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contact

SOUTH AFRICA'S NON-RACIAL REVIEW

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The Editor and Staff wish all readers a happy Christmas. May 1960 lead speedily to peace on earth, and goodwill towards all men.

Princess Emma Bakayishonga, sister of the Mwami of Ruanda, typical of the regal Watutsi, tallest people in the world, whose sudden civil war with their Bahutu subjects is reported on page twelve.

A.N.C. Unity Moots Fail

From *Contact* Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: Lack of organisation and preparation were obvious in the failure of the first African National Congress "unity conferences" held in Johannesburg on November 29.

Seven conferences were planned for that day for the major centres of the Transvaal. They were intended to bring together Africans in a solid block of opposition to the Nationalists, and to prepare lists of local needs and grievances for presentation to the authorities.

But only two meetings were held on the scheduled date. The other areas decided that they needed more time for preparation; they have postponed their meetings until January.

The two conferences which were held were marked by poor attendances. Alexandra Township had a crowd of 350. Orlando—serving an area of 300,000—drew 150 people.

Underlying the failure of the start of the campaign was the fact that the planned door-to-door canvassing by ANC volunteers—to take the "unity appeal" to the masses—was not carried out.

The Alexandra conference adopted a memorandum protesting against influx control

"In the end, however, we must expect to find all the Progressives and their fellow-multi-racials at home in their natural political habitat, the S.A. Liberal Party."
—S. E. D. Brown, in *S. A. Observer*, November.

and asking for home-brewing of beer. It also asked for direct representation on the Peri-Urban Areas Health Board, which administers the area.

Orlando protested against over-crowding in buses and trains, beerhall policy, and high rents.

Both areas agreed to send deputations to the appropriate authorities to discuss their grievances.

CHRISTIAN NATIONAL EDUCATION

CHURCH MIGHT "SET LAW AT NAUGHT"

MOVED by a Group Areas threat to destroy an important school in his diocese of Kimberley, Bishop John Bokenfohr, of the Roman Catholic church said publicly at a Group Areas Board hearing: "I am prepared to go to prison to save St. Boniface Mission". In so doing he voiced the growing trend in favour of using passive resistance against *apartheid*, a trend spreading among whites as well as among non-whites.

The occasion was a public enquiry held in the Council Chamber of the Kimberley City Hall by a committee of the Group Areas Board.

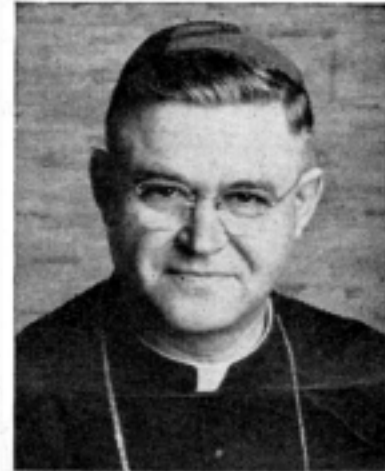
The *Southern Cross* reports that the Group Areas Board Committee, of which Mr. M. P. Prinsloo is chairman, sat in Kimberley on 18 and 19 November to hear representations about four border strips which were proposed as buffer zones around Galeshewe Village, the African location. If these strips were proclaimed it would mean the complete demolition of St. Boniface Mission and the schools belonging to the Kimberley Diocese and the Christian Brothers. These schools accommodated 1760 children and the church was the only one for the Catholic inhabitants of Galeshewe Village.

The Group Areas Board revealed that 48 written representations and petitions signed by 7,000 people had been received by the Board. No record was given of the telegrams despatched to the Board. Fifteen people said that they would address the Committee.

Mr. W. S. O'Brien, the legal representative for the Kimberley City Council, which is opposing the border strips, is also representing the Kimberley Diocese and the Christian Brothers' Association.

Bishop Bokenfohr, addressing the committee, said: "I am not scared, but I am worried. I

credit the committee with honesty and sincerity, but you can't blame us for being worried. After all the St. Boniface Mission and schools are the work of a lifetime."



BISHOP BOKENFOHR

Africans in Galeshewe had submitted a petition to the Group Areas Board, asking that the mission be left.

Bishop Bokenfohr said that when he first saw the map showing the proposed strip he was dumbfounded.

Bishop Bokenfohr said that, given time, he was certain that he could have obtained 65 per cent. of the white population of Kimberley to vote in favour of the retention of the mission. He stressed the influence of St. Boniface Mission in producing good law-abiding citizens contributing towards the good of the country. He had sixteen boys studying for the priesthood and this was the only school in the Northern Cape which catered for the higher education of Catholic boys, and it served as a minor seminary.

The threat to this mission is only part of the damage to Kimberley that will be inflicted if Group Areas are imposed. As reported in *Contact* (31 October) 11,450 non-whites and 300 whites are threatened with removal under this racialistic and ideological plan to further raise the barriers between the races in this small town.

KIMBERLEY GROUP AREAS

BISHOP WILL "GO TO PRISON" TO SAVE MISSION

BISHOP John Bokenfohr, Roman Catholic bishop of Kimberley, called a meeting on 17 November to consider implications of the Christian National Education policy, should it be applied to the country as a whole.

Addressing the meeting, Bro. F. C. McManus, former principal of Christian Brothers College said, as reported by *Southern Cross*:

"If the Catholic school is prevented by law from exercising its God-given natural right to teach the Catholic religion and must substitute a state religion, this mandate must of necessity be set at naught."

"If therefore the word 'Christian' in the formula CNE means any other form of Christianity than the accepted Catholic one, we must in conscience resist its application as an infringement of our natural rights.

"And, be it remembered, natural rights transcend those of the state. I simply state then, without rancour, that we cannot in conscience subscribe to a Calvinist interpretation of the word Christian."

Mr. W. S. O'Brien pointed out that recent history taught that the CNE was not a mere speculative consideration but that it was a definite blueprint of in-

tended policy. He feared however that the plan would be put into operation not by legislation, with which we could grapple, but by administrative means which were more subtle and more difficult to combat.

A committee representative of the various bodies was elected with Bishop J. Bokenfohr, OMI, as the honorary president and Bro. F. C. McManus as the convenor; to formulate and carry out the necessary action.

Smuts-Gandhi Pact Assured Site's Future

JOHANNESBURG: An agreement between General Smuts and Mahatma Gandhi, made nearly 50 years ago, will decide the fate of a wealthy Indian family in Boksburg. The agreement allowed the family to live and trade in the centre of the town, and the Group Areas Board has been asked to honour it.

If the Board accepts the agreement, the family will be left where they are. If the Board does not, they will have to move, and will face financial ruin.

The Board's recommendations must go to the Minister of the Interior for his decision. This might be announced within a few weeks, or after several years.

In the meantime, the Bhyat family must wait . . .

The Board met recently to consider group area proposals for Boksburg. A Johannesburg advocate, Mr. G. Bizos, appeared for the family and said they owned three stands at the corner of Eloff and Commissioner Streets.

He told the Board that the late Mr. A. M. Bhyat came to the Transvaal in 1890, and established businesses in several towns, including Nigel and Boksburg.

After a campaign led by Gandhi in 1913, General Smuts, then Minister of Justice, agreed that Mr. Bhyat and members of his family could continue to live and trade on his Boksburg properties, on condition that he left Nigel.

Mr. Bizos said: "When old Mr. Bhyat first put up his shop, it was on the outskirts of the town. Now it is in the very centre of business activity.

"It is a large general dealer's shop, with great commercial undertakings in the near vicinity. It has a monthly turnover of nearly £5,000."

The general dealer's shop is at present owned by Mr. Bhyat's grandson. Other members of the family own two adjoining shops, and 15 of them live in houses on the property.

"The Bhyats have traded here for 50 years in terms of an agreement made between the spiritual leader of a vast country and a man who became the Prime Minister of this country," said Mr. Bizos.

Ninety per cent of their trade came from Whites. If the family is forced to move to the proposed Indian area of Zindabad, several miles out of the town, they will be ruined.

CONTACT

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SASA APPEALS AGAIN

From Contact Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH: The names of 75 New Zealand players who have been invited to take part in the rugby tour of South Africa next year have been announced in the Press, but no Maoris have been included in the list.

Commenting, the president of the South African Sports Association, Mr. G. K. Rangasamy, says that his Association has again appealed to the New Zealand Rugby Union "not to connive at the imposition of discrimination on grounds of race against non-white New Zealanders" and also to the South African Rugby Board, asking the Board to re-affirm its policy that it is not opposed to the inclusion of Maori New Zealanders in the touring side.

The appeals are made "for the sake of true sportsmanship and in the interests of racial harmony."

What Petition Looks Like

Can New Zealanders stand aside and allow the good name of their country to be dragged in the mire by the decision of the Rugby Union?

Remember these comments!

1. "Shameful decision."—**Manchester Guardian.**
2. "Only one honourable course to take—to cancel this and all future tours (of South Africa)."—**Sydney Morning Herald.**
3. "I wish some . . . bodies had the same courage and the same deep-rooted convictions."—**Sports Editor of the London Daily Mirror on stand by New Zealand Churches.**
4. "To bow to the demands of racial policy is to condone it."—**Western Mail, Cardiff.**
5. "New Zealand has set an example to the rest of the world of how racial problems can be tackled and overcome. For any country to omit coloured players from a representative team to cater to South African bigotry is shameful: for New Zealand to do so is tragic as well."—**Liverpool Echo.**

Million people may sign — see below

PETITION WILL BE "LARGEST EVER"

As predicted, pressure is piling up in New Zealand on the proposed rugby tour. The latest development has been a demonstration as New Zealand troops, including a large number of Maoris, marched in procession through Wellington before departing for "anti-terrorist" du-

ties in Malaya. They were accompanied by members of the Citizens All Black tour Association bearing banners which read: "O.K. for Malaya—why not for South Africa?"

The petition launched by the Citizens Association makes steady progress—it is expected to be the largest ever presented to New Zealand's Parliament—and the latest "Progress Report" expresses confidence that the target of 1,000,000 signatures will be reached: they also report that they have the support of 80% of those approached.

The forthright statement by Mr. Peter Brown, Chairman of the S.A. Liberal Party, which has been sent to the leading New Zealand papers is an indication of the growing awareness and opposition in South Africa as well. In the months to come, it will certainly grow. Numerous provincial sporting bodies, and at least one national body have come out in opposition.

This month SASA will be considering methods to mobilise and express opposition and it is possible that a similar petition will be launched in South Africa.

From the defensive statements made by the New Zealand

Continued at foot of next column

Will Islanders Leave St. Helena?

IN 1957 the British Government published a startling report on the agriculture and forestry of St. Helena, the island that for three hundred years has been Cape Town's neighbour in the Atlantic Ocean. The report is by Mr. Norman Humphrey, a skilled Agricultural officer, and foreshadows the possible evacuation of the island by its people, unless the ravaging of the soil is halted.

"If the island is to continue to be inhabited", Mr. Humphrey says in the introduction, "it must be protected from further destruction of its natural resources; indeed much of the land that has gone to waste must be reclaimed to useful purposes and at the same time present a barrier to the ravages of soil erosion."

The report deals with the history of the island from the earliest times. Its relevance to Africa and the world lies in this: that the history of the discovery and devastation of lush forests, of the destruction of fertile fields, is, in miniature, the history of nearly all the new lands opened up by the last four centuries of European colonisation. The difference is this: that if St. Helena fails to solve its problems, the islanders can emigrate. But if the world fails, no emigration from mass starvation will be possible.

"It is not difficult", writes Mr. Humphrey, "to imagine how fertile the early clearings must have been. The soil, built up over eons of time, under its forest cover would have been rich in organic matter, retentive of water, and sheltered from the wind . . ."

"This state of affairs, however, could not last. As cropping continued, soil fertility began to wane; as the forest vanished, the wind was let in; as the organic matter content dwindled, the water-retaining capacity of the soil fell too."

The report then shows how goats completed the process of killing the trees, till to-day almost none of the original trees are left, and the gumwoods which once all but covered the island are to-day almost extinct. To-day two-thirds of the island are "barren waste". The unique flora, with few exceptions, is extinct.

Necessarily this agricultural report speaks of the people, and it is a horrifying picture of poverty that is drawn. It is clear that this once-lovely island has got caught up in the vicious circle: poverty breeds igno-

Prime Minister, Walter Nash, when meeting the Maori representatives, and the statements of New Zealand's representative at UNO when S.A.'s apartheid was debated, it is clear that there are the gravest political implications in this tour. It would seem as if other Commonwealth countries have been tipped off to placate South Africa, for fear of her leaving the Commonwealth.

Sport in South Africa has always been infected with politics, but this is dragging politics into sport with a vengeance! What is worse, it is the kind of behind-the-scene politics which make a mockery of New Zealand's professions of non-racialism.

rance; ignorance misuses the soil and gets poor yields; poor yields cause poverty.

Much can be done by expanding the fishing industry of the island, although this report does not touch on it. Much can be done, too, to improve the agriculture and diversify it. Much can be done by controlling the island's goats which have ruined the island's forests. But the basic problem remains: how to encourage the people actually on the land to take the necessary

steps. It is quite possible that the islanders and their paternal and helpful colonial government may fail.

In that case they will have to leave, and will emigrate to England and Africa. If that happens the human race will have registered yet one more defeat in the battle to preserve soil, water, natural resources, plants and animals. Each of us will be one step nearer to the mass-starvation that is perhaps the greatest threat ahead of all of us and our children.

P.E. FIGHTS POVERTY

From Contact Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH: The fight against poverty in South Africa received new impetus from a conference held in Port Elizabeth under the auspices of the Distressed Areas Council. About 200 people attended the various sessions of the conference including delegates from places as far afield as Grahamstown and Graaf Reinet.

The opening address, "X-Ray on Poverty," was given by Professor J. T. Irving of Rhodes University. His analysis brought home to the conference the fact that whilst among white South Africans, as in other Western countries, poverty was limited to the 3—5% of the population who were either unemployed or social misfits, about 70% of the non-whites were living in great poverty and these were mostly people in regular employment. Only a drastic increase in wages could change this state of affairs.

The second day of the conference began with an inquiry into the effects of poverty. Speakers included Mr. E. Duna, chairman of the New Brighton School Board, Sheila Hiles, a Coloured social investigator, and Joan Attwell who spoke on the effects on mental health of poverty.

A leading business executive then told the conference how an increase in wages and the provision of mid-day meals by his firm at a cost of £150,000 p.a. had benefited both employer and employee.

At the concluding session of the conference, Mr. Govan Mbeki made what was probably the most outstanding

contribution to the discussion. He demonstrated that, unless restrictive legislation was removed from the statute book, other measures would continue to be ineffective. In an Aggrey-esque metaphor he condemned the policy of building hospitals at the bottom of a cliff for the treatment of those who fall over when the simple expedient of erecting a fence at the top had been neglected.

Resolutions passed at the conference called for

A national minimum wage agreement.

Progressive increases in the wages of unskilled workmen up to £25 a month in value.

The removal of restrictive legislation.

Provision of factory meals by employers.

The creation of community centres, crèches, and feeding schemes in all distressed areas.

Chairmen at the conference which has stirred the social conscience of many people were Mr. Leicester Walton, Mr. Alf Every, Mr. A. Forbes Robinson, and Father Cyprian Thorpe. It was unanimously agreed to call another conference in a year's time.

DEVLIN REPORT

Special issue of *Contact* containing summary of the Devlin Report. This issue was banned in Nyasaland. Some copies are still unsold.

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How To Avoid Immorality Cases

SPEECH of the Hon. the Minister for Ethical Affairs, in the House of Assembly, on the Second Reading of the Immorality Amendment Bill, 1961.

Mr. Speaker, the Opposition and the English Press, with their usual reckless mendacity, have represented this Bill as a retreat by the Government from its former policy. It is nothing of the sort.

When the Immorality Act was passed, it was never the intention of the Government to stamp out the sturdy old South African custom of immorality. That would have been neither practical nor democratic.

What, then, was the purpose of the Act?

mated the limitless cunning and malice of the English Press. In the hands of these alien vipers, the Act has been turned into a weapon for undermining the healthy and affectionate relationship which always existed between the races in this country, especially on the platteland.

Hence the necessity for the present Bill.

Its provisions are very simple.

It begins by providing that all sexual relations between European and non-European are prohibited *except under authority of a permit issued by the Minister.*

The Minister will have an absolute discretion to issue or refuse such permits, and the permits will be of two main kinds. Firstly, there will be limited permits issued for a specific occasion or occasions. Then there will be the "open permit", which will be valid for a period of five years. These will, of course, be issued only to persons of the most impeccable reputation and of the very highest standing in the community.

In cases of necessity, the Minister will have power to issue a permit with retrospective effect.

In order to assist the Minister in the discharge of his onerous duty, an Immorality Advisory Board will be established. It will have seven members, appointed by the Governor-General, who will each receive a salary of £5,000 per annum. I may add that it is the intention of the Government to appoint members of the Senate who will have to relinquish their posts when the size of that House is reduced.

The proceedings of the Board will be confidential, save insofar as the Chairman, in his discretion, may release information to newspapers approved by the Minister. It will be an offence, punishable by lashes, for any newspaper not approved by the Minister to disclose the identity of any permit-holder or applicant for a permit.

Mr. Speaker, I move that the Bill be read a second time.

A.P.O'D.

MOVE TO EQUALISE ANGLICAN SALARIES

From Contact Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: An attempt to change the system whereby White Anglican clergymen are paid at a higher rate than Africans, was made at the recent Synod of the Diocese of Johannesburg. Some White clergymen offered to forfeit a proposed salary increase if it meant that they would continue to receive more than the Africans.

But acting on a suggestion made by the president of Synod, the Bishop of Johannesburg, the Right Reverend Ambrose Reeves, the meeting agreed to pay the proposed salary increases during the coming year on the old differentiated basis. This is to be done while a joint White-Black committee re-investigates the matter.

"The purpose of the commit-

tee will be to close the gap much more substantially between whites and Africans", said Bishop Reeves.

Substantial increases in the stipends of all clergy were proposed by the Diocese, but it meant that the system of paying Africans less would be perpetuated. Both the African clergy and laity, supported by several White clergymen, opposed this.



ADAMS

Iron Curtain drawn by City Council

THE Transvaal Division of the Liberal Party has sent a most emphatic protest to the City Council of Johannesburg against the decision of the Non-European Affairs Committee of the Council not to grant permission for members of the party to enter Orlando Township to address a Liberal Party house meeting there.

In a letter to the City Council, the Hon. Secretary of the Transvaal Division of the Liberal Party, Mr. E. M. Wentzel, writes:

"We are completely dissatisfied at the manner in which our representations consequent upon this refusal have been handled by the City Council. We are well aware that the dispute that has arisen will be provocative of a major political controversy in that the very basic freedoms of political parties are at issue. It is clear that you endorse Government policy in drawing an iron curtain around the townships and preventing normal, democratic, political activity being conducted in them."

During a three-hour debate, African speakers quoted scripture to back their pleas and said that the cost of food was the same to African and white clergymen alike.

White members of the laity who opposed the "equality for all" request argued that hard facts and not skin-colour had to determine the issue. They said that African parishes could not afford to contribute substantially greater amounts towards the income of their priests, and that excessive levies could not be placed on white parishes.

They asked the African members of the Synod to extend "a certain amount of understanding".—"We ask for a bit more tolerance from you", said one man.

Under the increased pay scales, white clergymen will receive a maximum of £600 a year after 16 years, while Africans will get £350. A marriage allowance of £100 and £60 respectively will also be paid. The present ceiling for whites is £528 after 24 years, and for Africans £295 after 26 years.

SOUTH AFRICAN ART

THE MESSAGE OF ALFRED ADAMS

A recorded opening address by the internationally known artist, author and critic Oscar Kokoschka, more than 400 people present at the opening and sales well above those of other established artists—these are not things which occur at a first exhibition. Yet that is exactly what took place at the exhibition of Alfred Adams in Cape Town.

By
Abe Scholtz

This 30-year-old slimly built artist is no phenomenon suddenly thrust upon the art world. Many think he may become a great artist. He is indeed a supreme example of achievement when given an opportunity. It is agreed that he had the very best of training but the wealth of feeling in his works, proves that this training was only a canalising factor.

The duty of the artist is to penetrate beneath the superficial. Some people may disagree with the interpretation but those who call themselves enlightened, cannot escape being struck by the impact Mr. Adams makes.

I refer especially to the triptych "South Africa" which, although from the composition point of view, unbalanced, is a powerful study in symbolism. For his Christ, Mr. Adams employed a mixture of abstractionism and the powerfully realistic school of the Japanese (*vide* the drawings of the bombing of Hiroshima which we saw some time ago). For his two Marys however, he uses a line of realism too strong to balance his central figure. A complete execution of this work in either of these two schools would, whilst not necessarily emphasising the power of its message, have given us a truly great work of art.

Mr. Adams is, according to himself, an expressionist and this note is evident throughout the works on display. I need only here refer to his "Penny Whistler" and the "Clown".

SWA STOWAWAY "FELT LIKE BEAST OF BURDEN"

A 27-year-old contract labourer from South West Africa, Mr. Leonard Gebliel, stowed away in an American ship, recently, as a fugitive from South African oppression. He hid for six days in one of the holds before giving himself up.

In a statement made by him to the U.S. Immigration authorities in New York, Mr. Gebliel said:

"First I must thank this government (the United States) for making it possible for me not to go back to South West Africa. Second, I am beginning to feel as a free person compared to how I was feeling in South West Africa.

"I am sure I will be able to contribute to what has been done by my friends at UNO by informing them and the world about my experiences

Of his drawings, I found the "Portrait of the Artist's Mother" greatly moving. Perhaps it is the sentimental approach and in this the close affinity between the artist and Kokoschka is evident. Kokoschka dismisses "non-objective art" as "a signal of the general romantic spirit of modern man, who would rather visit the moon than reconcile his individual existence with the changing environment conditioned by modern technical civilisation."

And again: "We live with closed eyes, not daring to see the misery we create on earth. The task of the artist is to see."

Someone remarked to me that Albert Adams was not sent to Kokoschka. It was only natural that they should meet. And from a study of the master's works and conversations with his young protégé, I can only agree. The message of Albert Adams is also: Open your eyes and see.

What of the background of this brilliant young man. Briefly, he qualified as a teacher at the Hewat Training College, Cape Town. From there he proceeded to the Slade School of Art where he studied for 3 years under Coldstream. He won one of the two Bavarian State bursaries made available annually to all the universities in the British Isles. With this bursary, he proceeded to Munich where he studied for a year under Crodel. He continued his European training with the intensive four-week master course run by Kokoschka every summer at Salzburg. He plans to return to Europe shortly to further his studies in graphic art, in which his rare ability is already acknowledged.

in South West Africa. As one who has worked as a contract labourer, I can say this. On contract you feel like a beast of burden. And if you are not on contract, you feel like a bird without a dwelling place. In your own country you have no dwelling place. But now I feel like one who has returned from death for the first time. The few white people I have come in contact with here have left me bewildered. For the first time I am seeing face to face with white people who are human beings like myself.

NON-WHITE SCHOOL-LEAVERS DESPAIR

White Christmas Rush for Jobs

THE lack of opportunities for educated non-whites in South Africa is leading to growing resentment and bitterness among non-white students leaving school. Hundreds of employers are already making preparations to employ white matriculants, and as a result of the large number of vacancies for matriculants in commerce, industry and the public service, employers are outbidding each other for their services.

Non-white high school students view this scramble to employ white matriculants with despair.

Non-white secondary school students—many of whom have made great sacrifices to get to high school—know that for them there are no vacancies, no demand for their services, no opportunities for them to make use of their skills and develop their abilities. Consequently they fail to display the idealism and enthusiasm about their future that should characterise youth. As far as decent jobs go, the future holds very little promise; it appears bleak and desolate. No wonder these young people eventually develop a deep-seated hatred for the society that refuses to make use of their latent abilities and skills. They come to know the frustrations of life on the wrong side of the colour line. They come to realise that in the expanding economy of the Union, where there is a great need for trained men, there is no place for them "above the level of certain forms of labour" (Dr. Verwoerd's own phrase about Africans).

Whites only

This year the public service alone has vacancies for about 5,000 matriculants—for whites only. Commerce and industry will provide jobs for several times that number—again for whites only. For non-white matriculants there are very few vacancies in the public service, commerce and industry except as labourers and semi-skilled workers.

By
Bolus Smith

There are in the Transvaal several high schools for non-whites. For the comparatively small Coloured and Indian population there are five high schools with a combined total enrolment of approximately 3,400 students. The African high schools have an enrolment many times that number. These high schools follow syllabuses which are the same as those in white schools. They offer, apart from the two official languages, the following subjects:

both of which act as effective barriers to secondary education, these high schools produce a small but important number of successful matriculants every year.

Of this number a few lucky ones manage to go to a university, the rest being excluded because of lack of money, for the essential requirement for registration at South African universities is money, not ability. Other matriculants, especially among the Coloureds, choose the teaching profession as a career because for them it provides practically the only way out.



Typical classroom scene . . . but what does the future hold in store for them in the way of well-paid jobs?

Latin, bookkeeping, commercial arithmetic, commerce, history, mathematics, physical science, home economics, industrial art, geography and biology.

Despite the South African apartheid system and the crushing poverty of the non-whites,

In the words of Dr. I. D. du Plessis, Commissioner of Coloured Affairs, . . . "there exist comparatively large numbers of Coloureds for whom the teaching profession is virtually the sole avenue of employment and who as a direct consequence suffer from a serious sense of frustration and have developed a grudge against the community".

This is clearly an undesirable and deplorable state of affairs.

Startling changes

The startling changes taking place in the rest of Africa, the surging forces of an awakening continent, are making a tremendous impact on the minds of non-white youth. What is happening in the rest of Africa is strongly contrasted with what is taking place at home in South Africa.

And because of this sense of frustration, a highly dangerous situation is developing which can only be halted when non-white students are given the opportunity they deserve to play their full part in the economic, social and political development of the country, denied to them because of the vicious application of the apartheid policy of Government.

SCHOOLS BENEFIT BY TELEVISION

THE rapid development of television services in Britain—out of an adult population of nearly 38,000,000, 26,000,000 have television sets at home—has led to an increasing interest in the possibilities of television as a vehicle of education. In fact, the results of the British Broadcasting Corporation's television broadcasts to schools since September 1957, have been so encouraging that it has been decided to double the output of programmes by 1961 and, if possible, to make a start with this increased output in September, 1960. Schools programmes on sound broadcasting have, of course, been a feature of education for many years, and have reached a standard of excellence and usefulness which British educational authorities, and visiting educationalists from overseas, have enthusiastically acknowledged.

New Spelling Imposed Suddenly On S. Sotho

THE Union Government has decided to go it alone and change the spelling of Southern Sotho. This is in spite of the fact that the Basutoland National Council firmly rejected the changes last year. The October *Bantu Education Journal* announces that the new and revolutionary spelling must be used from January 1960, giving schools less than three months to prepare for what will be a painful changeover.

The subject has long been under discussion between governments. In 1905 the Transvaal Secretary of Native Affairs was able to write to the Imperial Secretary (representing Basutoland) that "with a view to conciliation, a uniform system of Sesuto orthography might be adopted which would be a boon to all concerned". Would that such a desire for conciliation existed today! But there is no spirit of conciliation to-day! In 1948, the Chairman of a conference on the subject recorded his regret that the Chief Inspector of Native Education in the Free State who had been invited to be present at Maseru or to send an observer had done neither. (It is interesting to note that the holder of that office at the time was Prof. J. J. Ross who is now making headlines as the new Principal of the BAD university college to be set up at Fort Hare.)

The Maseru conference made certain recommendations with a view to the simplification of the writing of Sotho, but there was determination on the part of all present to make such changes as few as possible. Amongst those present were such men as Khaketla, Mabathoana, and Paroz who are still probably the greatest living experts on the subject. All their recommendations were rejected by the Basutoland National Council in 1949. The Basutoland Government wisely decided that to impose such changes against the declared wishes of the people would be inexpedient. No such democratic wisdom affects the policies of the present government of South Africa.

Let it be said that the article appearing in BEJ shows first-rate scholarship and a thorough grasp of the subject and reflects the work of such men as Prof. D. T. Cole of the University of the Witwatersrand. Many of the changes are those which scholars and others have been urging for years and which would probably make it easier to teach Sotho-speaking children to read and

By
Cyprian Thorpe

write their own language. But there are certain grave exceptions to this. The change in the second person singular pronoun and concord has been sought for years by some scholars but has always been rejected by those who are most closely connected with the language. The introduction of the digraph "kg" is a foreignism which does nothing to improve either the learning or writing of Sotho.

But no matter how desirable such improvements may be, an imperfect spelling is vastly to be preferred to the chaotic situation which has been caused by governmental interference in such languages as Xhosa (now to be spelt Xosa by order of the Government).

The people to profit most from the change will be those recently formed publishing firms whose enjoyment of government patronage in vernacular publications will be further entrenched. Those to suffer will be the mission presses in Basutoland and elsewhere whose pioneering work in this field receives scant recognition.

In Basutoland the old spelling will still be used, and so it will be virtually impossible for Basuto students to take S.A. examinations without special study. The cost of books will be greater for both countries and thus, of course, the cost of education. Another wedge will have been driven into the ever widening gap between the two countries.

"The new orthography will become compulsory in all schools from the beginning of 1960" says *Bantoe/Bantu*. It is incredible that changes of this nature should be introduced with only three months' notice.

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CONTACT

AFRICANS AND ENGLISH

AN article in the November issue of the Bantu Education Journal, official organ of the Department of Bantu Education, makes interesting though tragic reading. The slightly illiterate author (probably some junior white official in the Department) contributes the ninth of a series of articles on "Careers for the Bantu". This one deals with "Journalism as a Career".

We are told that "while no daily Bantu newspaper is as yet published, the demand for one and other reading matter (sic) will increase concurrently with the increase in literacy of the Bantu". A Unesco report in 1952 gave the Union's African literacy rate as 21.8%. This had risen by 1958 to 35%. The writer concludes that by the end of the century the Africans of the Union will all be able to read and write.

In view of this fact the outlook for the prospective African journalist appears to be rosy. It will be particularly bright, it seems, if he will adapt himself to the special policy of the Department of Bantu Education. Thus "the Bantu journalist should possess a sound knowledge of the official languages to enable him to keep himself posted with all official regulations regarding his job . . . A knowledge of Bantu Administration and Anthropology will prove to be of immense value to him. It will help him to understand Government policy and administrative measures and enable him to present a clear picture to his readers. A journalist is instrumental to the moulding of the public opinion and a great task, therefore, rests on his shoulders". Furthermore "the journalist is able to unobtrusively educate his reading public to the understanding and acceptance of new ideas or methods, policy, administrative measures, ways of life, etc".

What is at the back of this writer's mind is clear enough. Possibly there will be some African journalists who will conform to these ideas. They will no doubt be commissioned to produce articles for such publications as the Bantu Education Journal. Others again may come to understand "Government policy and administrative measures" only too well. But there is a crucial problem in connection with African literacy and journalism which the writer fails to discuss. He tells us, quite correctly, that the African journalist must have some knowledge of a number of languages: English and Afrikaans "and at least a few of the various Bantu languages". But he does not discuss the Government's linguistic policy in education and how it will affect both writers and readers.

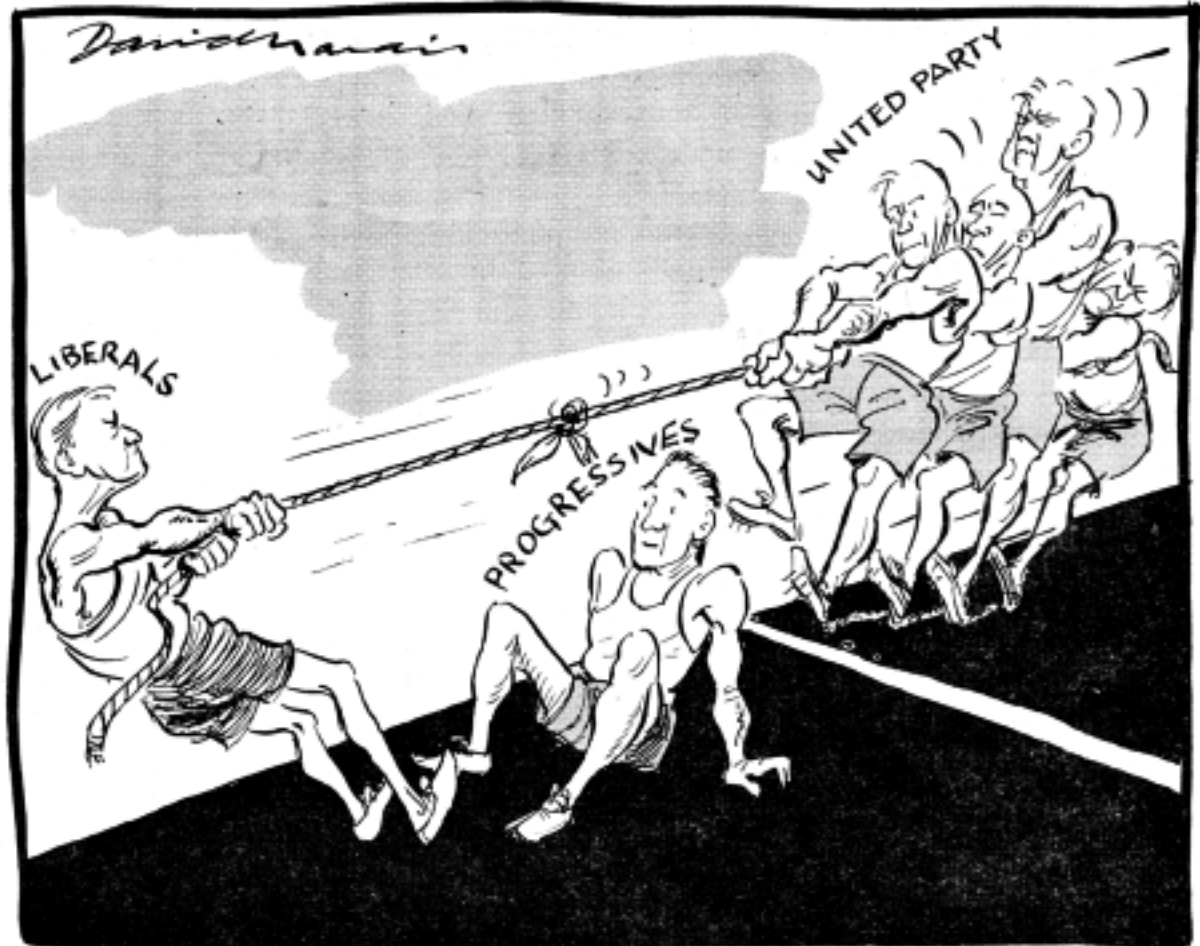
As far as language is concerned, the Government has two ideas which it is pushing very strongly. One is mother tongue education; the other is Afrikaans as the second language. In approaching educated Africans at present the Department has perforce to use English. But if present policies are successful it may be that the new generation of Africans in South Africa will be literate only in the vernaculars and Afrikaans. This will cut them off from the world, as well as from other Africans north of the Limpopo where English and French are established as the vehicles of all higher education, and where English is accepted as the lingua franca of the Pan-African movement.

A decline in knowledge of English would be tragic for South Africans, and this applies both to whites and non-whites. English is a world language. There are more books printed in it than in all the other languages of the world combined. Afrikaans can never be a substitute. There are many fields of knowledge concerning which not a single word has ever been printed in Afrikaans. This is not to belittle a language which has its beauties and its uses. No doubt one of the motives in fostering Afrikaans among non-Europeans is to increase the demand for Afrikaans teachers, books and newspapers and hence for Afrikaans writers and publishers. This may help Afrikaans to make its way in the world and increase its scope and efficiency.

But why should the indigenous peoples of Southern Africa be made the victims of this policy? Here is English already developed as the common language of Xhosa, Zulu, Sotho and Shangaan who have passed beyond tribalism and entered the milieu of western culture. Even so-called "Bantu" papers (Zonk, World, Golden City Post, Drum) employ the English medium. Not to teach English is to attempt to dam up and drive back a flood that has been flowing with increasing strength for a century.

Those of us who support the movement for liberation in Africa, who want to see knowledge spread, and prejudice and obscurantism die out, should rally in defence of the English language. This has become a question of great political importance. We must find ways and means of helping Africans, in spite of "Bantu Education", to retain and increase their knowledge of English. An acknowledged expert in this field has ideas of how this may be done, which we hope he will elaborate in a future article in Contact. In the meantime readers are asked to think about it and make suggestions, for this is something that will require the support of many individuals and organisations.

Contact is independent. It works for non-racial democracy based on adult suffrage. It is against all forms of totalitarianism such as fascism and communism.



"You've pulled the first man over the line — keep on pulling, man, and don't drop the rope."

APARTHEID IS CRAZY ECONOMICS (4)

THERE are many occupations in a modern community that cannot be filled adequately by just anyone. They require skills of varying degree, training for different lengths of time, and, in some cases, natural aptitudes not possessed by everybody. All the training in the world would not enable most of us to sing like Gigli, or play golf like "Bobby" Locke.

In order to protect people from charlatans, from inefficient work, or from dangerous incapability, the law in various ways lays down minimum criteria of qualifications. Our skilled workmen have had to serve apprenticeships under master craftsmen as well as attend trade classes; our teachers have to qualify with different diplomas and degrees suited to the type of teaching they must do. General, technical and professional education are provided by our legislative authorities to teach people how to carry out specific tasks. And, unless aspirants can meet the legal requirements, they are not allowed to carry on the particular trade or profession.

In South Africa, as elsewhere in the industrial world, there has been a complaint for the past quarter century that our training systems are outdated because their basic philosophy is one related to handwork and outmoded techniques. Constantly within the trades and the professions the practising members as well as the teaching members have tried to bring up-to-date the instruction, the training, and the qualifying criteria.

The general shortage of skilled men in South Africa has worked to further this modernisation of apprenticeship. It is recognised by most of us that we need more tradesmen; that time wasted in learning un-

This concludes our series of articles on the economic craziness of apartheid. The author is Mr. Douglas Sloan, of the Department of Economics of the University of Natal.

necessary movements and old-fashioned methods of doing things lengthens the period of training; that a long period of training reduces the attractiveness of skilled lines compared with the unskilled in the eyes of school-freed youth in search of an income; that this keeps down the number of skilled workmen; and that consequently the price we have to pay for skilled services is higher than it otherwise would be.

Our demand is great and the supply little and therefore the price to us (income to the skilled men) higher. Scarcity makes for dearness—and dearness means that we tend to "do without". That is, we forgo certain services (and the added



comfort they bring to life) when they are dear. Our houses are painted less frequently when the painter has to be paid highly—or less well, because father does the job himself. The appearance of our house suffers, and its fittings deteriorate more quickly.

The argument is quite easy to follow in respect of any particular trade. But it is equally valid for semi-skilled or for unskilled occupations. Anything which keeps down the number of people offering themselves for a type of job helps to keep up the price for filling that job. That makes the service more expensive, and either we have to do without it (or with less of it) or, if it is an unavoidably necessary service, we have to do without something else.

No sensible person will object to a government, a municipality or a trade body setting minimum standards to protect life or the health of the community or to guard it from rogues, but any sensible person will object to the imposition of criteria which are entirely irrelevant to the job concerned and yet raise its cost higher. When we agree that certain aptitudes of physique or intelligence or of temperament are essential in certain jobs in order to protect the public, then we expect rules to be laid down which require applicants for the jobs to pass particular relevant tests — and we do not expect applicants to be barred by irrelevant tests.

The only reason for banning all people with aquiline noses or receding chins or dark skins from driving heavy transport vehicles — without any tests whatever of their ability to

(Continued on page 12)

Progressives Will Accept Liberal Idea



Peter Brown, Chairman of the Liberal Party

THE Progressive Party has been launched. It has announced its basic principles, worked out some of the details of its policies, and it will have nearly a dozen members in Parliament. It is a new element in South African politics which can expect substantial financial support and a reasonable press. It is moving in the general direction in which Liberals set out over six years ago and already one member of the Liberal Party has decided to join it.

There may be other white Liberals thinking along the same lines. Certainly there are some people outside the Party who are asking what the difference is between the two organisations and why they don't get together. I shall attempt, very briefly, to deal with these questions in this article.

But before doing so I would like to correct one impression which is being created. Part of the press, and most of its own members, have hailed the Progressive Party as the first realistic attempt to come to terms with the multi-racial character of South Africa and the problems of a continent on the march to independence. These claims are, of course, nonsense. The Progressives are by no means the first people to face up to the realities of South Africa in the middle Twentieth Century. The Liberals did it six years ago, and other people had done it before that and it can do no harm to keep the record straight.

What then of the Progressive Party's principles and policies?

Its principles are sound. They do not differ much from the Liberal Party's. But a statement of principles is necessarily couched in broad, general terms and it is in their translation into policy and in their practical application to South Africa's problems and, perhaps most of all, in the extent to which they are practised in everyday life by those who profess them, that they must be examined.

It is here that one is likely to find divergences between Liberal and Progressive. And these differences will be a surface manifestation of deeper differences whose cause will be found in the fact that the Liberal Party was formed six years before the Progressive Party and that it has been, from the beginning, a thoroughly multi-racial body, something which the

Progressive Party has yet to become.

I think it is true to say, as Alan Paton has done, that while the foundation of the Liberal Party stemmed partly from frustration with the inability of the opposition parties to offer a realistic alternative to *apartheid*, the main reason for its formation was a firm belief in the ideal of a non-racial South Africa. The Progressives, on the other hand, were formed primarily out of frustration at the reactionary tendencies within the United Party and its growing inability to meet the challenges presented by our multi-racial society.

For them the ideal of a non-racial society was secondary, while for the Liberals it was primary. This point, and the fact that Liberals became aware of the need for a new start in South Africa six years before the Progressives and that they have moved with the times in those six years, seem to me to mark the main difference between the two organisations.

The Liberal Party was formed by South Africans of all groups and its policies have been worked out by them together. It has always been one of its basic contentions that no policy worked out by one group has any hope of lasting acceptance by the others. The Progressives, on the other hand, have been launched as an all-white Party and they will admit non-whites to the franchise. Qualified non-whites will then be free to apply to the Party's national executive for membership. The existing white membership will then decide whether membership at the local level of the Party is to be joint or segregated.

Is such an arrangement likely to command non-white support or will it be regarded as a subtle new discrimination?

Certainly the Progressives have consulted non-white leaders and all credit to them for having done so, but there is a world of difference between consulting a man whose opinions you are not obliged to accept, and in having that same man as a member of your organisation, with exactly the same rights as yourself, free to put his case to your membership and to try to win support for it, and able to vote in support of his own arguments.

In an organisation such as the Liberal Party, there is no escape from anyone's opinions and account must be taken of them all. Quite apart from this very healthy situation the fact that the Liberal Party was launched as a joint venture by South Africans representative of all races and that it has always welcomed anyone prepared to subscribe to its principles has had two other results. It has disproved the contention that people vote according to the colour of their skins—I cannot think of a single occasion on which this has ever happened in the Party—and it has developed a community of interest and a sense of "belonging together" amongst members which has confounded the racialists and

established that a non-racial society can be created if South Africans, and particularly white South Africans, will only put their minds to it.

Most of the Progressives' policy statements show a clean break with the colour bar and for this they deserve full credit, particularly for the stand they have taken against the Pass Laws, influx control and the Group Areas Act. But will they reject the colour bar in all its manifestations? I sincerely hope that they will. There is no place for it in the Africa with which the Progressives hope to come to terms. Will their franchise proposals offer really effective political rights to non-white South Africans? Unless they do, the Progressives will not have faced the main challenge of to-day. The days when non-white South Africa would accept token representation, even on the common roll, are gone.

There is no doubt that the Progressive Party confronts the Liberal Party with problems. Potential white Liberals may find it easier and more congenial to join the Progressives. They may regard them as more practical and down-to-earth. Are they? The answer, of course, depends on what you mean by "practical". Certainly the Progressives are going to have more money and a vocal Parli-

amentary team, but will they win elections? And if they do win elections will they win enough quickly enough to bring a change in time? I hope so, but I am not certain that they will.

Events in Africa move so fast that only a fool would attempt to prophesy even five years ahead. All one can say with certainty about the continent is that white domination won't last. It is what succeeds it that is important and what that will be will depend very largely on the support which can be won now for the ideals on which Western civilization is based.

It is certainly vital that the rights which flow from these ideals should be protected, insofar as they can be, by a rigid constitution and an entrenched Bill of Rights, and both Liberals and Progressives are committed to doing this. But, to a Liberal, the surest way to win support for these ideals is to share them now and to share them as widely as possible, and this will not be done by keeping people at arm's length because they haven't had sufficient education, but by drawing them into close contact with the practical application of those ideals at once.

The Progressives have taken a substantial step in the right direction. They have not yet gone as

far as the Liberal Party and they claim that they do not intend to do so. I believe that, having chosen their road, logic and events will drive them towards the Liberals and acceptance of the ideal of a non-racial, common society as the only thing worth striving for in South Africa. In the meantime we will watch with interest to see how they develop and how they conduct their arguments in Parliament next year.

Will other white Liberals feel drawn towards the Progressives? If they are they should have no illusions about the step they are taking. They are stepping out of a non-racial organisation into a white political party which may have some non-white members. I do not believe the Progressive Party will ever be anything more than that. By the time it is prepared to accept non-white members it will already have assumed the character of a white political party and it will be too late to change.

There is something else they should remember. They will leave behind them in the Liberal Party many fellow-members, who share exactly the same hopes and aspirations as they do, but who could not qualify for membership of the Progressives if they wanted to. These are men and women who have rejected the narrow and emotional calls of racialism and set their faces firmly in the direction of a common society with rights and responsibilities shared by all. Often this has not been an easy step for them to take.

It may be hard to be a white Liberal but it is at least as hard to be a black one.

Fair Comment --- by Patrick Duncan

HOARSE shouts of "Skande! Skande!" have been echoing down the passages at Contact as the English press reports of the Free State breakaway from the Nats to the UP streamed in.

With shrill headlines of joy we were told that these miners have left the Nationalist Party and gone to the United Party for several reasons, the main being: "We feel that an unjust tax burden rests upon a certain section of our European population. We are overtaxed to enable the Government to carry out schemes like the establishment of independent Bantu states . . . (and) . . . the Government are neglecting the interests of the European worker."

Put in other words, their grouse is that Verwoerd is doing too much for the non-whites and too little for the whites.

Knowing these reasons the United Party has accepted them as members. And then UP spokesmen have the nerve, the brazen cheek, to pose as "realistic liberals". This party should be sued for defamation by both the realists and the liberals.

I'VE just read the latest issue of the *Bantu Education Journal*. When I read in it of the use the Government is making of Christianity, and how it is identifying *apartheid* in the minds of the people with Christianity, then I tremble for the future of Christianity in South Africa.

ONE of the most remarkable—and unexpected—features of new governments in Asia and Africa has been the accent they have placed on cleanliness. Dr. Nkrumah's policy for Accra involves a dramatic

cleaning-up. Mr. Sékou Touré has personally swept the Guinean streets with a broom. And, in Asia, the communists in China have trained the whole nation to throw nothing on the streets. If you so much as drop a match or a cigarette-end some bystander, often a child, politely restores it to you—and that is the last time you ever do it. The same has now occurred with the new PAP government in Singapore.

In contrast our country is a disgrace. The people of Cape Town throw on their pavements old pieces of fish, cigarette packs, newspaper, and nameless filth. When they have used a bottle, many of them throw it down and break it on purpose.

This accent on new paint and cleanliness may seem a small thing; but in reality it is basic. Gandhi made a practice of personally cleaning latrines.

We can't clean up the filth of *apartheid* yet. But there is nothing to stop us cleaning up our streets, backyards and shacks now. That doesn't have to wait for liberation.

SOUTH AFRICA'S money reserves are the highest for five years. Britain has just removed all but a few restrictions on dollar imports. We can expect pressure to build up here, too, for a removal of all import controls.

The Government will not enjoy doing this, as the fear of losing his import permit has restrained many a business man during the last eleven years from doing or saying anything the Nats wouldn't like.

Despite this I predict that the Government won't be able to maintain the import permit system much longer.



Loved by all, irrespective of race or creed, the Sultan of Zanzibar — where elections are to be held next year—is pictured here with the Sultana.

ZANZIBAR ELECTIONS IN 1960

AFRICAN NATIONALISM GAINING GROUND

ZANZIBAR: In the narrow, pungent and bustling alley-ways of Zanzibar "Uhuru 1960", the familiar freedom slogan of nationalists across on the African mainland, is beginning to take the place of fading posters of Colonel Nasser.

The new rash of wall slogans marks the start of Zanzibar's second election campaign and the islanders, having thrown aside their centuries-old indifference to events around them, are preparing to fight next year's election, in which women will vote for the first time, along modern lines.

There are two principal contestants for political power, the Arab Nationalist Party, led by Mr. Ali Muhsin, claims between 70,000 and 80,000 supporters, while the local African inhabitants, the Shirazis, are represented by the Afro-Shirazi Party, claiming double the membership of their rivals. (Zanzibar has 228,000 Africans, 47,000 Arabs, 18,000 Indians and 5,500 others, including Malagasys, Comoro Islanders and a handful of Europeans, mainly Civil Servants.)

Since slave days

The Arabs have been the dominant race in Zanzibar ever since the notorious days of slavery, but in 1955 they suffered their most severe setback when the Afro-Shirazi Party made a clean sweep of all the five seats they contested and the Arabs found themselves unrepresented in the island's Legislative Council. Seeking an excuse for the unexpected defeat, they were quick to blame the British for encouraging the Africans to vote and engineering a split.

The breach was only healed towards the end of last year, after the newly-formed body, pledged to further the cause of African nationalism in East and Central Africa (PAFMECA), sent a mission to the island with the object of bringing the two groups together in unity against British colonial rule.

Both parties are now agreed on the struggle for independence, although the Arabs are prepared to show a little more patience than the Afro-Shirazis.

This leaves Zanzibar without any burning political issue over which to fight next year's election—at least as far as domestic affairs are concerned.

CONTACT

From Gordon Maclean

However, dissension has been introduced over the state of affairs in another part of the Sultan of Zanzibar's domains—the 10-mile wide coastal strip of Kenya. This still comes under the nominal rule of the Sultan, but ever since a treaty with Britain back in 1895, it has been leased to Britain for an annual rental of £17,000 a year. All in all, the Sultan's coffers have been swelled by a substantial sum over the 64 years and it has proved a far more remunerative deal than the outright sale of the Tanganyika coast to Germany for a mere £200,000.

The issue that has now arisen began with a demand from African nationalists in Kenya, that the coastal strip, known as the Protectorate of Kenya, and including the vital port of Mombasa, should become an integral part of Kenya. Zanzibar Arabs promptly reacted by saying that only Britain could abrogate the treaty, and if she did, then the territory would revert to the Sultan.

The Afro-Shirazis, on the other hand, have fallen into line with their fellow Africans in Kenya, and accuse the Arabs of "imperialist" tendencies. Altogether the Kenya coastal strip has all the ingredients of a controversial election issue. The old bitterness between the two factions is returning, and Arabs and Africans from the mainland are lending support to their respective "sides."

Spate of politics

It looks as if this island, where dhows have so long set the pace of things, is in for a renewal of last year's spate of political activity which reached such a pitch that the British Administration had to introduce alternative working days for Africans and Arabs at the dhow wharves, and every second wedding and funeral became an excuse for a political demonstration.

AS SOMALIA NEARS INDEPENDENCE

Parties Talk Of Coming Struggle With Ethiopia

HARGEISA: An increasing show of armed strength in the Horn of Africa by the Ethiopians on the borders of both the British Somaliland protectorate and neighbouring Italian Somalia is disturbing the Somalis and puzzling the authorities in both countries. Somalia is due to gain independence at the end of next year and British Somaliland will gain self-government next April. Political parties in both countries are pledged to work for the union of the two territories.

An incursion of Ethiopian armed forces in the Legh area of the Somalia frontier was stopped only after representations by the United Nations, under whose trusteeship with an Italian administrator, Somalia remains until next year. Units of Somalia's small police force (she has no army) had been rushed to the border, the present demarcation of which is still a matter of dispute. When French Somaliland was voting "yes" or "no" for General de Gaulle, Ethiopia concentrated a considerable force on the border ready to enter Djibouti should the answer be in favour of Somali independence.

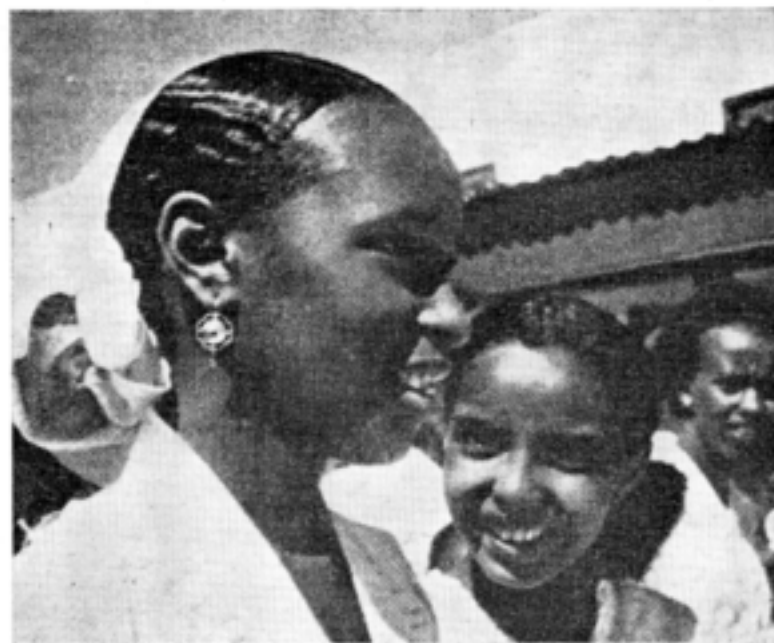
This fresh Ethiopian show of belligerence — there have been many other outbursts in the past—is being combined with two peaceful policies of persuasion, one short-term and one long, towards the Somalis. The short-term Ethiopian effort is the simple distribution of cash which, it is reliably understood, has been appearing in suddenly increasing quantities among the nomad tribes of the protectorate. Cynical Somalis say that the majority of the £36 millions credit granted to the Ethiopian Emperor on his recent visit to Moscow has reappeared in the form of bribes to the Somali tribes. The Ethiopian mission

From Rawle Knox



The Horn of Africa

the children may claim full Ethiopian citizenship. It is suggested that though this may not impress the nomad Somali tribes it interests the 250,000 Somalis who are settled on land in Ethiopia. By strict interpretation of Ethiopian law only nationals may possess land. Authorities point out that the Galla (the Hamitic race whom the Somalis pushed into Ethiopia when they gradually occupied Somali territories in the fourteenth century) have already been almost absorbed and pacified by the Ethiopians, and by almost the same method.



These girls at Burao girls' boarding school Somaliland, are typical of the young, educated, Somali, some of the most handsome people in Africa.

to last month's trade fair at Mogadishu in Somalia, included a police security officer whose pockets are alleged to have been well-lined.

The longer-planned Ethiopian operation encourages Ethiopians to take what are virtually Somali concubines. Ethiopians in the frontier area are permitted to take a Somali girl in addition to their wife, and though the Somali may not be registered as a legal wife,

The coming struggle with Ethiopia occupies the minds of Somali politicians to the exclusion of almost everything else. In British Somaliland there are four political parties preparing for next year's essay in self-government—the newest having proclaimed itself last month — and all have two identical aims independence and union with neighbouring Somalia.

British officials on the whole tend to believe that the coming

elections in Somaliland will depend on tribal alliances, and that the results may therefore cause fresh feuds. In this, says Mohammed Ibrahim Egal, "the British are half right, as usual." He and other politicians say that the Somali will use his political head in the towns and his tribal heart in the country.

Two main groups

The two main tribal groupings in British Somaliland are the Ishaak and the Darob, descended from the two Arab "cultural heroes" who landed on the coast in the 13th century. The Ishaak are both more numerous and more powerful and fill most of the posts in the government administration.

The manner in which the five Ishaak tribes group and re-group around individuals must obviously be vital to the result of the elections. The significance of the United Somalia Party is that it was formed after a meeting at Las Anod in the south between leaders of the two Darod tribes, the Warsangeli and the Dolbahanta and of the Esa and Gadabursi, who are outside the main Ishaak-Darod groupings. In Hargeisa this was naturally interpreted as a bid to end the Ishaak supremacy, the Abdullah Maji Farah, of the United Somali Party, gently denied this imputation. "Please do not believe these bad things that people say about us, I am told" — and here he waved his hand vaguely towards the window — "that thousands of Ishaak are demanding to join our party."

Ghana is the shining political guiding light to politicians in Somaliland, and they are not unaware that in Ghana the political party that got in first made sure that it stayed in. The fascination of Somaliland is that every Somali politician sincerely professes the same end—the creation of a Greater Somaliland to withstand "Ethiopian imperialism"—but each is pulled apart from the other by ties he cannot loosen.

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NKUMAH PLANS

GHANA'S SECOND REVOLUTION

A TREMENDOUS welcome was given to the Duke of Edinburgh when he arrived in Ghana recently. Ghana, first point in Mr. Macmillan's African tour in January, will become a republic within the Commonwealth early next year. But the republicans remain keen on royalty. The Premier, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, is holding the Queen to her promise to visit Ghana in 1961. He does not propose to return to his great castle at Osu—which he vacated for renovations before the Queen's visit was postponed—until she has occupied it.

He is living temporarily in Flagstaff House, the modest home of past British generals who commanded the West African forces. There he is planning what he calls Ghana's second revolution. It looks like making the twelve years spanned by the first revolution seem comparatively Victorian.

Now fifty years old, Nkrumah has lost none of his revolutionary ardour. He remains first and foremost a pan-Africanist; his Ghanaian nationalism is of secondary importance. Freedom in independence for Ghana, he never tires of repeating, is meaningless unless linked with the total liberation of Africa. He is willing to stake everything he has secured on his dream of a United States of Africa beginning with West African unity.

That is the starting-point of any understanding about the new Ghana revolution. It has three aims—to convert Ghana under a new republican Constitution into a strong "centralised democracy"; to expand its economy; and to create the framework for a wider association of African States on the foundations already laid with Guinea and Liberia.

Self-confidence

Ghana's bursting self-confidence is reflected in its development plan. With only about £100 million of her own resources, she is planning to spend £350 million. The gap is to be met by foreign aid, foreign loans and foreign investment. Ghana has no fear of foreigners. There are now nearly 7,000 Europeans in the country and race relations here are a model for the world.

Nkrumah's policy is to modernise the country from top to bottom to enable it "to catch up with the West". On all sides there is evidence of the success of this policy except in the agricultural sector, which is more difficult to convert. A new town of 40,000 people, costing £10 million, is being built to serve the second largest artificial harbour in the world, which is being constructed by British engineers at a cost of £11 million. Extravagant modern buildings are being put up at incredible speed by British, Israeli, Lebanese, Italian, Danish and Ghanaian constructors. At every turn one comes across foreign teams of experts—Americans working on rural development; West Germans erecting oil mills; Russians investigating a metallurgical industry; Japanese exploiting fishing possibilities; Israelis building roads and a national shipping line; Danes working on community development; and British experts of all types. Ghana's headlong fling into the modern world is one of its most impressive aspects.

A second aspect is its commitment to the cause of African liberation. Accra is now unquestionably the most important political

From
Colin Legum

capital in Africa. Nationalist leaders from all parts of the continent pour in and out of the secluded offices of the All-African People's Conference and the Government's sponsored Bureau of African Affairs. Three enemies are marked down for relentless attack—the Colonial Powers, their African "stooges", and African nationalists who don't accept the "Accra line". Even the powerful Tom Mboya, Kenya's African leader and chairman of the steering committee of the All-African People's Conference, is temporarily out of favour because he refuses to give up his alliance with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in pursuance of the policy of the new All-African Trade Union Conference, which repudiates alliances with both the Socialist ICFTU and the Communist World Federation of Trade Unions.



NKUMAH

Atmosphere of plots

A fantastic atmosphere of plots and counter-plots has been building up in Ghana. These range from attempts by an Austrian to smuggle arms into the country to the economic machinations of a wealthy Sinhalese financier. These plots are vividly described in a Government White Paper published on the findings of a commission of inquiry into allegations that two Opposition M.P.s, Mr. Reginald Amponsah and Mr. Modesto Apaloo, were engaged with a senior Army officer in a revolutionary plot involving the assassination of the Prime Minister. The White Paper links this plot with French agents abroad. It also links the plot with the arrest of forty-six Opposition supporters alleged to be involved in a secret organisation known as the "Zenith Seven", which was recruiting a gangster group known as the "Tokyo Joes."

Another plot

Yet another plot refers to an attempted military rising in the



Typical members of the new Builders' Brigade

Ghana sector of Togoland. Two Opposition M.P.s were put on trial and sentenced, but they were both subsequently acquitted on a legal technicality. Neither of these M.P.s has been detained. The Ghana Government suspects that its enemies—obviously the French Community—are anxious to secure the downfall of the Nkrumah Government because they fear the possible success of its policies. It believes that elements in the Opposition have been willing to avail themselves of this foreign aid. This is one of the reasons it gives to justify the Preventive Detention Act under which fifty-nine people are now being kept in prison without trial for a period up to five years.

Its second justification is that the Opposition has engaged in violence to prevent free elections. Violence admittedly is very close to the surface, especially in Ashanti. But it would be surprising if all the violence came from only one side.

Preventive Detention Act

The Government is wholly unrepentant about its use of the Preventive Detention Act and is anxious to offer a reasoned defence for its attitude. It recognises that from the point of view of Africa as a whole Ghana has an interest and a duty to show that a popularly-elected Government can work effectively. On the other hand the Government dare not risk the very existence of Ghana by allowing to go unchecked plots and conspiracies which might destroy the State.

Why then does it not act through the courts? The answers it gives are very much like those offered by colonial administrations—police inefficiency, unwillingness of witnesses to give their testimony in public or to stand by their evidence, and the fact that existing laws, borrowed often from Britain, apply to a society in which conditions are totally different. These laws are now being revised.

The Opposition scornfully rejects these arguments. Its view is

that the Government is simply out to reduce its opponents to impotence without altogether destroying them—thus maintaining a facade of democracy. "What is on trial today in Ghana", they say, "is not democracy alone but the law itself."

Withered remnant

The Opposition is now a withered remnant of the fierce accusatory force that existed three years ago. Its parliamentary leader has chosen voluntary exile in Holland; six of its M.P.s have crossed to the Government benches and another two are in detention, along with fifty-one supporters; the Opposition's once powerful chieftaincy supporters are either deposed or meekly accept their new role as agents of the Government. Nevertheless, the Opposition still has nineteen of the 104 members of the National Assembly. And, as it has recently shown, it can still win elections. The political struggle in recent years has been rough, with both sides ready to mix it. The losers are having a bad time of it.

What role is there left for an Opposition to play in Ghana? The answer is to be found in the new system of "centralised democracy" which is becoming the accepted system of the country and which will be crystallised in the new republican Constitution. All power and privileges are controlled by the Government. The Government party, the CPP, is Ghana, says Dr. Nkrumah, and the Government is simply the servant of the party in power.

Triple alliance

The Government has based itself on a triple alliance between the party, the workers and the farmers. All workers must belong to one of the twenty-four designated trade unions which comprise the Trades Union Council. Likewise the United Ghana Farmers Council is the only legally recognised channel for negotiations with the Government. Willy-nilly, all workers and farmers are therefore brought into the party structure—which is very far from saying that they therefore uncritically accept party dictates.

Youth too, is being mobilised through the Builders' Brigade, which has recently been reorganised to provide opportunities for 25,000 school-leavers to receive training as operatives, semi-skilled workers and agriculturists. While it is run on lines of military discipline, it is not a para-military force, but it is a powerful force for party recruitment. A more youthful wing of the Brigade, the Pioneer Youth Movement, is now being established as well.

Finally, Dr. Nkrumah has announced the formation of vanguard activists to be chosen from among the most politically educated section of the party. They will be trained as "the educators of our illiterate comrades"—a big problem for the Government.

Thus, briefly, one gets some impression of the powerful organisation commanded by the Government. But this is not the end of the party's role. Party members now have an important part to

play in the direction of Government policy down to the lowest village level. The country is divided into six regions, each with a commissioner who is a member of the Cabinet.



Ghanaian women hold important posts. Mrs. R. Akwei is in the Ghana Embassy in London.

Although Dr. Nkrumah is Ghana's dominating political figure, he can never rely on getting things his own way. His role is that of a powerful chairman who must constantly negotiate and mediate between differing groups of interests. His great talent lies in his capacity to seek advice and to smooth down ruffled feelings. He surrounds himself with teams of advisers both official and unofficial ranging from left-wing Socialists to technicians like Sir Robert Jackson, his Australian adviser on economic affairs. Dr. Nkrumah realises that his great dreams of pan-Africanism can succeed, if at all, only if Ghana remains politically stable, internationally acceptable and economically strong.

International investors regard Ghana as the safest political bet in West Africa. The powerful Unilever combine has recently decided to invest another £3 million in Ghana. The West German Government has offered investment loans of £16,500,000. The Israelis have entered into two important partnership agreements with the Government. And the influential American aluminium and construction firm, Kaiser Industries Ltd., is engaged in creating an international consortium to back the £200 million Volta River project.

The Volta project for hydroelectric power and aluminium assumes as much importance in Dr. Nkrumah's mind as the High Dam does for President Nasser. If the American efforts to establish a consortium fail in the same way as the previous British and Canadian efforts did, the consequences could be serious. There is no question of Ghana's turning to the East, but if the Government decided to "go it alone", as may be likely, it would seriously weaken the whole of the country's economy. That is one of the major worries in the present situation. The other is the reported plan of the Government to spend great sums—in creating a modern Army, Navy and Air Force. Ghana's economy could hardly sustain this burden. Except for prestige purposes it is difficult to see why Ghana should want to assume such heavy military commitments.



African resistance

In the coming *Africa South* (January - March 1960) James Cameron, overseas correspondent of the *London News Chronicle*, describes the attitude of the British voter to Africa. Knowing Fleet Street's resistance to every African or colonial issue until it begins to express itself in violence, he still finds that if Africa means precious little to the British voter, it means more and more each year. Not only did Africa fail as an election issue this time, indeed, writes Cameron, "it never even got off the ground". For Cameron the Conservative victory brought discouragement and regret, and an acceptance of longer harder work for the cause of Africa.

I found, in this British general election, the Labour Party's righteousness about, especially, the Conservatives' Nyasaland and Kenya messes nearly as revolting as the Tories' sickening cry: "You've never had it so good". This before a watching world of have-nots.

Lord Altrincham loyally assures you in the same *Africa South* that in colonial matters the Conservative Party "has done no worse than its rivals: in some respects it has done better". A case like this can be as tricky as royalty-and Archbishop - of - Canterbury - baiting. He is a brave arguer.

Will Mac fail us?

This *Africa South* will be the current issue when Mr. Harold Macmillan calls here in January. Probation officer Altrincham declares Macmillan "much improved by his Commonwealth tour . . . and further improved by the chastening experience of Central Africa."

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

Lord Altrincham will be the chastened one if Mr. Macmillan's visit makes nonsense of his article. Not that it will be easy for Macmillan to convince us here that the Tory leadership is less unspeakable than, say, Bernard Levin of *The Spectator* says it is. Macmillan will have been warned that our rulers treat most of their fellow-countrymen as enemy aliens in one part of the country and as royal game in the rest. He must also know that the world will be told that he has inspected the Bantustan vision and blessed it. Hand-shaking and symbolic hat-wearing before one or other audience will infuriate either rulers or ruled. Yet somehow he must express the goodwill of his country to the South African people and not to its deeply hated government. Mac mustn't fail us: I should hate to see Lord Altrincham look silly.

On principles

Lord Altrincham wants a new Commonwealth based on definite principles: non-racialism, economic fair shares, Parliamentary democracy, the rule of law, a common language, and devotion to peace. Some countries will have to fall out—ours for one—and others brought in. Like the United States—and if that seems fantastic, what is India doing in the Commonwealth now? He describes the sort of Commonwealth that must replace the present "lifeless parody" in a new book called *A Dynamic Commonwealth*, which will be published by Gollancz in March. This month they will also publish John Strachey's *The End of Empire*, which Julius Lewin is reviewing for us.

Oxford snobs

A young man I know has just

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 eye-witness account of *The Trial of Charles I*, a Burmese *Life of the Buddha*, and that classic compendium of crime, *The New Norgate Calendar*.

There is no subscription — to join you need only order four books from a varied list of over fifty titles. For 20pp. illustrated Prospectus, including four colour plates, post the coupon to The Membership Secretary, Folio Society, 70, Brook Street, London, W.1.

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left Oxford for Howard University in Washington, DC. He will be the first white South African to attend this famous Negro college. Howard has an African studies programme under the sociologist, and author of *Black Bourgeoisie*, Professor Franklin Frazier, and awards an MA degree in African studies. My young friend will also have the use of the Moorland Collection—a library of Negro works containing the world's largest collection of books by Africans about Africa. This small event I record with almost as much pleasure as it will give me to note that the first black South African Rhodes Scholar has gone to Oxford. I don't believe the Rhodes Trustees block this only in deference to the Union government. Are they themselves colour snobs? They have let in Coloured West Indian and West African Rhodes Scholars, but none from Rhodes's own country. Why? A dozen years ago there was colour prejudice at Oxford. One college, Trinity, admitted only whites, and jeered, half-jestingly, at its neighbour Balliol, for having so many black men. This was all good clean fun, except for the black men I suppose. I am sure the undergraduates have changed, if the dons haven't.

Men of Lincoln

Lincoln University in Pennsylvania where Azikiwe and Nkrumah studied has had more South African students than has Howard. Professor Horace M. Bond, once President of Lincoln, wrote in a recent article in *Presence Africaine*: "Twenty-two were enrolled between 1896 and 1924. The stream stopped flowing because of growing colour bar restrictions that finally stopped all but extraordinary exit from the country". In 1954 a student came to Lincoln from South West Africa "the first African to escape from that immense prison to any higher educational institution out of Africa."

For the new day

Professor Bond only mentions the first two South Africans at Lincoln in 1896, Thomas Katiya and Edward Magaya, and the Rev. P. J. Mzimba, who in 1901 brought seven students, including his son, to study for the Presbyterian ministry. Of them all Bond writes: "By contrast with more famous African graduates of Lincoln University, the careers of South African alumni reflect the tragedy of human repression. Men of the utmost cultivation and the highest character, they have lived noble lives, principally as unsung shepherds of impoverished flocks in South African 'native reserves'." Umfundisi Mzimba brought his seven to get them qualified for the strong ministry that would be needed in the new day he and others thought would follow the end of the Anglo-Boer War. An Mfengu, he was the founder of the African Presbyterian Church, the second of our many separatist Christian churches. His break with Stewart of Lovedale is told movingly but onesidedly in both the biography of the latter and the history of Lovedale by Dr. R. H. W. Shepherd. Pambani J. Mzimba was ordained in 1875 and died in 1911. His grandson qualified in medicine at Wits. a few years ago.

Professor Serton, who retired from the chair of Geography at Stellenbosch last year, has written *Suid-Afrika en Brasilië*, a much-needed physical, economic and political comparison. The Oxford University Press are publishing it about May in Afrikaans.



Charles Mutara III Rudahigwa, Mwami (or King) of Ruanda with his queen. He is 6ft. 9 in. tall, a not uncommon height among his people, the Watutsi. From *The Man from the Cape*, (Evans) a biography of Ewart Grogan by Norman Wymer. Colonel Grogan's overland journey from Cape to Cairo in 1899-1900 fills half the book, his life as a white settler and politician in Kenya the rest. He retired from Legislative Council in 1956, on excellent terms with its African, Indian and white members, despite many battles.

Nomads and Nile

ETHIOPIAN ADVENTURE. By Herbert Rittlinger (Odhams) 21s.

John Buchholzer (Angus & Robertson) 21s. 6d.

FOR the first 500 miles of its course, from Lake Tana to its junction with the Yabus on the Sudan-Ethiopian border, the Blue Nile plunges through the greatest river gorge in Africa. This awesome, terraced canyon, 4,500 ft. deep, is almost inaccessible; local tribes avoid it and much of it is still unexplored. But Herbert Rittlinger, his wife and a few companions decided that the river could be travelled in light canoes, and, after a foray among the islands and Coptic monasteries of Lake Tana, they started about 150 miles below the Tissesat Falls.

Here they soon encountered the lurking menace of this section of the Nile—monster crocodiles, 18 to 20 ft. long, which attacked the canoes and eventually forced Rittlinger to abandon the Journey.

With a remote mountain lake, an ancient religious sect, the feudal lords and unknown tribes of Ethiopia, a great river canyon and monster crocodiles, the author has all the materials for a remarkable adventure story. His style, however, is not equal to his massive subject and too much of *Ethiopian Adventure* is taken up with the more trivial incidents of the journey. "This", writes the publisher on the dust cover, "is a gay book . . . shot through with a wry sense of humour". It is also an irritating book made flippant by Herbert Rittlinger's attempts to amuse the reader.

More interesting and rewarding is a Danish writer's account of a solitary journey through British

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MURIEL HORRELL

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and Italian Somaliland. John Buchholzer travelled by dhow to the tiny port of Zeila and then went inland where he lived for some weeks among the nomad camel herders of the Somaliland-Ethiopian border. The camel grazing lands of the Haud—used by the Somali tribes but part of Ethiopia—are a trouble spot in a barren land. Hatred of the Ethiopians is a driving force in Somali politics; and the desire for independence and a greater Somalia among the politicians of the towns is something simpler among the rugged nomad tribes. These devout Muslims, with their talent for killing and their war poems look back to the days of the Mad Mullah. "The Mullah", said one old nomad, "went to war against the Ethiopians and took two thousand camels from them. Before marching against them he sang: 'You know not what manner of man am I. You do not yet know me, you Ethiopians. Allah has chosen me to kill Christians.'"

The Mullah, desert poet and warrior, led his holy war for the first 20 years of this century. His spirit lives on in the campfire tales and the fierce independence of the Somali nomads visited by John Buchholzer and well-described in *The Horn of Africa*.

PETER HJUL

Under Both Skins

THE CHARM OF MAMBAS. By George Brendon (Heinemann) 16s.

The Charm of Mambas is, I'm sorry to say, an unpromising first novel by a writer demonstrating little talent with a name—George Brendon—which I won't bother watching. Of course, his book may be a best-seller but I would be happier if it was ignored or forgotten which would allow Mr. Brendon to write something of value. At least I won't feel an obligation to be disappointed by his second novel.

He has some interesting ideas—group and individual conflict in battle—but his handling is dull and tedious.

And how seriously can we take a writer who, after 276 pages most of which qualify for the Words of One Syllable Dept., describes death in these terms: "Where the hair met the old man's forehead, a ridge of reddish fluff seemed to incandesce, there was a gradual heliotropism of brown skin, the eyes became exophthalmic coals of fire, the soul was demonized in a Gehenna of flames, the body glowed fiercely and was incinerated and the grey ashes crumbled into dust and swirled like incense before his eyes."

I abstain from the dustjacketman's judgement that Brendon shows "skill . . . in getting under both black and white skins". But it is a healthy sign that he does not think it wrong to try.

L.F.H.



WHAT CAN ORWELL'S VIEW OF ENGLISH CLASS OPPRESSION TEACH US?

In the Black and White Aquarium

ANIMAL FARM and *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, written as warnings against perversions of Socialism, became in the fifties semi-official anti-Russian propaganda. *The Road to Wigan Pier* could be used today in Britain to bring home to the people how certainly they have never had it so good. If those who in 1937 felt the horror and urgency of Orwell's theme, those who read it in 1959 will feel perhaps only smugness at how distant the horrors of the thirties seem.

Orwell explains in this book how his thoughts first turned to the English working class when he returned to England after five years as a policeman in Burma.

"It was the first time I had ever been really aware of the working class, and to begin with it was only because they supplied an analogy. They were the symbolic victims of injustice, playing the same part in England, as the Burmese played in Burma. In Burma the issue had been quite simple. The whites were up and the blacks were down, and therefore as a matter of course one's sympathy was with the blacks. I now realised that there was no need to go as far as Burma to find tyranny and exploitation."

This is an important passage. There is no doubt that sympathy with oppressed people abroad, especially in colonial territories has often been among the privileged a way of avoiding or easing a bad conscience over the oppression at home. But the process has also worked the other way. The analogy which led Orwell from racial oppression to class oppression, can also lead us back. The horrors of English society in the 1930s are more obvious than anything in Rhodesia today, because in England the process was a catastrophic degeneration and was more noticed and more felt. Further the English climate makes squalor and poverty particularly painful and horrible. Orwell compares the caravan colonies at Wigan and Sheffield with the filth of living conditions in India. "But", he says, "nothing in the East could ever be quite as bad, for in the East you haven't our clammy penetrating cold to contend with, and the sun is a disinfectant". When we have read Orwell, we can realise we don't have to go as far, or as far back, as England and the thirties to find tyranny and exploitation.

The Road to Wigan Pier shows liberals that, in a society where there is only one race and therefore no question of racial prejudice, there can be prejudices just as terrible. Read Orwell and you see that our mealy-mouthed advocates of a "Culture Bar" instead of a Colour Bar tackle the problem where it matters least, at the level of restaurants, cinemas, theatres and garden parties. I suppose white liberals spend so much of their time worrying about these because restaurants, cinemas, theatres and garden parties are the stuff of life to them, and they can just imagine what it would be like to be shut out.

It is more difficult to glimpse the more general experience of having no status. If you are to be kept waiting about in offices and insulted by petty clerks this might as well be because your face is black as because your clothes are

A review of the new uniform edition of George Orwell's *The Road to Wigan Pier* (Secker & Warburg 19s.) A longer version, "Orwell in Africa", appeared in *Dissent*, No. 13, 12 November, Salisbury.

ragged or cheap looking, or because you have a vulgar accent, or because you are obviously working class and don't know how to make a fuss over your treatment. I think it would be better to be insulted because you have a black face than for the other reasons, because at least racial prejudice is quite meaningless, and you can feel proud of your black face even if only inwardly, while you are being insulted because of it.

It also demonstrates forcibly how even once universal franchise has been acquired, the workers can remain despised, broken and powerless.

Finally it ruthlessly exposes the self-deceptions and inadequacies of those who try to sympathise with, or identify themselves with, the aspirations of the oppressed.

One wonders how the libraries classify a book like *The Road to Wigan Pier*. It is partly description of working-class life. It is partly social analysis, and partly political polemic. It is partly a sound castigation of the kinds of socialist that Orwell hated. It is partly an attempt to reinterpret socialism and it sets out a limited, earnest plan of action for the future. It is a book that comes from urgent personal experience and conviction—when Orwell attacks he has the air of a man who hates, not of a man trying to draw attention to himself. When he does not know what to feel, he does not try to fake a clear reaction. Several times he talks of being "torn both ways". It is this ruthless honesty that can be useful to liberals here—for the liberal or socialist position does involve dilemmas of feeling and of action which can only be made easy by sacrificing the whole integrity of the position.

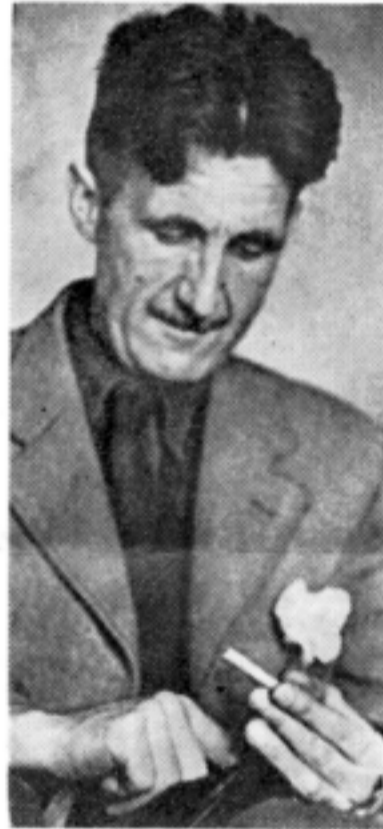
Some of Orwell's difficulties—when he is "torn both ways"—have a familiar ring. There is his fury when the upper classes complain that the unemployed don't buy sensible food: "First you condemn a family to live on thirty shillings a week, and then you have the damned impertinence to tell them how they are to spend their money". So, in Rhodesia we are told the African wastes his money on fizzy drinks and buns, instead of buying wholesome food—and it is horrifying that Africans in extreme poverty should waste money on nutritionally valueless chemical drinks. How should the liberal feel and act? Orwell is himself close enough to the unemployed workman and his family to see that it isn't just ignorance. The underfed, the bored, the harassed don't want to eat dull wholesome food. They crave something "a little bit tasty". The problem lies not on the scientific level of dietetics and how to keep alive, but on the human level where the demand is not just to live but to have some pleasure in life even if it is only a cup of tea or a bottle of fizz instead of drinking tap water.

Again, what is our attitude in the face of the cruelty and disre-

gard for human dignity with which slum clearance and rehousing are conducted? Even when there is no deliberate callousness, rehousing is almost bound to be inhuman.

By
J. O. Reed

Yet it has to be done. Here, all the time, we have to scrutinise our values. You can pay for efficiency, cleanliness, even health, too high a price in social and human values. "Bugs are bad", says Orwell memorably, "but a state of affairs where men will allow themselves to be dipped like sheep is worse."



ORWELL

Yet for Orwell these difficulties of the socialist are subsidiary to the greatest difficulty—that of reaching the working classes themselves. The descriptive parts at the beginning of the book arise from Orwell's attempt to know the working class by living among them, and the argument in the later part of the book is mainly concerned with the class structure and the way in which the workers are separated from the rest of society. Orwell's conclusion is that ultimately the class barrier is insuperable—like "the plate glass pane of an aquarium, so easy to pretend it isn't there and so impossible to get through it."

What of Rhodesia's white liberals? Are they in the position of the middle class socialist of the 1930s? In many ways not. First, very few liberals really think being a liberal involves any sort of identification with African aspirations. They think of themselves as manipulating an already existent political system in a direction which they believe will bring about a less racially divided country. The liberal adopts an inviting stance and waits for the African to run to join him. He doesn't join the African.

While most white liberals go in for more or less self-conscious social mixing with Africans, they can never make such fools of themselves as middle class socia-

lists could in England. First of all the African has no, or only very faint, ideological significance. He is not expected to be the bearer of the civilisation of the future, a new kind of man. Secondly, the white liberal knows he can never become an African. This is an enormous advantage, because effort is not wasted in attempts at assimilation and embarrassment generated by their failure.

Further, whereas an educated man of working class origin, unless he is entirely self-educated, is immediately at home in the middle class and easily loses touch even when he does not wish to, with the working class, the African intellectual, while he can usually mix with educated Europeans, remains much more easily in touch with the African people—at least if he goes on living in Africa. Partly this is because of laws which insist that he live among his own people. Partly because he shares a language with other Africans—and most African intellectuals have a deep interest in their vernaculars. Therefore the African intellectual has a much more important part to play than for example, intellectuals of working class origin have played in European socialist or radical movements.

And what is the liberal working for in Rhodesia? His enemies have their answer ready. He is working for the destruction of the white race. All liberals I suppose, would like to see race prejudice disappear. Almost all expect that social (or culture) distinctions will remain or be substituted. A few have perhaps faced up to the future which their formal principles are really likely to involve. After all, a truly multiracial society, like a truly classless society isn't just the old familiar society minus a few prejudices, with well-dressed Africans sitting in the restaurants. As Orwell writes of class distinctions, "it is necessary to wish them away, but your wish has no efficacy unless you grasp what it involves. The fact that has got to be faced is that to abolish class distinctions means abolishing part of yourself."

The liberal may say: we are working to do away with our own privileges, but we do not wish to play into the hands of our enemies by announcing the future we envisage. There may be something in this. The trouble is that your own movement has no stability if it is made up of people who have not seen the reality of their liberalism, and who when they do see it may be shocked into something very different and very unpleasant.

"Perhaps this class-breaking business isn't so simple as it looked! On the contrary it is a wild ride into the darkness, and it may be that at the end of it the smile will be on the face of the tiger. With loving though slightly patronising smiles we set out to greet our proletarian brothers and behold! our proletarian brothers, insofar as we understand them—are not asking for our greetings, they are asking us to commit suicide."

So Orwell paints the panic of socialist disillusion, which can carry a man into fascism. One wonders how much Southern African liberalism is made of tougher stuff.

In Ruanda-Urundi the Bahutu fight the Watutsi

Colony Within a Colony —SEE FRONT COVER

ASTRIDA (RUANDA-URUNDI): The burly young Belgian commandant turned away from the map on which he had been briefing us. "We have done our part", he said. "The rest is up to the politicians". The task of the military in Ruanda-Urundi was not an easy one. The black troops of the Congo's Force Publique and the young white paratroopers had to intervene in a vicious civil war. But that intervention was not simply a matter of separating two opposing armies.

The United Nations Trust territory of Ruanda-Urundi covers 34,000 square miles—most of it mountain top. For the country lies astride the mountain peaks which enclose the great Rift Valley and run at their northern extremity into the Ruwenzori "Mountains of the Moon."

Along these peaks are scattered four-and-a-half million Africans who cultivate the steep slopes and graze their long-horned cattle in the narrow valleys. Living together, inextricably intermingled in haphazard settlements, are the two tribes whose feud erupted into bloodshed—the Bahutu and the Watutsi.

When they clashed it was not a matter of painted and befeathered warriors surging against each other in organised *impis*—as some imaginative reports of the fighting depicted it. Rather it was a business of brutal raids on outnumbered families.

The best the troops could do was to throw cordons around threatened *kraals* and communities, establish outposts on the commanding hilltops, send patrols along the winding footpaths, seek out and arrest those known to have taken part in the disturbances, and occasionally rush to disperse battling mobs.

The official death roll is 125, although unofficial estimates put it at several hundreds. There are some hundreds in hospital. There are nearly 6,000 refugees sheltering under the army's protection in the towns of Ruanda; another 300 have fled to Uganda. There are 1,000 prisoners waiting to be dealt with by the civil authorities.

But—more ominous than this troublesome legacy of war—the conflict which gave rise to the bloodshed remains unsolved. By comparison with the task ahead of the politicians, the army's job was an enviably simple one.

The Belgian administrators of Ruanda-Urundi, however, cannot expect unqualified sympathy in their predicament. Much of it is of their own making. When they took over the mandate of the territory in 1919 they found a feudal structure, in which the Watutsi, although they constitute only about 15 per cent. of the population, completely dominated the remainder. All but one per cent. of these were Bahutu, the one per cent. being the pygmy Batwa tribe—not the pygmies of the forest, but a small backward people. Centuries before, the tall, spindle-shanked Watutsi, nomadic herdsmen from Ethiopia, had wandered into these green mountains and ruthlessly subjugated the gullible pastoral people they found there.

The Belgians did not disturb this "traditional" order of things. It was most convenient to allow

From George Clay

the undoubtedly able Watutsi aristocracy to run the country by delegated authority, with Belgian supervision curbing any excess of autocracy. As Bahutu spokesmen have since pointed out, it was almost colonialism within a colonialism.

But this Roman rule could not hope to withstand indefinitely the moral pressures of the 20th century. Despite Belgium's paternalistic isolation of her African family—including her Ruanda-Urundi stepchildren—the new ideas sweeping Africa filtered eventually into the trust territory too.

Then, when Belgium announced her intention of falling into step with the march of Africa, a new word was thrown into the meagre political vocabulary of the people of Ruanda-Urundi: "independence."

To many of the Watutsi "independence" meant freedom at last to run the country (and the Bahutu) as they pleased. But the Bahutu thought of freedom from the rule, not only of Belgium, but of the Watutsi too. Belgium set about explaining in turn her interpretation of the meaning of "independence". But before she could put her ideas before the country the Bahutu and Watutsi were at each others' throats.

Exactly what detonated the explosion is not clear. The Watutsi had begun to organise themselves politically for an election coup which would ensure their continued control of the country. The Bahutu in turn had started to press for a retention of Belgian control until such time as they could be politically advanced to a point at which they could withstand the Watutsi.

Then, as one reconstruction of the sequence of events has it, a Bahutu sub-chief in northern Ruanda—one of very few Bahutu in any position of authority—was murdered by Watutsi. The Bahutu took swift revenge on the scattered Watutsi communities in that part. Chiefs were killed, huts burned, plantations ruined and the life of the King of Ruanda, the Watutsi Mwami Kigera V, was threatened.

In central Astrida province, where the Watutsi are concentrated in greater force than anywhere else in the country, they, in turn, carried out savage reprisals on Bahutu communities.

And though order has now been restored, and the fighting has been stopped, this is not peace. The politicians' problem now is to find a formula amid all this hate and tension for a peace that will survive "independence."

Correspondence

Mr. Bishop closes

SIR, In comparing the Congress alliance with the United Party I appear to have been nearer the truth than I had realised. I say this in view of a definition which Mr. Allan Vaughan uses to describe the Congress alliance and which, I think, describes "Discrimination with justice" better than it has ever been described before.

I therefore commend Sir de Villiers Graaff to this pious, high-sounding, and yet meaningless definition which he will no doubt use to describe his policies at the next opportunity.

Of the Congress alliance he says:

"One of its greatest strengths is the way in which constant contact and co-operation between members of different groups are possible, while at the same time each group is able to feel that it has its own organisation dedicated to the cause of its own community group."

Mr. Vaughan feels that my opinions are useless as I do not live and work among Africans, nor speak their language. Perhaps this is true but the only whites who possess these qualifications today are officials of the BAD department and I for one do not think much of their opinions.

Unlike Mr. Vaughan, however, I do not regard Africans as some odd creatures that have to be studied to be understood. I regard them as human beings with the same failings, qualities, and desires as my own and, as I should hate to suffer what they suffer today, I am prepared to help as much as possible in smashing *apartheid*.

In the same way, I should hate to live under communism

Crazy Economics

(from page 6)

drive such vehicles—must be to make the number of applicants scarce in order to keep up the wage for the job.

Job reservation for members of a particular "race" when the job itself requires no "racial" qualification at all is *not* an attempt to keep up the incomes of the occupants of the job, who will all be members of the "suitable race". However, their incomes are kept high *not merely* at the expense of the excluded racial group but at the expense of the whole community, including all the other members of the "suitable" race who are in other occupations.

The recent piece of segregation play-acting that says the Africans are temperamentally incapable of handling heavy trucks is sheer nonsense. The same dishonest "group" argument could be used to debar the "emotional" Spaniard, Portuguese, Frenchman, Greek, Italian, or South American from the same job.

And from where did the Afrikaner or the English-speaking South African get the idea that he is not emotional?

and I shall therefore fight this creed and advise others, be they black or white, to do the same. We must not replace one totalitarianism with another and we must realise that it is as unpleasant to be a Hungarian living in Hungary's "communist paradise" as it is to be a black South African living in South Africa's "nationalist paradise."

I hope that people who cannot answer our arguments with reason will not try to silence those who have supported me in this controversy. The charge of being un-South African, which we reject, will not stop us from fighting *apartheid* and, similarly, the charge of harming the opposition and aiding the Nats, which we also reject, will not stop us fighting communism even if it sneaks into some organisation dressed up as "communism with justice."

B. F. BISHOP
Sea Point

This correspondence is now closed—Editor.

Nat. Congress

SIR, Homer wrote that Odysseus visited the land of the dead. I felt that I was in Satan's hide-out when recently I attended the opening night of the Cape Nationalist Congress in Sea Point.

To hear these people fervently extolling the virtues of our leprous civilisation was a privilege to which fortunately only few had access. What made

matters worse, was the fact that so many delegates demanded even more salt to be rubbed into the wounds of the non-whites.

A surprising feature of Dr. Dönges' opening speech was his coolness towards Dr. Verwoerd—whose name he never mentioned—and the fact that Mr. Patrick Duncan's was three times mentioned, each time being lustily cheered by Liberal supporters, and each time the Liberal supporters being horribly threatened with physical violence by pugnacious women.

In discussion groups afterwards, many delegates disclosed an ignorance of reality which surprised even us. However, our faith in mankind was restored by one gentleman who said he read *Contact*.

CROMWELL
Sea Point

Exiles' Xmas

SIR, We are all aware that many Africans have been banned by the present South African Government.

Some of them are very bitter, 'and eating out their hearts in solitude.'

If a list containing their names and addresses could be published it then would be a Christian gesture to send as many as possible of them a simple Christmas card. It would cost each one of us so little, it would mean so much to the banned persons.

T. KLOPPENBURG
Durban

Can any reader supply us with a list?—Editor.

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