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contact

WHAT IS BEHIND BRITISH BOYCOTT?



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See PAGE 2

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Julius Kyambarage Nyerere, architect of his country's freedom, and non-racial democrat — see page 7.

HOW IT WAS PLANNED

BACKGROUND TO BRITISH BOYCOTT

LAST WEEK brought the news that the British Labour Party had decided to call on its 6½ million members to boycott all South African goods for the four weeks beginning on 20 February. This is a blow to South African exports (now running at a rate of £100 million a year exclusive of gold), especially to the fruit exports, which are then normally at their height.

If, as now seems likely, the Labour-inclined dockers' union co-operates, declares all South African goods "black", and refuses to unload anything from South Africa, the blow will be severe.

The call to boycott was signed some weeks ago by a panel of VIPs, including: Lord Altrincham, Fenner Brockway, Canon Collins, Professor Ayer, Johnny Dankworth, Max Gluckman (a South African professor), Father Huddleston, Bertrand Russell, Michael Scott. This call was in response to decisions of the ANC and the Liberal Party in South Africa supporting overseas and internal boycotts.

The signatories spoke of "the vicious effect on the African, Indian, and coloured peoples of South Africa of the policies of racial domination."

How has so much success been achieved in so short a time by the organisers?

The answer lies largely in personalities. The brainchild of the brilliant young Afrikaner, Patrick van Rensburg, one-time member of the exclusive External Affairs Department, and now a Liberal leader, it has been carefully planned by him and a small group of people, including Treason-Trialist Tennyson Makiwane, of the ANC, now also in London.

For Mr. Van Rensburg it involved months of hard work, and travel to many places in Britain and Holland (where he was the guest of Ds. J. J. Buskes, author of *South Africa's Apartheid Policy—Unacceptable*). Mr. Van Rensburg laid the seeds of the campaign in the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, where he was ably assisted by South African and other liberal students. He got a

great reception from an almost purely conservative audience at Cambridge, winning support by 69-14—most of the 14 being South Africans.

From Oxford and Cambridge the plan spread to the provincial

London. This drew excellent publicity throughout the country, and general approval, except from the stuffy *Times*, which quoted Mr. Stanford against the idea. (The suggestion in this leader that Mr. Stanford spoke for the Liberal Party was promptly shot down by Mr. Alan Paton in a cabled letter-to-the-editor.)

What is planned for the future?

On 17 January there is to be a "delegates' conference" to plan the details of the month's boycott. Meetings, house-to-house canvassing, marches, the picketing of South Africa House and of wholesale markets, are all planned.

One question that caused difficulty was whether the boycott should be selective—i.e.: of "Nationalist goods" only, or whether it should be a blanket boycott. In the event little support was forthcoming for the selective boycott, on the grounds that it is impossible to define a "Nationalist firm."

Mr. Van Rensburg made much play with Dr. Verwoerd's arrogant



VAN RENSBURG

universities, and from them to the Co-operative movement and the trade unions.

Television played its part, and ITV (Independent TV) put out a programme on 12 November which actually showed pictures of "some of the products that would be involved in a boycott of Union goods". One of the pictures was of a large pile of fruit, with prominence given to "Outspan" oranges.

On 24 November the campaign reached a new stage when Messrs. Makiwane and Van Rensburg called a press conference in

LIBERALS AND NZ TOUR

THERE is growing controversy in New Zealand over the decision of the New Zealand Rugby Union to exclude Maoris from the All Black team to tour South Africa next year. The New Zealand Rugby authorities have given as their reason for this step their desire to avoid possible embarrassment to Maori players.

New Zealanders who are campaigning against the sending of a segregated team to South Africa argue that, by doing so, their Rugby Union is giving support to the practice of racial discrimination in sport.

The Liberal Party of South Africa agrees with this view, and in a statement, Mr. Peter Brown, national chairman of the Party says: "the South African Rugby authorities have taken up the stand that the matter of the inclusion of Maoris is something for the New Zealanders themselves to decide. This is a most commendable attitude."

"A New Zealand team without Maoris would not be a fully-representative one and there could be little satisfaction for South Africa in competing in another home series against a partially-representative All Black team. For this reason, if for no other, it is important, from both countries' points of view, that Maoris should tour South Africa next year."

remark, in connection with overseas protests against university apartheid, that he consigned all such protests to the wastepaper basket. Dr. Verwoerd may find that those few words have cost him dear, both personally and nationally.

South African opponents of the boycott in England have been hardput to it to think up reasons. Mr. Dennis Bouwer, President of the Oxford Southern Africa Society, gave as his reason for opposing it that "there are much more constructive ways of attacking apartheid."

The success so far reached is testimony to the ability of the

organisers to combine good sense and idealism. Unlike some protests, this one is not aimed too high—it is to be for one month only. Yet it is idealistic—we are seeing for the first time non-violent non-co-operation with apartheid being developed on a truly massive scale.

This boycott will end on 19 March. Exports from South Africa will recover. But there is one word that appears whenever the boycott is referred to by its organisers. The boycott is to be "renewable."

In that short word lie volumes of encouragement to the Union Government to put its house in order.

ANC Annual National Conference

Pressure on Leaders To Take Action

From Contact Correspondent

DURBAN: After months of inactivity, the African National Congress has suddenly come to life again, and is now preparing to launch a series of vigorous anti-apartheid campaigns. The awakening came at the ANC's two-day annual national conference which was held in Durban on December 12 and 13. Underlying it was strong pressure exerted on the ANC leadership by the rank and file membership who clamoured for increased opposition to the Government.

One speaker after another echoed the theme: "It is time for action."

Acting on this, the conference decided that "massive counter-demonstrations" should be organised against the Union Festival in May next year, that special arrangements should be made for March 31 as "Anti-pass Day", and that "Africa Freedom Day" should be celebrated on April 15.

It also agreed to intensify the economic boycott of "Nationalist goods", and to conduct a "sustained and well-directed campaign" against the Government's Bantustan schemes.

The fact that the conference was held in Natal—where the ANC has made phenomenal progress over the past year, increasing its membership from 1,000 to nearly 13,000—undoubtedly contributed to the awakening. Delegates from the other provinces were obviously influenced by the "Natal spirit", and despite the mid-summer steamy, humid heat, the displays of enthusiasm were unprecedented even for an ANC gathering.

Many of the new Natal members travelled from the country areas to Durban for the conference. They were among the crowd of 5,000 Africans who attended on the first day, and 1,000 of them remained outside the hall when the 380 official delegates from all parts of the Union went into closed session.

In making their demands for action, the delegates were apparently prepared to ignore the words of caution uttered by their president, banned Chief Albert Lutuli.

In a message read to the meeting, Chief Lutuli warned that "action" without prior careful consideration of the facts could be "suicidal and might be playing into the hands of the Government."

But the conference thought otherwise. To thunderous applause, a delegate declared: "Let us force our leaders into a tight corner. If they still think in terms of strategy, we think in terms of action."

An outstanding feature of the conference was the dominant part played by women, particularly women from the rural

areas. They were especially insistent in demanding action. Said one woman leader: "If the national executive does not instruct us, we women will seize the initiative."

A series of resolutions was adopted on subjects ranging from the French A-Bomb test in the Sahara to increased taxation and bans and banishments.

Bantustans were described as "a gigantic and somewhat ridiculous fraud which will deceive nobody except its authors", while the pass laws were stated to be "at the root of the poverty, exploitation and oppression" of the African people.

Condemning the plans of the Minister of Defence to reorganise the Army, the conference said that it was intended to use the Defence Force "as an army of occupation directed against the people of South Africa and also as a party political instrument for the suppression of all opposition and for the entrenchment of National Party rule."

It called on "all democracy-loving people in the world" to refrain from supplying arms to the Nationalists.

CONTACT

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Life-Dedication

JOSÉ ORTEGA Y GASSET, Spanish philosopher, speaks in his *Man and Crisis* of the essence of Christianity. He illustrates it with a reference to a speech made some time ago by a socialist deputy in Oviedo, Spain. In the course of this speech the deputy said that as a result of the poverty he had seen as a child, he promised himself that all his life he would serve the underprivileged, the humble, the miserable among whom he might find himself.

"That, my readers", comments Ortega, "whether the socialist minister likes it or not, that is the essence of Christianity; it is Christianity *in vacuo*."

"If there had been no Christianity, it never would have occurred to this man to dedicate his life to anything. This is the fundamental thing in man's Christian life: to discover that life, in the last analysis, consists in having to be dedicated to something, not in busying oneself with this, that, or the other—which would be just the opposite, to put into life something which would be considered valuable—but in picking up one's entire life and surrendering it to something, dedicating it . . . this is Christianity's basic discovery, the thing which put it indelibly into history, which is to say, into man."

"Ancient man was ignorant of this; for him the good life consisted at best of bearing the blows of fortune with dignity. At its finest this was stoicism—life as a process of enduring, Seneca's *sustine*. But since Christianity came into being, man, however atheistic, knows and sees not only that human life ought to be the surrender of itself—that life takes on the sense of a premeditated mission and an interior destiny, the complete opposite of enduring an external destiny—but that whether we like it or not, life *is* this surrender."

"Tell me what else the phrase means which is so often repeated in the New Testament, and is, like almost all the New Testament, so paradoxical: 'He who loses his life shall gain it'. That is to say, give your life, hand it over, surrender it; then it is truly yours, you have won it, you have saved it."

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AS SWART LEAVES THE POLICE FORCE

POLICE CRIME HAS TREBLED

RECENTLY a high-ranking Police officer, Brigadier M. P. H. Coetzee, issued a statement that may have far-reaching effects. He said he would "weed out undesirables" from the Police force.

While it is admitted that our police, unlike their counterparts elsewhere, have an unenviable job, occupied as they are with enforcing legislation that has brought untold hardship and misery to a large section of the public, they have nevertheless come to be regarded as symbols of enmity rather than friendship. Thus the public, who blame the man in uniform for legislation which he obviously has had no hand in creating, nevertheless feel that ours is the worst force in the world.

One of the main reasons is this: During the past few years there have crept into the police force uneducated and often sadistic types of recruits who think nothing of assaulting prisoners in their care. Statistics for example reveal that police crimes have trebled. The latest figures are: in the period 1956-1958, a total of 1,263 policemen appeared in South African courts. Of these 571 were white who were charged with assaulting non-white prisoners. A total of 475 prisoners had been assaulted. The remaining 692 were convicted of offences ranging from petty theft to murder.

Special Court

In Johannesburg alone there is a special police court where cases in which policemen are accused are tried. The court caters for all races and ranks.

In the same period, 1956-1958 only 141 policemen (whites numbered 31) were dismissed from the force for having been guilty of offences against prisoners, and for other crimes.

Relations, therefore, between the man-on-the-beat, and the man-in-the-street are far from cordial. Here are pointers:

- ¶ Members of the public, regardless of race, seldom go out of their way to volunteer information to the police which might assist them in investigations.
- ¶ In street accidents onlookers seldom offer eye-witness accounts of what they see.
- ¶ The difficulty experienced by complainants against the police is now common knowledge. Because our policemen do not wear their police numbers on their tunics it is almost impossible to identify them.

Minister Swart has said that if anyone wants to know the identity of any policeman, they have only to ask for the policeman's name and address, and it will be freely given. However members of the plain clothes squad, and of the legendary Ghost Squad, have never taken kindly to the idea of producing their police identity cards. Instead they more often than not show the public their guns when asked to prove their identity.

The remaining vestige of friendship that existed between press and police disappeared recently

by
Vezi

almost overnight, due to a statement from the Commissioner of Police, Major-General Rademeyer, who seems to have a particular knack for making "tough" threats.

The General said: "In future all press-reporters and photographers would also be regarded as rioters in public clashes with the police". He conveniently ignored

recruits in 1957-1958. By December 1958 some 1,647 had resigned from the force. General Rademeyer said that these men were lost by the force through "wastage."

"Discipline is no longer what it used to be", a Police colonel once said. This is sadly true. These days it is not unusual to hear a constable referring to an officer as *Ou Maat*, or *Omie*.

The worst failing, however, is the readiness of the force to use

them end up, are non-white detectives. But they are not allowed to carry firearms, except in very exceptional cases. Even those who are allowed to use service revolvers only have them during working hours. Whites are allowed to take their service revolvers home with them.

A spate of police killings late last year resulted in some 50 African policemen dying whilst off-duty. An equal number, according to the annual report of the Commissioner of Police for that year, died whilst on duty. The majority in both cases were Africans.

A burden

All in all, the tax-payer feels that he is not getting his money's worth from the police force. And the police force, at least according to figures released by the Controller-General, is quite a burden on the country's finances.

For instance, the uniformed men one sees in late-model American cars, do not pay for them. In 1956 there was a total of 2,598 motor vehicles for the 23,000 men in the force. Towards December 1956 some 256 late-model cars were added to that number. This cost the country £239,579 in maintenance costs alone. Almost in the same breath the report says that in the ensuing 12 months 1,133 of these vehicles were involved in street accidents.

The public had to pay £25,000 of the total £30,000 which these accidents cost in indemnities, repairs and replacements. (Britain with a total of 68,083 policemen, has a total of 1,159 vehicles.

"Desist forthwith"

As if in self-reprimand, General Rademeyer recently issued a watered-down threat, and warning to all police stations; he ordered that "police officers are to desist forthwith from either assaulting or molesting prisoners in their care."

Only a fortnight ago, his assistant, Brigadier M. P. H. Coetzee, added as an afterthought to General Rademeyer's order: "All efforts are being made to rid the police force of undesirables."

The time has most certainly come for a complete overhaul of the entire police force; but this will have to be much more intensive than merely getting rid of undesirables.

Saracen Armoured Cars



Saracen armoured cars have been supplied to the police and already used in riot-areas. They played a big part in the recent Paarl riots. Here is one travelling at speed — their top speed is 40 m.p.h.

the fact that none of these men carry arms, and they all have identity cards. That statement ended the friendly co-operation between crime reporters and special detectives, who occasionally even used to exchange information.

What are the reasons for this serious state of affairs!

Firstly the force does not attract men of higher education and with developed minds. The very few who are in that category are not paid according to their merits. A large part of the force consists of teenagers, the majority of whom have not gone beyond Standard Six. This goes for all races. Again, the pay is low: the basic starting salary of an African constable is £9 a month. The highest he can earn is £24 a month. This last figure is just £1 more than the starting salary of a new white constable.

Little wonder

For a job that entails so much danger, and hard work, the salaries on all sides can hardly be said to be adequate. Little wonder then that so many allegations are heard of police bribery and corruption.

Today recruits do not stay long in the force after joining up. Statistics show that there were 2,057

violence. To illustrate: only five weeks back, I was arrested for a pass offence in Johannesburg. While we were in the cells, three policemen, two white constables, evidently "rookies", walked in accompanied by a sergeant, who was himself not much older than they were.

One of the constables started kicking an African until he lost consciousness. At last I asked if the man could not be taken to a doctor. The sergeant looked at the two constables, one of them nodded, and said, *Ja Oom, laat hom hospitaal-toe gaan*. But the sergeant vigorously disagreed. His reason: "Jes" think of all the paper-work this will mean to me . . . filling in those forms . . ."

Ranks are equally meaningless to non-whites in the force. Although an African can attain the rank of Second Class Sergeant—the farthest he can go—he cannot give orders to a white constable. Instead he, the sergeant, can be sent to buy a packet of cigarettes by a newly arrived recruit. This is also the cause of much dissatisfaction in police stations.

Above all, the policemen who are the victims of reprisals, both in the townships where they stay, and the gaols, where some of

CORRECTION

In our issue of 17 October in the "Looking Glass" column we reproduced part of a letter by "Clericus" and stated that this was published in The Financial Mail. This was a mistake. The letter was in fact published in The Financial Times. We regret having made this mistake.

BACKGROUND TO SWA SHOOTINGS

RUTHLESS IMPOSITION OF APARTHEID

From *Contact* Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: On the very day set by the United Nations for the annual celebration of human rights, December 10, twelve Africans were killed and 30 injured in the shooting that took place in the Windhoek location. The main underlying cause of the tragic disturbance was the unrelenting determination of the authorities to carry out the general removal of the people from the old to the new location.

During the past year, officials had been warned repeatedly that enforced removal would lead to serious trouble.

Speaking as a petitioner at the United Nation on 1 May 1959, Mr. F. J. Kozonguizi said: "The question of moving the

"The proposal that funds will be raised to help us pay the high rentals in the new location is unacceptable. We regard this fund as a bribe to persuade us to accept *apartheid* because the removal itself is an act of *apartheid*."

Government does not intend to let people buy the land on which houses will be built. For the new Windhoek location, 196 regulations have been drafted. One of them prohibits any public meeting unless the superintendent has been given two days' notice of it.

Another cause of discontent in SWA is the banning and forcible removal of the Rev. Markus Kooper, a Nama minister and his family from the Hoachanas reserve, which is their home, to inferior land 150 miles away. From the Itzawisis desert, Mr. Kooper sent a petition to UN in April last, describing in detail how a fully armed detachment of police removed him. He says that in the cruel scene which took place when the people protested, "the police stabbed some people, including women, in their stomachs with bayonets."

Mr. Kooper was taken away with his crippled wife and five young children. "I will die here in the desert with my family from hunger", he wrote to New York.

"Red Nation Nama"

Hoachanas is the headquarters of the so-called "red nation Nama" tribe whose leaders petitioned UN last year about their fear of removal from their lands. Mr. Kooper was a pillar of the AME Church which was in some conflict with the local Dutch Reformed Church. There have also been difficulties about the sale of karakul pelts, which is said to be a white monopoly.

After hearing recent reports, the UN Committee on SWA declared that "the policy of *apartheid* is a flagrant violation of the sacred trust embodied in the mandate" as well as "a breach of the UN charter and the universal declaration of human rights adopted on 10 December, 1948."

In the new location the rent for a house will be £1 19s. 6d. a month, which is more than ten times the present charge of 3s. 6d. a month for services in the existing shanty-town location.

The ulterior reason for the planned removal is the desire of Europeans to acquire building plots on the site of the present location, which is very close to the expanding European area. The new location is four miles away.

The Mayor of Windhoek, Mr. Jaap Snyman, is an ex-police-man and former wrestler, who owns a bottle store. He is an aggressive character, who believes that a very firm hand is required in handling Africans.

Footnote:

Dr. H. F. Vedwoerd has ordered Mr. Justice Hall to hold a judicial enquiry into the shootings.



CHIEF HOSEA KUTAKO

Windhoek location has reached a dangerous deadlock; the general political situation in South West Africa is explosive."

The removal was scheduled to take place at the end of last year, but was postponed to early 1960 in view of the many objections raised by both Europeans and Africans.

Petition to UN

In a petition to UN in April last, Chief Hosea Kutako gave in detail the reasons why the people refuse to go to Katutura, as the new area is called.

"Most of the location dwellers", he wrote, "walk to their places of work because they have no money with which to pay bus fares. The new location is very far from where we work and it would be impossible for the people to walk. Wages are so low that the people have hardly any money during the second half of the month. Industries dependent on non-European workers will suffer because people will always come too late for their work."

"We should like to make it clear that we are not against improvement, but *apartheid* should not be confused with improvement."

"The policy of *apartheid* gives paramount importance to the interests of the Europeans while it deprives us, of opportunities of economic advancement, of education, and of political rights."

"The non-Europeans are therefore not prepared to accept any scheme which is based on *apartheid*, as they have suffered terribly under this inhuman policy."

New sites for other locations were also fixed last year in other places, such as Swakopmund, Karibib, Outjo, and Usakos. Africans are to be divided in all the new locations into separate ethnic groups. Dr. Verwoerd stated that buffer zones must be planned so that non-whites can go to work in the towns without passing through white residential areas.

The new locations will come under stricter control, and the

St. Faith's Mission Farm Doomed?

RUSAPE, S. RHODESIA: Only a major act of faith, it seems, can save St. Faith's Mission Farm, a unique community development project near here. After resisting the onslaughts of white reactionary opinion for ten years the project now seems doomed to die at the hands of the Rhodesian Anglican Church.

The Church has stepped in and taken over direct control of the farm, which has hitherto been run on a co-operative basis by the tenants themselves. The farm community regards this as a breach of an undertaking given by the Church when the project was embarked upon in 1949.

At a two-hour meeting at the farm this week, members of the farm staff told the visiting dioc-

African manager of the farm, Mr. John Mutasa.

Mr. Mutasa has been in charge since Mr. Guy Clutton-Brock, one of the founders of the project, voluntarily "worked himself out of the job". The Church authorities have also told farm tenants that they cannot agree to the formation of a proposed limited liability company in which the Mission was to have been the major shareholder, but tenants would have a majority of members on the board. This company was intended to get over the difficulty of legally establishing the farm as a co-operative.

An attempt was made in 1958 to have the farm registered as a co-operative, but the Southern Rhodesia Government amended the Land Apportionment Act to prevent this. In the terms of the Act such a co-operative would have been "a native" and therefore not entitled to own this land.

The Church has not made clear why it is insisting on reasserting its authority over the farm. The bishop has spoken in a circular of the need to preserve the farm as "an Anglican association rooted in the faith and practice of the Christian religion as received by Anglicans", and there has been a complaint in Church circles that some of the members of the farm staff are not Anglicans. But a major factor has been the steady pressure exerted by European congregations for a "clean up" at St. Faith's.

It has long been widely believed among the local European congregation that St. Faith's Farm was the nerve centre of the Southern Rhodesia's African National Congress. This view was reinforced when Mr. Clutton-Brock and Mr. Mutasa were detained for some time under the emergency regulations, and the pressure increased a hundredfold.

The fate of St. Faith's will be decided finally in the near future when the agricultural committee reports to the diocesan standing committee on the proposed future of the farm. If the standing committee resists the pressure and demonstrates its faith in the farm and its tenants by agreeing to the establishment of an autonomous company, the St. Faith's project may yet be rescued.



CLUTTON-BROCK
AND MUTASA

san agricultural committee that if farm tenants were denied the right to plan the running of the farm and the community which had grown out of it, the whole foundation on which the project had been built up would collapse.

Recently the priest in charge of the Mission—which owns the farm land—put a stop to meetings of the village committee and ruled that no meetings might be held in the community centre without his permission.

This coincided with the Church's announcement that it intended to run the farm through the Diocesan Agricultural Committee and a diocesan agriculturist responsible to that committee. The agriculturist, an Afrikaans-speaking South African, who has farmed for nine years in Rhodesia and is now an Anglican ordinand, has been appointed over the head of the

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BLUNDELL CLASHES WITH MBOYA

Vital January Conference May Produce Solution

From Contact Correspondent

NAIROBI: Every political group in Kenya realises that the balance of power between the races can be dramatically changed at the forthcoming constitutional conference. The conference is scheduled for 18 January in London, where it is officially hoped that representatives of the various races and political parties will be influenced by Britain's "neutral atmosphere" and will forget the high state of race feeling in Kenya.

The constitutional conference has been called in an attempt to get representatives of all races to agree on some long-term solution for the political future of the country. Most of the 40 possible conference-goers, interviewed in the past weeks by *Contact*, feel that it is almost a foregone conclusion that no agreement will be reached. The gap between the African nationalists who are demanding self-government in 1960, and the white settler members who want changes in the direction of South Africa's "separate development" policies, are far too great.

At one stage it was hoped that the centre parties, following Mr. Michael Blundell's New Kenya Party, and the African and Asian members' Kenya National Party, would be able to come to some agreed formula for constitutional progress, but these hopes have been shattered by the events of the past few weeks. It is fairly clear that Mr. Blundell only carries minority white support, or the settler members under Group Captain Briggs would not have been campaigning so vigorously for general elections before the conference. Briggs knows well that if his demand for elections was allowed by the Kenya government the Blundell group would be dramatically swept from its elected seats in the Legislative Council, and would be replaced by settler extremists.

It is thus evident that the majority of whites here are not prepared to go as far as the moderately liberal programme of Mr. Michael Blundell, whose policies are nevertheless so vague that they have never been accepted by any Asian, African or Arab elected members.

Kenya National Party

Greater hope for inter-racial co-operation lay with the Kenya National Party. This was a party with genuine democratic goals and was formed less than three months ago, with the backing of the majority of African, Asian and Arab elected members. Its goal was ultimate democracy with independence in 1968, and self-government in 1964.



MBOYA

This party only differed from the pure African nationalists, who followed Mr. Tom Mboya, by being slightly more moderate in its time-table and by recognising that the principle of inter-racial co-operation in Kenya should be rapidly established. The Kenya National Party hoped that a situation could be created similar to the one in Tanganyika, where leaders of all races work together in the cause of democracy, while recognising that Africans would be bound to be in the majority in a country where they form 99% of the population.

In recent weeks the high hopes of the Kenya National Party have been shattered. The eight African members who started the party are trying to expel their Asian colleagues and to turn the body into one that is racially African.

The African president of the party, Mr. Masinde Muliro, has called on all Asian office holders to resign. In an interview with *Contact* he insisted that the leadership should be in African hands and claims that the Asians, "talk like Asians rather than Kenyans, and are trying to protect Asian privileges". Mr. Arvind Jamidar who was once Treasurer of the party has resigned "because the Africans specifically say that no Asians should be allowed to buy land in the white highlands on a willing-seller, willing-buyer basis."

The land question is the fundamental point of difference between Africans and Asians in the party.

Since the party has issued its policy statement calling for the white highlands to be open to all races on a willing-seller willing-buyer basis, this has become

Kenya government policy. A recent white paper has made it clear that it is now government policy to make it technically possible for Africans and Asians to buy land in the white highlands.

The Highlands

The African members of the Kenya National Party have now declared that this technical liberalisation of the highlands does not go far enough. They point out that African economic weakness will preclude any but an infinitesimal number of African farmers from buying land and have called upon their party to change their policy statement. They now want government to buy up vacant white farming land and to use it for the settlement of Africans on a co-operative basis.

The Asian KNP members declared that they agreed with this scheme in principle but that this should not preclude Asians buying land from Europeans on a willing-seller, willing-buyer basis.

Besides the land issue, disagreements have also appeared on the constitutional question. The African members of the KNP have been bitterly attacked by Mr. Mboya's supporters for trying to delay self-government for Kenya until 1964. This has made them decide to ask for self-government in 1960, rather than in 1964, as originally decided by the party.

The symptoms of increasing African nationalist pressure in Kenya prior to the constitutional conference have been clear. The Kenya government added fuel to the flames by calling out the police to baton-charge the crowds demonstrating in favour of the release of Jomo Kenyatta late in October. The series of East African railway strikes have led to bitter attacks by Asian and African unions on each other. The African elected members (including those in the Kenya National Party) have come together and widely proclaimed their demand for self-government in 1960, and a legislative council selected almost entirely from members returned on a common roll. Mr. Tom Mboya has made a special visit to the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Iain Macleod, to press African demands.

With all race attitudes hardening to extreme standpoints and with African nationalist pressure building up in preparation for the January conference, it seems unlikely that any agreement will be reached. It is most likely that the Colonial Secretary will once again be called upon to impose a constitution, and if he wants to achieve political stability in Kenya he will have to make very dramatic concessions to African opinion.

BIG TU SPLIT IN AFRICA

ACCRA: A new movement has been launched in Ghana, under the aegis of Prime Minister Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, to lead Africa's workers away from their alliance with the two great competing international trade union movements—the socialist International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) and the communist-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU).

This breakaway from the two powerful workers' internationals follows a decision taken last year by the All-African People's Conference to withdraw Africa from the competition between the western and the communist blocs. It reflects two Pan-Africanist themes — non-commitment in the cold war, and the expression of a purely African personality.

MILLARD
(Director of Organisation, ICFTU)

The new All-African Trades Union Federation (AATUF) "will hold allegiance to none except to Mother Africa". An executive elected at a preparatory conference to launch the new movement consists of seven representatives from Ghana, Egypt, Morocco and Nigeria. The Nigerian representative, Mr. Goodluck, speaks for only an insignificant section of Nigeria's trades union movement.

Before the new AATUF is formally launched in Tunisia early next year, it will have to overcome African trade union opposition to two of its declared objectives. The first is that "a trade union movement in a colonial territory cannot divorce itself from the national struggle for political independence". The second is that none of its associate members may be affiliated to either the ICFTU or the WFTU.

It is especially this latter principle that has brought Mr. Tom Mboya, the militant Kenya African leader and chairman of the sponsoring body, the All-African People's Organisation, into conflict with the "Accra line".

The cleavage between Mboya and the Pan-Africanists in Accra has been growing for some time. At first, the differences were of a personal character, but on the issue of breaking with the ICFTU a major conflict has arisen. It is difficult to see how it can easily

from
Colin Legum

be resolved.

Mboya is a dedicated friend of the ICFTU. He also believes in the AATUF. But he personally sees no basic conflict between these two internationals. He found himself in major difficulties when the ICFTU met in Lagos at the same time as the preparatory committee of the AATUF was meeting in Ghana. His decision to attend the ICFTU meeting provoked sharp attacks in newspapers which support the Ghana Government. One editorial sarcastically suggested that he had, perhaps, drunk "too much champagne offered to him by the imperialists" — a remark that will no doubt be greatly relished by Mboya's powerful adversaries in Kenya.

The Communist-directed WFTU, which has never had much influence in Africa, has been quick to seize a tactical advantage by giving its blessing to the AATUF.

Footnote from another correspondent.

Recent reports have shown that so far Mr. Mboya has come off best in the Trade Union split. His ICFTU meeting in Lagos, Nigeria, was attended by union leaders from 29 African countries. During the last two weeks a decision has been reached at ICFTU headquarters in Brussels which gives to Mr. Mboya's African region full autonomy. Only three countries sent delegates to Dr. Nkrumah's meeting in Accra—Guinea, the UAR and Morocco, apart from the unrepresentative Mr. Goodluck.

Africa thus joins Latin America and Asia and the older unions in Europe and North America in the ICFTU. This world body is now fully representative of the world's workers—with the exception of the state-controlled unions in the communist countries.

This development is of importance to South Africa. For some time Mr. Mboya has been chairman of the union organisation of the ICFTU for the East, Central, and South African region. Naturally it has not hitherto been possible for his office to liaise satisfactorily with South African unions. But with the establishment of Mr. Nyaose's Federation of Free African Trade Unions (FOFATUSA), in consultation with Mr. Charles Millard of the ICFTU, it is likely the co-operation between it and Mr. Mboya must increase. With the successful Lagos conference behind him Mr. Mboya's influence must grow, and it is reasonable to expect him to pay a second visit to South Africa before long.

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THE SA FOUNDATION

FROM the purely commercial point of view South Africa is ideally suited to attract overseas investment. Yet, because the outer world does not trust Dr. Verwoerd or his Nationalist government, or its *apartheid* theory, South Africa is not getting overseas investment in any noticeable quantity. An index of this fact is that £100 invested in industrial shares on the New York or London Stock Exchanges in 1953 is worth £300 to-day; whereas the same amount invested in South African industrials is worth only £80.

These are the facts behind the setting up of the South African Foundation, the brain-child of Mr. Charles Engelhard and Sir Francis de Guingand.

The names of twenty-four members have been made known. The foundation appears to be modelled on the British Council, an organisation for strengthening British culture up and down the world. It will co-operate closely with the South African Information Services. It will put out a "true" image of South Africa in the outer world, and will remove misunderstandings.

Sir Francis, at the inaugural meeting, said that "South Africa was being undermined by an organised campaign of misrepresentation abroad, and that it was high time (to set up) . . . a non-political front to present the real South Africa to the world."

Any move to interest the outer world in South Africa should in principle be welcomed. But this foundation needs careful examination.

What does Sir Francis mean by "South Africa" "being undermined"? Does he mean that the people of South Africa are being undermined? Or does he mean that the oppressors of the peoples of South Africa, and their vile philosophy of racist oppression, are being undermined? If the latter, then a South African Foundation to protect these oppressors will be uncompromisingly attacked by all democrats.

The Foundation as stated above will work in close co-operation with the Information Service. But the Information Service is responsible for putting out, in the Swedens and Americas of the world, ludicrous propaganda which aims at creating the impression that the non-white people profit from *apartheid*, and that they like it. Is the Foundation going to help the SAIS sell this sort of line? One imagines so, for it is the wary overseas investors' dislike of *apartheid* that keeps capital away.

If this is how the Foundation is going to act, then there are some things that need to be said.

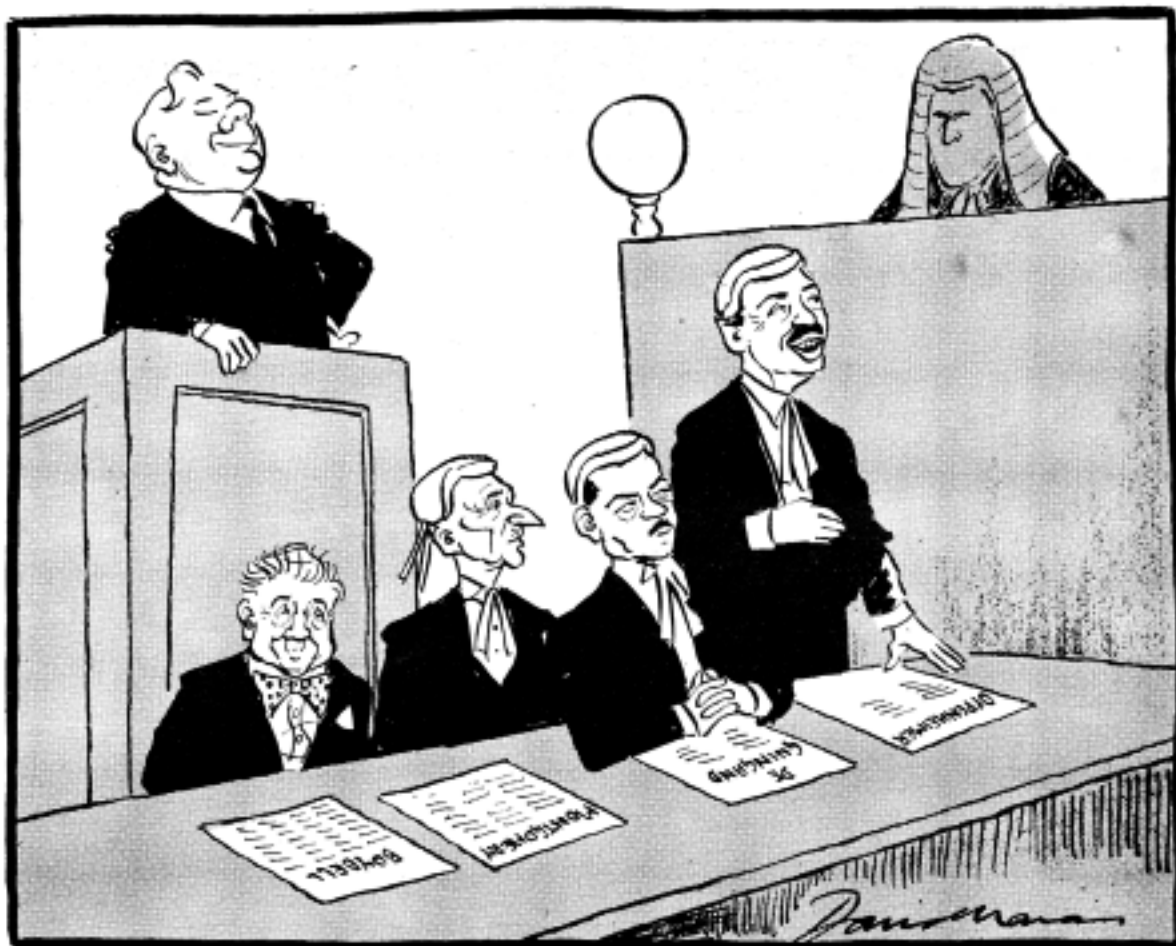
Firstly, it is a tragedy to see certain names among the founders, names of men who have at times been democratically-minded. In particular Mr. Oppenheimer must be mentioned. Is he really a party to this attempt to whitewash Dr. Verwoerd, and to thwart the righteous wrath of democrats the world over at the blasphemy of *apartheid*? If so what is he doing in the Progressive Party? And if he remains in the Progressive Party, does that party align itself with this new Foundation? Does that party believe that *apartheid* is a domestic matter? To hold such a view would be as futile as to have believed, a century ago, that slavery was a domestic matter.

Secondly, these businessmen will find that it is not going to be easy to put across their point of view. They are treading unaccustomed ground; perhaps they do not understand that the Foundation will not be operating in the predictable field of business but in the intuitional field of the human heart. Again dollars and pounds may be important, but they cannot command love. Above all, those people up and down the world who hate *apartheid* are going to reject what they read and hear from this Foundation, for to them the source will be suspect—men who stand to make millions if they should in fact be able to provoke a flow of funds.

Thirdly, let the Western world be under no illusions. This is an attempt to line up the European and American nations behind *apartheid*. Any success will throw the non-white peoples of South Africa into the hands of the communists, on the double ground that Mr. Engelhard and his friends represent the West as well as capital. One trusts that responsible leaders in these countries will see danger and will do what they can to discourage the Foundation, and to persuade some of those who have perhaps unwittingly joined it to withdraw.

It is in fact virtually certain that the Foundation will fail. There is only one way in which Dr. Verwoerd and his new friends in the South African Foundation can bring world opinion closer to the South African Government. That is to throw out *apartheid* and to instal a democratic government.

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.



"I seem to have joined the defence team, M'lud" (Mr. Oppenheimer has helped establish the South African Foundation.)

The stage beyond industrialism?

NARAYAN'S "COMMUNITARIAN" INDIA

NEW DELHI: A plan for a new political order in India in which there will be no Prime Minister, has been drawn up by Jayaprakash Narayan, who, until a few years ago, many Indians thought was the one man able to take the place of Jawaharlal Nehru.

Ever since India became free, Nehru has held a unique place in the life of the country. He has kept millions of bewildered and anxious people together, not by his policies (with which many Indians disagree), but by his personality.

There are those who believe that Nehru's isolation has been necessary as an eminence visible and reassuring to everyone. But a wise man has compared the Prime Minister with India's huge and sacred banyan tree; an auspicious growth in itself, but not one in whose shade anything else grows to any great height. And this is a matter about which many Indians, looking towards the future, are unhappy and concerned.

Who is to succeed Nehru gives more exercise to the Indian mind than any other political question, and none seems more hopelessly unanswerable. Jayaprakash Narayan, a graduate of Wisconsin University, once a Marxist and then a Democratic Socialist, withdrew from party politics altogether six years ago to conceive a new Indian policy in meditation and fasting. Now he has come out with a solution for the problem and the solution is to abolish it.

This drastic reformer is a man of the same magnetic sort as Nehru himself, commanding in India a similar veneration. But Narayan himself rejects this kind of leadership as wrong for India. His new society, which he calls Communitarian, would

from
Cyril Dunn

turn the present arrangement upside down. Discarding the existing political hierarchy completely, it would confer an almost absolute political power upon the people of each Indian village.

India is still essentially a rural country. There are big cities, of course. Generally speaking, they are overcrowded, chaotic and unclean. But they are also the seats of power in which an "educated elite" of about 400,000 pretty well dominates the lives of 400,000,000 people.

Narayan thinks this a cock-eyed system, unjustified, unworkable, and bound to fail. He says the real communal life of India is to be found in its 600,000 villages, where 80 per cent. of the people still live.

He does not pretend to discover anything ideal or even attractive in these insanitary rural junk heaps. He agrees that the villagers are usually supine in their squalor and apathetic about India's great plans for reconstruction. And he says that this is because they are not allowed to "participate", that benefits are offered to them only by government officials who do not belong to the village community, and more often than not despise it. And for this he blames the system of parliamen-

tary democracy India has inherited from the West.

Narayan holds this to be all the more deplorable because for centuries, he says, "the little village republics" of India were vigorous, proud and very nearly self-sufficient. Their democracy was so stable and efficient that no invasion ever very seriously disturbed or changed it—until the British came. Then an irresistibly powerful bureaucratic system crushed it out of existence and so left India with a multitudinous peasantry which is lost and dazed, and which must be roused again if India is to become, in freedom, a great and living nation.

So Narayan proposes the total decentralisation of democratic power. Each village community will govern itself, with no interference of any kind from above. In regional groups they will aim at economic self-sufficiency. But the council which controls the region will have no right to intrude upon the political freedom of the village. What is now a pyramid of power reaching up to Nehru and all the Ministers will become a system of "oceanic rings", each represented by a council bigger only because its area of responsibility is bigger, but not in any sense more powerful. The last ring of all will be the National Council, which will look after foreign relations, defence and so on, but will have virtually no say in domestic affairs.

In this new system there will be no political parties, because they cause conflict, and so no democratic elections, which are an expression of conflict. Council members will be chosen "by general agreement", as they were in ancient India. Where

(Continued on page 8)

NYERERE: Tanganyika's First Premier?

BIGGEST news of the past fortnight has been the announcement that Britain is to change the Tanganyika constitution to allow an African majority to rule in a responsible government. The change will take place after the forthcoming general election, in September 1960.

It is virtually certain that the Prime Minister of the new government will be Mr. Julius Kyambarage Nyerere, leader of the largest African National Union (TANU).

It is just five years since Mr. Nyerere launched his movement. He has steered it to success. He is the architect of his country's first free government.

Julius Nyerere, M.A. Edinburgh, was born in 1921 or 1922. Like most Africans of his generation no records were kept of the date of his birth, but he was born far to the north of Tanganyika about 26 miles from Lake Tanganyika. His father was a petty chief who had 22 wives and 26 children. Julius was just an ordinary child, son of the fourth wife.

His tribe, the Zanaki, was one of the smallest of Tanganyika's 113 tribes. As a child he was respected among his friends because he was the son of a chief, but his family was poor and he can remember his mother covering her children with rough cloth as they slept together on their bunks and leaving herself unprotected in the cold nights.

At the age of 12, wrapped in an old piece of cloth, he was sent to primary school clutching some money in his hand to buy school clothes from town. He did exceptionally well and within a few years entered Tanganyika's only secondary school at Tabora. It was run on strict English public-school lines.

He had the good fortune to be one of the few Tanganyika Africans to get to Makerere, the University College in Uganda affiliated to London University. He read widely and worked as little as he needed to finally pass his teacher's diploma. His political consciousness as a student was not directed against colonialism, nor did he entertain the possibility of the Colonial Office ever giving up control of his country. The things that concerned him then were social injustices, Europeans' special privileges, and the African's lack of opportunity for advancement.

It was what he describes now as the "politics of complaint". His father's generation had been ruthlessly conquered by the Germans and had utterly abandoned the struggle; his own generation had been brought up to accept the colonial system. African nationalism simply did not exist.

After Makerere he returned to teach at a mission school. He had become a keen Catholic during his schooldays and turned down the opportunity of a higher salary at a government school in order to teach at the mission. He organised the local branch of the Tanganyika African Association, a movement founded by African civil servants in 1929.

In 1949 the young schoolmaster had the chance of being the first Tanganyika student to go to a British University. He gladly accepted. He was 28 years old

In this issue it has not been possible to include Mr. Peter Brown's usual article "The Long View". We apologise to our readers. We plan to resume the series in the next issue.

by
Alan Rake

when he arrived at Edinburgh in Scotland and mature enough not to be surprised or unduly impressed by what he found abroad.

On his return home in 1952 he was still not thinking in directly political terms. He had not taken part in any student political activities. Once back home, after a short time teaching, he made up his mind about what he was going to do.

"By then the goal was clear", he says: "I had had three years in which to think. I had given up the politics of complaint and was going to tackle the roots of the problem of colonialism."

First it was the old Tanganyika African Association that he tried to bend to his new political thinking. He rewrote its constitution and was not disappointed when someone at the conference suggested the time had come to form a new mass-movement political party.

On July 7, 1954, the Tanganyika African National Union was launched in a wave of enthusiasm that has lasted to the present day. The moment the party was started Nyerere began its full-time organisation.

Unlike many other African political movements which are almost entirely urban, TANU became as popular in the rural areas as it was in the big towns. Today it is probably the best organised African movement on the continent. Its meetings in Dar-es-Salaam attract up to 30,000 people. In 1957 the party membership was 150,000; today it is over 500,000 with nearly 1,000 paid party officers, an office in each chiefdom in the country, and 68 district headquarters.

TANU really answered the needs of the people. It was so successful that Nyerere himself felt slightly uncomfortable in the role of the "great leader". Talking to the African magazine *Drum* shortly after the party was started he made a statement of characteristic modesty: "No organisation can depend on an individual. It is the man and the woman in the street, in the bush country, who by their faith have made TANU what it is; I am only the symbol and spokesman of that faith."

Early in 1958 Julius Nyerere was a happily married man, with a family of five, living in a small municipal block in Dar-es-Salaam. He had no motor car, and preferred the physical and political comfort of his faded green TANU bush shirt to expensive clothes. The early political life of the springily-built little man, with his nervously ready smile and his natural friendliness, reflected his character. A school-friend says he has something in him which makes him "lovable to

everybody."

The five years of TANU's existence have been marked by forceful and thrusting policies, at times verging on bitterness. His greatest estrangement from the British government came in the last year of Governor Twining's period. He resigned from the Legislative Council, and was charged with criminal libel. It was said that he had libelled two District Commissioners. Gandhian-like he took full responsibility, and said that he had done it to draw attention to certain complaints.

In September 1958 elections were held over most of the territory. Under the then constitution every constituency was obliged to elect one white, one African and one Asian member. The aim was to force the voters to vote multi-racially. What happened? TANU put up candidates of all races — and swept the board, for the voters were largely African, who trusted TANU.

Nyerere was automatically chosen leader of the new opposition group. The British wanted him to help them form, and work, a government. He refused, on the grounds that such a government would not be free enough from colonial links. But he encouraged

five elected members who supported him to take ministries. This was obviously only a temporary measure to give the new ministers experience in their portfolios for he had, as leader of the opposition, allowed his best men to go over to the government side.

He was confident that, as has now happened, the post-elections Committee would urge responsible government as the next stage in Tanganyika's constitutional evolution and that this would not be opposed by the Governor.

In the meantime he has been "building Tanganyika nationhood". The words "African" and "European" are gradually dropping out of his vocabulary and are being replaced by "Tanganyikan".

Mr. Nyerere's doctrine is based on a clear belief in non-racial democracy. He looks upon any immigrant who has made his home in Tanganyika to be "as much Tanganyikan as any Tanganyika-born African". He has taught his political party's choir to add new verses to their songs encouraging the coming of *Uhuru* (the Swahili word for freedom). They tell the immigrant races to put away their fears, for their rights and properties will be protected in the new Tanganyika. Asian and European elected Ministers are often greeted by Africans waving and shouting *Uhuru* in the streets with as much enthusiasm as if it were Mr. Nyerere himself.

He has plans for a citizenship bill in which all people who de-

side to make Tanganyika their home will have full individual rights no matter what the colour of their skin. He tells the crowds that gather to hear him speak that the old slogan *Uhuru* (Freedom) is now *Uhuru na Kazi* (Freedom and Work) for freedom is now inevitable, and it will not be a success without work. He has warned the African crowds that taxes will probably be higher rather than lower when self-government comes.

Simplicity is his rule of life. He lives on his Legislative Council salary of £700 a year and £25 a month from TANU. He still has no car, and has just moved into a permanent house after many years of living in a municipal block. He spends more time working in the offices of the Tanganyika Elected Members Organisation, chain-smoking cigarettes, and thinking about the problems that responsibility will bring.

It is difficult to find anyone in Tanganyika who will express a bad opinion of Mr. Nyerere. His most redoubtable political opponent, Mr. Zuberi Mtemvu of the racist Tanganyika African National Congress, says he left his former party chief because "he was too honest and serious about his policy of non-racialism."

The white settler, Mr. Derek Bryceson, Minister for Mines and Commerce, a self-confessed convert to TANU, said recently: "I believe his fame hasn't touched him yet. I think he is one of the greatest leaders in Africa and maybe the world."

Fair Comment --- by Patrick Duncan

MR. ERIC LOUW has attacked the Liberal Party and Nusas for having stimulated overseas boycotts of South Africa. "South Africa is the only country in the world in which its own citizens act in so disloyal a manner", he said.

Mr. Louw cannot have his cake and eat it. He belongs to a party which calls itself "National" but which is narrowly sectional. Even the Prime Minister, who should be broader-minded and know better, speaking in March at the Gereformeerde Kerk's centenary at Rustenburg, on the theme "Church and State", equated "nation" with "die Afrikanervolk."

If I as a Liberal non-Afrikaner do not belong to what Dr. Verwoerd and Mr. Louw call "the nation" how can I be disloyal?

Am I supposed to be loyal to a nation I cannot belong to? My self-respect—and that of about thirteen million other South Africans—will not allow it.

No, Mr. Louw, we are the true patriots. We are loyal to all the peoples of South Africa—including the Afrikaners. We are trying by the only peaceful methods that can work to rid our country of incubuses like you.

CONTACT sent a delighted telegram to Mr. Julius Nyerere when the news of Tanganyika's new constitution broke in Cape Town.

On 4 October 1958, in a full-page profile of Mr. Nyerere, I prophesied to readers of *Contact* that "it is likely that within two years Julius Nyerere will be Prime Minister of Tanganyika."

Whew—a close shave. I made it with four days to spare!

WHILE the new South African Foundation and the Information Service tell

the world that *apartheid* is nice, and that the non-whites accept it, the Defence Force is being reorganised to be an army of occupation.

Just before he left Defence, Mr. Erasmus addressed a meeting of army officers in Cape Town. "You must not think," he told them "that we are arming against an external enemy. We are not. We are arming in order to shoot down the black masses." He spoke in Afrikaans and rolled the words "om die swart massas neer te skiet" round his mouth with enjoyment. He told the meeting that the Africans would be armed like the Algerian rebels—i.e. with light firearms and mortars only.

At the same time the Defence Department is showing signs of great inefficiency. Will the South African Foundation be careful to reassure overseas investors that, in fact, the Defence Department is efficient?

THIS year all non-Afrikaners waited apprehensively for the usual spate of hate-propaganda which we have become accustomed to on the Day of the Covenant. It never came.

Die Burger issued a warning in advance that speakers must try to be more constructive, and related the poor attendances in the past to destructive speeches.

After the day, *Die Burger* was able to voice a widespread feeling of relief that there had been so much that was constructive, and self-searching, in the speeches. For once I am able to identify myself with this paper, and to thank it and other voices of sanity.

One leader was out of step, making the usual gruesome incitement to hate. Guess who—none other than Albert Hertzog of the twisted psyche.

After the wonderful year 1960 perhaps even he will change his tune.

PROOF FOUND IN CAIRO

China And Russia Still Co-ordinated Over Africa

CAIRO: Since President Nasser decided last summer to fling his cap at communist as well as western imperialism, his advisers have attempted a long and careful look at the joint strategy of Moscow and Peking. They have reached the conclusion, according to most reliable sources, that the activities of Russia and China remain co-ordinated, even at this period when the two countries appear to be pursuing different policies.

The Chinese Ambassador in Cairo has perhaps done his unwitting bit by impressing on Afro-Asian diplomats that West-

the cable had been drafted by the Indian representative, Sri H. D. Malaviya, the committee met again, and the Russian representative—the Chinese was

to the Russian Premier for words the latter had said. The UAR representative, despite his Government analysis of the Moscow-Peking dual role, was careful, because Cairo does not want at present, while she tilts at so many windmills, to risk the removal of the permanent committee of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference to Conakry, or Baghdad. The Chinese are willing to propose such a shift. So in the end the cable was not sent, and Sri Malaviya handed in his resignation. After some delay the resignation was accepted, effective from next March 1.

The second general meeting of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference is due to be held in Conakry in either January or February next, the permanent committee in Cairo cannot yet say which, and it wants to look united until then. And until then, apparently, Sri Malaviya is a silent sacrifice to the co-ordination of Moscow and Peking policies.

from
Rawle Knox

tern nations try to present China as a satellite of the USSR, whereas the Sino-Soviet treaty records that they are equal partners.

On a minor front—in Cairo—there has been a rather odd confirmation of this thesis.

The Indian representative in the permanent committee of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference, which resides in Cairo, wanted to send a telegram of congratulations to Mr. Khrushchev when Khrushchev said that he thought the dispute between India and China should be settled by peaceful means, without resort to force.

The committee, with the Chinese member absent and the Russian present, agreed. After



NASSER

still absent—proposed that, after all, the cable should not be sent; it might be misunderstood.

Sri Malaviya asked with some indignation why the Russian representative opposed sending a message of support

FEDERATION NEWSLETTER

AFRICAN REACTIONS TO MONCKTON COMMISSION

From Contact Correspondent

SALISBURY: Mr. Esau Jacob Nyandoro, a relative of Mr. George Nyandoro, the detained former general secretary of the now proscribed Southern Rhodesia African National Congress, announced in late November the formation of a new political party, the African Freedom Party. He said that the constitution of the new party was still being written. When it was ready a copy would be sent to the Secretary for Native Affairs, who is also the Chief Native Commissioner.

Following the day on which this announcement was made in the press, five policemen called at Mr. Nyandoro's house, arrested him, put him in a truck and drove him to the charge office. Mr. Nyandoro later said that at the charge office he had been photographed from all angles and several policemen had been called in to "have a look at him". He had then been taken back to his home and released.

This incident has worried many Africans in Salisbury. It is said that Mr. Nyandoro would not have been subjected to this treatment if he had been a white man announcing the formation of a new party and, if one cannot organise a political party openly, the alternative is to go underground.

It is being said that the Government has detained several hundred former Con-

gress officials on the grounds that they were intimidating people, only to indulge in the worst form of intimidation itself.

Africans are very dissatisfied with the composition of the Monckton Commission appointed to review the constitution of the Federation. Ten prominent Africans in Southern Rhodesia have sent a telegram to the leader of the opposition in the House of Commons stating that they have no confidence in most of the people chosen from the Federation, especially those from Southern Rhodesia and, in particular, Chief Sigola.

The Chief is an uneducated man who according to the European press and the Native Affairs Department "speaks fluent English". Many Africans on the other hand who know him and the African press correspondent who interviewed

him a few days ago say he can only just make himself understood in English.

Mr. Habanyama, the nominee of the Federal Government, is unknown in Southern Rhodesia and owes his nomination to the fact that he supported the Government when most of his tribesmen opposed certain of its measures not very long ago.

Nyasaland's representatives—Mr. Gondwe and Father Chikuse—are known to be capable men, although Mr. Gondwe is a civil servant who depends on the Government for his living. Mr. Lawrence Katilungu, although a very able trade union leader, has not had the education to enable him to make a worthwhile contribution to the work of the Commission.

Other similar appointments have caused much disillusionment among Africans. The only thing that appears to prevent them from making an open break and refusing to co-operate with the whites is the knowledge that the only people who are likely to benefit from this course of action are those whites who are anti-African; the white liberals would gain nothing. So it is likely that we will see a new line of co-operation with the liberal whites only being adopted by these Africans.

WHO SAID SEGREGATION?



Segregation in schools is fast coming to an end in the United States, even in the south: This picture shows children at one of these Southern schools.

INDIA—

Continued from page 6

this plan breaks down, the candidates for office will simply draw lots.

Narayan believes that people can lead free, full and happy lives only if they belong to small groups and run things themselves. Fragmentary power delegated to them by an all-mighty Top is no use. He regrets that "the monstrous cities" cannot now be demolished but he hopes that no more will be allowed, and he sees the salvation of the existing ones only in their conversion into federations of small communities.

This reformer rejects communism simply because it has failed everywhere in the world to give the common man what it promised to him. He also rejects western democracy, partly because he thinks it ignores the true nature of human society, but mainly because it is based upon economics of materialism and so upon the belief that man becomes happier only as he acquires more and more. In Narayan's communitarian India the people will share whatever they produce and will voluntarily limit their wants.

*

Narayan denies that he is a Simple-Lifer, bent on taking India back into some impossible bucolic idyll of the past. His small communities will not remain the squalid, smelly villages of contemporary India; he will simply use them as the basis of his decentralised reconstruction, because by happy historical chance they have survived physically, even if their old character has been destroyed. He by no means rejects modern technology. Indeed, he argues that atomic energy makes his plan possible, because with this as a source of power, small but highly effective industrial units can be built anywhere. His small communities, he says, will be agro-industrial and urbo-rural.

In India, such a plan, coming from a man who already commands so much authority, may well cause quite a stir, especially now. Almost every Indian is a villager at heart, never wholly forgetting his small ancestral home in the countryside. It is universally agreed that the

village represents "the real India" and that, in spite of all her current and gigantic efforts, India will get nowhere unless the enthusiasm and understanding of the village people can somehow or another be awakened. There is, moreover, an obvious uneasiness, even in the "educated élite", about immense five year plans which so many authorities believe will never overtake India's ever-growing population and which, even after the third plan, will still leave millions without work or a real share in society.

*

Above all, Indians regret that at some point those in authority strayed away from the simple idealism of Mahatma Gandhi, that spare and self-denying saint in a loin-cloth who won for Indians their freedom. No doubt many of today's great Ministers of State are altruistic men, giving themselves to the service of the people. But there are others whose sole aim is patently their own aggrandisement. Against their neglect of their duty towards the common people, and its effect on the national unity and morale with which alone India may hope confidently to meet the threat from communist China, there has lately been a great wave of anger and disgust, even inside Nehru's Congress Party.

These men wear the Gandhi cap and the simple dhoti, but they drive through the mud villages of India in great cars, flying self-important flags, and armed sentries parade wherever they and their families spend the night.

Set beside such Ministers as these, Jayaprakash Narayan has obvious virtues. With that modern saint, Vinoba Bhave, he belongs to the *sarvodaya* movement, which seeks to bring about the rise and the good of all by co-operation, sharing and love, and to which 5,000 middle-class Indians have already dedicated the whole of their lives. Narayan wants this army of selfless volunteers to be enlarged to hundreds of thousands.

And he thinks Pandit Nehru should now resign as Prime Minister to join and lead them.

NEWSNAME

SENGHOR: POET-PRESIDENT

THE Fourth French Republic was in the midst of one of its recurrent crises. At almost any minute the Edgar Faure government was slated to fall. Léopold Sédar Senghor, a minister in the Faure cabinet, telephoned an American Negro friend: "Could you come right over?" En route to Senghor's apartment, the friend wondered what urgent political matter the minister wanted to discuss. The answer was soon forthcoming. Senghor was translating a poem by Langston Hughes and wanted help with one or two unfamiliar words.

This incident points up some of the qualities that characterise the man whom Russel Howe has called "French West Africa's coolest and most statesman-like figure": composure, scholarly objectivity and accuracy, love of literature, and an all-consuming desire for Negro African unity. His literary activity has helped him to take temporary setbacks in his stride (some of his finest poems were written while he was imprisoned by the Nazis). By the same token, his knowledge of world literature—from the Greeks to the Moderns—has contributed appreciably to his political



SENGHOR

success. Thus the two careers have been complementary.

Born at Joal (Senegal) in 1906, Senghor soon realised the importance of unity, for he had to learn to get along with his twenty-odd brothers and sisters. Later he would write of having been "torn between my Christian conscience and my Serère blood". Moreover, his name was of Malinké origin; his mother's was Peulh. A Catholic, he lived in a country that was 80 per cent Moslem.

The education begun at home and in the Catholic school of N'Gasobil, was continued at the Dakar Lycée and later in Paris at the Lycée Louis le Grand and the Sorbonne. As an agrégé, he began his teaching career at Tours in 1935 and was subsequently transferred to Paris. Poor eye-sight

DEVLIN REPORT

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

Send 1s. for one copy (post free). If you take more than 12 the price is 6d. each, post free.

The special issue contains some 25,000 words of the Report's own words, and is illustrated.

The Report, described by *The Observer* as one of the most important documents in modern colonial affairs, is vital to an understanding of what is going on in Nyasaland, and of what is likely to happen.

Send your remittances to

Contact,
Box 1979,
CAPE TOWN.

When General De Gaulle returned to Paris last week from Dakar he informed somewhat bewildered officials that they must begin negotiations in January to enable the Mali federation to sever economic and defence ties with France, and establish separate armed forces and a new, independent, state.

Senegal and the Sudan Republics, thus will enjoy everything that President Sékou Touré won for Guinea, plus economic aid, which France will continue to supply for at least three years.

In doing so De Gaulle angered France's hitherto best African friend, M. Houphouët-Boigny, who is now facing dangerous isolation between Ghana and Guinea.

But he pleased the President of Mali, Léopold Sédar Senghor. Mr. Senghor has done some of the most interesting and serious thinking about the political future of Africa and the future of African culture. The many facets of this remarkable statesman-poet are brought out vividly by Mercer Cook, the American Negro authority on African affairs in this article, following his recent visit to West Africa.

barred him from active duty in the French army, but as we have noted, did not save him from a Nazi prison camp where he spent three years.

His political career began in 1945, when General de Gaulle appointed him to a commission that was to investigate and assure more equitable representation to overseas territories in the National Assembly. The following year, Senegal elected him deputy, and has re-elected him ever since. In 1946 much was made over his appointment as chairman of the sub-committee responsible for the grammatical correctness of the new French Constitution.

Chief spokesman

Meanwhile, Senghor continued teaching at the Ecole Nationale de la France d'Outre-Mer, and published several volumes of verse. His reputation as the chief spokesman for "Negritude" was essentially an attempt to provide a banner capable of blanketing Negro writers all over the world. In this connection, he actively supported Alioune Diop in the creation of the magazine *Présence Africaine* (1947) and in organising the Society of African Culture (1956). Both these ventures were largely inspired by a desire to enable Negro authors and artists—regardless of religious, political or national differences—to form a common front against cultural colonialism.

The quest for unity is perhaps the dominant factor in Senghor's public life. It is no accident that

by
Mercer Cook

his newspaper is called *L'Unité Africaine*. In recent years he has founded several political parties, establishing each of these on a broader base than its predecessor. For example, the Bloc Démocratique Sénégalais (1948) became in 1957 the Bloc Progressiste Sénégalais, a section of the Convention Africaine. Two years later the Union Progressiste Sénégalaise, a section of the PRA (Party of African Regroupment), became an affiliate of the new PFA (Party of African Federation): Senghor is president of this party. In March of this year the PFA captured 83 per cent of the popular vote and all the seats in the Assembly of the Mali Federation, which includes Senegal and the Sudan.

Like "Ghana", the name "Mali" constitutes a link with the past, with the African empire that flourished during the Middle Ages. At the outset modern Mali was to have included Dahomey and Upper Volta, as well as the Sudan and Senegal. In this way Senghor hoped to avoid the balkanisation of the states that comprised the former French West Africa. Since 1955 he had protested vigorously against the evils of a system that divided 20 million Africans into eight separate states and set up eight separate customs barriers.

On vital issue

On the vital issue of independence, Senghor says:

Within the spirit of the (French) Constitution, as we develop economically, culturally, and technically, we can gradually transfer the prerogatives of the Community to our Mali Federation. Finally, we shall have acquired, as a result of amicable agreements with France, a real independence. We shall have become a nation in a confederation.

Senghor differs from many nationalist leaders in his moderation. Firmly anti-colonialist—he spoke out against assimilationism as early as 1935—he is none the less objective and courageous enough to recognise French contributions, actual or potential, to African progress. This willingness to admit France's good qualities and the need for continued co-operation after independence lends greater weight to Senghor's criticism of shortcomings in France's African policy, such as assimilationism, balkanisation, and the arrangement whereby Mali's requests to the Common Market must be "filtered" through French channels. At the same time, it has rendered him vulnerable to attack by certain Africans as being pro-French.

The programme of the Mali Federation is described in broad outline in the remarkable report



Mali; the new independent federation.

that Senghor submitted to the Party of African Federation on 8 June. Here he points out that Mali will be a strong democracy and the rights of the individual firmly guaranteed. With an economic policy which he calls "open socialism", Mali will try to obtain the funds needed to implement its development plans in agriculture, education, public works, etc., from three sources: (1) budgetary economies, (2) the Fund for Aid and Co-operation (FAC and European Fund), and (3) private capital.

African socialism

With painstaking scholarship, Senghor describes the kind of socialism that is adaptable to African reality. This leads him into a detailed analysis of Marxism, its strength and its weaknesses. African socialism will borrow from Marx, but it will also borrow from the French idealistic socialists, from Saint Simon to Léon Blum.

"We are not communists for a practical reason. The anxiety for human dignity, the need for freedom—man's freedoms, the freedoms of collectivities, which animate Marx's thought and provide its revolutionary ferment—this anxiety and need are unknown to communism, whose major deviation is Stalinism. The 'dictatorship of the proletariat', which was to be only temporary, perpetuates itself and becomes the dictatorship of party and state. 'The Soviet Union', said Mamadou Dia on his return from Moscow, 'has succeeded in building

socialism, but at the sacrifice of religion, of the soul."

On the other hand, Mali has no intention of adopting the United States as a model. "We shall not be won over to a regime of liberal capitalism and free enterprise", Senghor insists. "We cannot close our eyes to segregation, although the Federal Government combats it. Nor can we accept material success as a way of life."

The objective is rather an independent African nation, grouping all the territories of what was once called French West Africa into the Federation of Mali. This, in turn, will be affiliated with a French Commonwealth. Such a confederation, he feels, might even attract countries like Guinea, Tunisia and Morocco. "In this perspective, we think that a solution could be found to the Algerian problem." At the same time Mali will form cultural and economic ties with its English-speaking African neighbours.

The solidarity that Senghor seeks is by no means restricted to Africa and France. At a meeting in Cannes he told a group of European parliamentarians: "We (Africans) would like you (Europeans) to become united. We are quite uneasy about the communist offensive. We accept socialism, its methods and its planning, trade unionism, and co-operatives. But we do not accept atheism, for we are deeply religious. We need Europe to fight against these attempts at subversion, but Europe can aid us only if she is united."

AFRICA

Prain Calls For New Political Deal

From *Contact* Correspondent

SALISBURY: This year, Sir Ronald Prain, Chairman of the Rhodesia Selection Trust group of mining companies, departed from tradition and commented on the Federation's political scene in his annual report to shareholders.

Sir Ronald thought that the absence of an African from the Southern Rhodesian Legislative Assembly was inconsistent with the position of Southern Rhodesia as a leading territory in what is a multi-racial Federation. He also thought that such laws as the Land Apportionment Act require urgent and drastic alteration if confi-

dence is to be restored among Africans in the real intentions of the European minority to implement partnership in a sense which will be desirable to Africans.

Sir Ronald contributed in no small measure towards the restoration of that confidence by his speech. Africans were glad he said the things he did.

Some hope that his speech indicated a dissatisfaction with the United Federal Party way of implementing partnership.

There is a growing group of businessmen in the country, typified by Sir Ronald, who are beginning to think that perhaps they should not continue to be silent on such matters.



SAM SLY'S CORNER

PORTNIGHTLY NOTES ON BOOKS AND THE PRESS

Strange device

Die Banier, a new bilingual monthly "coloured" newspaper, is edited by Messrs. Botha and Aat Kaptein and Dr. R. E. van der Ross. I found the first issue rather lamentable. So lacking is any unity of presentation, a vital factor of a paper's impact, that even the editors disagreed editorially. Dr. van der Ross says that *Die Banier* is a forum for the exchange of ideas of all, "whether black, brown or white": another editorial on the same page says that it is "in *spreekbuks vir kleurlinge en blankes*", to strengthen the contacts of these two groups. Dr. van der Ross's open-house promise is fulfilled by the appearance of a Nat camp-follower, Mr. Adam Small, coloured poet and ex-Fort Hare lecturer, whose appointment to a post at the new coloured university was inevitable. An even more curious article, which has won its author a place in our Looking Glass (p. 7), makes one wonder whether the editors aren't being too hospitable.

Softener

Die Banier looks like the kind of paper that never gets past Vol. I No. 1. If it sees the end of 1960 I shall be not so much surprised as impressed at its financial backing. Is it a Nat-backed softener-up, the forerunner of *The Kleurlingstan Times*? I don't see Richard van der Ross as a cat's paw, but co-editor Aat Kaptein finds himself at home in *Die Burger's* culture pages, where he dutifully slanged Jan Rabie's anti-baasskap novel, *Ons die Afgod*.

The funnies

I look forward to *The Torch's*

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

welcome to *Die Banier*, and no doubt *Die Banier* does too. Hysterically abusive mention in Mr. Ben Kies's minuscule-circulation mouthpiece is considered an honour in some circles. I sometimes wonder if *The Torch*, *The Educational Journal* and their Unity Movement supporters will one day run out of swearwords and have to communicate in sign language. *The Torch* has long since become a funny paper: its invective—"Morally Re-armed reptiles", "Judas Goats" for instance—is irresistibly comic. *The Educational Journal* even meant to be funny in its latest issue when it called the new coloured university the "W.C. Bush College". You must know that it was named the University College Western Cape, with either utter disregard for English usage or such ignorance of it as not to know what the last two initials signify.

Reptiles

Talking of Morally Re-armed reptiles, an impressively designed, locally printed Moral Re-armament booklet arrived for me last week with a duplicated letter urging me "to take the necessary action for the struggle ahead". The letter, like all MRA propaganda, is subtly unclear, but the struggle referred to seems to be to prevent Khrushchev "using the idea of co-existence to take over the whole of Africa", which he plans to do pretty soon, judging by the urgency of the letter's opening line: "Within a few weeks, Nikita Khrushchev will be in Africa". So to the booklet, which instantly re-affirmed my belief that MRA does not practise the "absolute honesty" it preaches: On page 2,

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

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

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.

To JUTA & CO. LTD. P.O. Box 30, CAPE TOWN.

Please send me, without obligation, the 1960 Folio Society Prospectus, ST21.

Name

Address

the booklet, which purports to be South African-written is exposed as being nothing of the sort. It says "communism has a plan to take over our country . . . our minds are being brainwashed by . . . much of what we read in the press . . . by what we see on television or in the theatre . . ." Someone must tell Dr. Buchman's strategists that South Africa ain't got television.

Answer, please

In the 45 signatures to the MRA letter are three recognisably African names: P. Q. Vundla, Kathleen Vundla and W. F. Nkomo. I am curious to know if these three have been to MRA conferences at Caux or Mackinac; if, as of those few other Africans who get passports in the Union, a £100 deposit was demanded of them by the Department of the Interior; and if it was whether MRA paid it direct.

Free one way

Die Banier could learn how to convey directness and urgency from *African Life*, of Northern Rhodesia, which has just changed from a monthly magazine to a fortnightly newspaper. The November issue also tells a good story about the free visit to MRA's Strategy Conference at Caux of Mr. Francis Chembe, Rhodesian Federal MP. Chembe did not see the need for the "change of heart" he was expected to undergo and to prescribe for others, he insisted that his present heart was good enough and that it was the Europeans in Africa in whom the change was needed.



CHEMBE (left)

When he insisted that Moral Re-armament was (intentionally?) confusing the issue of communism in Africa with the struggle for African self-determination, deadlock was final and he removed himself, paying his own fare this time. *African Life* is edited by Sikota Wina, whom I thank for the picture of Chembe and friend in Trafalgar Square after the row.

Dual Roles

A correspondent who read the MS of Noni Jabavu's *Drawn in Colour*, to be published by John Murray next year, predicts that it will stir many people. The author, Mrs. Michael Crosfield, is the elder daughter of the late Professor Jabavu, and the book describes her visit to South Africa on the death of her brother Tengo, the last of the great Jili line, who was murdered by tsotsis when a medical student at Wits University. After the funeral she visited her sister, married to a Kampala barrister, then herself settled in Uganda with her English husband, and returned for a further visit to her father, which ends the book. Her picture of life here and in East Africa, her involvement in both as African and Westerner, is the theme attending a poignant personal story.

Case for the Future

DAWN IN NYASALAND. By Guy Clutton-Brock (Hodder & Stoughton). 4s. 6d.

FOR the people of Nyasaland the year 1960 is destined to be the most crucial point so far in the short history of their country. If they fail to win the right to secede from the Federation their future is likely to be a grim one of civil war and oppression. For those who still doubt that this is so there can be no more convincing presentation of the case of the Nyasaland African National Congress than that given by Guy Clutton-Brock in this paperback book.

It is customary to suppose that all those Europeans who sympathise with African nationalism are impractical intellectuals. Clutton-Brock's many European enemies will no doubt expect his book to be the sentimental expression of idealistic emotions. Nothing could be further from the truth.

Dawn in Nyasaland is a completely straightforward, factual survey of the situation in Central Africa in economic and political, as well as human terms. The result is the most telling indictment of Federation that has been produced. The case against Federation is made so strong because practically every statement or assertion is illustrated and confirmed by authoritative and relevant quotations. Thus when he shows that the Southern Rhodesian Land Apportionment Act is wholeheartedly based on the philosophy of apartheid, he quotes Huggins (now Lord Malvern), as Prime Minister, saying in Parliament "I welcome this bill as the first step in the social segregation of the native, getting him into separate areas."

The theme is in fact an economic one, that the European standard of living is unnaturally high whilst that of the Africans is unjustly and excessively low. The rich are getting richer while the poor become relatively poorer and the Europeans are determined to maintain their economic security by political dominance. By a graphic, detailed and documented survey of the Africans' lot in Southern Rhodesia he shows that the Nyasas are right in believing that they can never attain self-government or even economic security inside a Federation governed mainly by the European oligarchy of Southern Rhodesia.

Clutton-Brock has expressed the feelings of the Nyasa people in a powerful, well-presented, yet simple form. It is to be hoped that nobody who plays a part in deciding the future of Central Africa will fail to read his book, for if his case is ignored, the result will be a major disaster in Africa.

J. S. SKINNER

LIBERIA'S PAST AND PRESENT. By Nathaniel R. Richardson (Diplomatic Press Publishing Co., 13 Cotswold Gardens, London, NW2). 63s.

UNIFORM with the excellent directories of Ghana and the Sudan, this historical guide-cum-Who's Who of Liberia fills a gap in African references shelves. There are 384 large quarto pages, generously illustrated. The whole is clearly of great use to diplomats, businessmen, and students. Diplomatic Press are to be congratulated on their growing series of handbooks of living African history.

P. D.

The Rejection of Africa

DEVILS IN WAITING. By Mary Motley (Longmans) 18s.

MARY MOTLEY belongs to the long line of intrepid women travellers, distinguished and obscure, (and most of them English) who from the time of Lady Hester Stanhope have caused raised eyebrows and won grudging admiration from their contemporaries.

Evidently a young woman of determination, directly she came of age she bought a second-hand two-seater Ford and persuaded two friends to drive across the Sahara with her to French West Africa to see an eccentric French Army Captain with whom she was in love. Undaunted by her failure to reach him, she married him a few months later in Algeria, and before long had obtained a job for him as Chef du Cabinet Militaire to the Governor General of French Equatorial Africa.

Life at Brazzaville might have been unbearably tedious for this warm-hearted girl gifted with boundless curiosity and a love of adventure. She did not mind her unprepossessing new home—a depressing dark bungalow with cement floors and no running water, and the most primitive of kitchens. Unlike the local French housewives, she was only too content to leave everything to an efficient African cook who would not tolerate a woman in the kitchen. Nor was it the climate, or the dirt and the disease which were everywhere. These things she accepted with a robust good-humour. What she found hard to endure was the petty round of the European woman's day.

There was a rigid segregation of the sexes, and "although according to everyone the morals of their neighbours would have brought discredit upon a barnyard, no woman could be seen talking to a man alone." The women got up late, siesta-ed most of the afternoon and then visited their friends (the only safe topics of conversation being one's hostess's health and the shortcomings of one's "houseboys"), or went for a gentle motor drive.

These women rejected Africa. They were completely unaware of its frequent exotic beauty. Their only values were those of the Europe they imperfectly remembered, and they would motor for miles along bad road to dance on board a French ship anchored for the night at Pointe Noire. Their greatest tragedies were the wrong hat arriving from France, or a too-quickly soiled evening dress.

Nevertheless, Miss Motley was not bored. She went for long early morning walks to the African villages, accompanied her husband on safari, made friends with French solitary reputed to have "gone native", and helped, without the slightest squeamishness, at the inadequate clinic which was attended by some of the most pitiful of human beings, scourged by the world's foulest diseases.

She writes un sentimentally of Equatorial Africa as she saw it 20 years ago; and for its people, with their baffling practices and beliefs, she confesses feeling "settled affection and disillusioned placidity. Indeed, I do not love them; but I like them, mostly; and that is the most testing thing of all."

FRANCES BOWERS

26 December 1959

The Development of People

AFRICA, ITS PEOPLES AND THEIR CULTURE HISTORY. By George Peter Murdock (McGraw Hill Book Company, 1959) 74s. 6d.

WITH considerable skill and extensive knowledge, Murdock, Professor of Anthropology at Yale University, USA, has drawn together information on the diverse peoples of Africa and produced a panorama of their culture history stretching over a period of some 7,000 years.

The study begins at the Neolithic age, characterised by an agricultural civilisation that superseded the hunting and collecting limitations of the Paleolithic Age, and it stops at the conclusion of European penetration round the beginning of the twentieth century. The last survivors of the Neolithic Age include Bushmen who once roamed over the whole of Southern Africa as well as East Africa between the Great Lakes and the Indian Ocean, and who are now confined to the desert areas of the Kalahari and South West Africa.

Negroids who constitute the majority of indigenous peoples of Africa, had mastered agriculture, pastoralism and metal working

long before the arrival of western Europeans, who belong physically to the Caucasoid stock.

While Murdock makes it clear that race is a purely physical concept and as such is irrelevant in acquiring culture, he uses it as an aid in the reconstruction of migrations and the intermingling of the different groups.

Over the last thirty years a number of excellent monographs have been written on different African communities, but each community generally appears unique and the comparison drawn by the fieldworkers-cum-writer are frequently limited by the boundaries of "his tribe" and its close neighbours. Murdock's encyclopedic work gives a broad perspective to these individual studies. Egypt, Ethiopia, North Africa and Madagascar are included in the study, for as Murdock points out to exclude them is to obscure some of the most important influences in Africa.

The African continent is an interacting geographical and cultural area, with cultural provinces and regions linked by intricate lines of communication. Throughout the centuries carriers of different social and cultural equipment have traversed the caravan routes of the Sahara; people from North Africa and Ethiopia have left their

imprint further South; Eastern influences have streamed through Egypt and the eastern ports; Madagascar served as a terminus in the journey marked by monsoon trade routes from India and Malaysia. Western Europeans were the most recent contributors, making their initial impact with the trans-Atlantic slave trade in the 15th and 16th centuries. Of local political relevance, is Murdock's scientific evidence of Bantu settlement in South Africa before the arrival of Whites.

The sources Murdock uses for reference include in addition to the more reliable anthropological studies, the research findings of linguists, geologists and botanists. Using these as clues, he puts forward challenging theories on several controversial matters, including the Zimbabwe ruins, the place of origin of the Bantu, the relationship between matrilineal and patrilineal societies, the introduction of specific new crops and techniques into an established economy.

His approach to the history of culture change shows that the taking over of new items, whether they be tools or beliefs, is not a mechanical process but generally involves widespread adaptation both in social structure and in individual values. People as well as things are always involved.

Murdock's use of botanical evidence in dealing with African development is very interesting. By a detailed analysis of the distribution and adaptation of plants from their place of origin in the wild form, he seeks lines of migration. This technique is relatively new for Africa; it has already yielded additional insight into the spread of civilisation in Europe and America. Murdock uses it effectively to show that in approximately 5000 B.C., agriculture as the deliberate cultivation of plants for food, was developed by Negroes on the Upper Niger independently of any outside borrowing, and spread from there throughout the Western Sudan. This makes West Africa one of the four centres of the world (the others being South-West Asia, South-East Asia and America) in which this major technical advance originated.

At about the same time as it was made by the Negroes, the cultivation of different species of plants came into Egypt via South-West Asia. As Murdock points out, far less is known of the ancient culture of West Africa than of Egypt, but it is becoming increasingly clear that indigenous Africa has contributed more to world civilisation than has hitherto been recognised.

Having never been engaged in intensive fieldwork in Africa, Murdock is in some ways better able to see the broad and basic outlines of its complex history more clearly than scholars who are personally involved in any particular area, but it is also possible that his distant view may—and sometimes does—lead to oversimplification.

Inevitably academic colleagues will find flaws in a work of such enormous scope as this cultural history of Africa, and will be able to pick out minor inaccuracies, dubious assumptions and occasional unwarranted conclusions but they, as well as the laymen, will find this an outstanding contribution to our knowledge and understanding of Africa.

HILDA KUPER

Poetry and Action

THE FESTIVAL. By Harley Manson (A. A. Balkema) 21s.

THE publication of Harley Manson's play *The Festival*



MANSON

is an exciting literary event. It brings us a work of art of exceptional power and beauty in a medium virtually unexplored by South African writers. It also provides its author with a breakthrough which should result in the publication of the five other plays which he has written, and made known to a number of students of literature and the theatre.

Usually the first published work of an important writer is an early one; readers have to wait to see if the writer burnt himself out in his first work, or how he will develop. I have been privileged to see productions of two of Mr. Manson's other plays, and believe that *The Festival* is anything but a flash in the pan.

The play illustrates a refreshing break with tradition. To quote the jacket: "In appearance, the events in Mr. Manson's plays take place in remote countries and at distant times; their characters are Kings, Queens, Thanes, Dukes and so on; in reality the plays show what is happening to you and me in our very different world to-day."

If this sounds too abstract and intellectual, read *The Festival*. The action is as vigorous as the poetry. If the conventions and limitations of the stage force much of it off the stage (*The Festival* would make a fine film) it is nevertheless communicated to us by the strength of the poetry.

Thus when the play opens after the collapse of a bridge across a chasm separating two countries, this is conveyed by a description of the disaster:

"Tung! like a bow-shot—Gone!
Knotted ropes thicker than my
fist snapped back

And slung up men and
horses—

Bits of slatted plank
Above my head . . .
One man on his back

clawed like a cat at the air."
and by the feelings of those who narrowly escaped it.

It is the range and the texture of the poetry that is particularly impressive. It is sometimes superbly and unostentatiously lyrical, sometimes brutal and dramatic, occasionally discursive. Manson uses supple rhythms most effectively and his imagery has a simplicity which adds to its directness: "Then suddenly (as crowds do sometimes) they were swarming up the steps like a river of bees"; "The bridge hung like a necklace loop"; "the mad leaves in the garden fluttering like a

million wings."

The dialogue crackles, but where the play demands it there are longer speeches, well handled. Here the Bard explains the attitude of the participants to the Festival of life and death:

"For us, Sir, on this day
Sanctity and depravity
Begin as opposites and end in
one;

For while we dance and play
And the urgent drum beats all
day long,

They seem to fuse
And make one thing
As man and muse
Become one thing
When he and she in perfect
harmony

Make sweet sense
From life's disorder."

Our reading and theatre-going public has done little to encourage its writers. Yet here is another work to delight, entertain, stimulate and horrify us. Those of us who care can only be grateful.

PETER RODDA

(Continued from col. 2)

Of such a victory, and of the progress towards the Pan-African ideal, he is one of the chief architects. His so forgivable arrogance and aloofness have worked up a pained asperity in his biographer, which mars this otherwise inspiring chronicle of his life. Mr. Broderick blames Dr. DuBois's final unfulfilment on his preoccupation with a unified leadership of his people in himself, and on his false hopes for them in universal movements like socialism and Pan-Africanism. In his writings—*The Souls of Black Folk* and *Black Reconstruction* especially, his novels, poems, memoirs, the endless polemic in *The Crisis*—and in the events and background of DuBois's career are countless lessons for those South Africans who follow the star that guided him.

S.S.

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W. E. B. DuBOIS—NEGRO LEADER IN A TIME OF CRISIS. By Francis L. Broderick (Stanford University Press) 42s. 6d.

FROM a Northern childhood free of the penalty of his colour, Will Du Bois went to the negro Fisk University, on to a notable career at Harvard, and to further study in Europe. In 1903, at 25, he started his first career as a university teacher, already filled with a mission to lead his beloved people to a better future. Now the formidable Dr. W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, he taught for seven years, aiming to enlighten the whites through influencing the negro elite. In 1910 he accepted the editorship of *The Crisis*, organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People. Direct agitation for negro rights filled the next 24 years, with a developing interest in socialism and Pan-Africanism. He organised the first Pan-African conference in Paris in 1919, and worked for the movement until 1930. In 1915 DuBois the radical took over the leadership of his people on the death of

Booker T. Washington the appealing moderate, but in 1934 he suddenly cut off from the main stream of negro progress by advocating negro separatism—a voluntarily segregated negro culture within white America. This ended his editorship of *The Crisis* and his effective association with the NAACP.

He taught at Atlanta University again until this third career ended in a quarrel in 1944. Now, at 76, his current phase of concentration on the world picture followed. Believing in Russia's socialism and innocence of exploitation of darker people, he worked hard for the post-war communist "Peace Offensive", and was tried on a criminal charge in connection with it in 1951. He now retired from the gallant struggle he had been engaged upon for sixty years, believing his people were on the road to freedom, which, given "social justice", the next generation would see. (Continued in col. 5)

RHODESIAN VISITS AMERICA

US Wealth and African Problems

THE only thing I found common to all Americans was the love of material possessions and comfort. The Southern States have remained different from the other states in democratic ideals and in the ultimate goals of American life.

It is in the South where one still finds official racial discrimination based on colour differences. It is in the South where the Republicans are still held as enemies because they belong to Abraham Lincoln's Republican Party that forced the freeing of slaves through a Civil War which white Southerners have never forgotten.

The big difference between discrimination in the Southern States on the one hand and in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and the Union of

By
E. Dumbutshena

governmental agencies work to end discrimination in housing.

The most interesting aspect of my visit to the United States was the discovery of Negro loyalty to the USA. No Negro would like to exchange the US for another country. Thus in spite of some aspects of discrimination which he still experi-



Mr. Dumbutshena is shown in conversation with Miss Dolores Abrahams, a typist in a big insurance office in Chicago.

South Africa on the other hand, is this: in the United States the central government does not favour discrimination. There are no federal laws which support discrimination. This makes it easy for Negroes to work through Federal Courts in their efforts to end racial discrimination. This makes it possible for the Federal Government to legislate against discrimination based on colour.

In the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and the Union of South Africa, central governments support segregation.

I was highly impressed by the efforts of some of the states and of the US Government to get rid of discrimination in two areas where equality of opportunity depends on individuals and on firms and industries.

Some states have agencies to stop discrimination in housing. The Human Rights Commissions, Chicago Commission on Human Relations, the Urban Areas League, the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, the American Friends (Quakers) and other governmental and non-governmental agencies he sees in the US a land of opportunity.

The United States presented to me a picture of ever increasing wealth. The rich corn lands of the State of Iowa with miles on end of corn, fat pigs and fattened cows meant one thing to me—surplus corn stored without use in a world of starving millions in Asia and Africa. New York with its dazzling skyscrapers, a symbol of American prosperity, was too rich and remote from the kind of world I live in. Whether it was washing machines, dish-washers included, the refuse disposal machines, the flashy American cars and the apparent wealth and comfort of the American worker, they all made the picture too rich and over drawn. I appreciated the hard-working American; I admired his wealth and the opportunities he has for making it and the means at his disposal to learn the skills that matter. The USA, I concluded, is a great country but it was not for me. For me it was Africa with its down-to-earth problems, with its unbending march to freedom, its racial clashes and differences, its animosities, its fresh and savage ignorance and the simplicity of its dark inhabitants, that I love and intend to save.

Africa can be another United States.

Progressive Party

SIR, Since the birth of the Progressive Party the attitude of Liberal Party members, especially in the Cape, has changed, and there have been a good many resignations, several of well-known people.

From discussions at a Liberal Party branch-meeting I gathered that the real stumbling block seemed to be the universal adult suffrage to which the Liberal Party stands committed, though admittedly it says in the handbook that a transitional period might be necessary.

There seems to be a desire on the part of many members to meet the Progressive Party more than half-way. This is exactly the attitude of the United Party towards the Nationalists, but whereas the United Party tries thereby to win Nationalist votes, we hope to stem the drift of Liberals to the Progressive Party. Neither works, and we should not now become guilty of that for which we always blamed the U.P.

The Liberal Party being as it were only on the theoretical side of the fence, with no hope in the foreseeable future of gaining parliamentary power and thus putting its idealism into practice, has always attracted a number of people who were genuinely alarmed by the suicidal policy of the Nationalists and the wishy-washy attitude of the U.P. But with the advent of the Progressive Party which has already a foothold in parliament and the financial backing which a party needs to be able to make a splash, things have changed, and I imagine that it is with a sigh of relief that many Liberals turn to the Progressives, firstly because they see in it a chance to break the political dead-lock which the LP is unable to do by constitutional means, and secondly now that it comes to realities they cannot go quite as far as the LP stipulates. LP policies seem frightening even to some Liberals.

To bring the Party more into line with the P.P. it was suggested in certain quarters that there should be a definite limitation to universal adult suffrage in the form of a minimum educational standard, and that Standard IV might be this minimum.

"A little learning is a dangerous thing", says Pope, and Huxley adds: "If a little knowledge is dangerous, where is the man who has so much as to be out of danger?"

I have only to remind you of the devilish atrocities a cultured country like Germany committed barely 19 years ago to show you that education is no guarantee for a wise use of the vote. If it were so, would we be saddled with the present Government?

To me, the Liberal Party, with no immediate chance to put its ideals into practice, has always represented the long view and as such it has been acting as a leaven. I do not think that the Progressive Party would have come into existence when it did but for the continued spade-work of the Liberal Party. We have dug the hole and the PP has planted a tree in it. But for our

work in the field the Progressives might to this day be nothing more than a disgruntled section of the U.P.

The Liberal Party still has a part to play, new policies will grow out of altered conditions and if the Progressives should once come into power, our chances of parliamentary representation would be much more favourable. Good luck to them.

I would ask those who can look upon all men as brothers, who can go straight to the heart of their fellow human beings without shrinking from colour or different ways and standards of living, to stay in the Liberal Party and give it their whole-hearted support. There is much work to be done. We must continue to bring our ideas before the public to loosen up the stony ground.

Perhaps our work can be compared to that of the worms which aerate the soil without which not much would grow.

Let us work without grandiose ideas of leading parliament in the near future, but also without the frustration these ideas inevitably carry with them. Quietly, steadily, like a great underground river, which when tapped by others at any point can suddenly transform a desert into an oasis.

M. LIEBECK,
Claremont, C.P.

Rugby Tour

SIR, Unless democrats in South Africa raise their voices soon against the scheme for an "All-white All-Black" rugby tour next year, the tour will come off, and apartheid will be much strengthened.

If South Africans protest loudly now, the New Zealanders who oppose the colour-bar will be much strengthened.

So let all who care do one or all of the following:

(1) Write to The Rt. Hon. Walter Nash, Prime Minister, Parliament Buildings, Wellington, New Zealand, to ask the New Zealand Rugby Union to give up apartheid, sending copies of the letter to:

SASA (South African Sports Association), P.O. Box 2029, Port Elizabeth.
PORT ELIZABETH.

(2) Write short letters to New Zealand papers, especially *The Dominion* and *The Evening Post* in Wellington, protesting.

(3) Write short letters to the *Daily Mirror*, *Daily Herald* and *Reynolds News*, London, England, protesting.

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STUDENT PEN FRIENDS

Miss Birgitta Johansson (Ymergatan 16, Upsala, Sweden) aged 19, studying law at the Upsala University and interested in international work, music and literature "would be so happy to get pen-friends in the Union of South Africa, especially students, who as a result of their race have been shut out from the universities."

26 December 1959