

contact

**"Peeping Tom" neighbours
and apartheid inspectors
fail to make mother
give up child**

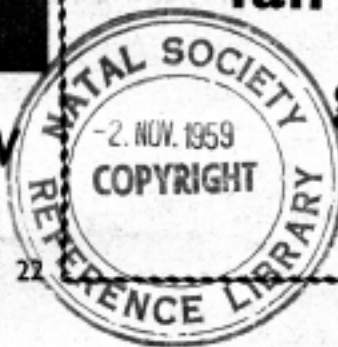
SOUTH AFRICA'S NON-RACIAL REVIEW

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Mrs. Beecher with her children. Rather than part from Thomas (centre), they will give up South Africa and go to live in England—page 5.

HOW THE LIBERALS FARED

SUPPORT for the Liberal Party in South Africa is gaining ground. That is the conclusion arrived at by candidates and others who took part in the recent Provincial elections. And while the four Liberal candidates failed to win through, facts connected with the elections have shown that the liberal idea is spreading, even among the ranks of the nationalists.

HOUGHTON

Reviewing the Houghton election, Mrs. Marion Friedmann (Liberal candidate) found that Johannesburg Liberals and many others outside the party "are gratified by the results and all the more so because the electorate, whether sympathetic or otherwise, clearly accepts as familiar the desirability of African representation on City Councils and on other law-making bodies, once regarded as revolutionary."

Commenting, Mrs. Friedmann says "Liberalism is clearly more popular than it used to be, and although many uncanvassed voters came to vote for us (something new, in our experience) the fact remains that the Liberal case unlike the UP case, still has to be put across person-to-person. The propaganda can take the place of *huisbesoek* has not yet been written — at any rate not by us.

"Pretoria's magnificent effort, makes us simultaneously hang our heads in shame and throw out our chests with pride: a difficult feat but we are doing it all the same.

"The Progressive split has already achieved one good thing: the Press is no longer wholeheartedly pro-UP and anti-Liberal. This alas! did not stop the *Star* (hitherto fairly impartial) from publishing an eve-of-election front-page scare story, phrased in such a way that the average Houghton reader must have thought that there was a Nat. standing in Houghton. Why Houghton rather than Langlaage or Boksburg was given pride of place and timing is a mystery.

"My own private mystification was the apparent neutrality of the Progressives in the Houghton election. (Houghton is held by a Progressive MP. If the Progressives are taking a

direction similar to ours and markedly different from that of the UP, then participation would have served their interests and those of the liberal movement better, it seems to me, than neutrality.

"I do not mean to suggest that the Progressives did not vote — most of them probably voted for us; nor would I have expected them, still finding their feet, to have launched a major offensive on the UP, but it is a pity, I think, that we did not find them among the envelope-addressers and the canvassers. Perhaps uncertainty and newness held them back, but I suppose we should be grateful that they are finally OUT of the UP."

PRETORIA EAST

In Pretoria East (contested by Dr. Colin Lang) the same lack of vision was noted on the part of UP members, who, it had been anticipated, would have given either moral or even, possibly, practical support to the Liberal candidate in the fight to oust the Nats. from power.

The UP attitude to the Liberal stand, expressed off-the-record by a UP official at the outset, was that the United Party welcomed and were grateful for Liberal participation in the elections as it was felt that this would draw off some Nationalist effort from the two critical seats which the UP were contesting at Sunnyside and Rissik.

But in actual fact, official UP support for the Liberal stand was markedly absent. No directive was given to UP supporters to vote against the Government in spite of many

UP appeals in the past to everybody to "pull together to get the government out."

Sir de Villiers Graaff actually asked his supporters "to refrain from supporting dissenting groups."

What is more, at the Menlo Park polling booth, serving Waterkloof, Menlo Park and Lynnwood, organised UP workers instructed their voters to abstain from voting Liberal. In spite of that, at this station, the Liberal candidate polled over 900 votes and almost equalled the Nat. poll.

As it was, house to house canvassing revealed considerable interest and support for Liberal aims and ideals.

Reception from Nationalist supporters was almost invariably polite, often cordial, and occasionally very rewarding. Even those who stated outright "*Ek stel nie belang in die Liberale Party nie*" were usually prepared to accept pamphlets, and often to argue the case. Canvassers were fortunate in having some reprints from *Contact* of Afrikaans articles by J. J. Oosthuizen in the form of a pamphlet entitled "*Moet die Bloedbad Kom*", and in having a number (of canvassers) whose home language is Afrikaans.

The surprises of the day were the results from the other two booths at Silverton and Villieria serving solidly Nationalist areas, of 230 and 211 votes respectively. Liberal workers at the booths reported very cordial relations with the Nationalist workers and the polling was conducted in a good spirit throughout, except at Villieria where there was some tension.

An analysis of the results — Nat. 6,037, Liberal 1,448 — is interesting. In the general election the Nats. obtained 6,244 votes. If, as Mr. Muller, the Nat. candidate asserted, 400 UP supporters voted for him, then obviously well over 400 Nationalists must have failed to support him. This is substantiated by canvassers who found a number of Nationalists who stated that they were dissatisfied with the Government.

IXOPO

In contesting the rural seats of Ixopo the Liberal Party was breaking new ground. "On the face of it," says Mrs. G. Ventress, the Liberal candidate, "we were severely beaten, but the low number of Liberal votes cast does not clearly indicate our impact on the electorate. It was a four-cornered contest. The entry of the Federal Party altered the whole picture. The UP candidate who won the seat, belong to the extreme reactionary wing of his party.

"On average our meetings were better attended than those of our opponents. We encountered very little hostility. On the contrary, people were



Poster-sticking at Sea Point. Neil Ross, who canvassed over 40 nights, Brian Bishop, and Joan Inglesby outside the election office.

sympathetic to our point of view.

"People often told us that although they were not voting for us, we were absolutely right and they agreed with everything we said with the possible exception of the concept of "one man one vote". The real countryman was astonished to discover that Liberals were pleasant, likeable people but we were at a tremendous disadvantage in not knowing the locals, particularly on polling day.

"Voting UP is a community tradition; that in itself was a major obstacle."

SEA POINT

At Sea Point there was a "swimming baths" election. A United Party organiser asked at the last meeting whether the candidate was in

favour of a colour bar at the Sea Point swimming baths. Mr. Patrick Duncan replied: "I do not like the idea of a colour bar in South Africa, including the Sea Point swimming baths. Only in Southern Africa could such a question be asked (applause). In the countries that are admired most to-day, such as India, Israel, and Western Europe, you will find that there is no colour bar in the swimming baths."

That reply cost the Liberals many hundred votes. On polling day United Party agents went from polling station to polling station shouting: "Do you want to see our swimming baths full of BLACK BODIES? If you do, vote Liberal." The United Party concentrated on this issue, and exploited it as cynically as it is used against them by the Nats.

(Continued on page 3)

CONTACT

South Africa's Non-racial Review
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Polling-day at the Sea Point pavilion. Maureen Cohen and Désirée Berman. Mrs. Cohen's baby Michael was the only one kissed during the whole campaign.

(Continued from page 2)

The last week of canvassing is unforgettable. There was a superb turn-out; the election fund neared £750; good meetings were held at Camps Bay and Sea Point, and spirits were high. Although everyone was glad it was over, the last party on the day after the election was a sad last good-bye of a team that had gone through much together, and that had fought a good, clean, hard-hitting fight.

The Liberals lost, but the final word remains with a high-up on the United Party side. He said: "I would like to congratulate the Liberals on the high calibre of their helpers. I have never seen so alert, presentable, and intelligent a band of young devoted workers. I wish we could get people like yours to work for us, but we can't. This augurs well for the future of your cause."

EAST LONDON

Great interest in the elections was also shown by big audiences of both whites and non-whites when Mr. Jordan Ngubane, National Vice-President of the Liberal Party, addressed meetings in East London and Grahams-

town at the invitation of the Cape Eastern Region of the Liberal Party.

Speaking in East London, Mr. Ngubane said that no one group in South Africa could solve the problems facing the country and that any attempt to rule the country on a policy of colour or creed could but lead to rule by dictatorship.

The day might come, he said, when an irresistible force would attempt to move an immovable object. This could lead to nothing less than disaster for South Africa.

"In South Africa," Mr. Ngubane said, "the present set-up must be changed by peaceful means. Evolution not revolution was the answer. Interest should centre on the rights of the individual rather than on an individual's race. This would open the doors to all and raise the standards of living for those at present living below the bread-line."

"To this end," he continued, "it is necessary to give every South African citizen over a certain age a common loyalty to the country and the right to vote."

Mr. Ngubane said that world opinion was on the side of the Liberals in this country and support for liberalism was increasing.



A pause in the Sea Point election office late at night. Cynthia Duncan, Ros Brodie, Stan von Arx, and Harry Brodie.

ELECTION RESULTS

HOUGHTON, TVL.

J. P. A. de Vos (U.P.), 5,397; Mrs. M. C. Friedmann (Lib.), 1,609; U.P. majority, 3,788; percentage poll, 625; spoilt papers, 35.

PRETORIA EAST, TVL.

B. Muller (Nat), 6,037; C. M. F. Lang (Lib.) 1,448. Nat majority, 4,589. Percentage poll, 54.4; spoilt papers 49.

IXOPO, NATAL

W. M. Sutton (U.P.), 3,026; R. H. Mason (Fed.) 713; Mrs. F. G. Ventress (Lib.), 135; C. M. Hulley (Ind.), 117. U.P. majority, 2,313. Mrs. Ventress and Mr. Hulley forfeit their deposits. Percentage poll, 64.6; spoilt papers, 24.

SEA POINT, CAPE

Dr. J. Domisse (U.P.) ... 5,981
P. Duncan (Lib.) ... 1,505
U.P. majority, 4,476.
Percentage poll, 65.2; spoilt papers, 21.

1958 Parliamentary election: J. A. L. Basson (U.P.), 7,267; G. Gordon (Lib.), 1,642; U.P. majority, 5,625.

ELECTION STORY

SEA Point on polling day. Old lady, settling down in the front seat of the Liberal car that had gone to fetch her: "I'm so glad it's you that have come to drive me. I can never vote for the United Party again — not after they said they wanted non-Europeans in our swimming baths."

To our shame I must add that no one put her right, and she voted Liberal. The calculations were that, counting her, the Liberals only lost 599 votes over the "swimming baths affair."

"Whites, Africans are Compatriots" —PATON

From Contact Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: "Apartheid is a repudiation of humanity" said Alan Paton at a Liberal Party election meeting in Oaklands, Johannesburg, at which about 300 people heard Alan Paton, the National President of the Party, Mrs. Friedmann the Liberal candidate in Houghton, and an African member of the Party executive put the Liberal case.

The basic philosophy of apartheid was that "I love my neighbour as long as he doesn't live next door." White South Africans would only have a future in South Africa if they accepted Africans as compatriots. Many of you fear to be just—you should fear to be unjust." If enfranchisement is torn from unwilling hands it means the end of democracy in South Africa.

Mr. Paton said that poor people keep a country poor. The country as a whole would benefit if the doors of opportunity were opened to the non-whites. There were no easy solutions—Liberalism offers a common society whereas apartheid corrupts all who come in contact with it.

Mr. Paton said that Liberal policies were the only realistic policies for South Africa. The destinies of 15 million South Africans were to be decided by the elections but only in a few constituencies which Liberal candidates were contesting would the electorate hear non-white speakers.

Those who wanted to preserve civilised standards

should seek the support of those non-whites who also believe in decent values. Yet Dr. Verwoerd imagines that he does not need the support of the Lutulis, Tambos and Ngubanes. The Prime Minister apparently believes that by some divine dispensation he knows what is good for us all. "He is busily setting up departments to control our lives. There isn't one for the English yet, but we must be patient!"

The United Party had a "Native policy" about which no African had been consulted. Despite the fact that white leadership produced the Group Areas Act and other iniquitous legislation, the United Party offered "white leadership with justice." The Liberals stood for best leadership with justice.

"Vote Liberal"

—LUTULI

On the eve of the elections, the following message was received from Chief Lutuli:

AFRICANS MUST BE "SAVED FROM THEMSELVES" —Location Manager

PROMINENCE was given in the Press last week to Mr. A. S. Rogers's presidential address to the Eighth Annual Congress of the Institute of Non-European Affairs. Blood pressure rose steeply among some leading members of the community at the receiving end of South Africa's bureaucracy-gone-mad.

Mr. Rogers, who is manager of "Native Affairs" in the Cape Town Municipality and is at the same time a servant of Mr. de Wet Nel's BAD Department in Pretoria, spoke on housing problems. Some African reactions were these:

Mr. Rogers: If rents are not subsidised, tenants will be forced to augment their incomes by legal and illegal means, like brewing and selling liquor, gambling, riding around in smart cars, luxuries they can least afford.

● We'll let the crazy logic pass — but doesn't Mr. Rogers see that Africans are driven to these practices by their miserable pay and that bureaucratic action is no remedy?

Mr. Rogers: "In the Western Cape the policy of encouraging migratory labour and discouraging the permanent establishment of Bantu families brings with it additional problems, especially if influx control of males is not applied with imagination."

● How can any restrictive action be applied with imagination? Has Mr. Rogers never heard mem-

bers of his staff tell an African: "You have no right to be here although you are suitable for this particular job, therefore you must leave the Western Cape at once."

Mr. Rogers dislikes suggesting the introduction of additional control measures: he does it "to save these people from themselves."

● The only people who need saving from themselves are suicidal maniacs. The Africans have to be saved from Mr. Rogers. He knows very well that any African who commits a breach of his "suggestions" after they become law will go to gaol. Is the creation of more situations that will send more and more people to gaol "saving them from themselves"?

Mr. Rogers: "Because they lack the necessary self-discipline one feels like suggesting that if migratory labour is to be the order of the day then the period of absence from their homes should be limited to about two

"I welcome the appearance of four Liberal Party candidates in the present Provincial Elections. The Liberal Party has striven fearlessly for the extension of democratic rights and civil liberties to the African people."

"Its steady growth year by year, since its formation, has been a source of encouragement to African peoples in their conviction that more and more Europeans will come to share my belief in the need for a non-racial democracy in South Africa."

"At a time when the Nationalists and the United Party go to the electorate with policies based on identical principles of White supremacy, I would be most encouraged to see all persons who share Liberal convictions, consolidate in a single political front, dedicated to fighting the Nationalists and the United Party, for the purpose of discrediting and destroying the state of White domination."

"With this in mind, I would urge the voters in those Constituencies where Liberal Party Candidates are standing, to give them their vote to demonstrate to the African people, and to the world, that there are many South Africans who reject the policies of racial discrimination."

years, after which they should be compelled to return for at least three to six months."

● If Mr. Rogers knows anything at all about Africans he should know that they do not lack self-discipline more than any other group. He is the expert on these things, after all. Doesn't Mr. Rogers even know that many employers refuse to re-employ Africans who have gone home to the territories for such long periods?

Mr. Rogers, taking a leaf out of the Native Recruiting Corporation's book, aims to "reduce the possibility of their wasting their substance" by a deferred pay scheme, to be applied compulsorily to all Africans.

● Does Mr. Rogers not know that many firms operate voluntary savings schemes for their employees, that the NRC scheme is voluntary, that Africans have no substance to waste, and above all that the Africans, about whom he knows so much, will definitely not accept compulsion?

The consensus is that if Mr. Rogers and his kind still believe, as bureaucrats, that all troubles can be solved by legislation, and while carrying out official policy "with imagination", their victims hold the completely opposite view.

White Sportsmen Cold-shoulder SASA

What About Mr. Honey's Olympic Pledge?

AS EXPECTED, no white national sporting body accepted the invitation to a conference to discuss problems of sport with the non-white sporting bodies. Members and officials of eight non-racial sporting bodies were present at the Conference opened by the President of the South African Sports Association, Mr. G. K. Rangasamy, who had convened the Conference.

By their failure to attend the national bodies which enjoy international recognition and are exclusively for white South Africans have proved that their protestations to the world that they are willing to assist and co-operate were insincere. Advance publicity was given to the press in July and on 1 August invitations were issued.

The President of the South African Olympic Association, Mr. Reg Honey, who had declared at the meetings of the International Olympic Committee this year that there was no racial discrimination in South African sport, was invited to open the Conference but replied that he was unable to do so. Others invited were Mr. Arthur Coy (President of the South African Cricket Association) and Mr. Clive van Ryneveld, MP

By
Dennis Brutus

(former Springbok cricket captain). Both advised that they were unable to attend.

The Secretary of the South African Olympic and Commonwealth Games Association was also invited and was asked for the addresses of the national bodies affiliated to his association. After these were supplied all these bodies were invited. Some of them whose addresses were known had been invited earlier.

Of more than twenty bodies invited, all exclusively for white South Africans and all internationally recognised, the following replied:

South African Cricket Association — acknowledged.

South African Golf Union — acknowledgement from President. None from the Secretary to whom the official invitation had been extended.

South African Athletic Union — acknowledged, unable to attend.

South African Canoe Association — would try to be represented.

South African Weightlifting Union — unable to attend.

Others invited included the national bodies for Boxing, Cycling, Swimming, Fencing, Softball, Baseball, Hockey, Soccer, Judo, Gymnastics.

The Conference which had been called under conditions which no organisation could find objectionable proved its point: the exclusively white organisations are not sincere in saying that they are prepared to work with and assist the non-white bodies and the Conference came to the conclusion embodied in its resolution that the non-racial sporting bodies would have no option but to press ahead on their own to secure international recognition and to inform the international Olympic Committee and the International Sporting Federations that they were not receiving any co-operation from the white recognised bodies.

National bodies present were Weightlifting, Lawn Tennis, Soccer, Cricket, Softball and Baseball, Rugby, Boxing, Athletics and Cycling.

The organisations or supporters of the South African Sports Association have a membership of about 70,000. The Cricket and Rugby bodies—not yet affiliated to SASA—total a further 9,000 members.

Our contemporaries

Review of Periodicals

LA VOCE DELL'AFRICA

THE Italian Institute for Africa (Istituto Italiano per l'Africa) in Rome has for three years been producing this excellent monthly. In the for-

tion to free sport from colour discrimination, and has ignored the government defence of apartheid.

The address is: Via Ulisse Aldrovandi 16, Rome. Subscription rates are: single copy L. 80; a year L. 1600 (L. 1800 abroad).

The Institute's director of studies is Dr. Teobaldo Filesi whose work "Comunismo e Nazionalismo in Africa" was reviewed in *Contact* on 10 January this year.

TOWARD FREEDOM

"We believe that the peaceful elimination of colonialism—be it 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 that is produced from Room 1119, 343, S. Dearborn Street, Chicago 4, Illinois, USA.

Homer Jack, veteran anti-colonialist, who attended the Bandung, Cairo, and Accra conferences, is one of the moving spirits in *Toward Freedom*. It is a newsletter of four pages, and can be obtained for \$ 3. a year (\$ 1. for students).

(We regret errors in publication of this review in *Contact* 17 Oct.)



Dr. Teobaldo Filesi

mat of a newspaper, generously illustrated, it shows special interest in business and sport, as well as in politics and decolonisation.

It has given a fair amount of space to the efforts of the South African Sports Associa-

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Good commission offered

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BOX 1979

CAPE TOWN

WINNERS AT P.E.



Top picture shows A. Valjee (S. Natal) with the cup after winning the Natal table tennis championship. J. Faroo, Cape Town (right) was runner up.

WEIGHTLIFTING TABLE TENNIS CHAMPIONSHIPS

From *Contact* Correspondent PORT ELIZABETH: The South African Amateur Weightlifting and Bodybuilding Federation championships were held in Port Elizabeth recently. They attracted a great deal of interest as non-white lifters were eager to show their capabilities in the hope of being selected for the Olympic Games.

The championships produced three outstanding lifters in Johnnie Gedult (middleweight) (Western Province) who lifted 765-lb., thus beating the existing European champion by 5-lb.

Precious McKenzie (Natal) (featherweight) lifted the sensational total of 660-lb., 45-lb. above the winning total of 615-lb. by G. S. Gaffney at the



Pictured above is Johnnie Gedult, Western Province, outstanding weight-lifter.

white championships last month.

The third lifter, Herby Dirks (Griqualand West) (lightheavy), also broke the existing South African record.

The table tennis championship was won by A. Valjee (Natal). He was followed by J. Faroo (Cape Town) who lost to Valjee in five sets. Valjee was unbeaten in all his seven matches.

FORCED TO WORK FOR FARMERS IN SCHOOL HOURS

THE restrictions of higher primary and post-primary education for Africans in towns and official use of African farm school pupils for private farm labour were referred to in the following statements made by the Minister of Bantu Education in the Senate at the end of the Parliamentary Session, but they appear to have escaped the notice of the public.

The Minister said:

"It is the intention to make lower primary schools available wherever this is possible, in order to supply the needs, the general needs in this connection, wherever there may be Bantu children of school-going age. As far as the higher primary and post-primary schools are concerned, it is the intention to give preference to the Bantu areas because this is in the first place where the Bantu development must be promoted generally.

"You may perhaps tell me that there is a great desire in the urban areas for post-primary schools in order to keep the children off the streets; that they should rather be brought into the schools than be allowed

to remain on the streets where they become tsotsis and so forth. I want to put it very clearly that the keeping of the children off the streets of our cities, the keeping of the children away from the tsotsi-gangs, is not a function of education.

"An educational function is a function which must be instituted for the development of the community, and for this reason you must give that higher education in the areas at the places where the process of development has to be stimulated, and this is in the Bantu areas. For this reason it is our policy to restrict higher primary, but particularly post-primary, education in the urban locations, but not in the Native areas; preference is given to the Native

areas in regard to the establishment of that type of schools."

"As regards the farm schools, we have made it compulsory that where the farmer wants these facilities, part of the the school instruction of those children on the farm of the European farmer must be training in the normal activities on the farm, in order to encourage a feeling of industriousness on the part of those children and particularly, to sharpen in their minds the fact that education does not mean that you must not work with your hands, but to point out to them specifically that manual labour and also manual labour on the farm is just as good a formulative and development level as any other subject is.

"In order to do this, we create the opportunity so that if there is any farmer who has a farm school on his farm and who wishes to make use of the school children under the supervision of the teacher to assist with certain farm activities, this can be arranged in a proper manner to fit in with the curriculum and the plan of development which is envisaged or provided for that farm school."

(Race Relations)

Racial Removals in Johannesburg

People Thrown on Street by Demolition Squads

From Contact Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: More than 1,000 Africans are living in the open or staying temporarily and insecurely in friends' houses in Sophiatown, Johannesburg. Their homes have been demolished, and they do not qualify for rehousing in the Bantu Resettlement Board's areas of Meadowlands and Diepkloof.

Since the start of the "black spots" clearance scheme in 1954, nearly 60,000 Africans have been moved from the Sophiatown, Newclare and Martindale area. But some have remained, because they were not included in the original 1955 survey of the area, and therefore do not qualify for Government rehousing.

These people have for long been subject to the almost-nightly permit raids, and they have — and do — live constantly under the threat of arrest, fines and imprisonment.

On September 21, the *Rand Daily Mail* carried an eyewitness account of the plight of the homeless people. A reporter described finding four families, totalling 20 people, sleeping on the cement floor of a room measuring 15 feet by 18 feet. In a ramshackle iron and wood structure, he found two men — one of 67 and the other 57 and half-blind — lying on the ground.

Sleeping on the ground between four walls and with the roof gone was yet another family. They had sat through several nights of rain.

A further 23 families were reported to have been put onto the streets on September 29. Many claimed that they had received no notice of the demolitions. In some cases, the parents had left for work in the morning. They returned at night to find their homes broken down, and their furniture and clothing lying scattered in the street.

So it has continued, with house after house coming down. Demolition work has even been carried out at night. On October 15, workmen arrived at 9.30 p.m. By 1 a.m., most of their work was done — and another 30 to 40 families were in the open.

No-one knows any more exactly how many are with-

out proper houses. The figure of 1,000 is almost certainly far too conservative.

Courageous

In a courageous and outspoken statement on September 19, a Progressive member of the City Council, Mrs. Kathleen Mitchell, said: "The citizens of Sophiatown are the citizens of Johannesburg." She said that the Council should, if necessary, set up a tent-town for the homeless.

On September 21, nearly 100 Sophiatown African women went to see the district commandant of police. They pleaded for the suspension of early morning raids, but were told that the police had to carry out their duty.

The next day, Mr. S. Ramokgadi, the ANC's Sophiatown secretary, was arrested by the Security Branch. He has played a leading part in arranging temporary shelter for the homeless. Mr. Ramokgadi is now appearing before a court under the Urban Areas Act. His right to be in Johannesburg has been questioned by the authorities.

At first, the City Council steadfastly maintained that it could not immediately help the homeless people.

On September 12, the chairman of the Council's Non-European Affairs Committee said that the clearance and resettlement of Africans in Sophiatown was the business of the Government's Resettlement Board — not the Council.

Two weeks later, after concerted newspaper reports about the homeless families, the Council announced that it would discuss the matter with the Resettlement Board. And on September 30, the acting chairman of the Non-European Affairs Committee, during a debate in the Council chamber, issued an invitation to those homeless not entitled to be rehoused by the Resettlement Board, but legally entitled to be in the Johannesburg area, to give full details of their situation, so that they could be rehoused "as soon as possible".

The qualification was added that this would be done subject to the prior claims of other Africans already on the Council's waiting-list.

The next step came on Octo-

ber 6, when the Council opened a special office near Sophiatown to consider applications for rehousing. A steady stream of people came forward to give their names. Within two weeks, about 500 families had been interviewed.

Unofficial — but reliable — estimates indicate that 80 to 90 per cent. of those interviewed are likely to qualify for Council rehousing.

So from a position of "no hope" six weeks ago, there is now some hope for the homeless people. But with the start of the summer rains, the situation of those in the open will daily become more serious. And as more houses are demolished, the number available to those already homeless becomes steadily smaller.

And the greatest problem of all: what is to become of tragic residue of 10 to 20 per cent. who are refused rehousing by both the Resettlement Board and the City Council?

What is their future?

AT KIMBERLEY, THREATS OF FUTURE REMOVALS

From Contact Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: About 11,750 people in Kimberley will have to move their homes as the result of a recent Group Areas proclamation. A total of 11,450 non-whites and 300 whites is involved. These facts are set out in a report by the South African Institute of Race Relations on the effects of a proclamation which was published on July 31.

The population of Kimberley includes about 25,000 Whites, 18,000 Coloureds, 1,250 Indians and 200 Chinese. The proclamation affects 55% of the Coloureds, all the Indians and Chinese and 1.5% of the Whites.

The Institute's report states: Within five to ten years, the Whites will have to vacate two small housing schemes, and a few other dwellings. They will lose one small school.

All the Coloureds living in mixed areas will have to go within five to ten years. Others living in suburbs now proclaimed for future white occupation will have to leave at a date still to be determined. In the meantime, they may not dispose of their properties except to white persons.

"The present shortage of houses will be very greatly intensified in terms of the Group Areas proclamation", says the report. "Large numbers of Coloured people will be required to move from homes they cherish."

Many families have bought or built their own houses after years of scrimping and saving. They have made additions to their homes, and have planted trees and gardens.

Bad alternatives

Within periods ranging from five years upwards, all the Indians and Chinese will have to move out of the town, to an area 2½ miles to the north. The poorest Indian families will be located on land occupied by Coloureds. The better-off Indians will be able to build their own houses — on land which is near the sewage farm, the smells from which are mingled with those from an abattoir and a brewery nearby.

The Asians are not only faced with the loss of their homes, but may also lose their livelihood, as the proclamation requires them to remove their businesses to their group areas. Those in the central city area must go at some future date still to be determined. The others will have to move within the next few years.

If the businesses as well as the homes are to be moved, the large majority of the Asians will undoubtedly be ruined. The Indian and Chinese areas are very much out-of-the-way, separated even from the Coloured areas by the main railway line. Very few White and practically no African customers would visit them.

Superimposed on the hardships caused by loss of homes, the report states that "there will be numbers of individual heart-breaks and tragedies caused by the simultaneous implementation of the Population Registration Act". The racial classification of people is still uncompleted in Kimberley, and the classification claimed by many is still being challenged by the authorities. Some members of a family have been classified as Coloured and others as White or as Indian — they are likely to be split up between different group areas, and the bonds of family life rudely torn apart.

Most of the community amenities shared by the Coloured and Indian groups are situated in areas now zoned for Whites, and will therefore be lost to the non-Whites. These include the only teacher training college, the only high school, eight of the eleven primary schools catering for three quarters of the primary pupils, practically all the churches, several mosques.

Race fanatics stop at nothing . . .

try to take Child from Mother

(see front cover)

THE STORY of two-year-old Thomas Joseph Beecher is not only one of the ugliest human indictments of *apartheid*. It is one of the most mysterious. Thomas is the foster child of Mr. and Mrs. Frank Beecher, of Cape Town. He came into their care, with full official welfare approval, a few months after he was found in a paper carrier by a clergyman.

Their home, which is a greatly happy and loving one, is the only one he has known. But suddenly welfare officials came to take Joseph away. They said he had been classified Coloured and could no longer live with the white family that had cherished him from infancy.

The mystery is: How did Joseph come to be classified Coloured?

He has never been seen by officials of the Population Registration Dept. in Pretoria or Cape Town. Welfare officials in Cape Town admit they know of no birth certificate for the child. His real parents have never been traced.

The District Surgeon who saw the child before he became a member of the Beecher family told Mr. Beecher that the child could be white; he added, however, that Thomas may have some Coloured, Portuguese or Italian ancestry.

Mr. Beecher first heard of the child's classification early this year when he made enquiries about not getting any income tax rebate for Thomas.

"We have never had any official notification from the Population Registrar," Mr. Beecher

By
Myrna Blumberg

told me. "We just couldn't believe it."

But the family were tormented by gossiping neighbours and decided to move to another suburb and try to forget about it.

At the beginning of October this year Mrs. Beecher went into hiding with the baby to evade welfare officials who came to take the child away.

I spoke to welfare workers in Cape Town and was frankly shocked by the vigour of their dogmatic personal opinions.

An official of Child Life Protection Society told me, "That child is definitely Coloured."

"But what facts have you?" I asked.

"There is no doubt about it." "Have you seen the child?" "No."

"But I have, and I couldn't possibly guess the child's race. He is considerably fairer than a number of Europeans I know."

"My welfare workers have

seen the child and they know a Cape Coloured when they see one."

One of the officials of the Council Welfare Dept., however, directly responsible to the Ministry of Social Welfare, was more helpful, I thought, and ready to accept that there could be considerable doubt about this child.

And on all this flimsy nonsense a child was being torn from his family and his future ordered in a different direction.

The Beecher's lawyers have taken two important steps.

1. On Wednesday, 14th October, they cabled Mr. Naude, Minister of the Interior asking him to discharge the child from the provisions of the Children's Act and allow the Beechers, who are English, to return to England with the baby.

As a foster child, Thomas is a ward of the State and may not leave the country without permission from Mr. Naude. The family decided to petition Mr. Naude personally after they received the offer from the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers in Britain — Mr. Beecher's old union — to buy air tickets to London for all five of them.

2. The Beecher's have appealed against the child's classification. They have written to the Population Registrar and, I understand, are prepared to take the fight for their baby as far as the Supreme Court.

CONTACT

Progressives and Regressives

THE Progressives are to hold their first congress in Johannesburg in November. Policies will be laid down. An organisation will be established. *Contact* welcomes their advent, and hopes that they will do well in Parliament and in the country as a whole.

They face many dangers. Of these perhaps the greatest is that of a slide back towards the United Party. Mr. Leo Boyd, one of their leaders, in a formal statement has said: "Were we to (dishonour the pledge to buy land) we would be making a hollow mockery of the United Party's own policy of 'White leadership with justice'".

That means nothing more or less than that if the United Party had stood by the 1936 pledges, it would have been justified in calling for "white leadership with justice"—that self-contradictory absurdity.

Contact hopes that these dangers will be avoided, and that the ranks of the Progressives will swell with thousands of members, ex-members of the two great parties who have realised that the poison that is corroding our land is the poison of colour discrimination. Such people will have sensed the urgent needs of the times, and will have realised that such a forward move is now imperative.

By the same token it would be a tragedy if there were more than a handful of Liberals ready to throw in their lot with the Progressives. Obviously twelve seats in Parliament and the sort of support that has already been given to Dr. Steytler and his group, must cast a lustre on his movement. Some individual Liberals, it is certain, will fall under the spell of this lustre. But let there be no illusion: such a move will be a move away from the battlefield, and back to safer and more respectable base jobs. It will be a move away from the companionship of all races, and back towards whiteness and colour bars.

Let such Liberals also remember that in a turbulent age such as ours what succeeds in the long term is ideas rather than men. An idea rules to-day: the idea of white domination. That idea can only be cast out by another idea: the idea of non-racialism or of black domination. Their party, the Liberal Party, possesses the great idea of non-racialism, and is its only representative. Surely the tinsel of a few, temporary, seats in a gerrymandered parliament cannot compare, in the eyes of history, with the treasure that is the possession of a great idea?

The task before Dr. Steytler and the Progressives is to initiate, and to maintain, a move by white South Africans away from *apartheid*, and towards democracy. The benefits to be derived from this move may be cancelled out if many Liberals slide backwards from the forward positions which are occupied by their party.

Let such Liberals remember that by doing so they will weaken their own party, the hope of South Africa. They will not really be welcomed by the Progressives, who need, above all, the respectability that Liberals do not have.

Let them also not forget all that is implied in the word "Progressive". It would be a tragedy for people who believe in progress to become "Regressives".

Lying Louw

MR. LOUW recently "reminded" the Assembly of the United Nations of "an historical fact not generally known; namely, that when more than 300 years ago the Cape of Good Hope was settled from Europe the first Bantu immigrants from central Africa had come down the east coast and were crossing the Limpopo River. Thus it happened that the Bantu immigrants from Central Africa, and the European settlers arrived at the Northern and Southern borders of South Africa respectively, at approximately the same time."

"This statement is not true." Professor Monica Wilson, of the University of Cape Town, author of *Reaction to Conquest*, perhaps the best anthropological work on South Africa, used these words in dismissing Mr. Louw's incredible statement.

Here are the historical points she made, in a brief statement to the Press, destroying the lie spread by Mr. Louw. The facts, first, from oral tradition and archaeological evidence are that:

1. Long before 1500 ancestors of the Sotho people occupied the Transvaal and Orange Free State.
2. Ancestors of the Zulu and Xhosa people stayed in the Transvaal and Orange Free State before moving south.
3. Xhosa, Tembu and other tribes lived in East Griqualand long before going to the coast and meeting the Portuguese from 1554 onwards. Secondly, Portuguese shipwreck survivors found:
 1. In 1554 Bantu people from South of the Umtata River as far as Delagoa Bay, with a thick cattle-owning population in the interior of Natal.
 2. In 1589 and 1593 more Bantu-speaking tribes south of the Umtata River.
 3. In 1635, Xhosa people in this region.
 4. In 1686, Xhosa, Pondo, Pondomise and Thembu occupying country as far south as East London.

The eyewitness accounts are not taken by Professor Wilson from recently discovered documents, but from such standard works as Theal's *Records of South-East Africa* and Bird's *Annals of Natal*, both of which have been in print and widely read in South Africa for some seventy years.

Mr. Louw thus lied to the United Nations.



"Laugh . . . but notice that I'm getting more every time."

APARTHEID IS CRAZY ECONOMICS

IF WE LOOK at the idea of segregation of races from the purely economic point of view we cannot but be struck by the tremendous waste of resources it involves. The much-banded word "progress" can be satisfactorily defined in economic terms only as an increase in man's power over nature, with the result that we get more "material welfare" for a smaller expenditure of human effort.

Historically such progress has meant a change-over from a type of economic life where everybody, or nearly everybody, was engaged in farming—and had to be so engaged in order for the supply of foodstuffs and raw materials for clothing to be adequate—to an economic system where a smaller and smaller proportion of the population is required on the land to produce these basic food and clothing essentials.

In response to many requests, we have planned a series of articles on the economic craziness of *apartheid*. Here is the first. The series will continue regularly for some time. The author is Mr. Douglas Sloan, of the Department of Economics of the University of Natal.

African's output is worth more to the employer than the cost of his wages. Thus employer and



towns. ("Rural" does not exactly coincide with "farming" but the relationship is close enough for changes in "rural" to be taken as showing the order of size of change in "farming".)

Obviously thus already in our country the non-African racial groups (which make up one-third of our total population) are heavily urbanised, and any further substantial urbanisation must come from the African racial group (which makes up the other two-thirds of the total).

It seems clear, then, that as progress leads to urbanisation, progress in South Africa must involve a very big movement of Africans to the towns and cities. The African who today goes to the town does so because thereby he expects to obtain a better life than on the farm (European or Reserve). A competitive economy squeezes people out of unproductive occupations by making it uncomfortable (because unprofitable) for them to remain in those occupations. The African comes to town because he finds town more profitable, and he finds town more profitable because he is more productive in town, i.e., he produces more economic goods or services in town and as a result is paid more than if he remained elsewhere.

The employer in the town employs an African because the

employee alike gain by the increase in African urbanisation. Any legislation, any authoritarian pressure which tries to stop this process or tries to reverse it is harming not only the African but also today's city white and the South African of the future. Such pressure and such legislation is trying to force resources (labour resources) away from where they will be more productive to where they will be less productive; it is trying to impose a maldistribution of resources, an uneconomic distribution of labour. The result must be a smaller real national income than otherwise would exist—with loss to both Black and White.

An analogy may highlight the argument. We can liken national income to a cake to be shared among our racial groups. The choice at present for the European group (as the finance-owing, managerial, power-possessing one) is whether to have for itself half of a two-pound cake or rather

(Continued on page 8)



Peter Brown, Chairman of the Liberal Party

ALL DEMOCRATS MUST CO-OPERATE

ground. The United Party is claiming that the tide has turned against the Nationalists and Sir de Villiers Graaff has told us that victory is inevitable. I am highly sceptical of both these assertions.

I see no prospect of the UP ever achieving the inevitable victory of which it is now talking by outvoting the Nationalists in an election.

Whatever one's assessment of the result of the elections—is it a stalemate? . . . Has the tide turned towards the UP?—I find its most depressing feature not that the Nationalists should have won more seats but that in many Natal seats the UP should have recorded more votes than in 1954 and that in both Cape Town and Johannesburg the vast bulk of its voting support should remain unimpaired, in spite of the Bloemfontein land resolution, and presumably therefore, quite prepared to follow any expedient tactic the Party may chose to adopt.

An anonymous correspondent has accused me of sophistry in suggesting in *Contact* that the UP Bloemfontein resolution opposed the further purchase of land for Africans. He argues

I do not myself regard a promise as something which one is entitled to put into cold storage to suit one's particular interest of the moment. Certainly one is not entitled to do so without the consent of those to whom it has been made. The UP did not even consult with, let alone have the consent of, the African people before going back on its 1936 promise. And whatever arguments the party may produce to defend its action, it is now in the position where it will have to oppose . . . every proposal the Government makes to buy land for Africans.

The reason is simple. Dr. Verwoerd, in order to give some slight substance to his Bantustan vision, must insist that every bit of land he buys goes to make it up. Bloemfontein remains to me a broken promise.

One cannot divorce consideration of the provincial election results from the Bloemfontein resolution. Its clear purpose was to influence them, to draw wave-

rig Nationalists to the UP. It is questionable whether this purpose was achieved. In the Weenen constituency in Natal, where the threat of Bantustan was the main election issue, the Nationalists increased their majority.

However, I am not for the moment concerned with the practical, political results of the new United Party line in places like Weenen. What I am concerned about is that, in spite of what it did in Bloemfontein, the United Party increased its vote in Natal, managed with patently less able candidates to defeat those who had resigned at Bloemfontein, and commanded over eleven thousand votes in the two urban seats where it was opposed by the Progressives. The land resolution seems to have worried the average UP supporter not at all. He simply took it in his stride.

That, in the long run, is the most serious aspect of the election results. Not that the Nationalists should have won more seats but that their opponents

should have accepted with enthusiastic support an obvious capitulation to expediency. The moral criteria which are supposed to be the basis of Western society clearly command diminishing support in South Africa. A stand on principle is something which the bulk of non-Nationalist white South Africa finds unimportant. Otherwise how could it have failed to return Leo Boyd and Lester Hall?

The Provincial Election results reveal more clearly than ever where the real dividing line in South African politics lies. It lies between those who wish to spread and see preserved the real values of what is loosely called "western civilisation" and those whose concern is with its superficialities. Many of those who oppose the Colour Bar and who are interested in preserving the real values of western civilisation have no political rights.

The election reminds us that the case for co-operation between all those who oppose the Colour Bar, voters or voteless, remains as strong as ever, and that it is only through such co-operation that a movement sufficiently strong to defeat white domination can possibly be forged.

THE Provincial Elections have come and gone, leaving the Nationalists stronger provincially than they have ever been before, the United Party better off in Natal than before, the Federal Party in eclipse, the Progressives claiming to be satisfied and the Liberals happy with their Transvaal and Cape results, but heavily defeated in Natal.

The general picture which emerges from the elections is not a particularly encouraging one for the immediate future. In some seats the Nationalists have increased their majorities since last year's General Election, in some they have lost a little

An Appreciation

MR. LIONEL FORMAN

LIONEL FORMAN, editor of *New Age*, and advocate, who died on 19 October in Groote Schuur Hospital, Cape Town, at the age of 31, was one of the most brilliant minds working in the field of anti-apartheid politics. His death removes from the scene one of the most formidable protagonists of South African communism.

As a child he had rheumatic fever, which left him with three leaking heart valves. All through the rest of his life he wrestled with ill-health, which constantly limited what he could do.

Recently doctors advised him to have his heart operated on as the only way in which his life could be prolonged.

Groote Schuur Hospital has a heart-lung machine, and has for some time been doing "open heart" operations. At the beginning of October Mr. Forman went into hospital and began resting and training in order to be able to bring as much strength as possible to his ordeal.

In the course of the operation one valve was repaired, but his heart, already weakened by the strain imposed on it over the years, would not take over when the heart-lung machine was stopped.

The evening before the operation he wrote a letter to his wife in which he envisaged the possibility of his death. In that case, he wrote, "I want it trumpeted from the roof-tops that Lionel Forman believed in communism for South Africa

with a burning passion till the day he died and in all his adult years that passion never once diminished."

He became a communist when he was sixteen, and joined the Communist Party of South Africa in 1945, remaining a member until it was dissolved in 1950. This year he received a notice banning him from attending meetings in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act.

His political standpoint was mellowed and humanised by a remarkable sense of humour, and he seemed to enjoy the company of those who, while opposing apartheid, were most unfriendly to his own ideas. I liked him for this, and admired his truly magnificent courage. One felt that his illness had purged him of fear, that he had no fear even of death, and that he looked down on people who were afraid.

Perhaps his last political act was to give me his vote in the Sea Point election — an act of magnanimity in view of the frequent political clashes between us. I went up to the hospital to get it, and did what I could to make him optimistic about his operation. I left knowing that he was under no illusions about the grave risk that he was running.

To his young wife, Sadie, with her two little boys and baby born a week before her father's death, all possible sympathy.

PATRICK DUNCAN

FAIR COMMENT

by Patrick Duncan

SOUTH AFRICANS at the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference at Canberra are worried by what they call 'apartheid in reverse'. They are getting the cold shoulder from non-white delegates. "It's a new experience for us to get the cold draught of apartheid", said one, "but we'll keep on trying to mix with the others."

Perhaps the best way of succeeding would be to "try to mix with the others" here at home, inside South Africa.

THIS month a chill of alarm has struck the editors of *Bantoe/Bantu*, organ of the BAD Department, the magazine that has never called an African "Mr." It used to have solidarity with the *Fortnightly Digest*, the slick review that tells people inside and outside South Africa that apartheid means justice. That journal also used to call Africans "clerk Frans Molefi", or "Councillor Jack Mtembu" — never "Mr. This or That."

Now, in the latest issue, on page 7 is a photograph of "Mr. Obed Makapan". On the other hand, no doubt as a concession to the BAD Department, on page 5 occurs a photograph of "Frans R. Mikosi", but the editors of *Bantoe/Bantu* must be wondering how far this dangerous new tendency will go.

ONE of the most entertaining features of journalism in South Africa is the witty column that appears in *Die Burger* each Saturday over the name of "Dawie". Dawie hides his surname, but we learnt recently that he was a voter in Gardens. By a curious coincidence Mr. Piet Cillie, *Die Burger's* editor, also lives in Gardens. No doubt they are close neighbours.

The point of this comment is that for the first time since I can remember there was on Saturday not one laugh, not even one smile, in Dawie's column. Dawie mocks the differing vote-estimates which have appeared in the English press, but says sourly: "I hope

that it will not happen at the next election that so many Nationalists stay away from the ballot box as did on 14 October, 1959."

Whatever may have happened on that day every Nationalist knows that his party has taken the first fearful knock since 1948.

I'm afraid that there is no comfort for Liberals in this. The Nationalists were for the first time the victims of a "Black Peril" cry — see the *Sunday Times* cartoon we reproduce on another page.

A PORTUGUESE fisherman has just been sentenced to five months' imprisonment by Mr. S. N. Quay (pronounced Kwaai) of Cape Town. He was found guilty under the "Immorality Act". His comment: "I looked at her face, and she seemed whiter than I was."

The trouble with the Portuguese is that they come from Europe, and therefore must be "Europeans", or "whites". Yet many of them are as dark as South Africans.

THE World Bank has lent £50 million to South African Railways. How are they using it? To introduce apartheid in the airways! There really is to be a special service from Durban to Johannesburg "for Non-Europeans only".

This fabulous waste could only be exceeded if a decision were made to build an air terminal at Johannesburg for each race. Perhaps they will, if we are patient.

It would cost another £50 million. It would look like capital investment on the Railways' books. No doubt the World Bank would advance a further loan for this sort of thing. After all, capital investment in Africa is fashionable.

It's a pity Mr. Black, the President, doesn't come south to see how his money is being used.

IN KENYA

NEW MOVE TO OPEN WHITE HIGHLANDS

From Contact Correspondent

NAIROBI: For many years, far longer than most people here care to remember, the White Highlands, some 16,000 square miles of lush farming land in the heart of Kenya, have been the exclusive preserve of the European community. Helped by the Government, both here and in Britain, they have resisted every effort made by leaders of the African and Asian communities to have the old order changed.

Now, however, in a White Paper issued in London and Nairobi, comes the news that "the basis of tenure and management of agricultural land will be similar throughout Kenya, regardless of race or tribe, as far as local economic and agronomic factors will permit" and that "the determining considerations governing the ownership or occupation of land in the Highlands will be those of the economic use of land, sound agricultural development and good husbandry only."

This means in plain language that the exponents of non-racialism have achieved success at long last.

The Minister for Education, Labour and Lands, Mr. W. A. C. Mathieson, told a press conference that the Government believed a large number of European farmers desire to lease part of their holdings to farmers of other races. The Government does not believe that European settlers will sell out in panic; there is no cause for anyone to panic, the Minister stated.

Under the terms of the White Paper, which deals with agricultural land tenure and control outside the native lands, a European farmer who wants to lease his land to an African farmer will have to apply to a Divisional Board. If it approves, that is the end of the matter, but if it says "no" the application can go to a Regional Board and then on to the Governor, whose word will be final.

The land policy just announced in the words of the Minister, aims essentially at encouraging leases. The Government wants to discourage, at this stage, the transfer of freehold land as between members of one race and another, and with this aim in mind it has worked out a system for freehold land transfer which makes such transactions as difficult as possible.

The Highlands have hitherto been the trust of the Highlands Board, an all-European body, its primary function being to protect the interests of the inhabitants of the Highlands in the

land situated in the Highlands.

The White Paper provides that the Highlands Board and the present Land Control Board should be replaced by a system of Divisional and Regional Boards for the purpose of controlling land transactions. A Central Land Advisory Board will also be established, responsible for advising the Governor on the overall land policy to be applied throughout the Colony.

The Central Land Advisory Board will be a completely multi-racial body composed of one-third Africans, one-third Asians (including Arabs) and one-third Europeans, with the Minister responsible for lands as chairman and the Commissioner of Lands as his deputy. The members, who will not be members of either Divisional Boards or Regional Boards or be members of the public service, will be appointed by the Governor.

This body, bearing in mind the declared objective of the Government to bring about the progressive disappearance of racial land barriers will have the function of advising the Governor on all land policy and it will exercise this function in relation to all land in the Colony and not only to agricultural land.

The White Paper also provides for the establishment of a body called the Land Trust Corporation. Its existence will have to do with interracial transfers of freehold. The Government does not intend that there shall be a ban on the transfer of freehold between members of various races, but it feels that to start with, there should be a minimum of such deals.

Apartheid is Crazy Economics (Continued from page 6)

less than half of an eight-pound cake. Anything which destroys productivity by using resources wrongly keeps down not only the size of the cake (to 2 lb.) but also the amount of cake consumed by the European sector of the community.

Our own attitudes in this country to the urbanisation of the African are naturally very much conditioned by our experience of the last twenty years. The wartime and immediate post-war demand for labour brought an unprecedented flow of Africans to our towns at a time when even those local authorities who recognised the permanence of the influx had available neither enough of the necessary capital goods nor enough of the technical skills to provide the recognised minima of services for their growing populations. Only with time has permanence of the inflow come to be generally understood, and only now are we beginning to get on top of the problem of our Edendales and Cato Manors.

Our experience has been not of African urbanisation at its best or even at what it might have been but at its very worst. The worst is never typical. Never again need the inflow of workers result in such unhealthy, ugly, sordid and shameful shack towns. The very acknowledgment of the inevitability of African urbanisation is a big step to avoiding a repetition of our recent experience—with its unnecessary wastes.

Furthermore, the scarcity of capital goods and skills, though still with us, is less severe than it was. The unnecessary of the nature of past African inflows to towns must be remembered when we try to estimate what future place Africans should have in our present "European" towns.

Because of the past social



evils, many people prefer the idea of all-African towns. This desire for all-African towns is rather odd because no one wants all-European towns. Little can be more abhorrent to today's South African white than the thought of having to do all the more lowly manual work himself (or herself). The all-African city notion seems to reflect the idea that Africans are something unnecessary, something extra, more than we need, and the all-Black towns will be a useful way of "storing" them till we do need them.

This weird "reservoir" idea certainly exists, even though the European farms, the mines and industry are feeling the scarcity of unskilled labour—despite the replacement of the "house boy" by the "house girl" in many European homes.

In fact, there seems to be no justification for the black city idea at all, particularly at present. Cities require skills of all sorts, and the bigger the town the greater the varieties as well as the quantities of skills that are needed. Past policy has not reared an African population with a distribution of city skills comparable to that of our European population. Furthermore towns usually develop in particular places for some good economic reason or reasons—not because of ideological claptrap. To force their growth in areas of no economic advantage is to waste resources, because the local industries will have to compete with others which have developed where the relative economic advantages are greater.

It is not physically impossible to process whales or build ships inland from sea and river—but it is wonderfully ridiculous economically to do so if you have good ports and coastal facilities. You get less whale oil and meat and fewer ships for the same expenditure of resources, because some of the resources have to be used to get the whales inland and the ships overland.

Similarly, it is not impossible to set up other manufacturing industries in many unsuitable places—but it is wonderfully ridiculous economically to do so if you have better places for them. The fewer manufactures also represent a smaller national income for the same expenditure of resources.

TANGANYIKA IMMUNE TO COMMUNISM

NEW YORK: The people of Tanganyika in spite of their diverse nationalities, religions and races, are able to advance together peaceably toward self government so that Communism is not a serious threat as it is in many parts of Africa. This was the conclusion of Father Sebastian Jongerius of the White Fathers in an address in New York recently. Father Jongerius said, Africans—Bantu, Nilotic and Hamitic—live peacefully with people from India, Pakistan, Goa and with Europeans of all nationalities. Because of these harmonious race relations "the country has been immunized against the virulence of communism which has infected, or threatens to infect, so many other parts of the continent."

ICFTU ON ALGERIA AND PEACE

RESOLUTIONS on two matters of great topical interest—world peace and general disarmament, and the Algerian problem—were adopted by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) Executive Sub-Committee which met in Brussels recently.

The resolution on world peace welcomed recent efforts to ease international tension and looks forward to the speedy conclusion of an agreement on general disarmament under effective international control. It also

expressed the hope that reduction in armament expenditure would release funds for aid to economically underdeveloped countries.

The resolution on Algeria noted with satisfaction the recognition of the Algerian people's right to self-determination by the French President, and called again for opening of negotiations based on mutual recognition of the right to self-determination on the one hand, and of need to protect the political, economic and cultural interests of the entire population of Algeria on the other.

The meeting agreed on certain arrangements for the forthcoming ICFTU sixth world congress (Brussels, 3 to 12 December), and, in particular, on the speakers to introduce the programme items on the congress agenda.

New Nyasaland Party Grows Fast

From Contact Correspondent

BLANTYRE: The news of the formation of a new party—the Malawi Congress party in Nyasaland, has come as a shock to settlers in Central Africa. To them, this can mean one thing: the beginning of another "Massacre plot of Europeans."

Already there are rumours that the settlers in Nyasaland on the advice of their leader, Sir Roy Welensky, are urging the Government to restrict the activities of this new party. "It is the duty of every European to work hand in hand with the Government and tell all nationalists that there is no room for them in Nyasaland," a settler said, at a meeting in Limbe.

European hope

The Europeans have been hoping that, with the emergency going on and all congress leaders still in prisons, the Government, by force of intimidation, will succeed in making all Africans join the mainly European, United Federal Party. This has failed. African opposition is even greater than before March 3.

The new party, although only a few weeks old, already has over 40 branches. It is also understood that all ex-members of the now banned Nyasaland African Congress have declared their support for the new party.

The party is led by Mr. O. E. Chirwa, B.A., B.Ed., Barrister-at-Law, Nyasaland's only African lawyer, Mr. Chirwa was a member of the Nyasaland African Congress and its legal adviser before it was banned. He was arrested in March together with other Congress leaders and deported to S. Rhodesia where he was detained at Khami prison for six months.

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VOTES FOR ALL

ONE OF THE great fallacies of South African political thinking is the idea that the extension of the franchise to the Africans must necessarily and unavoidably lead to Black domination. It seems to have affected those Liberals who wrestle with the problem of how to extend the suffrage without also bringing about this incidental consequence.

These people probably understand as well as anyone else the psychological forces of action and reaction that are at work in our society and they are, perhaps, fully aware that White domination evokes in the oppressed people a desire to counter-dominate. Doubtless it is precisely because they do appreciate this, and because they feel that we have passed the point of no return, that they think that Black domination is inevitable.

Those who react to this prospect by seeking to limit the extension of the franchise are trying to protect the Whites from the consequences of their own errors. It is not this that is disturbing, but the fact that again it is to be at the expense of the rights of Africans.

Whites and non-whites do have their own particular needs in this artificial racial situation, needs which have always been presented as conflicting. The whites need security which they are continually told can only be obtained at the expense of the Africans. Africans on the other hand need to be emancipated from the white domination which the whites so falsely see as indispensable to their security.

The answer

We believe that non-racialism can provide the answer to these apparently differing needs, at one and the same time. The lifting of the burden of oppression by non-racialism is the very thing that would safeguard the minorities.

But if we discredit the policy of non-racialism in the eyes of Africans by racial bias, or apparent racial bias, then we have lost the African support for a policy without which we can no longer guarantee security to the minorities.

In regard to the pessimism of those who see us as beyond the point of no return, let it be said that it may well only be at a moment of crisis and impasse that white and non-white in the Union will finally realise that non-racialism will cater for their respective needs. But we would have been absolutely consistent and sincere in our espousal of the policy.

Besides, the policy that gains the respect and wins the support

By Patrick
van Rensburg

of Africans will be the one that plays a great role in liberating them. That is why it is so vitally important for us, within the framework of the ideal just previously outlined, to engage as deeply as we can in extra-parliamentary activity.

Much of the concern about this policy, of those who support a qualified franchise, is due I think, to a conviction that the policy of "votes for all" would make our parliamentary task tougher.

Unrealistic

To my mind it is entirely unrealistic to think that changes are going to come about in this country simply because the Liberal Party (or any other group for that matter) can effect such changes by persuasion. Very powerful external and internal pressures will be needed; we can facilitate the changes by presenting non-racialism as the answer to the needs of all groups, but such a role is dependent entirely on, and completely supplementary to, the creation of pressures.

I, personally, reject constitutional "checks and balances" as an attempt to safeguard minorities, because a constitution will last only for so long as it reflects the mood of the people. We must seek to create a state of mind—a mood of racial tolerance—which alone can effectively eliminate the prospect of group domination.

The true safeguard of minorities is the disappearance of race consciousness, and if Liberals concern themselves with the constitutional protection of groups, then they help to perpetuate this very group consciousness, in the final destruction of which, alone, lies our national salvation.

Qualified franchise

I think that qualifications on the franchise would smack of an attempt to provide such protection for minorities, whatever real reasons motivated the attempt. The impression would unquestionably be created among those whom it would be proposed to exclude, simply because the whole history of South Africa is one of progressively excluding non-white people. White men have to prove their sincerity against an historical barrier of suspicion created by their confreres who have so often broken trust.

I referred earlier to an apparent racial bias. On the principle that justice must not only be done, but must be seen to be done, the consequences of

limiting the franchise must be carefully examined. It is probably true to say that those who would qualify the franchise, although doing so in the name of "good government", are also sometimes hiding their fear that the enfranchisement of "semi-literate", etc, would open the door to "demagoguery" and thereby to black nationalism.

I hope that I have already dealt adequately with this bogey. On this matter I would say only this in addition: let us point out to the whites that in their fear of this bogey, and in their attempts to avoid it by withholding the vote, they are only ensuring that it will come about. One of our functions is to put this across as often as we can and in the simplest possible language. But let us not, ourselves, fall into the same trap by seeking to exclude sections of people, whatever our reasons may be. There are enough stimuli of anti-whiteism without our adding to them.

But many of the attempts to qualify the vote are based on a genuine fear of "lowering the standards of government" and I want to deal with this argument from this point of view too.

White man failed

For three hundred years, the white man has failed dismally to perform the task of a true "guardian"; the term is his own and it imposes the duty to have taxed his resources to the utmost to bring education to the African people. In the last ten years a policy of education has been designed for Africans, with the specific purpose of equipping them for an inferior status in society. Africans are unquestionably exploited in our economic life and job reservation is but one means of depressing their living standards.

I cannot see what justice there is in penalising the Africans for the errors and omissions of the white man.

Without universal suffrage, the African people will never be sure that they will be able to have compulsory education for all. The time for us to press for improved education and improved living standards for Africans is now. Under no circumstances should we allow the errors of the past to dictate to us what our policies should be. Franchise policy must be determined by the considerations already referred to earlier in this article.

Founded on race

I want to make quite clear my own belief that all qualifications that were imposed would give the impression that they were founded on distinctions of race, I must repeat that this is how they would strike the people they would exclude, and I would

rather have, for a while, "lower standards of government" than allow any hint of racialism even to be inferred from our policies. I do not, in any case, believe that we would necessarily have lower standards of government than, incidentally, some of the most civilised states have produced even in this century.

To those who persist with the inevitability of any black nationalism idea, there must be put just one question: will adult suffrage at a later date mean "swamping" any less than at an earlier date?

I believe that if we had the chance to confer adult suffrage today, we would have our finest opportunity ever to avoid it, for we would have cut short another decade of the stimuli of anti-whiteism.

I believe that the natural reaction to Verwoerd's extremism is to drive people towards

the more radical formulation of our franchise policy. Many of those who today advocate "votes for all" once believed in "gradualism". Why arrest this natural development in the way the UP does, the Federals do, and the splinter groups with their "casual creeds"?

Let the Liberal Party at least, not defer to public prejudices in its policy-making, but enlighten public opinion along lines similar to those enunciated in this article.

The policy of "votes for all" is right and it is just. Because this is so, we must espouse it when we demand the extension of the franchise and let it not be because we have conceded to pressures exerted on us, but rather because of our belief that it is right. What is given under pressure is rightly seen by the recipients as the reward of extremism, and nothing succeeds like success.

THE CHOICE



A modern African proverb is that if you want to be elected to the South African parliament you must show that you hate the Africans. This proverb appears to have been accepted by the United Party during the late provincial elections. It followed the lead of Major A. Z. Berman, MPC, who in July said: "The United Party will fight the Cape provincial elections on the slogan that had won the National Party the last five elections—the 'swart gevaar' (black peril) as there is no greater danger to South Africa than Bantustans."

The United Party press agreed, and the above cartoon shows the cynical use made of anti-African prejudice by the biggest newspaper in the country—the Sunday Times (circulation well over 300,000) (11 October).

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SAM SLY'S CORNER

FORTNIGHTLY NOTES ON BOOKS AND THE PRESS

Shadow and Wall

South African publishers continue to publish poetry, which is the bookseller's despair in every country. They do it with such dedication that an Afrikaner firm will publish poetry in English and even by an ex-Afrikaner. Tania van Zyl's *Shadow and Wall* (Nasionale Boekhandel) contains some poems that I like very much, and, indeed, more lines I like than are in any of the other elegantly thin and austere books of verse published by Balkema, APB, or Nasionale Boekhandel. It is a pity it was unreviewed when it came out last year. Perhaps Nasionale Boekhandel lack the "knowhow" of putting these books before the public.

There was silence until a few months ago when copies were privately sent to *The Observer*, *The Times Literary Supplement*, and *Sewanee Review*. The last two have since reviewed it with real praise, but after the edition had been remaindered, its price cut from 15s. to 2s. 6d.

I believe Professor Durrant, Nasionale Boekhandel's English poetry reader, urged them to publish the book as a service to literature. Why couldn't it have been welcomed at the time? Why didn't Professor Butler include some of it in his new anthology? Where was *Standpunte*? Yes, where was *Contact*?

Actually read it

Tania van Zyl is married to Ernest Middlemiss, curator of the Rondevlei Bird Sanctuary in the Cape, and is the daughter of a former Judge-President of the Cape Supreme Court. She produced an earlier book of verse, *The Window* (African Bookman) in 1948. It fell on even deader ears. Only *Die Burger* reviewed it, and with praise. A friend of a friend gave a copy to André Gide who actually read it and said how good it was. Peter Rodda says of *Shadow and Wall*: "Tania van Zyl writes neat, controlled though sometimes rather harsh and stilted verse. At her best she has an ambiguity and tough delicacy that recall the very fine American poet Stanley Kunitz, whose recently published *Selected Poems* have been enthusiastically received. She has, however, a distinctly feminine and individual tone."

Press psychology

Psychology is very respectable in South Africa, where the Prime Minister, horrible to relate, used to be a professor of applied psychology. I believe the Press Commission once sent a questionnaire to newspaper and magazine proprietors containing some questions asking for their "psychological reactions" to certain words, like

"Malanazi", "Broederbond". The best answer was given by a non-conforming magazine owner who put a pen stroke through the whole rigmarole and scribbled next to it: "Does not apply."

A nice bit of beadwork

"Lets look at genuine native life in the raw", urges Mr. Lister Hunter, proprietor of a curio shop and conducted tour business in Umtata. "Let me take you away from the cities, towns, and tarred roads on a journey into the land of the Primitive". Of all the attractions offered—"hut-studded hills", "take pictures of a most interesting nature", "all the customs are explained to you", "see the Primitive Herbs used by the natives as medicines"—only a "picture of a most interesting nature" is illustrated in Mr. Hunter's advertisement in the latest issue of a South African travel guide. It is of an extremely pretty, bare-bosomed girl and it carries the caption:

"A Pondo maiden. These people make exquisite beadwork. Why not see them for yourself?"

See what?—the people, the beadwork, or the bare-bosomed maiden?

In a sabbatarian country like this, where *Die Kerkbode* denounces two-piece bathing suits and long dresses are painted on to improperly clothed ladies in cinema posters, there is a roaring trade in postcards of African beauties, with special focus on the bare bosom. The tourists' shutters snap ceaselessly at them, when the special extra charge for dropping the blanket has been met. Mr. Hunter knows what he is about in giving more of his advertising space to this pretty African girl than to anything else. The only worrying thought is of the effect this instinctive hypocrisy has on the minds and subconscious of white people. Elsewhere the pretty girl is admired as such, and not camouflaged as "beadwork". Elsewhere, the Girl-Watcher (as in Nicolas Bentley's very funny *Guide*) employs his wiles so as not to be detected by the girl or the passer-by. Here if she is not "white", he must not even be detected by himself.

Excellent References

WORLD EVENTS; the Annual Register of the Year 1958 (Longmans)

THE *Annual Register's* 200th issue contains an essay on its history by Asa Briggs. From Edmund Burke's day to the present it has supplied a sweeping chronicle of one year's events in many fields before the dust has

settled, before the perspective of time has focussed or blurred. In 600 pages, *World Events*, a paperback form of the expensive library edition, records all of 1958—in England, Commonwealth, international organisations, Americas, USSR, Eastern Europe, Middle East, North Africa, East and South Asia, Religion, Science, Law, Arts and Literature of the United Kingdom, and Economics.

Where is Africa? In pieces, among the Commonwealth, and elsewhere with bits of it missing. In 1811 the *Annual Register* most farsightedly changed its historical section from "the history of Europe" to "general history", in recognition of the new state of the world. Will the 1959 issue keep up with the new times by having an Africa section? If it does not, one must recognise the trend as being away from the brilliant, witty detachment of Professor D. C. Somervell on England to the backward-looking stodge (the UP: "committed to reasonableness in all things") of Mr. A. B. Hughes on South Africa.

POLITICAL HANDBOOK OF THE WORLD 1959. Edited by Walter H. Mallory (Harper & Bros. and Oxford University Press for Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.)

Oh! To acquire this and *The Annual Register* every year. In 240-odd pages are given the Government, politics and press of 78 countries (1 to 10 pp. each) and 19 countries (a few lines each). Welcome to *Contact* on page 172. A surprising blunder in the South African section is the absence of any mention of the African National Congress, SA Indian Congress, or Congress of Democrats, while the Labour Party has six lines, ending "the Party is virtually extinct to-day".

Even if this makes one eye the political material for other countries doubtfully, the facts given are endlessly useful to the student of political or world affairs and suggest many revealing comparisons between countries, blocs and continents.

S.S.



Basuto Diary

1960 YEAR BOOK AND DIARY: BUKA EA TSA SELEMO. (The British Red Cross Society, Maseru, Basutoland) 6s.

FOR the third year the Red Cross in Basutoland has produced a diary. A week-to-an-opening, this one, like its predecessors, contains special recipes, and some pictures of typical scenes.

Unlike the earlier issues it contains a most valuable series of eight route maps, the first ever published, of various districts of the territory, and an accurate folding map in colour at the end.

It is better than ever, and will be of value to all interested in Basutoland. Profits go to the Red Cross which is doing so much for uplift in Basutoland. **P.D.**

THE LIBERAL MIND

No. 2: William Ewart Gladstone
1809-98

WHAT do I understand by Liberal principles? I understand in the main this by Liberal principles—the principle of trust in the people only relieved by prudence; but by the principles of their opponents I understand mistrust of the people only relieved by fear.

House of Commons, May 1865

Rarest of all

GIVING AND RECEIVING. By Anthony Barker (Faith Press) 18s. 6d.

WHAT a lot of things this book is! It is the story of the 15-year growth of a mission hospital at Nqutu, Zululand. It is a self-portrait of Anthony and Margaret Barker, both mission doctors, with a reasoned account of their function and calling. It is a startlingly, even painfully, vivid picture of a community—its old and young, sick and well, clever and stupid, and the mass who are between both states always.

It is a story of compassion, somehow not lost in the towering framework of our different orders of men—contemptuous rulers, philosophically self-contained subjects, with the awkward squad in between, namely those from both levels who are coming together and will father the inheritors of the homeland the others are both losing. It is a book about doctoring the poor and superstitious. It is several lessons in humility. It is a witty book. It is an unanswerable exposition of the brotherhood of man, the oneness of humankind.

In all these things lies the happiest quality of Dr. Barker's story—a quality that makes one want to rush out into the street and shove it under people's noses, to buy a hundred copies and give fifty to one's friends and fifty to one's enemies. This quality is the rarest to be found in books, and is rarest of all in books about our people—it is simply *truth*.

What could one quote to show it? Not properly from the hundreds of finely-written little stories out of the Barkers' 15-year "adventure in African medical service," nor from the dozens of just aphorisms drawn from Dr. Barker's deeply-felt experience, nor from the morals pointed or rejected, nor from the solid facts about the spiritual and physical ways of a people. It wouldn't do any good. From the story of Dr. Barker's life at Johnson Hospital, not from cracker-motto sentiments about it, can the truth be learnt about the *differences* among our people and our groups—differences that have to be calmly accepted before they can be understood, or, as difficulties, overcome.

Here is a book from a far part of Zululand, a remote, hard yielding reserve of African tradition, that is yet a mirror of ourselves and our times, of Africa, and of life. Why do his publishers call Anthony Barker "the Dr. Schweitzer *de nos jours*"? Because it is not Schweitzer that has gone, but his world?

As a final glimpse of the commonsense and universality of the book's lessons, look at Dr. Barker's acceptance of the white missionary's fate—the "change of roles" with his junior African

colleague. This must happen "before the turn of the century or possibly before", a change that will come "even though he thinks the people are not ready for it." Will this be the last example of the good missionary, perhaps the first that his sceptical white brothers will follow—his acceptance that this day *has* come, even though, in his Christian obedience, he must "leave the country of his willing adoption"?

L.F.H.

Dirty Young Man

OLD LETCH. By Sylvester Stein (Faber & Faber)

MR. STEIN is one of the numerous talented *Drum* Old Boys, but on the evidence of this book he is either wasting his talents or is, as yet, incapable of realising them except spasmodically.

Last year his first novel, *Second Class Taxi*, was published—the first intentionally humorous book about South African racial politics. (There have been, of course, a number of the unintentional variety, and the Hon. Thomas Boydell promises to provide us with another shortly.) Although a harmless and in many ways superficial satire, *Second Class Taxi* enjoyed a certain notoriety when it was banned here after being on sale for some time. Perhaps some-

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LETTERS

CONTACT AND FREEDOM

SIR, Although earlier I failed, I have now been able to secure a copy of *Contact* for the week ending 3 October, but it was the last copy in the bookshop. It seems many people are now reading *Contact*, for they have observed that it is the only paper in Southern Africa which is ready to voice our grievances. It stands for no racial ideologies, but for the freedom of ALL.

N.V.Z.
Livingstone, N.R.

Mr. Boydell

SIR, One of the members of the ANC deputation which went to England at the close of World War I to protest against the enactment of the Natives Land Act of 1913, came back with the story that he had been invited to the house of an English family which had relatives in Pretoria.

In the course of conversation, he was asked if he knew the "relative" in Pretoria and he replied that in South Africa relations between white and black were restricted to the sphere of master and servant, for which reason they could never have met.

The daughter who appeared very much taken aback, observed "I am afraid my uncle has degenerated."

It is surprising that a man of Mr. Thomas Boydell's political stature and Parliamentary experience could so easily be taken in by so fantastic and obviously fraudulent an idea as to believe that a race however backward can "develop its own nationalism and find expression for its own language" in the air.

Mr. Boydell, I believe, was a member of Parliament in 1913, when the Natives Land Act was enacted and must therefore be aware that at that time Parliament recognised that the Native Areas scheduled under the Act were hopelessly inadequate and that provision was made in the Act for their augmentation.

At that time the density of population was given as 18 acres per person. Mr. Boydell knows that that solemn promise of additional land was put into cold storage for 23 years, during which period the African population increased by two millions. During this period of suspense large parcels of land which could have been used for easing congestion in scheduled Native Areas, were excised and disposed of to Europeans, thereby aggravating overcrowding and precipitating inevitable soil erosion.

The following official figures give eloquent evidence of the impracticability of any form of "separate development" or *apartheid* and the emptiness of the claim that under *apartheid* it would be possible for Africans to exercise "self-rule" or to have "a chance to stand on their own feet and to build up their own social and economic organisation" as suggested by Mr. Boydell.

(Continued on page 12)



SCHOOL-CHILDREN AT MOSSAMEDES, ANGOLA—An illustration from James Duffy's *Portuguese Africa* (Harvard University Press). Portugal has ruled and misruled Angola and Moçambique (together the size of Western Europe) for 450 years. Mr. Duffy establishes the realities of Portuguese domination from 1500 to Salazar, and discards the fantasies, in the first comprehensive history to appear in English.

is too tame, too safe, the throb of the tom-tom, the eeriness of the witch-doctor, the deadly stealth of cobra and leopard.

George Michael has discovered that Africa has box-office appeal, and he is exploiting the situation with great gusto. He makes few bones about it. Having found What The Public Wants—journeys into remotest Africa without leaving their armchairs,—he is setting about giving it to them, both on the "telly" in England and between book covers. And one can only say, "Good luck to him!" For his book reveals, however meagrely expressed, a genuine love of Africa and feeling for the wild.

Perhaps because it is so obviously written with an eye on The Public and What It Expects, the really interesting part is not its main theme—the adventures of his family on safari, narrow escapes, and all that—but the introductory chapters about his background.

Behind the sparse facts given here surely lies a story of hardship and resource which is the stuff of life. His father, a tenacious Lebanese, once a bull-fighter in Lisbon, symbolises the multitudes who have come here from lands where the struggle for existence is bitter, determined to carve themselves a niche and to give their children a chance. This colourful character spoke Arabic, French, Turkish, Greek, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese fluently, but somehow never quite managed English and Afri-

kaans! Nevertheless, his small foreign-food shop in Pretoria flourished until a friend let him down and he lost every penny. He started again from scratch, among other things dealt in gold nuggets, was nearly murdered for them, and must have been a considerable character in his own right.

Inheritance of his father's dash and resourcefulness has not, however, made George Michael more than a very middling author. His book is well enough until, in the last pages, he ventures to give a little South African history. He would have done better to stick to lion-hunting, which he knows something about.

Readers are warned that the suggestive if hackneyed wording of Mr. McNeile's title bears no relation to the collection of stories within, which might have been written by a Boy Scout for his Troop magazine. He has taken various anecdotes and a few more or less well-known historical incidents and made them into stories. Cheerfully unaware of the daemonic, explosive powers which have always been at work in our continent, he takes us from South to North, and wanders about in the centuries, too. He never departs from the obvious, and his moralising reminds one inescapably of *Eric, or Little by Little*. But the comparison, I fear, does far less than justice to *Eric*.

FRANCES BOWERS

Dan Jacobson, in London, on

THE END OF THE 'FIFTIES

DURING this month one of the leading members of America's "Beat Generation", Jack Kerouac, produced a new novel, *The Dharma Bums*; and one of the most prominent of the English "Angry Young Men", Colin Wilson, a new philosophical-literary essay, *The Age of Defeat*. In general, both books were received with neither much hostility nor much enthusiasm. Possibly this very mildness in the reception of the books is the truest sign that both the "Beat" and the "Angry" circuses are now over, and that these two writers, and the others who were associated with them, can now get on with producing whatever work they are capable of, each in his own way. Despondently, now that the 'fifties are almost over, one wonders what circuses are going to pitch their tents in front of us during the sixties. The decade is dying, long live the Decade!

taken at random:

"You don't know them, Miss Letsfid. Last week I told my old friend Mrs. Carpenter, you can't trust these working people no mower. I ask her don't you ever remember anything abaht them times before the war—you know, the first war . . ."

"Oh lordy," thought Letchford, 'vich side vere you on at Vipers.'

"I told her don't you ever remember we used to work six days of the week, full day Saturday, well it was a cleaning job, I recollect, we was . . ."

Letchford jacked his mind up and crawled out from under the conversation. He left a neutral look of semi-intelligence behind to answer him. "Jo Anna, Oh, Jo Anna, makes me despondent. Do love you Jo Annie. Why've I been so no good this morning? Don't mean to be. It's important to get things done, etc., etc. Okay, I agree. But when you don't have a deadline, etc., etc. Drives you locomotive."

Do you like this sort of writing? If so, write me c/o *Contact*, for my review copy. I don't want it.

I am sure Mr. Stein can do much better.

PETER RODDA

Armchair Safari

THE MICHAELS IN AFRICA. By George Michael (Muller) 18s.

AFRICA, SLUMBERING GIANT? By Michael McNeile (McAlan) 17s. 6d.

AFRICA is Big Show Business. The Mysterious East has become decidedly less mysterious with the impact of technical civilisation and Western political ideas. But the Dark Continent still conjures up in lands where life

lavishly gold-tooled style which was once the prerogative of royal libraries—and all at a price no more than ordinary books.

In its list are none of last year's best-sellers. Instead, the Society concentrates on the great books of the world and on some of the more fascinating byways of history and literature. Herodotus, Defoe and Jane Austen rub shoulder with Dostoevsky and de Maupassant; *The Golden Ass* and *Father Brown* are there, as are an eyewitness account of *The Trial of Charles I*, a Burmese *Life of the Buddha*, and that classic compendium of crime, *The New Newgate Calendar*.

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one remembered that the naughty word "boycott" cropped up rather frequently in it. Anyway all honour to Mr. Stein for pioneering the picaresque novel in South Africa.

Mr. Stein is living in England now and *Old Letch* has a contemporary English setting. In fact, very contemporary. It is about electioneering and may well have been launched as an antidote to post-election gloom, because it is supposed to be very funny. I know, the jacket tells me so. But where *Second Class Taxi* lapsed into perhaps pardonable flippancy *Old Letch* is openly facetious. Letchford, the main character is one of the numerous illegitimate offspring bred by Kingsley Amis's very successful *Lucky Jim*. Only he qualifies for the label *Lusty* or *Dirty Young Man*. (Yes, I loathe the cliché and its variations as much as you, but *Old Letch* invites it. It's that sort of book.)

In describing Letchford's pointless election campaign Mr. Stein seems to exploit almost every trivial feature of England's pop culture. Surely England today provides the satirist with more substantial material? In addition he fails to get inside any of his characters, and introduces the corniest literary gimmick I've come across for a long time, a performing kettle.

Allow me to commend the delightful cover drawing before I put you off completing my review by quoting Mr. Stein. It is by Malcolm Hart, who spent some time in South Africa and whose roistering farewell party in a Johannesburg township was featured in *Drum*. Mr. Hart's witty and touching drawings decorated the covers of *Second Class Taxi* and Mphahlele's *Down Second Avenue*, too.

Here's Mr. Stein in a passage

DESPITE Disraeli's classic definition of the three degrees of untruthfulness — "lies, damned lies and statistics"—figures can be highly instructive.

The Folio Society, for example, has just pulled off one of the major successes of post-war publishing in increasing its membership by over sixty per cent. during the last twelve months.



To cap this impressive achievement, it is now making a remarkably generous offer — a magnificent volume of Van Gogh reproductions — completely free of charge! Entitled *Portrait of Provence*, this is a book measuring 11½" x 8½", containing thirty plates in full colour with descriptive text. Here are many of Van Gogh's most famous works, works into which he poured all his intensity of feeling, all his rebelliousness and all his passionate sense of colour.

The Folio Society, as you may know, was founded twelve years ago with the express aim of producing books as attractive to look at as they are to read. The success of this venture has been notable. Members have been able to buy copies of great and lesser classics, beautifully illustrated, finely designed, bound often in the

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 11)

The figures are (taking three as typical examples):

- 1. Bergville:** The extent of the Native Area is 89,180 morgen. The total population is 23,657; of the 89,180 morgen only 15,014 comprise arable land which gives a little more than one acre of arable land per person.
- 2. Estcourt:** The extent of the Native Area is 53,217 morgen. The total population is 15,890; of the 53,217 morgen only 5,373 is arable land, allowing just a little less than 1 (one) acre per person.
- 3. Msinga:** The extent of the Native Area is 219,542 morgen. The total population is 64,464; of the 219,542 morgen only 10,977 is arable land, allowing therefore just about 1/3rd of an acre per person.

Can Mr. Boydell seriously and honestly suggest that under this type of land distribution it can be possible for Africans to develop their own nationalism other than such as is nurtured in despair, frustration and hatred whose outburst must inevitably spell disaster for all of us in this country?

SALAYEDWA
Pietermaritzburg

Mr. Bishop

SIR,
My comments on the 'suffocation' of the ANC and its leaders within the Congress alliance appear to be regarded with disfavour by a number of your readers. Without exception, however, these persons have ignored the whole basis of my argument: That the Congress alliance (as an alliance) is very similar to the United Party and deserves the same fate.

Both these groups claim to represent opposition to the Nats and yet both have failed, and will continue to fail, to provide an opposition with a real alternative to racialism. Practising racialism in one's membership is hardly the way to fight racialism.

The views I expressed are, of course, my own and I do not seek to reconcile them with the feeling of any organisation to which I belong. Like the Liberal Party, however, I am opposed to all forms of totalitarianism including communism and am strengthened in my opinion regarding the Congress alliance by the following extract from a report of a speech by Professor Pistorius:

"He said that the COD was an extreme leftist organization, and that the alliance with it of the ANC had alienated the sympathy of tens of thousands of people. The alliance was responsible for the fact that there was no effective opposition to the Government."

Of the letters which you published, I found that of Mr. L. Robins particularly interesting. This gentleman drags in my religion, which I had not mentioned, to prove that I aim at the setting up of a Catholic Government. I play baseball, Mr. Robins, and I have no doubt but

that you will deduce from this, along the same lines of reasoning, that I am an agent of "American Imperialism."

It is enlightening to note that people on the other side realize that Christianity and communism are irreconcilable. Communists have used labour difficulties throughout the world to further the cause of their frustrated mixture of religion, politics, and economics. In South Africa they are using the racial position for the same purpose. They are not above using Christianity if they can get their hands on any gullible Christians.

Most unjust of all is Mr. Robins's reference to "Cape Liberals who wish to deny the African a vote". I have yet to meet a "Cape Liberal" to whom this could apply.

"Cape Liberals" of today have no connection with the early Cape Liberals and there is no need to defend them against the smug holier-than-thou contempt hurled at their memory by some smart "Young Turks" of today and yet I cannot help but feel that, had it not been for Union, the Cape would today be one corner of Africa that was proving, if proof is needed, that integration, economic, political, and social, is natural and does work.

I accordingly stand firm, by my earlier letter but do not seek to force my opinions on others. Whites of liberal views can join organizations which admit only whites (such as the Nationalist Party, the United Party, or the Congress of Democrats) and/or which lean towards nazism, fascism, or communism, without interference from me. I would only say to them—"Use a long spoon!"

B. BISHOP
Sea Point

SIR,
My old friend Alan Paton will not, I hope, mind my expressing the strongest objection to the tone of his letter in response to that of Brian Bishop. The other letters published by you last week were presumably not by members of the Liberal Party and the views expressed are not so surprising; although in passing I might mention that, while I am no Catholic, I find the references to Mr. Bishop's faith by L. Robins singularly offensive and unnecessary.

Mr. Paton is aware that during the years we spent together in the committees of the Liberal Party, I was a strong advocate of the view that the Party should seek to co-operate as closely as possible with the ANC in matters in which the two organisations could, in fact work together. I have no doubt that Mr. Bishop would wish the same.

Mr. Bishop's letter, and I agree with every word of it, does not suggest that no attempt be made to co-operate. It seeks to draw attention to the dangers of an apparent co-operation with the ANC, which is, in fact, co-operation with the COD.

Anyone with any experience of branch level activities over the past few years is aware of the diligent activities of a few

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COD and SACPO persons, with an obedient African stooge or two, who purport to represent the ANC. The result—a bunch of resolutions, many of which a liberal would find it difficult to support.

The contemptuous attitude to members of the ANC who are concerned at this state of affairs is readily apparent. And indeed stooge candidates are pushed relentlessly for branch office. The farce of the Congress of the People preliminaries will still be present to the minds of many of us.

It is, of course true that ANC leadership is aware of the situation, but given the organisational difficulties it is obvious that the much better equipped and wealthy COD has an influence far greater than its membership merits.

Mr. Bishop suggests that this influence should be fought. I agree with him. And any conversation with non-committed ANC leadership would reveal to doubters considerable agreement there as well.

In these circumstances Mr. Paton's comments are inexplicable. There does not seem to be any conflict with the Liberal Party handbook implicit in Mr. Bishop's views, nor is there any repudiation of policy or disloyalty.

For my part, I wish Mr. Bishop the strength and enthusiasm to put his view, both within the councils of the Party and without, with all the vigour at his command.

J. T. R. GIBSON
Cape Town

Pan-Africanists Complain

SIR,
A piece appearing under the usual column of "Fair Comment" by Mr. Patrick Duncan in your issue of 3 October, makes noteworthy and interesting reading for all genuine African Nationalists generally and for members of the Pan-Africanist Congress in particular.

In the first instance, your corre-

spondent, either from lack of respect for figures or from absolute ignorance—or shall I say his "good information" misinformed him?—states that the PAC publicly claimed to have enrolled a membership of 25,000. The number announced by our National Secretary, Mr. P. K. Leballo, is 24,664 and that was at the National Heroes' Day on 2 August, 1959; more than 8 weeks ago; and at which commemoration you were not present.

So you see your spies and good informers employed to the job of watch-dogs on the PAC records are not doing a good job at all.

Regarding the "promise" of 100,000 members made by the PAC I need only re-echo the words of the National Secretary on the day of the announcement of our figure: "We have fallen far below our target of 100,000 members. I am disappointed, but I am not despondent."

It is for you very naïve, but to us very significant that you advise South Africa to take comfort from the "apparent" failure of the PAC to reach their target of 100,000 members by 31 July.

The PAC, however, will not be deterred by such political claptrap. On the contrary we shall pursue our policy with vigour, determination and courage; without compromise, fear or favour. We understand your fear, together with the other foreign national minority groups. You have much to lose. After all, with the emergence of the PAC and its policies, you cannot expect any support when you stand as a candidate for the Parliamentary elections as a Native Representative, as you tried to cash in after the 1952 Defiance Campaign as a "price" for your so-called participation in the campaign.

Your "challenge" to PAC "to substantiate its claim with detailed

figures of branches" we regard as rank impertinence characteristic of *Herrenvolk* arrogance. And it is significant that no African has ever questioned this membership figure. Konald Segal, editor of *Africa South* who quotes the same figure as yourself, together with other whites have repeatedly done so. This "challenge" therefore, is accordingly dismissed with the contempt it deserves.

After all this information—and much more—was given to members of the PAC all over the country on the 2 August 1959. It was meant for them and not for foreign national minorities.

Z. B. MOLETE
Secretary:
Publicity & Information,
Pan-Africanist Congress,
Johannesburg.

SIR,
With reference to your challenging remarks in "Fair Comment" (Contact 3 October) I sincerely hope that the leadership of the Pan African Congress will accept your challenge, so that they should state explicitly that they have 2,500 paid-up members. This is a question of public interest, and therefore the PAC must view it in that light. Many people are anxiously waiting to hear as promised a few months back that the membership of the PAC would reach 100,000 by July 1959. We demand to know from the leadership how many of our compatriots have accepted the policy of the PAC since their first conference.

Judged by any political standards the PAC is not truly representative of the African people.

THOMAS NGWENYA
(Member, Provincial Executive, ANC, Cape)
Cape Town

LIBERAL PARTY FÊTE

The Natal Division of the Liberal Party is holding an all-day fête on Saturday, November 7 at St. Anthony's Hall, Centenary Road, Durban. There will be the following stalls:— produce: flowers & plants: knitting & needlework: tombola: second-hand clothing: second-hand books & records: jack pot: men only: cakes & sweets: side shows. It is hoped that all Natal members will make a very special effort to attend the fête and help to make it a financial success.