet Convention authorised its President, Jaya-prakash Narayan, a leader of the Bhudan (land distribution) movement, an Honorary President of the Congress for Cultural Freedom, and one of the founders of the Indian Praja Socialist Party, to form an Afro-Asian Committee on Tibet.

This committee will have these purposes:

1. To mobilise world opinion, particularly in Asian and African countries, in support of Tibet's right of self-determination;

2. To arrange for appointment of an International Commission of neutral countries with a view to inquiring into the reported violation of human rights, including the destruction of monasteries and historical documents.

Big convention

The two-day Convention, which according to press reports was attended by over 1,700 delegates, was prepared by a committee headed by Dr. Ramesh Chandra Majumdar, eminent historian and former Chancellor of Dacca University, and composed of prominent figures in India's intellectual and professional life.

In his Presidential address, Mr. Narayan stressed that, although "the vested interests" in Tibet were undoubtedly with the resistance, the character of that resistance "is national rather than class. The Tibetans are fighting to win their national freedom and not to defend the feudal rights of a few nobles and monasteries."

Mr. Narayan declared that the struggle for Tibetan independence was "not a part of Bloc politics" but "a fight for the Rights of Man." India, he said, must "not shirk her responsibility at this testing moment."

Not part of China

In a special article on the subject Mr. Narayan writes:

The main elements of the Tibet situation have been clear enough from the beginning.

Tibet is not a region of China. It is a country by itself which has sometimes passed under Chinese suzerainty by virtue of conquest and never by free choice. Chinese suzerainty has always been of the most nominal kind and meant hardly more than some tribute paid to Peking by Lhasa. At other times Tibet was an independent sovereign country. For some time in the 8th century Peking paid a yearly tribute of 50,000 yards of Chinese brocade to Tibet.

After the fall of the Manchu empire in 1911, Tibet functioned as an independent country till 1951, when the Chinese Communist Government invaded it. In between there were attempts to reimpose Chinese suzerainty by the

treaty in which the British Government took a leading hand. Pressed from both sides by two powerful forces, Tibet had little choice; nevertheless nothing came out of these attempts and till the communist invasion, Tibet was a free country.

It is true that we could not have prevented the Chinese from annexing Tibet. But we could have saved ourselves from being party to a wrong. That would have been not only a matter of moral satisfaction, but it would

China was different: that it had an ancient civilization. Therefore Chinese communism was different from Russian. And so on and on. That illusion has been shattered to the great good fortune of the peoples of Asia, who have been warned in time.

China rants incessantly about imperialists and expansionists. But China herself has been revealed as a cruel imperial power. If communism had been a truly liberating and anti-imperialist force, the Chinese communists, on



The Dalai Lama (right) in New Delhi with Mr. Nehru and Mr. Nehru's daughter, Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

have also set the record right, so that world opinion, particularly in the Afro-Asian part of the world, could have asserted itself. That might have halted the Chinese.

Communists anxious

The communists are anxious to present themselves as liberators, so when Afro-Asian opinion would have condemned their Tibet action as aggression they would have found it immensely difficult to go on with it.

India's acceptance of the suzerainty formula gave to the Chinese action a moral and legal sanction and prevented the formulation of an Afro-Asian opinion on the question. It thus prevented the true aggressive character of Chinese communism from being realised by the backward peoples of Asia, aggravating the danger of their being enslaved in the name of liberation.

Furthermore, we could have made clear that even though we were opposed to China's suzerainty over Tibet, we were, on our side, keen and determined to pursue our policy of friendship. India had strongly opposed recent Anglo-French aggression in Egypt, but on that account she did not change her policy of friendship towards England and France. Nor was India's action construed by those powerful countries as hostile, nor did they themselves on that account become hostile to India.

For years an illusion has been in the making. It has been said that

assumption of power, should themselves have proclaimed the independence of Tibet and forsworn the old imperialist notion of suzerainty and made a treaty with Tibet of equality and friendship.

But communism under Russian and Chinese guidance has become expansionist and aggressive, just as nineteenth century capitalism under the leadership of Britain, France and Germany had become aggressive and expansionist.

Somewhere or other Marxism has gone wrong. Lenin wrote a famous thesis on imperialism as the last phase of capitalism. Someone should write another thesis on communist imperialism as the first phase of a new imperialism!

Outworn formula

Having annexed Tibet by invoking an outworn, imperialist formula, the Chinese were in no hurry to go on with their plans of subjugating the country. They also needed time to build roads and military establishments and to haul up arms to the roof of the world. When they had sufficiently entrenched themselves, they began to tighten the screws. It was not a question of reforms. The question plainly was that of the subjugation of Tibet.

The Chinese interfered in everything, in the matter of religion as well as administration. Revered Lamas were purposely ill-treated, humiliated, imprisoned, tortured.

The sanctity of shrines and images was violated. Monasteries were demolished and their properties confiscated. A new system of administration was imposed, in which Chinese were posted at all key points. Post and Telegraph, the Mint, the Hydro-electric plant were taken over. Printing of Tibetan currency was prohibited. Chinese postal stamps were introduced. The powers and functions of the Dalai Lama were clipped.

A vast scheme of colonisation by China was set on foot, so that large parts of Tibet should cease to be Tibetan and become Chinese. That was a process of stealing Tibet from the Tibetans that caused deep anxiety and aroused bitter resentment.

Centuries-old granaries, some of them with grain reserves to last for years, were emptied and the grain seized by the Chinese. Reserves of gold and silver bullion were appropriated on the pretext of taking it on loan. The so-called land reforms were introduced, softly at first, but later with the usual communist disregard for popular feeling. Forced labour, so foreign to Tibetan tradition, was

introduced on a big scale. The Press and all other means of information were taken over by the Chinese.

The true history of the Tibetan national movement has yet to be told. There are Tibetans now in India who can give the world an authentic account. But one does not know when they will consider the opportune moment to have arrived to tell their story. In spite of all that has happened they perhaps feel that a settlement with the Chinese might still be possible. One admires the faith of the brave religious people and prays that their faith may be vindicated. One necessary condition for this seems to be the unambiguous expression and assertion of world opinion on the side of truth and justice.

In whichever form the Tibetan question is presented to the world I have no doubt that the Afro-Asian bloc must present a common front. This is the least that the countries of Asia and Africa must do to defend the right of small nations to freedom and to assure against the danger of their own freedom from both old and new imperialism.

SOUTH AFRICA

PERIODICALS

(Continued from page 2)

Also published are the following excellent pamphlets: **Colonialism and UN**, 25 cents; **Bandung**, 35 cents; and **Cairo Afro-Asian Conference**, 30 cents.

In the latest issue is an authoritative article by Joshua L. Zake called "Uganda strives for freedom; Local autonomy."

FREE LABOUR WORLD

The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions produces an excellent monthly in English, French, German, and Spanish. Containing some 50 pages of well-illustrated articles on labour problems right round the world, the August issue carried Mr. C. H. Millard's summing up of his South African experiences in an article called "Where the lash is law."

A year's subscription is 10/-. The address is: ICFTU, 24 Rue du Lombard, Brussels, Belgium.

South Africa, and Africa generally, figure near the top of the list of priorities in ICFTU thinking, and there is little doubt that international labour pressures can do much to solve the problem of apartheid.

SOUTH AFRICA FREEDOM CALL

Mary-Lou Hooper, that faithful friend of the ANC and Chief Lutuli, is active on the West coast of the United States collecting for the Treason Trial.

A bulletin is produced, *South Africa Freedom Call*. The issue for August, Vol. 1, No. 3, contains the latest news of the Treason Trial, an article by Hutch (Alfred Hutchinson, who dramatically escaped from South Africa at the same time as Miss Wailer, whom he has since married), news of the farm labour scandals, and of the boycotts. It is obtainable apparently free, from: West Coast Division, South Africa Defense Fund, 157 Masonic Avenue, San Francisco 18, California, USA.

SOUTHERN AFRICA THE FINANCIAL MAIL

Still in its first year, this remarkable fortnightly produced in Johannesburg deserves notice here.

A joint enterprise of the South African Associated Newspapers of Johannesburg (*R Daily Mail* family) and *Investors' Chronicle* of London it looks a bit like the *Economist*. A distinguished editorial advisory council assists the editor, Mr. John Marvin, and articles bear the stamp of authority.

What interests our reader that two of the latest issues (4 September and 18 September) carry a pair of articles on "Plight of the Unskilled" which an unanswerable case made for a national minimum wage for all of £20, to be reached in two years. It would not include workers whom food or other benefits provided in kind.

It is good to see a proposal for something approaching "Pound a Day" coming from such quarters.

Each issue costs 2s. A year's subscription costs £2. 14s. f. P.O. Box 9959, Johannesburg.

NEWSLETTER OF THE SOUTHERN AFRICA WORKING CAMPS ASSOCIATION, N (August, 1959). This issue contains news of work camps in Tunisia, Maseru, and Newburg (Natal). The purpose of the Association is to bring together people of different races who are normally not able to reach each other on common ground.

This newsletter is obtainable from P.O. Box 506, Durban Camps planned are:

Leribe, Basutoland: 15 November-20 December 1959.

Natal: Easter 1960.

Bremersdorp, Swaziland: January-31 January 1960.

Transkei: February-May 1960.

CIVIL RIGHTS STAND

NON-VIOLENCE SUCCEEDS IN BULAWAYO

From Contact Correspondent

BULAWAYO: The Civil Rights League, formed recently in Bulawayo, scored a major success against apartheid when Wilkie's Circus toured Southern Rhodesia, for whereas last year there was no segregation at the Circus, this year the Circus owners decided to impose racial barriers at the various entertainments. So the Civil Rights League took action—and won.

This victory was made possible because during the recent few months there has been an awakening among the small Asian and Coloured communities of Bulawayo. Despite the fact that the Federation has passed through a reign of terror in the form of mass arrests of African leaders, the hitherto docile minorities, whose position and views were never considered during the 1952-53 talks on federation and who are nowhere mentioned in the constitution of the Federation, have become more vocal about their grievances.

Such patience

For the past fifty years, leaders of the two communities have shown a great deal of patience in dealing with the problems confronting them. As a result the government has more often than not disregarded their aspirations and feelings. Thus Asians and Coloured have been faced with a social and economic colour-bar just as vicious as that which faces the non-whites in South Africa. Now, however, a new hope has come in the lives of these minority communities.

By their recent actions for the removal of racial segregation at Wilkie's Circus, the League has brought about new hope among Asians and Coloureds.

When Wilkie's Circus visited Bulawayo last year, the officials of the League met Mr. W. H. Wilkie and were able to persuade him to remove racial segregation. This year however the Circus reverted to its policy of segregation. When the officials of the League came to know of this a few days before the arrival of the Circus in the city, several attempts were made to contact the Circus management. League leaders met Mr. Wilkie, and were given a very hostile reception by him. Unperturbed, the League leaders persisted in their request that segregation should be re-

moved. Mr. Wilkie thereupon referred them to Mr. Carl Fischer, who he said was responsible for the sitting arrangements. Mr. Fisher also treated leaders of the League with contempt.

Negotiations fail

Negotiations having failed, the League called a public meeting two hours before the Circus was to make its opening in Bulawayo. Members of the Asian and Coloured communities were asked to refrain from supporting the Circus. It was clear to league leaders, however, that such a boycott would not by itself bring success. Though members were keen, it was decided not to seek the support of Africans, in case such action might be misinterpreted by the Government. League leaders therefore suggested that members should demonstrate with placards at the Circus site. The meeting gave the suggestion an enthusiastic welcome. Thus in direct defiance of the Public Orders Act began these historic boycotts and demonstrations.

Is it a sin?

That day, members of the Civil Rights League stood in a neat line at the entrance of Wilkie's Circus displaying placards carrying slogans such as: "Down With Colour Bar", "Equal Rights For All Civilised Men—Rhodes", "Is It a Sin To Be A Darkie?" etc.

The battle begun by the League became widespread. In In Gwelo, Asian men were joined by Coloured men. In Que Que, Asian and Coloured men and women took part in the demonstrations. Within two days of the demonstrations in Bulawayo, Circus opposition had evaporated. Leaders of the League received an urgent call from Mr. Fischer who was in Gatooma, telling them that he and his colleagues were now prepared to negotiate. An agreement was signed whereby all segregatory measures were to be removed at future performances of Wilkie's Circus, both on this and any future tours.

One thing must be stressed about this whole episode. In their attitude towards the Circus management not for once did the League members show bitterness. In fact the spokesman of the League and Mr. Carl Fischer were on such cordial terms that they were calling each other by their first names. Moreover after the Gatooma agreement was signed, Mr. Carl Fischer gave a personal donation of £5 to the League.



Asian and Coloured residents of Bulawayo took part in the campaign against apartheid at the Circus

THREAT TO FRENCH COMMUNITY

All African Leaders Demand Independence

WHETHER IT IS now possible for any African leaders to maintain power unless they offer their people complete independence is a question raised in its sharpest form by the threat of the Mali Federation (Senegal and the French Soudan) to break away from the French Community.

It is the same problem that General de Gaulle has had to face in persuading the Algerian rebel leaders to negotiate with France, and in Mali it is the most serious check so far encountered by de Gaulle in his ambitious attempt to evolve a new concept of French Commonwealth policy. For the interesting fact about the Mali challenge is that it comes from moderate leaders who are strongly pro-French.

De Gaulle's concept

De Gaulle's concept of the French Community is of a family of nations none of which will be fully sovereign. While each is to have complete internal autonomy, all will surrender certain powers—such as foreign policy and defence—to a central authority. How this supra-national authority will be constituted has never been clearly stated by de Gaulle. It is on this point that the Mali leaders have come into conflict with the French Community.

Their idea is that each of the French Community should become completely independent, and that they should then combine as equals to form a federation of sovereign States, rather on the lines of the British Commonwealth.

So far only one French territory—the Ivory Coast—has wholeheartedly embraced de Gaulle's concept of limited sovereignty. Its Prime Minister, M. Houphouët-Boigny, is a formidable man. But in a struggle for influence over the remaining members of the French Community—Mauretania, Niger, Haute Volte, Dahomey, the Central African Republic, Gabon, the Congo Republic, Chad and Madagascar—he would be confronted by a powerful combination of forces including Mali, Guinea and Ghana.

By
Colin Legum

France cannot overlook the danger of the Ivory Coast's losing in such a struggle for influence which could easily result in the complete disintegration of the French Community in Africa.

The President of the Mali Federation, Dr. Leopold Senghor, is himself a distinguished French poet with a great love for France, French culture and the attractions of Paris.

The controlling party which forms the government of the Mali Federation is the Parti Fédéraliste Africain (PFA). It is a popular front combining the educated elite, the traditional Moslem religious leaders, and a strong Socialist trade union movement.

Force of emotion

The dilemma of leaders like Senghor is easy to understand. All around countries are achieving their independence—Ghana, Guinea and soon Nigeria, the Cameroons and Togoland. To accept a position of "independence-minus", with the major decision of foreign policy and international trade being made in Paris, goes against the grain of colonial peoples seeking to change their century-old status of inferiority.

The force of this emotion is something that African leaders—even those who thoroughly understand the economic and other difficulties which their present condition of under-development makes inevitable, once French aid is withdrawn—find it increasingly hard to resist. Nor is this true only of the French African leaders.

Precisely the same problem is arising in the Belgian Congo, now

preparing machinery for the first stage of democratic elections that will lead progressively to independence. The issues that divide the Congolese leaders are largely whether they should go for complete independence or whether they should accept a Belgian-Congolese Community.

It is also the main characteristic of the political situation in Britain's Central African Federation. In Nyasaland, for example, the appeal of the imprisoned leader, Dr. Hastings K. Banda, is that Africans should have complete independence rather than accept a form of independence in a minority partnership with Europeans.

Heart of trouble

This conflict also lies at the heart of the present political conflicts in Kenya. The African political leaders in that British East African colony recently split into two parties. The Kenya National Party advocates delaying independence until 1968, and envisages a multi-racial government including Africans, Europeans, Asians and Arabs. The Kenya Liberation Party, led by Mr. Tom Mboya and his supporters, favour immediate independence on the basis of an elected African majority.

Thus the question of independence is proving to be the great divisive factor between African leaders from Algeria to Central Africa but, curiously enough, not in South Africa. There the African National Congress leaders are passionate advocates of sharing power with the Europeans. The continental cry of "Africa for the Africans and government by Africans" is not yet heard with any frequency or force in South Africa.

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INTERNATIONAL CAMP IN TUNISIA

S.A. STUDENTS REBUILD BOMBED SCHOOL

IN March 1956, Tunisia was granted full independence from France and admitted to the United Nations as a member state. Yet in February 1958 the French violated Tunisian territory and bombed the border village of Sakiet Sidi Youssef (which means "The Stream of the Holy Man Joseph") for allegedly sheltering Algerian rebels. This bombing caused worldwide protest. 55 villagers including 11 school children were killed.

The international student community was among the first to express its concern on this tragic action. Thus when this question was discussed by the 66 national unions taking part in the 8th International Student Conference in February this year, it was unanimously decided into Tunisia. At night that an international student work camp should be held to reconstruct the school as a positive attempt to alleviate the situation caused by the bombing.

By
Marc Boule

As a result a seven-week camp organised jointly by COSEC (Co-ordinating Secretariat for National Unions participating in the International Student Conference) and UGET (Union Generale des Etudiants Tunisiens) took place. 110 students from 52 countries participated in this project.

I was one of two South Africans, the other being Magnus Gunther from Wits. We were recommended as participants by NUSAS which participated at the last ISC. The project had the full support of, and was warmly welcomed by the Tunisian Government.

The French have not repented of this action and while preparations for the camp were in progress the French Government issued a communique saying that participation in this work camp would be an act hostile to the French Govern-

The two top pictures show students at work rebuilding the school bombed by the French as seen in the lower picture.



ment and that the participants would be in danger of attacks from rebels.

The village is only 500 yards from the border. During our stay there we witnessed frequent violations of Tunisian territory by French observation planes. To our great surprise the planes were never fired upon by the Tunisians although they came French searchlights along the frontier fanned both the Algerian and Tunisian countryside. The villas where we were staying were inaccessible to the searchlights but they fanned the hills behind us.

The camp included seven girls (two Tunisian girls), 16 Africans from South of the Sahara including two South Africans, others from South and Central America, North America, Europeans from all the countries of both Western and Eastern Europe, Indians and Chinese.

Marc Boule is a student at Natal University, Pietermaritzburg. He is 24 years of age and is doing 3rd year science. He is majoring in Botany and Chemistry and hopes to teach afterwards. He attended a work camp organised by Pax Romana in Ghana in January 1958. He is on the executive of the Southern Africa Work Camps Association and has attended many of their camps.

(Continued from Column 5) when it is realised that only 32 Africans are on the voters roll in Nyasaland and that the African members of the Legislative Council are nominated by the Governor.

It has been suggested in the camps that the Governor should be the first candidate for instruction in the meaning of democratic methods of government.

IN NYASALAND

Nyasas Boycott Commission

From J. S. Skinner

MLANJE: The boycott of the Kanjedza Commission of Inquiry now sitting in Blantyre is indicative of the consistent solidarity of African opposition to Federation. Only one of the detainees has given evidence to the Commission out of nearly 1,200 detained. Six Nyasalanders detained in Marandellas had volunteered to give evidence but retracted when the boycott was agreed upon. Three detainees were also brought from Zomba to see the Commission but refused to give evidence when they understood that the Commission was Federal not British.

The Boycott is also intended to express the exasperation felt by Africans here at the Government's refusal to accept evidence unfavourable to itself contained in the Devlin Report. The detainees feel that since the findings of an impartial British Commission were rejected by the Government it would be a waste of time to give evidence to a Federal Commission.

The Commission was appointed originally in July in order to investigate allegations of brutality in Kanjedza Camp in Limbe during the first few weeks after the State of Emergency was declared. There followed a two-month delay before any steps were taken to appoint members to the Commission. As a result of this delay the findings of the Commission will not be published until after the British general election has taken place.

It is thought that the Conservatives might have been

seriously embarrassed by an unfavourable report coming so shortly after the Hola massacre. As it is, the only evidence being given to the Commission is from the European warders of the Camp and the commandant, so that it will be difficult for the Commission to reach a balanced conclusion.

Meanwhile in Kanjedza and Marandellas where most of the ex-Congress members are still detained, life has settled down to a routine of study and discussion that will probably prove to be a valuable period of consolidation amongst nationalist leaders—hardly the intention of the Government. The attempts of Government "rehabilitation" officers to teach the detainees that they must try to change a government by constitutional means only are not proving very successful or popular it is understood.

This carries little weight (Continued in column 3)

APATHY IN BAROTSELAND, BUT . . .

EXILED LEADER SHOWED STIR OF NEW MOVEMENT

From Contact Correspondent

LIVINGSTONE, BAROTSELAND: Backwardness and political apathy mark the present way of thinking in Barotseland, the large and fertile protectorate in the Western part of Northern Rhodesia. In this well-watered valley of the upper Zambesi an alliance of missionaries, chiefs and administrators has so far succeeded in keeping "all quiet on the Western front."

But ideas travel, even to Barotseland, and some two years ago the government alliance met the most serious challenge to date to their medieval kingdom's unquestioned rule.

It happened when a dynamic leader, Sekeli Konoso, took over the secretaryship of the cultural and traditional Barotse National Society. For many years this society had merely kept alive the national feelings of Barotse in exile, wherever a small group of Lozi-speakers might be found, all the way from Cape to the Copperbelt.

These little groups had kept the Barotse apart from other tribes, and had nurtured the idea that the Barotse were a superior type of person. This idea was encouraged by the authorities. Naturally it led to the isolation of the Barotse from the great movements of thought stirring in the rest of the continent. It kept the Barotse at

home conservative, still thinking mainly about the fifty-year-old treaties signed by Lewanika and the British Government.

Under fiery Sekeli Konoso's leadership, the Barotse National Society pressed hard, some years back, for constitutional change. Many circulars were issued, and so much interest was aroused, that Konoso was summoned to appear before the *Saa-sikalokuta* (Barotse supreme court) on 18 January 1957.

When he arrived a huge crowd welcomed him, greeting him as "Mupulusi" (saviour). When he reached the capital, Lealui, there were some 2,000 to 3,000 people present. The chiefs had expected them to support them in their charges against Konoso, but when the people heard the charges they shouted out: "If these are the things you are accusing this man of he is right and we strongly support him."

The case went on for some

days. On 23 January the President of the Court found him guilty, sentenced him to six months in prison, and banished him from Barotseland for 12 years. The sentence has since been upheld on appeal, and Konoso is still in exile.

An indication of the backwardness of the land is the fact that the oldest mission, the Paris Evangelical Mission, has not yet established a single secondary school. There are only two schools in the territory which can bring children up to Standard 8 (two years before matriculation). There is no technical college in the country. The only way the men can earn ready cash is to go to the gold mines in the Union or to work for the Zambesi sawmills.

Incidentally this company has the right to cut out the best timber in the great Barotseland forests for a mere £24,000 a year, paid to the Barotse Native Government.

PEOPLE ARE WONDERING WHY . . .

WELENSKY PREACHES NON-RACIALISM

From Contact Correspondent

SALISBURY: Sir Roy Welensky's speech in which he told senior pupils of a European school in Salisbury recently that, "When an African or a Coloured person reaches that level (i.e. of European standards of culture), one must accept him as a full citizen of this country with the rights and privileges, as well as obligations, which that implies," is being discussed by many Africans. It is believed that the speech indicates a new line for Sir Roy, who is generally felt to be unfriendly to Africans.

"Is it a change of heart or a change of tactics?" some Africans ask.

Most Africans suggest that this is merely a change of tactics dictated by the desire not to embarrass the British Conservative Party during its recent election campaign and the knowledge that in 1960, the British Government will be more inclined to grant greater power to broad-based and more representative territorial governments in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland than to the Federal Government.

This view is strengthened by the fact that Sir Roy's United Federal Party has been conducting an intense recruiting drive

for African members in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The idea is to present the United Federal Party as a party supported by both whites and blacks in Central Africa and therefore strengthen Sir Roy's hand at the 1960 Conference table.

Unfortunately this drive has not been too successful and although the Party now claims to have about 2,000 African members in Nyasaland, it is known that many of these people only signed membership cards after they had been told that this was the only way they could get jobs, and some of them have repudiated their membership after waiting in vain.

Thus seeds of future trouble are now being sown in Nyasaland. Constitutional reforms have been suspended till after 1960. In the meantime the Governor has nominated four Africans to the Legislative Council, two of whom are members of the Executive Council. The United Federal Party has already said that since it has 1,200 Africans names on its register, the nominated Africans should have come from its ranks. These Africans will eagerly support the UFP line in such matters as federalising European agriculture, knowing full well that the vast majority of Africans are against it. They will toe the party line, which will be dictated by Europeans, at the 1960 Conference.

When, however, elections are held and Africans have a say in the government, these UFP Africans will be defeated and all the things they supported, such as federalising European agriculture will be repudiated.

The sensible thing to do would be to let Nyasaland be represented at the 1960 Conference by people who are likely to be in power in post-1960 Nyasaland, so that whatever agreement emerges in 1960, it will be one which they feel is binding to them. It is true that such leaders may demand Nyasaland's secession from the Federation but that demand is better made now than made again later.

"Christian National Education"

—Continued from page 8

national task in bringing about His will. Education should enable the young to take over from their cultural heritage . . . and develop it in accordance with their own gifts . . . This only a Christian-Nationalist school can teach them to do.

ARTICLE 6: . . . in no subject may anti-Christian or non-Christian or anti-nationalist or non-nationalist propaganda be made . . .

History should be seen as the fulfilment of God's plan for humanity. The turning-point of history is Jesus Christ—the history teaching must therefore include such facts as the Creation, the Fall, Life and Death of Christ . . . ; and history must be seen as the struggle between the Kingdom of God and the Empire of Darkness . . . (What on earth can that mean?)

. . . Next to the mother tongue, the history of the Fatherland is the best channel for cultivating the love of one's own, which is nationalism.

ARTICLE 7: Discipline — All authority in school is borrowed from God. The Christian-Nationalist end should be kept in view.

ARTICLE 8: . . . The Church must exercise the necessary discipline over the doctrine and lives of the teachers. The vigilance must be exercised through the parents.

The State must ensure . . . law and right in school life. It may not, however, determine the directing spirit of education providing that, as judged by God's law, it is not harmful to the state . . .

Our ideal is the Christian-Nationalist school; but for the time being we must be content to leave the existing public schools.

ARTICLE 9: . . . the teacher does the parent's work as the parent would do it himself were he able. Unless, therefore, he is a Christian, he is a deadly danger to us. (My italics.)

Training College personnel should also be Christian and Nationalist.

ARTICLE 11: Higher Education—Secular sciences should be taught according to the Christian and Nationalist view of life. University teaching should be thetic . . . never purely eclectic and never reconciliatory. Science should be expounded in a positively Christian light, and contrasted with non-Christian science. (How can science be Christian or non-Christian?)

Universities should never give unintegrated instruction, merely choosing here and choosing there; there should be no attempt to reconcile or abolish the fundamental oppositions: for Creator and created, man and beast, individual and community, authority and freedom remain in principle insoluble in each other.

ARTICLE 12: C-N view of life can be applied in technical colleges, reformatories, schools for the deaf, blind and mentally defective . . .

The teachers should be Protestant Christians and bilingual South Africans (My italics.)

(When the manifesto gets on to Coloured and African teaching, it bares more of its teeth. It repeats emphatically that Coloured and "native education should not be financed at the expense of the white".)

ARTICLE 15: The welfare and happiness of the coloured lies in his understanding that he belongs to a separate racial group (hence *apartheid* is necessary in education) and in his being proud of it.

Native education should be based on the principles of trusteeship, non-equality and segregation; its aim should be to inculcate the white man's view of life, especially that of the Boer nation, which is the senior trustee.

In case anyone still had doubts, then, we should now remind ourselves who is the senior *baas*.

Three important points are clear in this manifesto:

1. The peculiar definition of Christian (the three Calvinist Afrikaans churches).
2. The idea of nationalism is, rather, pure racialism.
3. In the Afrikaans version, *vorming* (forming) is the revealing synonym frequently used for educating.

Therefore, Christian National Education in South Africa would be Calvinist Racialist Formation.

Finally, as everyone has asked so often, what will happen to the Catholics, Jews, humanists and agnostics who pay their taxes like everyone else, and have up to now been able to send their children to school to mix freely and happily with children of other beliefs?

And are our children to lose all the views of Dr. Verwoerd?

The writers of *Blackout* believe that all teachers should have freedom of conscience, and that all government schools and state-aided universities should be secular.

"The objects of education," they say, "is in part to find out the truth (as far as we can see it) . . . We can never find out the truth if we are told beforehand that we must find it in *this* and not in that."

"We believe that to demand that teachers should have certain religious beliefs is to breed hypocrisy, cowardice and dishonesty."

They also believe that CNO is education for totalitarianism.

This is a clearly written and urgent pamphlet that every South African should read.

* *BLACKOUT—A Commentary on the Education Policy of the I.C.N.O.*, 28, 6d. Issued by the Education League, P.O. Box 6475, Johannesburg.

DEATH OF GEORGE PADMORE: A Tribute

CONTACT records with sorrow the death, at the comparatively early age of fifty-six, of George Padmore, Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah's Adviser on Africa Affairs, and prolific author on colonial questions.

He was one of the most colourful and influential figures on the African scene. A West Indian who became a Red Army Colonel, a black man who became almost a typical Englishman, Padmore was a bit of a mystery even to his friends. To the Negro journalist Roi Otley, no less identified with the struggle against race prejudice than Abrahams or Padmore, Padmore appeared to be "a rabid revolutionary . . . forged in the crucible of US race relations . . . the most dangerous radical alive . . . first class conspirator, specialist in decoys, codes, and stratagems."

This man became, towards the end of his life, the most powerful critic of communism in Africa, the man who, above all others, succeeded in foiling the plan to use African nationalism to power the red bandwagon.

To his widow, Dorothy Pizer, Contact offers its deepest sympathy and to George Padmore, who has gone, a salute as one of the toughest, most devoted, and greatest of all fighters against the evil of race discrimination and for the unity of the human race.

WILLIAM GORDON RELAXES



Mr. William Gordon, the American journalist, watching a girl give a hula hoop demonstration at a village near Pretoria. Back in the US, he said recently: "It is my feeling that African nationalism as it exists in the Union will eventually have to join forces with white liberalism in order to free itself from the problems that exist there."

Mboya Defends His Scholarships

From Contact Correspondent

NAIROBI: On the eve of the departure from here for America of a contingent of eighty-one African young men and women for higher studies in various subjects, a statement made in a letter sent by the African-American Students' Foundation Inc., New York, to people in Kenya has led to a storm of protest.

The letter, signed by actor Sidney Poitier, singer Harry Belafonte and baseball player Jackie Robinson, asks for funds to help pay for the airlift, which is costing 39,000 dollars. But it also makes reference to the belief that "in Kenya today higher education is not available to Africans."

The statement that higher education was not available to Africans in Kenya was refuted by the British Embassy in Washington. The Embassy gave figures showing the number of Kenya African students now receiving higher education both in East Africa and overseas, in-

cluding the United States, at Government expense.

Mr. Tom Mboya, meanwhile, has said that the students, who will be going to institutions like Harvard, Georgetown, University of California, Michigan State College, and Howard University, among others, were selected from a long list of applicants through a foolproof system. He was refuting charges levelled by certain African leaders that the majority of the students selected belong to the tribes of which he himself and Dr. J. G. Kiano, who helped get the scholarships, are both members.

Mboya said: "We have no say whatever in deciding whether a particular student is admitted to the scheme. All universities require students to fill in application forms and also to send testimonials and certificates. I am not aware of any tribal group consideration when selecting students and would strongly oppose such influences."



SAM SLY'S CORNER

FORTNIGHTLY NOTES ON BOOKS AND THE PRESS



A pretty woman

Samuel Johnson was born 250 years ago. Boswell's *Life* is one of the greatest of books and about one of the greatest of men. I knew a man who read it and Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* over and over, in turn. When Johnson is praised, his titles are always sung out: the Grand Cham of literature, the Great Lexicographer, the Great Moralist . . . In all his grand array of might and frailty, there is the pleasing little touch of his eye for a pretty woman. He told Garrick: "I come no more behind your scenes, David; for the silk stockings and white bosoms of your actresses excite my amorous propensities", a fine Johnsonian remark, though the last words have since been done to death.

A sixteen-year-old bride who took his fancy was Fanny Wilton, whom he called "exquisitely beautiful". Others thought her the loveliest woman in England, but she was destined for great sorrow. She married his friend Robert Chambers, an Oxford don who was made a judge in Bengal and took her to India with him. What a fuss on the way! At the Cape she ran off with a fellow passenger, Mr. Lemaistre, to a cottage lent by a Dutchman, and here Chambers found them. He challenged Lemaistre to a duel, but the Governor stopped it in time, and they all went on to India, each in one piece. Poor Fanny Wilton sent her first-born son to England to school eight years later. The agony of parting was as nothing to the long-drawn-out horror of the years ahead. For this was 1782 and the little boy took passage in the East Indiaman *Grosvenor*. Not until some years after the ship was wrecked off our Wild Coast did Lady Chambers (as she had become) give up hope, and erect a monument to him in Madras. She was haunted to the end of her life by thoughts of how the child met his end on these inhospitable shores.

[There should be a scholar's account of Master Chambers and his parents in Professor Kirby's huge researches on the wreck of the *Grosvenor*, which I believe Oxford University Press are to publish in South Africa next year.]

Other stories

The Chambers scandal at the Cape probably never happened. The story appeared in the gutter press, which at that time was openly malicious and untruthful.

Oddly enough, Chambers's cousin Charles Grant was mixed up in a duel in the Heerengracht some years earlier, when a half-mad Irish buck, "Tiger" Roche, killed a young shipmate with whom he had quarrelled on the way from England. Roche fled inland, but Grant finally tracked him down. His trial in England was the sensation of the day. This Grant was the father of Glenelg, whose 1835 dispatch to D'Urban regrettably sparked off part of the Great Trek. I do not believe it is generally known that Glenelg himself visited the Cape to recuperate from overworking at Cambridge. I expect that much-maligned humanitarian was the only Colonial Secretary who ever visited this troublesome British possession he had to administer. But these are several other stories.

Out of his head

The press lied in Johnson's day, as I have said, and for years Johnson wrote parliamentary reports that were entirely imaginary. Of these he once said: "I took care the Whig dogs should not have the best of it", which partisanship was easier then than for the lobby correspondent of to-day, who can't write it all out of his own head. The effect would be the same, I suppose, except that Johnson's reports are readable more than two centuries later, where most local reports of last session are already dead and maggoty.

Sniffs

I feel more kindly towards Mr. John Wain since reading his words on Dr. Johnson in the latest *Observer*. He made one share with him what he called Johnson's "greatness of mind (and) tragic and heroic stature, that we can feel across 250 years." To go from the sublime to the gorbliney, Mr. Wain "panned" Butler's *A Book of South African Verse* recently. His review opened with a sneer, then made an ignorant bloomer, praised faintly, sniffed loudly and ended with a slap on the back for Roy Campbell. Why quote the bloomer?—but the sneer should be diagnosed. Mr. Wain began: "Finally, the Oxford University Press, doggedly churning through the poetic Commonwealth, has got as far as South Africa. (Why, incidentally, is Canada taking so long to answer the roll-call?)" Poetic Commonwealth fiddlesticks! 300 million people speak English and point nought nought

something per thousand write verse in it. Our country has produced a little bit of this verse: here is a book of what one of us thinks the best of it. And in England there is a publisher who has published it to sell it to the English-speaking world. So why the terrible English littleness of Mr. Wain's joke about the publisher and the source of the verse? It reflects an adherence to snob values, in this case regional ones, which is the dreariest facet of the otherwise crazy and unpredictable English people. Johnson himself was tough on the Scots and Americans, but he tossed and gored them, with never a sneer. Mr. Wain is forgiven, and must learn.

Makes me squirm

As journalists both Mr. Vernon Bartlett and Sir Christopher Chancellor would dispute the accuracy of *Contact's* calling Dr. Albert Hertzog "perhaps the most unpleasant person ever to be made a cabinet minister in South Africa." Bartlett, for one, found Mr. Eric Louw "one of the most unpleasant people I've ever met." Perhaps he didn't meet Dr. Hertzog. All who have heard Mr. Louw at UNO would at least concede Bartlett the right to his view. The manner and matter of his speeches there make me squirm with masochistic pangs, and I feel

(Continued on page 15)

Colour & Class

WHITE AND COLOURED. By Michael Banton (Cape) 21s.

AFTER reading some of the things quoted in this book, I found myself almost beginning to pity the white man! For whatever he does seems to be wrong.

The author has studied the behaviour of British people towards coloured immigrants, and incidentally he shows how the coloured resent white patronage. Thus a West Indian at Oxbridge said: "In college they invite you to a party, so as to have it a bit unusual, and they think that they are doing you a favour. When you get there, you find someone who plays the flute and someone who stands on his head—and a coloured man."

Another complaint was against those people who seek out coloured students in order to befriend them. The attitude of such people was likened to that of the local aristocrat who initiates a conversation with a villager, graciously showing interest in the inferior person. All the time each knows that the superior person directs the conversation, asks all the questions and answers none, and terminates the meeting when he wishes.

Here is one of the difficulties about race relations in a class-ridden society like Britain: class distinctions can easily be mistaken for colour prejudice. Colour has in some eyes the same socially inferior connotation as English spoken ungrammatically, or without the correct accent, or of wear-

ing a muffler instead of a collar and tie.

"I see," nodded Dick. And they immediately go on to discuss something else.

Dr. Banton thinks that the working class show more hostility towards coloured people than do the middle class but are more readily induced to abandon it. I have my own doubts about this generalisation. In any case, it is a weakness of this work that little attempt is made to trace the relation between empire-building and the growth of prejudice in the nineteenth century and earlier.

The desire to "hold dominion over palm and pine" (in Kipling's phrase) had a lot to do with the stereotypes so deeply ingrained in the British mind.

It is well to recognise that colour prejudice is by no means found only among those who practise racial discrimination in Africa. It is a by-product of race relations in various parts of the world and it is usually rooted in a determination to profit by the use of cheap black labour.

From the days of the slave trade, the wealth and power of Britain has been partly derived from the continued poverty of Africans and Asians, who have for centuries been pictured as inferior races. Only in recent times has the falseness of the picture been realised, and even now only slow and halting steps are being taken to correct it.

Writing as a sociologist and drawing (but not deeply enough) on the more advanced American research in this field, Dr. Banton has produced a good book, bringing further credit to Edinburgh University's enterprise in the study of race relations in Britain.

JULIUS LEWIN

Prig's Tour

THE YOUNG TRAVELLER

IN SOUTH AFRICA. By Anthony Delius (Phoenix) 10s. 6d.

THIS is a puzzling book. The author, Anthony Delius presents a very different face, bland and affectionate, from the wry melancholy of Adderley of the *Cape Times* or the bitter satire of his recent long poem.

The Young Traveller series is very popular among educationists. The YT in South Africa, is according to the publishers, the most popular of the lot. It has just been brought up to date (including a mention of *Contact*) and the British School Library Association and National Book League have apparently recommended it to thousands of 12-16-year-olds in the United Kingdom.

In some ways it is clear why Mr. Delius's book is such a favourite. He has skilfully scattered a great fund of facts in a sprightly narrative. He deals with white, animal and native life in a clean and jolly way.

He seems to fight against any serious hints of disapproval—all very bad form. The SA Information Service, for instance would surely applaud this paragraph. After an allegedly liberal young lady (United Party type) has told our young traveller Dick that the Nationalists "want Africans to develop Parliaments of their own and rule themselves in their own little states—what we now call reserves . . ." young Dick asks brightly, "It's what they call apartheid, isn't it?"

"Yes, the policy of keeping Black and White apart to avoid racial quarrelling," said Alice.

On the other hand, Mr. Delius does make many sound points. He

touches on the luxury and slum contrasts of Johannesburg; on disruptive family living caused by migratory labour; on the need for more African schools, and so on.

Although the young traveller asks pert questions on every other subject, he displays remarkably little curiosity when the South African (white) way of life is described to him.

Certainly he would not break out in long-winded criticism. But I felt he might, at least, have protested *once*—when, say, the Coloured children he and his young white hosts played with or a farm were not allowed to join them for tea inside the house, but were handed their banana, bread and drink, outside the back door.

In fact, I began to find Dick an insufferably complacent little prig. When someone on a Cape farm vaguely mentioned that Coloured labourers had a high incidence of TB ("Lots of white people get TB, too"), Dick watched the workers pass the farmer Oom Thys as they left work, crying "Nag, Baas! Nag, Basies!" and I did not seem to Dick that they looked either unhealthy or unhappy.

I felt it would probably have helped the book, too, if Mr. Delius had decided whether black people were Africans, Bantu or natives. He uses all three in his own descriptions, rather like Springbok Radio: Africans in Kenya and Rhodesia, and the natives, mostly, down south.

Before recommending this book to my young daughter—and I would recommend it for the historical facts and anecdotes alone—I would insist, however that she get an antidote to follow: preferably a Young Traveller in South Africa by, say, Lewi Nkosi.

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Tortoise Paradise

THESE WONDERS TO BELIEVE. By Lawrence G. Green (Howard Timmins) 15s.

THAT was one more page in the dark story of witchcraft, the black magic that dominates many events in Africa and casts its evil shadow over the lives of millions from cradle to grave."

It sounds like the end of a Technicolor travelogue. Or perhaps like someone giving a parody of the end of a Technicolor travelogue. But in fact it is a not untypical sentence of Lawrence Green prose.

Mr. Green is phenomenally successful. No one else publishing a South Africa in English can compare with his sales. His formula varies little. A vast collection of anecdotes about Africa is mixed with some "I-was-there" expertise, arranged in articles which are now called chapters, strung together on some flimsy theme, rather crudely printed and bound (this one is slightly better)—and there you have it, a most acceptable Christmas present for Aunt Mary.

In a sense Aunt Mary gets good value, for Mr. Green's researches have produced much that is extremely interesting.

The latest book is about mysteries and magic (though one chapter on place names could comfortably fit into any of his books) and it has produced some fascinating stories about fire-walking, snake charming, primitive telepathy, the odd migrations of birds and beasts, the strange behaviour of desert sand, and so on.

Mr. Green's virtues have often been described. I would like to make two complaints. First, there is the unevenness of his writing. At his best Mr. Green writes a very serviceable sub-editor's prose

that lacks wit or elegance but ishe writes. Two hundred and thirty-seven pages without a whisper of a protest seems to me to add up to a positive political statement in favour of things as they are.

KENNETH MACKENZIE

"Mystery takes strange shapes in Africa, and you never know when and where you will find it. I have accompanied many expeditions in my time. Though we seldom found what we sought, there was always some recompense for the hardships and effort and the incidental dangers. Africa does give you plenty to think about." (my italics.)

I find it difficult to get past a sentence like that last one, however interesting the material.

Then there is his political attitude, or his lack of political attitude. He makes one or two generalisations which might offend Contact readers: "Black magic dominates every phase of life up and down Africa, and few Africans (whatever degree of education they reach) lose their belief in it." "It is difficult to live for long in Egypt without forming a lasting distrust of the Egyptian character."

But more significant is his absence of comment. Of course, it is not meant to be a political book. And people are entitled to write about migratory birds rather than migratory labourers if they wish. But Mr. Green goes further. He gives the impression of being totally unaware of the suffering and the struggles in Africa at the moment. To him it seems to be simply a continent full of sunny, quaint things, a jovial place for tourists on safari, botanists and snail connoisseurs. "Africa, you may know, is a tortoise paradise,"

A South African portrait by Augustus John — the sitter is Mr. Bernard Schonegevel, author of a volume of light reminiscences, "This much I'll Tell" (Timmins 18s.).



Between the Myths

OLD AFRICA REDISCOVERED. By Basil Davidson (Gollancz)

THERE are two contrasting myths about Africa. One has been served up for generations by history teachers in South African schools. It pictures Africa south of the Sahara as a land of savages and barbarians, people without a history until the white man arrived upon the scene. Before Bartholomew Dias rounded the Cape there was nothing worth recording except that the Hottentots kept fat-tailed sheep and a few Bushmen wandered about shooting buck with bows and arrows.

The other myth is not so well known. It has been created by non-European intellectuals of the ultra-left, in particular by the young enthusiasts who were inspired by the Unity Movement. This myth has been created by the simple process of taking the other myth and turning it upsidedown. Using a different analogy, we may say that if South Africa's picture of the past was painted in black and white, the radical intellectuals simply reversed the colours. That was easy enough, but some went further. They delved into the records and the history books (not the school ones) and found that black Africa was by no means without a past. They discovered the mediæval kingdoms of Ghana and Mali and the empire of Monomotapa. They proclaimed that black Africa had given birth to mighty heroes and amazing civilisations.

In this book Basil Davidson has tried tentatively and with great modesty (considering how much he knows about the subject) to

give us the truth about the history of Africa prior to the white man's arrival on the scene. And the truth is neither the one myth nor the other but something in between.

The fact is that the civilisations of mediæval Africa did not differ so markedly from those of mediæval Europe. There was a vast illiterate population of rural dwellers making some sort of living by herding or agriculture. There was a certain amount of trade in goods from the Near East and Farther Asia. There were the beginnings of towns and markets. There were feudal lords who fought with each other and whose kingdoms waxed and waned.

The white tribalist of northern and western Europe emerged from the dark ages to build a new and dominating civilisation. There were many factors favouring this, not least that their territory was in large measure the same as that of the previous classical civilisation of Greece and Rome. Furthermore the Arabs in Spain, southern Italy and the Near East offered a continual challenge and example.

The black tribalists of Africa were not so fortunate. They were subject to influences from the north and east and they responded in their own way to produce indigenous cultures. Timbuktu, Zimbabwe and Mapungubwe are evidence of that. But these indigenous cultures were too sporadic and isolated. They never merged to dominate the continent as a whole.

Arab influence at first was stimulating and helpful. With the growth of the slave trade it became a curse rather than a blessing. The Portuguese and later other Europeans came to plunder and destroy and they too engaged

in the trade in slaves on an even vaster scale. The slave trade was one of the most damaging things that ever happened to Africa.

Regarding earlier cultural influences, Basil Davidson places great stress on the spread of knowledge of iron-working. Originating probably in Asia Minor about 1500 BC, iron-smelting gradually diffused into Europe and into Africa. Significantly enough some of the earliest exports from Africa (to Asia via the Indian Ocean) were gold and iron. Thus metallurgy was one of black Africa's earliest industries. Social changes connected with the manufacture and use of iron caused tribalism to develop in certain regions into a species of feudalism. This was associated with class differentiation and Davidson regards this as evidence of progress beyond the tribal stage.

The last portion of the book is devoted to a discussion on Zimbabwe and the kingdom of Monomotapa. Various theories of the exotic origin of the Zimbabwe culture (variants of the King Solomon's mines and Queen of Sheba romances) have long since been debunked by competent archaeologists, so that the author has little difficulty in showing that this culture was essentially Bantu.

Regarding Mapungubwe the famous hill on the south bank of the Limpopo, Davidson regrets that so little has been done to follow up the investigations which began there and at other prehistoric sites in the Transvaal. He speaks of the "strange silence" which "appears to have fallen upon the whole question of Mapungubwe, site of black achievement in a land that is ruled by whites". The implication is that even in the field of archaeology (which cannot proceed satisfactorily without appreciable funds) there is race prejudice. He may be right in this.

EDWARD ROUX

SAM SLY

(Continued from page 14)

ashamed to be, in turn, a white South African, a white, and a human being, the only three labels I partly share with him. His recent attack on the Swedish government was his next best blunder since the brush with Ghana over diplomatic representation last year. With any luck his accusation that Sweden is pro-Moscow and ill-treats the Lapps will bring Swedish conservatives and big businessmen into line with liberals, churches, universities and the press against apartheid.

Legendary friend

I mentioned Helander before: another friend we have in Sweden is the almost legendary Harry Martinson, Sweden's greatest literary figure since Strindberg. "As a poet he is acknowledged as the genius of Scandinavian literature in our century," writes Per Wästberg. "His personal popularity among all sections of the people is only threatened by Ingemar Johanssen's! Martinson was abandoned by his parents, and brought up in a poorhouse. He visited South Africa many times in the 'twenties as a fireman on a Swedish steamer, and has been a tramp and a tobacco-worker. To-day he is one of the 18 members of the Royal Swedish Academy, and is burdened by all the distinctions you can think of." Harry Martinson has given his name to the national appeal in Sweden for the Defence and Aid Fund.

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CORRESPONDENCE:

Mr. Bishop

SIR,
I refer to the letter in *Contact* of 19 September from Mr. Brian Bishop under the heading, "What has the ANC achieved?"

The Liberal Party handbook on page 15 states that the Party favours co-operation with the ANC and the SAIC, and regards simultaneous membership of either Congress and the Party as compatible.

Mr. Bishop clearly repudiates this policy, and there are only two responsible courses open to him, namely either to resign from the Party, or to use the proper methods to change the policy of the Party.

His present method is improper and undisciplined, and also, I consider, disloyal to his Party.

I do not intend to enter into any controversy with Mr. Bishop in the columns of *Contact*. The councils of the Party are the proper places for such discussion.

ALAN PATON
Kloof, Natal

SIR,
Mr. Bishop's views must gladden the heart of every Nationalist. His continued attack on ex-chief Lutuli and the ANC could have been inspired by Mr. Swart himself.

In his self-proclaimed crusade to save the African from communism, he seeks allies in the Catholic church and will no doubt be prepared to accept the Nationalists as well.

He should also remember that the communist government of Kerala was freely elected, the only one of its kind in the world, and was overthrown by methods that led to Mr. Nehru apologising to the Indian Parliament for his actions.

Mr. Bishop is the logical spokesman for the Cape Liberals, who wish to deny the African a vote. Mr. Bishop would like to see South Africa under the paternal care of the Catholic church. I wonder if the African people of the Belgian Congo, PEA and French possessions in Africa share his views.

L. ROBINS
Johannesburg

I have never yet met a "Cape Liberal" who wished to deny the African people their votes. At this very moment the "Cape Liberals" are campaigning in Sea Point and making it quite plain to the white electorate that the Liberal Party's franchise policy is that all adults of all races should have the vote.—Editor.

SIR,
Before slating the African National Congress for its "long lists of unsuccessful strikes, boycotts and protests", Mr. Brian Bishop should tell us what he is doing to hasten the end of Nationalist tyranny in South Africa.

Making allegations is one thing; proving them is another. Will Mr. Bishop now give concrete evidence of:-

(a) the "other Congresses" being stooges of

the Congress of Democrats.

(b) the Congress of Democrats having as its ultimate objective the denials of freedom of movement, speech, worship and the right to express political opinions?

Calling the African National Congress "stooges of the Congress of Democrats" is a cry frequently taken up by timid academics for two reasons, firstly, because they haven't yet outgrown their feeling of racial superiority and thus cannot accept the fact that Africans are capable of forming their own decisions and taking their part at the conference table with Whites, without being dominated by them.

Secondly, because it is an excuse for not taking a militant part in the anti-Nationalist struggle, whilst at the same time professing the most liberal sentiments. Their line is, "I would do something if it wasn't for those 'extremists' in the COD..."

Mr. Bishop wonders why the Liberal Party hesitates to fight the "communist controlled section of the Congress Alliance." I would reply by saying that because no "communist controlled section" exists, and because to attack a "section" of the Congress Alliance, would be to attack the entire Congress Alliance, and therefore, the vanguard of the liberatory movement, which would discredit the Liberal Party completely.

M. J. FLETCHER
Durban

SIR,
Mr. Bishop's letter, (*Contact* 19 September.), callow and ill-considered as it is, seems to express a point of view current among some Cape Liberals, and therefore demands some kind of an answer.

What has ANC achieved? A very great deal in organising and educating African opinion, preparing, gathering and shaping the immense potential force for sanity which is in the African people. By its association with SACTU it is also helping to build up a powerful and effectively organised labour force, and by its experiments with the boycott it has demonstrated most convincingly its capacity for economic bargaining power. And has the Liberal Party done so much?

As for COD—it is just possible that Mr. Bishop is merely over-estimating the devil. However, what I suspect he is really doing is to under-estimate his African victim. Neither the leaders nor the rank and file of ANC lack the shrewdness which Mr. Bishop seems to think they lack, thereby falling into the pattern of contemptuous paternalism which characterises some members of the Liberal Party as surely as it does all members of, for instance, SABRA.

Let me define COD for Mr. Bishop. COD consists of those whites who accept the demands of the people as expressed in

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the Freedom Charter—a document prepared by a large and representative group of people of all races, and much more truly indicative of popular and democratic opinion than anything which can be put forward by any other political group. The fact that, among the whites, only those of the left are prepared to accept those demands means, not that COD is part of a subtle plot to corrupt African opinion, but that African opinion is already too advanced for any but members of COD.

If Mr. Bishop cannot accept the Freedom Charter, he is free to represent a perfectly understandable point of view—that the South African disease must be cured by means of political reform, social integration, improvement in working conditions, and so forth, but that this must not in any significant way affect the privileges of the predominantly white class of industrial capitalists and large farm-owners.

He is perfectly justified in the attempt to convince this group of whites that such reforms are possible and necessary, and in attempting to convince non-whites that such reforms will satisfy their aspirations. But in doing so he must convince the whites that the security of their positions does not in any way depend upon the present system of political, social and economic discrimination, and at the same time convince the non-white that these forms of discrimination are not a direct consequence of the workings of the capitalist system.

If, on the other hand, he were to accept the Freedom Charter, he would be perfectly free to join COD and to attempt to steer its policy along a more moderate and humanitarian course. But then, if he has gone so far as that, he will have no difficulty in seeing how moderate and sane, how humanitarian, just, and necessary, the policies of Congress are.

Meanwhile, let Mr. Bishop re-read Peter Brown's column in *Contact* (5 September) in which he writes: "There is one temptation to which I hope the

progressives will not fall prey and to which we are all susceptible. It is the temptation to attack anyone to the left of us and to dissociate ourselves from them in an attempt to acquire for ourselves a respectability they don't seem to possess."

ALLAN VAUGHAN
Durban

Defence of Sachs

SIR,
The review of *South African Personalities and Places* by Bernard Sachs, coming from the pen of Peter Rodda, was so scathing, that I feel it is only fair to Mr. Sachs that your readers should know that, arrayed against Mr. Rodda, is some very formidable critical opinion, which includes two leading South African writers and four highly responsible publications. Let me quote from them:

Bernard Sachs has many merits as a writer. He can write.—[Sarah Gertrude Millin]

Bernard Sachs's command of English is admirable.—[William Plomer]

This book can be recommended as one of the best South African studies by a South African writer to appear for a long time. Easy style and plain good writing.—[The Star]

Mr. Sachs has made a grand job of the enterprise. His persuasive prose achieves brilliance . . . Scholarly and continuously entertaining . . . unique of its kind in this country.—[M.M.W. in Sunday Times]

Bernard Sachs has suddenly thrust himself into the foreground of South African writing with this unusual and brilliant collection of essays . . . The title gives no indication of the gems in the book . . .—[Rand Daily Mail]

These essays, sincere and penetrating, capture the essence of life on the Rand, as no other writer has done, and so give to a unique parcel of mankind a concrete and almost Dickensian vitality.—[Professor E. Davis (Head of the Dept. of English, University of S.A.) in S.A. Jewish Times]

Let me assure your readers that the above quotations are not out of context, but reflect the tenor of the reviews as a whole, as anyone

can testify.

S. JACKSON
Sydenham, Johannesburg

[The views of the two writers appear, slightly changed, on the wrapper of the book that was under review. They presumably refer to earlier books by Mr. Bernard Sachs.—Literary Ed.]

CONTACT in Detention Camp

SIR,
Thank you very much for the copies you are sending us. We enjoy reading them. We read every line of the articles in every issue.

My friends and I never knew that you too can be interested in the affairs of the oppressed people of Central Africa as you have at several occasions despised Tom Mboya.

Tom Mboya like Jomo Kenyatta is our worshipped hero; not those stooges "black Europeans" as we call them here. Your Comment on our "Doc" (Dr. Banda) was just the way we want it.

NEPHAS TEMBO
Detention Camp,
Mongu, N. Rhodesia

Thank you for this letter. I don't think Contact has ever despised Tom Mboya—on the contrary.—Editor.

Against black markets

SIR,
As a member of the Liberal Party I am concerned for our integrity and I strongly dislike the article in *Contact* on 5 September, entitled "Getting it from the Boys."

The writer not only describes black marketing with gusto but obviously approves of it.

It is difficult enough to steer a straight course in tangled commercial situations, but surely this is a clear case of civic dishonesty.

Contact may include rollicking articles on aspects of life in the slums, but do Liberals acquiesce in such social rotteness as definite cheating?

E. R. CUSSONS
88 North St., Durban

17 October 1959

CONTACT