

contact

SOUTH AFRICA'S NON-RACIAL REVIEW

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BASUTOLAND ON EVE OF FIRST ELECTION

— SEE PAGE 5



Chief Leabua Jonathan, leader of the Basuto National Party, which has put up 74 candidates in the forthcoming general elections — first democratic elections in Southern Africa — see page 5.

"Finicky" Apartheid Criticised

SURPRISING VIEWS OF CAPE NATIONALISTS

DIE BURGER, that austere and unrelenting mouthpiece of southern Nationalism, is apparently undergoing something of a change of heart. Not only has its well-known columnist, Dawie, openly criticised several aspects of Verwoerdism, but this paper has for the past few weeks also been giving more than passing prominence to its readers' views on "finicky apartheid".

Never before has the *Kruit-horingpers* been the mouthpiece of such open and fervent criticism of Verwoerdism and northern nationalism. It all started on December 12, when Dawie wrote to say that it seemed to him as though this kind of "finicky apartheid" does no good "besides creating a nuisance", and causing anti-Nationalist and anti-South African propaganda.

Dawie was referring to the occasion in Maritzburg recently when a musical society was told in a letter that non-Europeans who were supposed to sit in 30 reserved seats, should be excluded from a performance of the "Messiah" by Handel, or that it would lose its annual grant of £250 from the Department of Education, Arts and Science.

Only Thing

Dawie said that the Society then did what any self-respecting South African would have done, telling the Department that it could keep its grant.

On December 18, "Nationalist visiting the Boland" wrote to say that he was worried because it had happened "several times recently that Dawie criticised our Government and our chiefs". This seemed to the correspondent like "a thrust at the Minister".

He was not happy about the fact that Dawie had advised "State Departments to take note of the new trend among Nationalists not to be interested in 'finicky apartheid measures' if they do not want to undermine the policy of apartheid among those who advocate it."

On December 22, four letters were published in *Die Burger* supporting Dawie. A Clan-william correspondent said "it

is about time that we realise when and where exceptions should be made".

People Ready

An Umtata correspondent said he hoped the Department concerned and all other Government Departments would come to their senses and realise that the people of South Africa "are ready for, let us call it, a more liberal viewpoint than many politicians are ready to accept".

He also said that it was high time that "we start detaching ourselves from colour prejudice and rise above petty and often childish arrogance".

A correspondent from Bellville said many thinking people were "extremely upset about this Maritzburg business. I really cannot see why a group of Coloured people, who also love music, should be prevented

from attending the concert".

A Paarl correspondent said he wished there were more white people who could appreciate something like Handel's Messiah, and that to exclude a group of educated Coloured people who could appreciate it, was directly against the Gospel as it was preached by the Messiah himself.

"Dawie has proved himself a good democrat. The democrat still places conviction (honest conviction) above a lack of freedom in the Party. It is only people with a slavish and petty spirit who gloss over all the deeds of the Party. Such a chauvinist is no better than the despised communist".

His letter ends with the remark that Dawie probably stated the standpoint of the greater number by far of Cape Nationalists. Other correspon-

dents, also from Bellville and Paarl, as well as from Mowbray, Somerset West, Cape Town and Worcester, thought that the Government deserved the kind of criticism Dawie levelled at them.

The Somerset West reader says that he was born in the Free State and that he supports the general Bantu policy of the Government, but that he is not "very happy about this particular Coloured policy".

The White people have created the Coloured man, "and in a sense he is part of our blood, whether the Nationalist wants to admit it or not".

The Cape Town correspondent says that he could not understand how someone, "who

is reasonably adult and humane, can gloss over the ultimatum of the Minister . . . There is, after all, such a thing as a principle, and there is also a thing called *reductio ad absurdum*".

The Worcester correspondent wanted to know which person had the most value for the Nationalist Party—"the uncritical, slavish yes-man who raises the Ministers to people who are infallible, and who need no contact with or direction from public opinion, or *Die Burger* and Dawie who criticise in a well-considered and well-meaning way".

In all, only four people have supported the writer of the original letter attacking Dawie.

African Reporter on Windhoek Riots

From a Correspondent

WINDHOEK: Although various reports of the recent Windhoek riots have appeared in the press, all have been from white correspondents. Because of this I am happy to be able to report what actually happened, as seen by the people of the location.

The root cause of this riot (on 10 December in which 12 Africans were killed and 50 injured) is the newly-built African township Katutura to which the Africans of the Windhoek Location have been ordered to move

in spite of the fact that they are in opposition to the removal plans. The Africans have also rejected the way their houses are being valued by the Superintendent, Mr. Potgieter.

Because they opposed the valuation of their houses, four Damara women were arrested by the Municipal Police. The Africans in the Location (mainly women) were against this action and went to the Government Buildings to see the Administrator, Mr. Viljoen.

Mr. Viljoen refused to speak to them and the women, by this time accompanied by their husbands, followed him to his residence, but he still refused to speak to them, a refusal strongly resented by them.

The crowd then went to the magistrate's offices to speak to the chief magistrate, Mr. H. Hager, who spoke to them near the court. The Vice-President of the South West African National Union, Mr. Uatja Kauketu, and the Organising Secretary, Mr. Nathan Mbaeva (now in exile), spoke on behalf of the people. They wanted to know the reason why the authority had refused to listen to their request not to move to the new Location. But still no answer.

A boycott of the Municipal bus service, the beerhall and the cinema was then launched by the Africans. When the Municipality began to feel the effects of the boycott, a meeting was held which was attended by the Mayor, Mr. Snyman, who said, "as julle nie wil hoor nie moet julle voel".

That night, the mayor led a group of police into the Location. The people in the Location wanted to know what the police were looking for but they were told to go to sleep. The people suggested that the police should leave the Location. Then rioting broke out.

The police fired in retaliation to the stone throwing by the Africans. When the mayor saw that the position was becoming still more serious he ordered some armoured cars from the South African Defence Force which fired on the people, thus clearing the streets.

Call for Unified DRC- Protestant Council

From Contact Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: Another inter-church conference has been held, resulting in a string of resolutions which can hardly be called startling or revolutionary, although one or two contain seeds of potential negotiations which are capable of having a profound effect on the life of South Africa. It is customary in these days to refer to such gatherings as "Ecumenical", that is to say, they are regarded as within the context of Christian universalism.

In this respect the conference, which was held in the Great Hall of the University of the Witwatersrand (Dec. 6-10) is unique in South African history.

It is true that there have been earlier conferences in the Union with overseas visitors, but this is the first time two ecumenical Christian bodies have sent

official delegates, two of whom were non-white ministers. The World Council of Churches' head office in Geneva thought the invitation of sufficient importance to expend money on two representatives—Dr. Hahn of Heidelberg University in Germany, and the Rev. D. Kitagawa, who is a Japanese episcopalian.

The International Missionary Council arranged to be represented by their present Chairman, Dr. the Rev. C. G. Baeta, a Ghanaian on the staff of the University College near Accra.

There were also several delegates from other overseas Church institutions, such as the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America.

Having attended many inter-church conferences during the last thirty years I am bound to feel thankful that this gathering was able to approve almost unanimously (I think there were less than 6 opposing votes) the resolution which can lead to the establishment of an all-embracing ecumenical instrument in our country.

Among the resolutions adopted were the following:

This conference of Church leaders requests the churches

to take positive steps which will lead to closer contact between the various churches in South Africa through a council to which all shall belong and instructs a committee to be appointed to take the necessary exploratory and preparatory action for the implementation of this resolution in consultation with the Christian Council of South Africa and the Federal Council of the Dutch Reformed Churches. The existing Continuation Committee is appointed for this purpose.

The conference calls upon the Church and its individual members to accept and practise respect for human personality, regardless of racial and cultural differences, as an essential duty and as a prerequisite to the proper solution of the problems arising from rapid social change in a multi-racial society.

The conference, appreciative of the efforts being made to raise the wage level of unskilled non-white workers, supports the movement to increase those wages and appeals to all employers to reconsider the wages paid to such workers in areas of rapid social change.

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INTER-RACIAL WORK CAMP AT NQECHANE, BASUTOLAND

DURING December I attended an international work camp in Basutoland. It was the first proper work camp I have attended, but I hope it will not be the last. The work camp movement is not well known in South Africa and the term "work camp" tends to put many people off. Physical work is something with which white South Africans are generally unfamiliar and camps are often associated with compulsory prayer meetings, and everyone being forcedly hearty and jolly.

A word about the work first of all: it's hard physical work, no doubt about that. At this camp we carted stones, shovelled earth, pushed wheel-barrows, did stone-laying, plastered and painted among other things. Few of us were accustomed to physical labour, yet we managed the work well, although for the first few days new arrivals could be heard muttering about blisters and aching muscles. I am far from being a muscular or athletic sort of person, but I found the experience of using my body for physical work a good one.

The international voluntary work camp movement began in Europe after world war I in an attempt to break down the divisions between racial, national and class groups. It did not appear in South Africa until after the second world war and it is only recently that some definite sort of organisation has been formed. The movement is non-racial and non-religious; its aim is to bring together people of different nationalities, races, religious and political creeds so that by living and working together they may come to understand and know one another. I know of no better way to break down barriers than to live and work with different people having the common aim of voluntary work to help others.

Building Work

The camp I attended was held at Nqechane, a small Basuto village about 11 miles from Leribe. The work we did was the construction of a lecture hall for the Machobane Mass Agricultural College (*Contact*, 28 November), plastering and painting the office block, levelling the ground, digging a toilet, and putting windows into previously-constructed buildings. The camp lasted about four weeks and during that period just over thirty people attended. The group included students, teachers, office workers, peasant farmers, a young university lecturer and an actor; it included Basuto, white and Indian South Africans, Rhodesian Africans and one German.

At such a camp work is important, but it is by no means the only, or even the most important thing. We worked 36 hours a week and as we began at 6.30 a.m. this left most afternoons free for other occupations. We climbed mountains, swam in the Caledon River, which was nearby, rode Basuto ponies, played games or simply lazed in the sun talking or sleeping. In the evenings there were talks and discussions and socials.

At this camp young men and women of all races came to

from
Liz Palmer

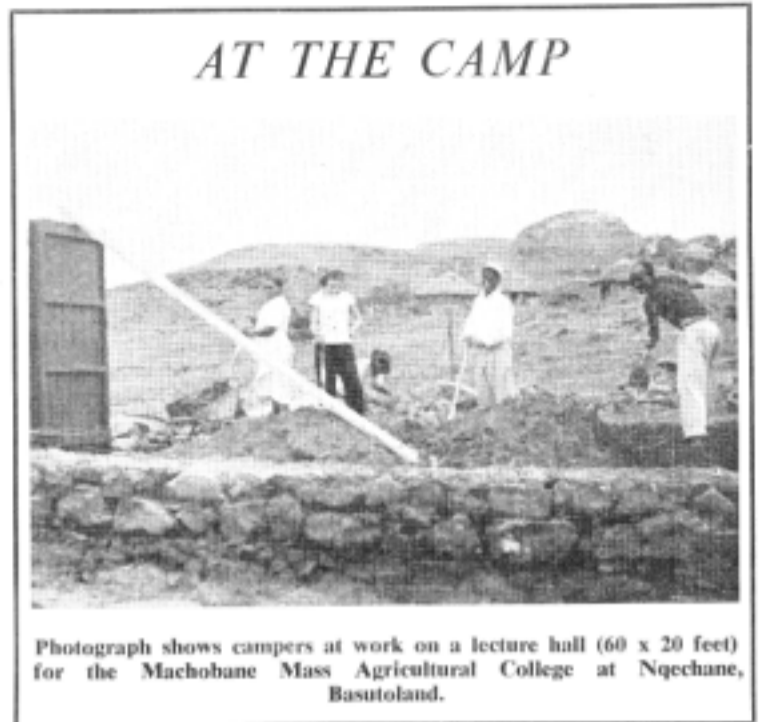
know one another in a way which is impossible in the casual contacts at meetings and parties which is the most that the majority of Liberals are able to achieve. When you work, eat, and wash dishes together an intimacy and understanding develops which is stronger and deeper than that arising from sharing common political ideologies.

For myself I found the camp an invaluable experience, but it was beyond and deeper and richer than just "having a terrific time." There was the luxury of well-earned rest after hard work, the stimulation of conflicting ideas, the beauty of friend-

ships with people whom I learned to respect and admire and love. These things made the camp more than worth while.

Liberals are frequently accused of being men of words not deeds. It is sad that justification for this accusation does exist. A work camp is an opportunity for individual liberals to prove that they do not deserve this title, a chance for you to show that you are prepared to translate your words into deeds. For young people work camps offer an unusual and inexpensive holiday while donations from those who do not wish to attend camps personally are an excellent way of showing support for the movement. The Southern Africa Work Camps Association (which is affiliated to Unesco) is desperately in need of funds.

We cannot as liberals



Photograph shows campers at work on a lecture hall (60 x 20 feet) for the Machobane Mass Agricultural College at Nqechane, Basutoland.

afford to allow an organization which is doing so much good work, and doing it voluntarily, to fade out because of insufficient funds to cover costs.

A camp is being held in Swaziland at the Esizibeni School, 29 miles from Bremersdorp from 4 Jan. to 30 Jan. to build classrooms for the school, and during February there will be a second camp at Nqechane

to complete the work begun in November. Anyone interested in attending either of these camps, or in receiving information about camps to be held later in the year should write to: The Secretary, Southern Africa Work Camps Association, P.O. Box 506, Durban. If you can't come send a donation to the same address.

"Blessing . . . bowing . . . scraping . . ."

Foundation: English Press Reactions

From a Special Correspondent

AFTER the American civil war a political struggle raged among the Southern whites over segregation. At one stage the anti-segregationists collapsed and submitted to the upholders of white domination. Only now, over sixty years later, is the predominance of the white supremacists being questioned.

Is something of the sort happening in South Africa? The warm welcome given by the English press to the new white-washing South African Foundation has made many observers wonder.

The Afrikaans papers have been mixing their more normal abuse of the English press with praise because of this. *Dagbreek* wrote that the Foundation had already won its first victory because its arrival and its aims had been received with rejoicing by the English press.

A correspondent in *Die Burger* was even more ecstatic. "The fact that the English Press had the big-heartedness to support the Foundation indicates that our history has now taken a new turning . . ."

In fact, the English press has undoubtedly been full of praise for the Foundation, which is disturbing to those who oppose *apartheid*.

But a careful reading of the editorials shows that the pass has not been entirely sold.

The *Sunday Times* had the first crack at the story on 13 December and gave it enormous prominence on the front page. "The most important event for years," it shouted. This was an estimate the rest of the press seemed to agree with: the Foundation was still making big front-page news two days later.

The *Sunday Times* also led the way with some unrestrained praise. ". . . no one in South

Africa will not wish it well and pray for its success . . . we expect great things from it."

This type of thing was said again and again. The *Rand Daily Mail* wrote: ". . . deserves widespread support . . . all South Africans of goodwill should give the organisation their blessing . . ."

Some Vinegar

The *Star*: ". . . impressive roll . . . admirable objectives . . . command the respect of the outside world and have the blessing of every well-wisher in the country . . ."

But there is no need to quote any more of the blessing and praying and bowing and scraping. That was present almost everywhere, but mixed up with it were other more interesting reactions.

The *Evening Post* in Port Elizabeth, for instance, said that there was richness in the country to boast about but went on: "There is one important unfavourable factor: the racial ideas of the politicians who have been ruling this well-endowed land for eleven years. This *apartheidism* is the main bone of contention between the Union's white political parties, between whites and non-whites and between the Union and her critics at the United Nations. How the Foundation will offset the overseas criticism without entering discussion on the merit of the political measures presents a problem . . ."

Similar realism was expressed by the *Rand Daily Mail*, once they had mouthed the necessary praises. ". . . no point in trying to hide the magnitude of its task . . . too many actions and statements by the Government which are simply not acceptable to overseas opinion . . ." It gave as examples the riot handling in Paarl and Windhoek and the case of the Beecher family.

The *Star* also mixed some vinegar with its sugar. "South Africa cannot expect to enjoy the goodwill of the world unless (the Government's) policies are considerably changed," it said bluntly. "It would be fatal if the activities of the Foundation were to be considered by the Government as an endorsement of racial injustices. Inevitably the Union's internal policies must have their repercussions in the outside world."

The *Star* also suggested that the Foundation might be able to influence the Government away from certain actions or statements by warning it of the consequences overseas.

This argument, which seems a bit naive, is repeated, though only half seriously, by the *Cape Times* at the end of a leader that was relatively cool in its praise. "How much we would all be helped," the *Cape Times* wrote, "if certain of the trustees with access to certain ears were to whisper home truths in words of one syllable in those ears!"

The *Cape Argus* came out with an even naiver suggestion: "One thing the Foundation

might well do would be to make clear to the world the magnitude and the staunchness of the opposition within South Africa to the racial policies of the Government. For nearly 12 years past the official opposition has fought their policies every inch of the way and at elections over 600,000 South Africans . . . have shown undiminished resolution in opposition to them. This is one of the facts about South Africa that are least appreciated abroad and it is one that ought to be more widely known. Perhaps the Foundation can do something about it."

And perhaps not. "Every inch of the way", indeed.

The *Pretoria News* also has a nice line in pious, platitudinous and totally unrealisable hopes: "One of the most hopeful aspects of the movement is that it may succeed in setting forth the facts about South Africa in terms which will, perhaps for the first time, command some measure of general agreement."

The praise by the English-speaking press is not really surprising. Some of their big shots are on the foundation, and for the most part they speak for the same business interests that caused the Foundation to be born.

Fortunately for democracy the situation here is dissimilar from the nineteenth century in the American South. The main-springs of real opposition—here and overseas—to *apartheid* do not lie in the purely white field, and are hardly touched, even if the "English press" should completely surrender.

That has not happened yet. But the welcome given to the Foundation is a sign to democrats that it might—and might in the near future.

Should Liberals be Republican?

THE attitude which South African liberals should adopt in the present controversy over the republic does not admit of any very clear-cut or dogmatic answer. I myself have always been a republican, by which I mean that I have regarded the monarchy as an anachronism and something we should be well rid of.

In 1935 Josiah Ngedlane and I were (unsuccessfully) charged with the crime of lèse-majesté because we published a leaflet calling upon Africans not to celebrate King George V's jubilee. We pointed out some of the disabilities which Africans had suffered during the reign of that distinguished monarch.

Quite apart from the fact that the oppressed in South Africa gain nothing from our association with Britain and its royal family, I feel that the institution of monarchy might well be scrapped on rational and humanitarian grounds.

Here is a group of persons forced by accidents of birth to be public figures. Their private affairs are the subject of continual and nauseating comment by newspapers. They are compelled to conform by overwhelming social pressure to antiquated taboos regarding whom they shall marry and the religion they shall profess. And if they should kick over the traces and refuse to conform, publicity still follows them. The whole set-up caters for a form of snobbery which is most undesirable.

Exit the Jingo

In South Africa it is only during recent years that the jingo has been made to pipe down. For thirty years and more following Union we were forced to listen to "God save the King" at all public ceremonies and even at the bioscope. The Union Jack was retained as a symbol of British domination. When Afrikaners objected to these things they met with bitter opposition. "Why should people worry" some will ask, "about a song and a flag?" Psychological attitudes, however, are important, and Afrikaner nationalism has been stimulated by this opposition. The jingoes among us have contributed in no small measure to the intransigence of the Afrikaner.

Today the English on the whole have accepted the disappearance of the British anthem and flag, but they oppose the republic with equally bad grace. Must the Afrikaner nationalists then fight for every sentimental gain they desire? Each time this happens sectional nationalism is strengthened.

It is not merely in the field of flags and songs that the English-speaking section (or its political leadership) has been foolish. One can recall the Iron and Steel Bill passed by the Pact Government. This was opposed by Smuts and his party even to a division in the Senate. It was said that Smuts was acting on behalf of British steel interests. He was glad

The views expressed in this article are not necessarily those of the Editor.

**Do you agree with Edward Roux, veteran and historian of the South African struggle for freedom?
Do you disagree?
Please write us a letter and let us know.**

enough to have Iscor during the second world war.

Afrikaner nationalism has become identified with a hostile attitude towards the non-Whites. This identity has not always existed.

In the early 1920's, both Hertzog and Malan went out of their way to woo the Coloured and African voters of the Cape. They stated: "We must see that there is established between the white and black Afrikaner that faith in and sympathy with one another which is so essential for the prosperity of a nation" (Hertzog); and "The Native is assuredly a pattern of true patriotism and is entitled to take his place side by side with the Nationalists in the common political arena" (Malan). These pronouncements may have been motivated by political expediency. But it is unthinkable that Verwoerd or any of his cabinet could say anything like that in the present political climate. Taken at their face value they represent the basis of a true South African republicanism which would include all those whose allegiance is to the common fatherland.

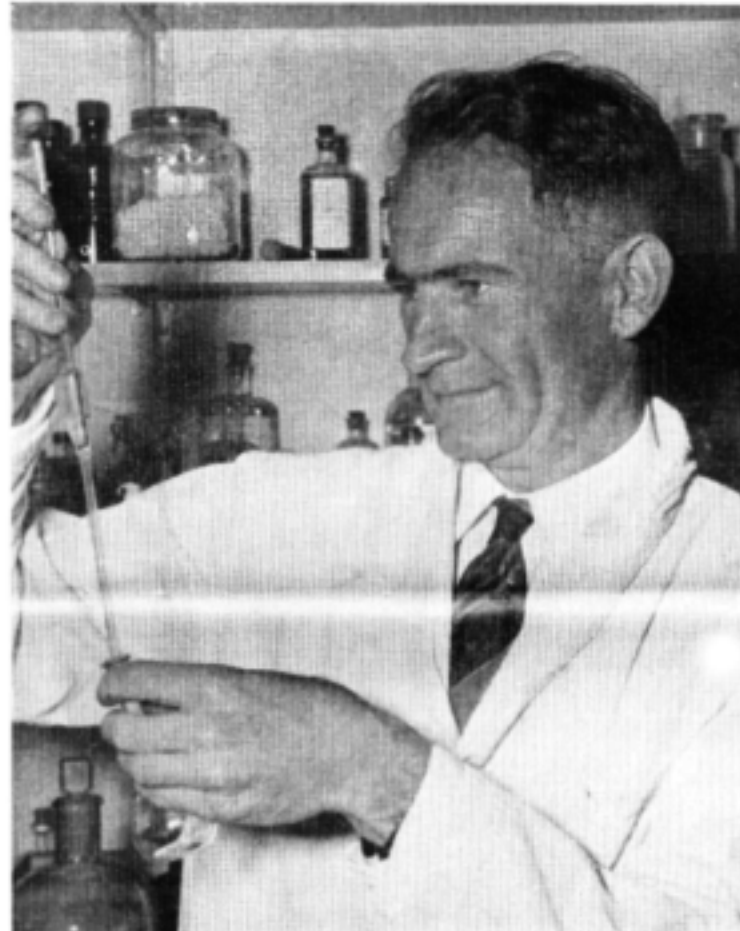
Psychological

Why did the Afrikaner nationalists adopt anti-Africanism as a major item in their programme and colour prejudice as their chief electioneering weapon? Political expediency is one reason, but not the only one. There is a psychological reason which arises from the Afrikaner nationalist's inferiority complex. This may be explained as follows.

The Afrikaner nationalists set out in 1911 (when Roos and Hertzog went into the "political wilderness") to achieve an anti-imperialist revolution. They sought to overthrow the domination of the British, which was political, economic and cultural. How far have they succeeded? Today they control parliament, the government, the civil service, the police, the armed forces and the educational system. What more, one may ask, do they want? Strangely enough they do want more. Economically and culturally the English still dominate, and even in the political field there is something missing. The Afrikaner nationalists have not yet got their republic.

—by—
Edward Roux

At every stage in the struggle there has been the feeling that the Englishman somehow has not really been defeated, that he remains in a superior position.



Edward Roux, taken some years ago when he was engaged in research to obtain cheap vitamin oils from fish. These oils have given much help in the struggle against starvation.

This has resulted in a sense of inferiority on the part of the nationally-minded Afrikaner, something which he will not admit openly but which rankles in the unconscious.

This does not mean that the Afrikaner people is inferior any more than an individual with an inferiority complex is inferior. What matters in psychological relations is what people think and how they react.

The man with an inferiority complex seeks psychological compensation in obvious ways. He is touchy and aggressive. If he cannot lord it over the being who is the cause of his sense of inferiority he will lord it over some lesser being who cannot resist him. Would it be unjust to say that the Afrikaner nationalist gains psychological compensation by passing laws to keep the black man in his place?

Driving this argument from psychology to its conclusion one

may say that when the Afrikaner nationalist achieves his republic there will be one more reason removed for his feeling inferior. Therefore let us have a republic. . . . Admittedly there will still be other reasons for a sense of inferiority. Admittedly also there have been and still are other motives, largely economic, for keeping the African in his place.

But although the desire to exploit the African was the original raison d'être of the colour laws, there is admittedly in present legislation much that has rightly been described as ideological. The economic reasons for

I admitted in the third paragraph that this question is a difficult one for liberals. The reason is that the republican issue is not clear-cut. If it were merely a question of altering the title of the governor-general to that of president and removing such royalist symbols as still remain (I can think only of the Queen's head on our coins), or even of severing our official connection with the commonwealth, I for one would raise no objections. The trouble is that the change-over to the republic may be accompanied by measures which will lead us still further on the road to a police state, and that is something no liberal wants.

True Republic

Let us therefore say that we are for a true republic in the sense in which the American and French revolutionaries of the eighteenth century were. A republican form of government in this sense is one which abolishes all forms of hereditary privilege. The most shocking form of hereditary privilege in this country is that based on the colour of your skin. We see the republic in the way Swinburne saw it:

O royal, o republican
Face of the people, bruised and dumb,
And longing till thy kingdom come.

Progress in W. Africa

MR. R. P. PLEWMAN, United Party MP, and one-time Auditor-General, has just been up to the West Coast.

"What struck me particularly", he said, "was: (a) The material progress in West Africa, especially Ghana and Nigeria in the past year or two.

(b) The marked interest displayed in the economic progress and development of that part of Africa by nations from both the West and the East.

"The amount of shipping to be seen along that coast is quite striking, and particularly so at Takoradi in Ghana and Lagos in Nigeria.

"I saw more ships in, and awaiting entry into, the port of Takoradi than are normally to be seen at Cape Town docks, although possibly some allowance should be made for slower loading and unloading at the former port". (*Argus*, 8 December.)

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ON THE EVE OF THEIR FIRST ELECTION

To the Basuto, Freedom comes with Poverty

I HAVE just paid my first visit to Basutoland—where I lived for seventeen years—for nearly two years. The country is on the eve of its elections (due to be held on 20 January), which will be the first truly democratic elections for a legislature ever held in the Southern Africa area.

What happens in these elections—and what is already happening in the country—must profoundly affect South Africa, and Africa.

There is no doubt that the Basuto are already playing a more important part in their own government, and that the social and political centre of gravity, so long lodged in the British administration, has moved a good way towards the Basuto. This is shown by the fact that Basutoland, far the most populous of the three High Commission Territories, has only

by
Patrick Duncan

place where they could meet people like Dr. Aaron Lebona and Mrs. Evelyn Lebona—something that just could not happen in the Union. A senior Basuto civil servant told me that he had met with nothing but friendliness from English as well as Afrikaner South Africans, in the outlying hotels, as well as in Maseru.

Government is, of course, criticised by some whites for haste in this matter. But it is also criticised by some Basuto for not going faster.

At Present

At present hotel-keepers are allowed to serve liquor only to a small number of Basuto who have been specially exempted from the law. Whatever the rights and wrongs of this controversy may be, I am sure that the shift could not have gone so far so quietly if it had not been as wisely and carefully done.

This shift of power towards the Basuto has greatly increased their self-confidence. The Congress Party (leader, Mr. Ntsu C. Mokhehle) has invited Mr. Mboya to fly down from Kenya to open their annual conference in January. Mr. Mokhehle himself is a member of the steering committee of the All-African People's Conference, and frequently travels to other African territories. A few weeks ago he was in the Voltaic Republic demonstrating with the Rev. Michael Scott against the French atomic bomb plans. Mr. Mokhehle told me of the difficulties put in their way by the French authorities, who confined them to a small hut in the burning desert, and of the earnest search by the party for truly Gandhian ways of meeting those difficulties.

Friends of Mr. Mokhehle say that he returned with £1,000 from the AAPC in his pocket. That this is not the first instalment of aid is shown by the two new micro-buses and the jeep which the Basutoland Congress Party has recently bought.

I also had the privilege of meeting Chief Leabua Jonathan, leader of the Basuto National Party (see front cover).

His party has nominated 74 candidates at the coming election, as will appear in next issue's pre-election survey.

A staunch patriot, Chief Leabua stands for full freedom and equality for the Basuto, together with co-operation with traders and missionaries. His party is thus the party of Basuto moderation.

Basuto self-confidence is shown in the manner in which they are preparing for the elections. Three main parties are in the field: The Congress Party, the National Party, and the Marematlou Party. The people are clearly taking easily to democracy, and the future looks good.

At the same time I foresee one great danger. It is quite clear that the country is in serious economic straits. The standard of living—always low—appears to be sinking even lower. Perhaps the most accurate criterion of the standard of living in a poor country are the vital statistics. Fortunately for the Basuto the World Health Organisation (WHO) have lent one of their experts, Dr. J. A. Muñoz, of Guatemala. He has worked out the vital statistics of the people by sampling methods, and finds that 41% of all Basuto have endemic goitre (the swollen thyroid gland in the throat caused by absence of iodine in food and water). He finds extreme malnutrition—the accompanying photographs of babies show an extreme case of under-feeding compared with an exceptionally well-fed child.



The last stages of starvation. Many children look like this; and many die.

Dr. Muñoz told me that his researches disclosed that the birth-rate, which was 30.6 per thousand in 1951, had dropped to 22 per thousand in 1957. He said that lack of food had made parents infertile. Infantile mortality (the death-rate for children under one year of age) he found was 116 per thousand children in 1957, and that it had doubled since 1951.

Poverty is also partly responsible for the fact that, for the first time, Basutoland is going to be grant-aided—i.e., that the Government cannot raise enough money to pay its own budget, and that money will, in future, have to be sent from England to balance the budget.

Apart from this help from England, UNICEF (the UN children's fund) is to be asked for 100,000 tons of dried milk, to be distributed under medical supervision, and the WHO possibly for four plants for the iodising of salt to cure endemic goitre.

The principle cause of this dreadful poverty is the low agricultural yields. Most Basuto farmers do not care enough about farming yields. The migrant lab-

our system of South Africa has led many men to look to the Union for money. In my view the biggest problem ahead of the country is the raising of yields. Under the leadership of Mr. Douglas Campbell, Director of Livestock and Agricultural Services, an excellent scheme is taking shape—the "Progressive Farmers' Scheme." The idea, briefly, is to concentrate on the few farmers who really do want to farm, instead of the masses who do not, and to make available to the few seed, credits, advice, that will enable them to make a real success of their farming. The hope—and I think a real hope—is that their neighbours will follow their example, but it will be a slow business.

Lack of Industries

The other main cause of poverty is the almost complete absence of industries. Basutoland has never had an inflow of white settlers. While in some ways being a good thing, it is quite clear that this is the principal cause of the lack of industries. The country also has never had anything from the Colonial Development Corporation, the British agency for colonial productivity pump-priming.

With rapid political development just round the corner the danger in Basutoland is that political advance will fly ahead of economic and social advance—the opposite to what has happened in the Belgian Congo. It is thus, I should judge, of the highest importance that something happen soon to begin the raising of standards of living in the country.

Britain has reached this conclusion herself, and has sent out a high-powered Economic Survey Mission, appointed in consultation with the World Bank who have nominated the chairman, Professor Chandler Morse, Professor of Economics, Cornell University, a man who made a deep impression on everyone in Basutoland.

Land Ownership

The Mission, I understand, have made it clear to the Basuto that there can be no development of any kind unless title deeds to enough land are made available to allow factories, dams, etc., to be built. Up till now there have been no title deeds in Basutoland, and the whole land has been owned communally, and held in trust for the nation by the chieftainship. It is likely that the Basuto will accept the need for title, and that the

way will be opened for big developments.

Among possible developments the biggest is the projected "Oxbow" lake, high in the basin of the Orange River. It is almost certain, however, that a forward-looking industrial policy could attract a fair amount of light industry to the country, and this is no doubt in the minds of the commissioners.

Food Shortage

It is essential for the government to take this side of things seriously, as the people are desperately short of food, and if the *lisiu* (granaries) remain empty after the new constitution has been going some time, there will be great disillusionment.

Two other matters of importance are coming up soon. On about 25 January Mr. Macmillan, the British Prime Minister, will visit the territory.



A well-fed child.

The other matter is the public disagreement between the Paramount Chief Designate, Constantine Bereng Seeiso, and the Regent Paramount Chief, his father's senior widow, Amelia Mantsebo Seeiso.

Despite all the dangers and difficulties the signs are good. There is enough common ground between the government and even the "extremist" Basuto; there is enough determination on all sides to exercise restraint; and there is enough faith in the future, to make it likely that the new constitution will work, and will be the door through which the Basuto will enter the modern world as equals.

In next fortnight's issue will appear an article on election prospects, on the political situation generally, and on the three main parties.



"I, chief of the Basuto, have confirmed" — thus the words on this century-old seal, given to Moshesh, father of the Basuto, by Sir Henry Pottinger, Governor of the Cape.

206 white civil servants (out of 2,105). This compares with the other two thus:

	African	White
Swaziland ..	1,053	452
Bechuanaland	1,453	401

Socially the shift is shown by the fact that it is possible for Africans to get first-class, non-segregated, treatment in the "white" hotels and bars of the country. The Maseru "white" club, for long a stronghold of colour exclusiveness, will face in a short time the fact that the British administration, as well as the Basuto, would be happy if a few Basuto members were elected.

In an interview with me, Mr. A. G. T. Chaplin, South African-born Resident Commissioner (virtually governor of the country) said that the relaxation which the hotels had made in their earlier colour-bar attitudes was being carefully phased, with the co-operation of the leaders of the Basutoland Congress Party as well as of other organisations.

I asked him what the effect had been on visitors from the Union. He told me that there had been no unpleasantness. In fact he had learnt that several white visitors to the Blue Mountain Inn at Teyateyaneng had been delighted to find a

THE DEVLIN REPORT

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CONTACT

WHAT TO DO WITH DE WET NEL'S RAND BAN

IN APRIL, 1959, the secretary of the Transvaal Division of the Liberal Party asked the Johannesburg City Council for a permit to enter Orlando Township (a "location" for Africans) to address a meeting which was to be held at the home of a member of the Liberal Party. Permission was refused by the person responsible, Councillor Patrick Lewis. The Liberal Party protested. A prolonged correspondence with the City Council ensued.

While this correspondence was going on, on 14 May, the BAD Department issued a circular to city and town councils. The relevant sections read as follows:

3. "The Department regards it as highly undesirable that malicious agitators should be given the opportunity of carrying on their activities in locations and sees no reason why this should be allowed.
4. "In order to avoid occurrences such as those mentioned in paragraph 1 entry into locations should be refused to any person not entitled to be granted the right of entry by reason of his legitimate business.
5. "Even where good grounds for granting applications to enter do apparently exist, extreme caution should be exercised, and at the least suspicion that propaganda of a racial or political nature may be spread, such applications should be refused."

Attempts were made by the Liberal Party authorities in the Transvaal to have the matter reviewed by the Council, but without success. Although during the course of the correspondence Councillor Lewis said that "each application to enter the townships will be considered on its merits" it is clear that, in his eyes as in the eyes of the BAD Department, the Liberal Party is classed as a party of "malicious agitators", and that to them permission will not be granted.

The Party has condemned this refusal, and has said that the position is intolerable.

It clearly is intolerable. The Liberal Party is proud to be a party of all races. If jacks-in-office and despotic bureaucrats are in future to forbid Houghton Liberals to visit Orlando, then an axe is laid at the roots of the Party's very existence.

The question now arises: what to do?

There really are only two alternatives, both difficult.

The first choice is to disregard the law, and to hold meetings, and to visit the townships without permits. The second is to accept the unjust decision with folded hands.

To deal with the second choice, no democrat worth anything can consider it for a moment. To accept the veto would be to retire from the fight on the instructions of Minister De Wet Nel. It would entail surrendering one's own self-respect. It would also entail leaving undone the patriotic duty laid on all democrats to do all in their power to resist tyranny, and to succour the victims of apartheid.

To ignore the ban and to redouble one's efforts to build the Party's strength in spite of Minister De Wet Nel is thus the only possible reaction to the ban.

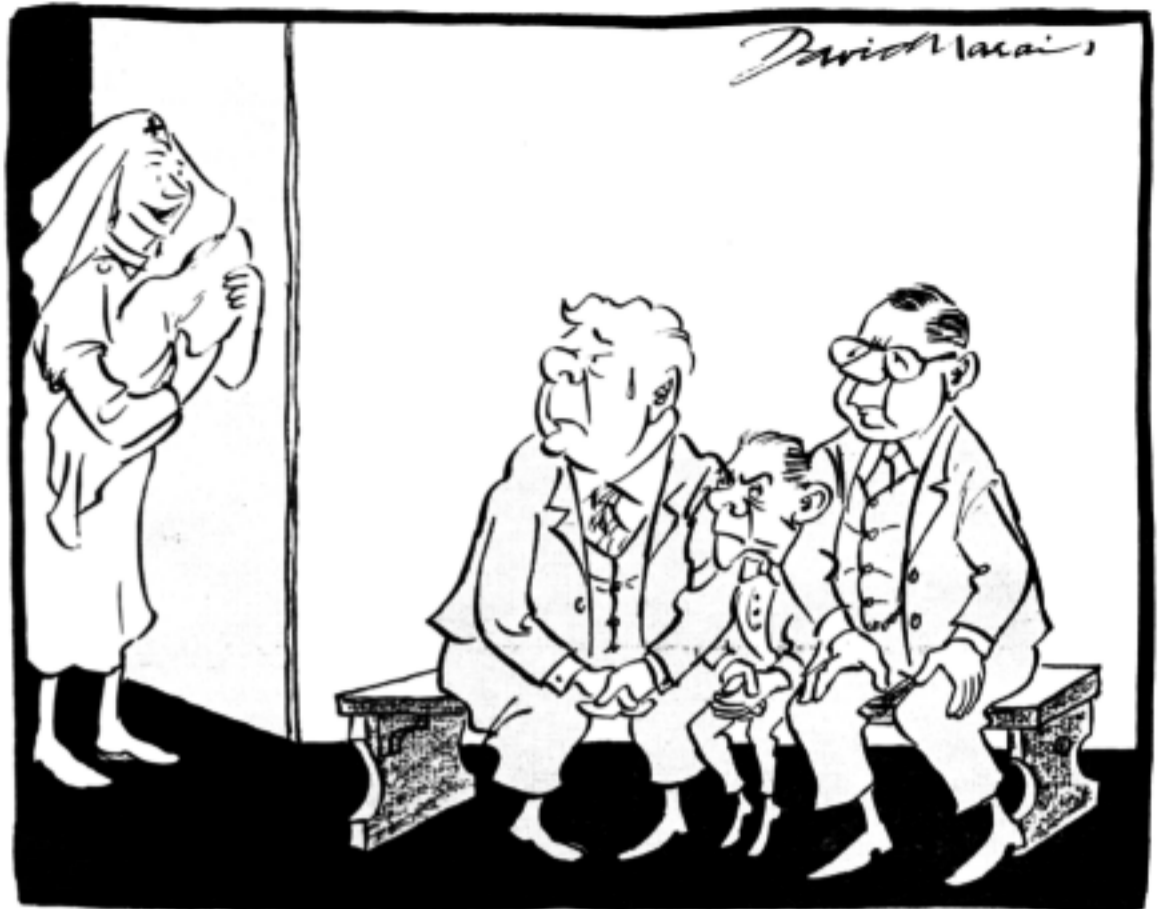
This might be costly, for the prosecutors might not merely charge the Liberals with ignoring the ban under the Urban Act: they might invoke the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1953—under which heavy penalties of years in prison and lashes might be imposed—we forget now just how many of each or what fines may be added.

But however costly it might be, such an act of courage would set afire the spirits of thousands now depressed and defeatist. It would put the government on the defensive: Minister Erasmus would have to decide whether to prosecute or not.

If he failed to prosecute, he would make a nonsense of the laws of intimidation which, more and more, are the sign-manual of this regime. But if he were to prosecute, he would, at a stroke, strengthen the Party, rivet it into the hearts of the whole people of South Africa, and hoist it a long way towards the taking over of power.

For in Africa today the prisons are the ante-rooms to the palaces of prime ministers.

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.



"It's a BOY-cott!"

U.S. Committee backs non-racialism in Africa

From a Correspondent

THE UNITED STATES should practise in Africa the same policy of racial equality that it applies at home—this is one of the firm recommendations made in a recent report prepared for the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Senate.

Although published in Washington in October last, no news of the report has hitherto appeared in the South African press.

The report was compiled by the well-known Department of African Studies in Northwestern University, which is situated in Evanston, Illinois, under the personal direction of Professor M. J. Herskovits, who last visited the Union in 1957, when he was invited to lecture in Pretoria and Stellenbosch.

The report gives the following examples of how the American Government could display its goodwill towards Africans:

- (1) All official American agencies should be forbidden, by the extension of existing internal legislation, to have any dealings with firms that practise racial discrimination.
- (2) American trade and other missions overseas should observe non-discriminatory rules in the appointment of their local staff.
- (3) Before they obtain tax concessions, American firms operating in Africa should be required to show the U.S. Treasury that they have used all legal means to comply with these principles.

That such pressure could have far-reaching consequences is indicated elsewhere in the report. In the Union alone, American firms "with substantial financial interests"

number 15 in the field of industrial machinery and equipment and 13 in that of drugs and cosmetics. (Since these

The report also recommends that the United States should extend to all African dependencies the policy it adopted in the case of the UN trust territory of Tanganyika. This policy favoured the announcement by the colonial power of a specific time-table showing how and when self-government is to be attained.

The report states bluntly that in the Union "people of

all races live under unceasing tension . . . The way of South Africa is a lonely one, out of step with the rest of the world in its ideology, so that the country finds itself continuously on the defensive in the forums of the world. Yet the counter-currents there continue to run strongly."

When non-western nations wish to convict the United States of inconsistency between principle and practice, they point to its friendship with the Union Government, the report warns.

ST. FAITH'S CRUSHED

ST. FAITH'S, the non-racial co-operative farming experiment started by Mr. and Mrs. Guy Clutton-Brock in Southern Rhodesia in 1949, has been brought to an end by a decision of the Mashonaland Diocese of the Church of England.

Its most prominent members have been dismissed or have resigned. The Clutton-Brocks left to start a new venture before the present troubles came to St. Faith's.

The diocese has decided to reorganise St. Faith's on new lines. The diocese's new policies are rejected by Mr. Clutton-Brock and by Mr. John Mutasa, who resigned after being removed from his post as farm manager. His place is being taken by a white person, Mr. J. van Zyl.

"The Church has failed completely because it has not kept its vow," Mr. Mutasa writes in a letter to a friend in London. "The idea is to go around us by saying St. Faith's is still existing as a co-operative so that people should think it is

still run for the benefit of the African people. It is clear to us that this is not so any longer."

The Bishop of Mashonaland denies that Mr. Mutasa's race has anything to do with his removal, and explains that there is no African known to the diocese with qualifications for the job of farm manager.

Mr. Clutton-Brock, who is at present on holiday in England, said in an interview:

"This is a tragedy which will have far-reaching effects at this particular juncture in the history of Central Africa. It will be deplored by countless Africans and by many liberal-minded Europeans and Asians.

"To-day at St. Faith's full responsibility for St. Faith's Farm has been taken over by a central agricultural committee of the diocese composed entirely of Europeans. The village committee is no longer permitted to meet. The employment of the bursar, Mr. Ralph Ibbott, who has worked under Mr. Mutasa for six years, has been terminated. The working partnership of years has been smashed."

PETER BROWN takes the...

... LONG VIEW

Apartheid—the Worst Investment



Peter Brown, Chairman of the Liberal Party

war, which he helped win, had ever been fought at all!

Did Field-Marshal Montgomery perhaps ask Dr. Verwoerd if he had ever felt under any obligation to sit down and discuss, with a non-white South African, what he thought of the great blueprint for the future, which he himself found so admirable?

One can forgive Field-Marshal Montgomery the superficiality of his observations. What one cannot forgive him is that he should have felt competent to make public comment on the basis of them. Yet one gains the unavoidable impression that he was invited out to South Africa precisely in order that he should make just such comments. It is here that the South African Foundation steps into the picture.

As far as one can see the Foundation consists roughly half-and-half of Nationalists

and professing non-Nationalists. What on earth are they doing together? Obviously they have come together to protect their business interests in the face of South Africa's growing unpopularity in the outside world. The non-Nationalists may not know it, although it would be difficult to believe that they do not, but what they are really doing is getting together with Nationalist business interests to persuade the world that *apartheid* isn't such a bad thing after all, for it is *apartheid* which is responsible for South Africa's growing unpopularity and isolation, and one can only raise South Africa's standing in the world either by getting rid of *apartheid* or by painting it up as attractively as possible.

Is the Foundation going to try to get rid of *apartheid*?

Of course it is not. How could it count Dr. Geyer or Dr. Nicol amongst its members if it were? If the Foundation tries to criticise *apartheid*

overseas, it will split from top to bottom in the twinkling of an eye. Its task, therefore, can only be to paint a rosy picture of South Africa and, by implication, of *apartheid*. It will be a propaganda organisation, even though indirectly, for the policies of the Nationalist Government, a more slick, subtle and respectable version of the State Information Service. Yet its sponsors claim that it is "non-political".

One is astonished that men, who claim to be opponents of *apartheid*, should have fallen so easily into the trap of supporting an organisation such as this. One is even more astonished that they should apparently think that it will, in the long run, serve their own interests. Non-white South Africans will look at the list of sponsors and they will be confirmed in their view that almost all white South Africans

are the same. Africans beyond our borders will do the same. True opponents of *apartheid*, who support ideas of state-ownership of industry, will gain ground.

What non-Nationalist sponsors of the Foundation have failed to realise is that, whatever short-term benefits it may bring, in the long run it can do no good at all. All it will do is to assist in prolonging the life of *apartheid*, and the longer *apartheid* lasts, the more disastrous will be the manner of its going.

If businessmen are really concerned with their future prospects in the Union, they can serve them best by identifying themselves with the interests of their non-white fellow citizens and by facing the fact that their businesses are a part of Africa.

To help bolster up a policy of increasing discrimination on a continent to which any discrimination is anathema could hardly be a worse investment.

DR. VERWOERD and his colleagues must be feeling rather satisfied.

What better Christmas present could they have had than Field-Marshal Montgomery's support and what better promise, they must be thinking, could there be for the future than the appearance of the South African Foundation?

It would need a very simple fellow to dissociate the Field-Marshal's recent pro-Nationalist statements from the emergence of the Foundation. Quite apart from the fact that he was the guest of Sir Francis de Guinand, who now emerges as a sponsor of the Foundation, the sort of thing he has been saying is just the sort of thing which the Foundation has announced that it is going to say. The tie-up is obvious.

Field-Marshal Montgomery's impressions of South Africa seem to have been singularly superficial. He speaks of the benefits of industrialisation to the non-white people. Did he speak to any non-white South African who has had his job reserved for white South Africans? Did he study the comparative figures, according to race, for any Group Areas removals in any town in South Africa? Did he speak to any African who sees the end of all he has ever striven for in a "blackspot removal"? Did he speak to any African at all?

He regards the Government's actions against "agitators" as justified. Did he meet any "agitators"? Did he hear from them what they were agitating against?

Field-Marshal Montgomery looks forward, in future, to a relaxation of the Colour Bar. He was last here in 1947. Either he saw nothing on that visit, nothing on this one, or nothing on either, for, if his observations had been at all penetrative, he could not fail to have seen that much of the last twelve years has been spent, by the Nationalist Government, in entrenching the Colour Bar where it already existed in 1947 and in extending it in directions where it did not then exist.

Field-Marshal Montgomery found Dr. Verwoerd a kindly man. It is a great pity that he did not have time to meet Coloured ex-servicemen, who were at Alamein with him, to find out what they felt about this kindness. He might have found them wondering why the

FAIR COMMENT

I'VE been studying Monty's political findings—made without talking to any non-whites at all, but after listening to his friend De Guinand's parade-ground politics. There's a lot of amusement to be had in it.

Dr. Verwoerd struck Monty as "quiet-spoken and kindly". Although the Prime Minister spoke quietly, he must have blarneyed poor old Monty properly, because he apparently made him think that Nat. policy involved a relaxation of segregation, instead of the cruel exaggerations imposed on us over eleven years by this same Verwoerd. For Monty said: "At the moment there is almost complete segregation and one cannot suddenly break down all the barriers between Black and White . . . But one may hope that as time goes on there will be a gradual and natural relaxation of the total segregation. There must be a grand design—a master plan . . ."

Could anyone else get hold of so many wrong ends of the stick at the same time?

I suppose that politicians and soldiers ought not to exchange their roles. I bet Verwoerd wouldn't have done as well as Monty at Alamein.

MONTY, after listening to Dr. Verwoerd telling him all about his Bantustan blueprint, said "It struck me as a sincere attempt to work out a solution which would be acceptable to the White people, and which would not be unjust to the Native population".

The blueprint could easily be tested for justice. Let Dr. Verwoerd draw a line through South Africa. One side would be for the non-whites, and one side for the whites. Then let him call in the non-whites to choose which piece they would want. That would be (perhaps) just.

But for one party to draw the line, and to give 75% of the population only 13% of the land without consulting them, is not just. And it must not be forgotten that juridically the non-whites are as fully South African citizens as are the whites.

FOR many years Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, has been a member of the

South African Institute of Race Relations. Now the City Council has decided to sever its connection. It happens at an unfortunate time, when "The Institute" needs all the support it can get.

If only the reason were good. It might have been that the Council wished to support the Rhodesian institute. But no, the reason given is that "Salisbury was not getting sufficient material of any value from (the Institute). The Council is better served on African affairs by its membership of the Institute of Administrators of Non-European Affairs".

To me this sounds plain crazy. Even the strongest critics of Race Relations are compelled to admire its documentation of our race situation. But I have never heard of any publication of the other body except the speech of the President, Mr. Rogers, which we were compelled to notice very unfavourably a few months ago in *Contact*.

ON another page (this fortnight I've checked our cross-references!) Edward Roux suggests that Liberals ought to be republicans.

I think he's chosen his time well. A few months ago few English-speaking South Africans would have listened to such "disloyal" ideas. But now, with Blackie Swart as the Governor-General, in the position of constitutional monarch, I'm sure many will have changed their minds.

On the whole, Edward convinces me. As things are I think an all-embracing South African patriotism will grow faster if we become a republic.

SOUTH AFRICA and the United Kingdom are to exchange eleven teachers during the next twelve months.

Good. But have white teachers hogged all the South African places in this scheme? If so how is Britain going to explain herself to the South African non-whites, who for over a century have been second to none in loyalty to the crown?

Or is loyalty less loyal to Britain when the skin is black?

by Patrick Duncan

A MUCH-TRAVELLED visitor to South Africa told me the other day that the South African government kept on bringing to his mind a quotation from Goethe. This runs:

Nothing is more terrible than ignorance in action.

I SEE the British are seriously considering having an "Ombudsman" on the Swedish model. An ombudsman is a representative of the common man. If anyone has a grievance against the government, and fails to get satisfaction against the government machine in the usual way, he can go to the ombudsman. His job is to look into it. He has the power to summon any civil servant, to investigate any files, and to do almost anything that is necessary to settle a grievance.

Ombudsmen have proved themselves over many years in Scandinavia, and Britain, with her huge semi-socialist state machine, now feels the need of one too. I hope the British get one.

I hope we do too in South Africa. The only thing is that we need about twenty—and there would be twenty years' work for them if we got them.

Footnote: It was *The Observer* (Africa's friend in London) that first brought up the idea in England. And it is an indication of the great influence of this newspaper that the idea has caught on so fast.

A YEAR is ending. A decade is ending. Future ages will look back on the fifties as the high point of Afrikaner nationalism and of *apartheid*.

From now on the grade is downwards for them. Their operation is becoming and will become a delaying, holding action.

Democrats must be a step ahead always. Let the sixties be a decade of offensives. Let us choose the issues, the timing. Let us too start thinking about the real issue.

In our view it is this: so to manage the now inevitable and seismic change from *apartheid* to equality as to harm as little as possible the peoples of our country.

In the meantime, to all readers, from all at *Contact*—all the best for 1960.

What is going on in Nigeria as

Biggest African State Nears Freedom

THE coalition Government being formed in Lagos, the Federal capital of Nigeria, will lead Britain's largest remaining colony into independence in October, 1960. Nigeria is Africa's giant. Its 35 million inhabitants make it the biggest country in the continent; its wealth—in palm oil, timber, cocoa, oil, tin and other metals—make it potentially the richest territory after South Africa and possibly the Belgian Congo; its middle-class and university-trained professionals are numerically greater than can be found anywhere else in Black Africa.

Given political stability and a dynamic Government it could easily become the most powerful factor in the movement towards a United States of Africa. But a great deal depends on its first independent Government.

The task of forming this Government has fallen to Alhaji Abubaker Tafawa Balewa, a mild and ascetic Muslim politician who hates oratory, mass appeals and political adventurism. He filled the post of Prime Minister in the interim Federal Government quietly and conscientiously. He is intelligent and shrewd but cautious and modest.

Two Alternatives

His party, the Northern People's Congress (NPC) emerged as the strongest single party from last week's general elections. But it is not strong enough to form a Government of its own. He has therefore been faced with two alternatives, neither of them easy: either to invite into his coalition Chief Awolowo, the liberal leader of the Action Group which emerged as the third strongest party; or to turn to the militantly radical Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe—better known as Zik—the leader of the National Council for Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC).

Because of bitter political differences between the NPC and the Action Group there is little doubt that he will prefer to enter into a coalition with Zik's NCNC. The paradox is that the NPC and the NCNC represent the two extremes of Nigerian politics.

The Northern People's Congress stands well to the right. Its leadership is drawn mainly from the feudal rulers of the old Islamic society in the North, although Abubaker himself is an exception. It seeks to maintain the traditions of its Muslim society and views any headlong rush into modernity with considerable uneasiness. In foreign affairs it stands committed uncompromisingly to an open alliance with the West. Finally, it is anxious to maintain the tribal demarcations confirmed by the boundaries of Nigeria's three powerful Regional States.

To the Left

The National Council for Nigeria and the Cameroons stands well to the left. Its brilliant leader Zik believes wholeheartedly in modernising the whole of Nigeria's society. It favours the integration of Nigeria's tribal society into a single nation. It is bitterly opposed to feudal rule. Although it believes strongly in religious tolerance,

by
Colin Legum

its leadership is largely Christian. In foreign affairs it stands for a policy of non-commitment between the West and the East.

The difficulties in the way of a coalition between these two parties are obvious: but a common enmity of the Action Group may force Nigeria's extreme right and extreme left to work together.

Zik will demand his terms. He may either become Nigeria's first Foreign Minister or its representative at the United Nations. But how will his own neutralist policies square with Abubaker's pro-Western orientation?

Also Zik is the elder statesman of the idea of a United States of West Africa, now being piloted by his protege, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Premier of Ghana. He will certainly want to take a prominent part in this movement. Abubaker accepts the idea of such a United States, but wishes to avoid becoming entangled too soon in the politics of pan-African nationalism.

Paradoxical

So the paradoxical coalition, if formed, is bound to produce its own contradictions; which doesn't mean that it will not work. Both Zik and Abubaker are flexible politicians, and in the beginning they will both be primarily concerned with making a success of Nigeria's independence.

Many of its difficult problems remain to be settled after independence. The most urgent of these is the future of the tribal minorities. Zik strongly favours the creation of more Regional States; so does Awolowo, but Abubaker is totally opposed to this idea.

Before the Nigerian giant unwinds itself from its historical legacy of tribalism and colonialism and launches itself into the greater pan-African struggle, it is going to have to make several painful internal adjustments. The crucial question is whether it can make these adjustments without shaking apart the component parts of the Federation.

The election results make it less likely that Nigeria will split up. A coalition between the right and the left, with a strong centralist Opposition party, offers a reasonable equilibrium during the difficult birth of the new nation.

Alone of all the new African States, Nigeria emerges with rea-

sonable prospects of maintaining intact its democratic institutions during the painful years of adjustment to independence. It is the first African Federal State; all the others have unitary governments. There are likely to be great advantages in the fluidity of its federal system. But, more important, there is no single party strong enough to exercise a predominant power over the rest. This delicate balance of power is the best guarantee for the continuation of a flourishing Opposition in Nigeria.

Ghanaian Wins Coveted Oxford Post

WHEN Mr. William Abraham was elected as a Fellow of All Souls' College,† everyone was surprised and delighted. All Souls is the most exclusive of Oxford's Colleges, and "Willie" Abraham is the first African ever to become a member of it.

All Souls' is exclusive because scarcely a dozen scholars live within its splendid walls. It is unusual because, unlike any other College, it has no students. Its Fellows have impressive rooms and Willie Abraham can now regularly share the company of such distinguished scholars as Sir Isaiah Berlin.

Although extremely modest about his achievement, Willie immediately agreed to let me interview him. He appreciates the values for which *Contact* stands, and he admires the way that *Contact* fights for these values.

He was born twenty-five years ago in Lagos, Nigeria. Both his parents came from Ghana—or the Gold Coast, as it was then called. When Willie was eleven years old, his parents returned to Ghana, taking him with them. Here he completed his school education at Adisadel College, on the Cape Coast, taking his Higher Certificate in Arts in 1954. He then went to Accra, becoming a student at the University College of Ghana.

His intention was to study mathematics at the University, and he started to do so. Then one day the Professor of Philosophy (Taylor) invited him to tea. Taylor so impressed Willie that he changed his mind, switching to Philosophy in which he took his B.A. degree in 1957. His examiner was J. N. Findlay, of London, who was once Professor of Philosophy at Natal University.

While a student in Accra, Willie became President and Organiser of the National Union of Students, in addition to being a secretary of the World University Service. He recalls with pleasure that in his official position he sent letters of protest to the South African and East German Governments.



Nigerian Premiers met Britain's Prime Minister at No. 10 Downing Street, London, recently. L. to r.: Saradauna of Sokoto (Northern), Alhaji Abubaker Balewa (Federal), Mr. Harold Macmillan (Britain), Chief Obafemi Awolowo (Western), Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe (Eastern).

by
Kevin Holland

He left Ghana to study in Oxford for his B.Phil degree, awarded him in June 1959. At present he is an Assistant Lecturer in Philosophy in the University of Liverpool.

He thinks he may resign from his Liverpool post: that would give him more time to concentrate on the development of his own ideas. The Fellowship runs for

seven years. With a smile he says: "I'll start with a bit of tutoring. Later, perhaps, I'll give a few lectures".

It is not surprising that his main interest should be in logic. After all, he started out as a mathematician. He loves music, Beethoven quartets in particular. But he also loves Ghana, of which he feels proud. Ghana, too, has reason to be proud of him. When his Fellowship expires, he thinks he will return to his country. It will benefit from the example of his friendliness, modesty and humour.

† All Souls elects its Fellows on the basis of a grueling set of special examinations. Eighteen "bright boys" competed in these examinations this year, but only three were successful. William Abraham was among the three.
‡ Conducted by the (Anglican) Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

AFRICAN FARMERS ON IRRIGATED LAND

From *Contact* Correspondent

MUFULIRA, N.R.: Three Africans who began work as ordinary farm labourers three years ago on the Rhodesia Selection Trust's experimental "polder" scheme on the Kafue Flats in Northern Rhodesia have been chosen as the first tenant farmers there. If the experiment is successful, the scheme will be extended, and it will provide a high standard of living for up to 20,000 African families.

The three Africans are Messrs. Enos Simoba, Solomon Ngandu and Matu Ngomo.

Each family will be provided with a well-built brick house, two oxen, fish ponds, and poultry, and 20 acres of land.

Each farmer, under the supervision of the polder staff, will farm on his own account and will be paid a guaranteed wage. The main crop will be ten acres of wheat grown for sale.

Against this crop will be charged all relevant costs, including fertilisers, seeds and contract ploughing, any balance to be paid to the farmer.

It is hoped that the experiment will prove that African small-holders can not only grow crops for sale but will be able to

provide themselves with home-grown produce giving them an improved and better-balanced diet. They will be encouraged to grow vegetables, potatoes and such fruits as figs, mulberries, pawpaws and granadillas.

In addition seven steers will be put on each of the African small-holdings. Two farms will be irrigated by sprinkler system and the third with the simpler method of flood control. If the scheme proves a success, it is estimated that 450,000 acres on the Flats could be irrigated by half the flow of the Kafue River.

These 450,000 acres could support about 3,000 white workers or some 20,000 twenty-acre farms for Africans.

TWO CHEERS FOR THE PROGRESSIVES

THE coming session of Parliament will test the mettle of the Progressive Party. For it is one thing to draft paper programmes and another thing to expound them under fire in debate on the floor of the House of Assembly.

Everyone outside the dreary ranks of the two big discredited parties applauded the decision of the Progressives to leave the deadly atmosphere of the United Party and go out into the cold but real world of honest controversy.

Every white reader of this journal who may get a chance to vote for the Progressive Party will obviously do so, provided that there is no Liberal candidate contesting the same seat. And I have no doubt that the Liberals will be generous enough to refrain from contesting a seat where their candidate would spoil the chances of a Progressive. Friendly relations between the two parties are a necessity dictated by common sense.

But perhaps the Progressives need to be reminded that it takes two to make a friendship.

Having saluted the Progressives, I want to say a word or two in criticism of their policies in the hope of helping, not hurting them. Every party must expect its policies to be scrutinised by friends and enemies alike; and a wise party recognises that candid criticism has a proper function in public life.

There are two major defects in the Progressive Party's programme and both are due to a one-sided outlook on economic progress.

The Progressives rightly want to make it easier for employers to use African labour in a more efficient way, free from the restrictions that now hamper them. In this idea there is nothing new, for it is not employers who ever asked for the industrial colour bar. But although it is right to dismantle this barrier, it is short-sighted to try and do so unless at the same time workmen are put in a position to defend their own interests in relation to their employers.

Colour Bar

If the colour bar in industry is lowered or broken, employers will make bigger profits. Experience shows that they will share these profits with their workmen only if the latter can exercise pressure through trade unions.

This is the reason why the Progressives made a serious mistake in excluding all unskilled Africans from the right to have free trade unions. No doubt the unspoken reason behind the exclusion was the interests of the mine-owners, who have always been hostile to African trade unions. But I, for one, cannot accept the assumption that what is good for the mine-owners must necessarily be good for South Africa.

By their hostility to trade unionism, the mine-owners (like the farmers) ally themselves with feudalism against progress. Of course, the present unfair economic system suits their own selfish interests—which is why they—and the newspapers they influence—have no fundamental criticism to make of the existing framework of race relations.

This is one of the facts of South African life known to every realist. Yet the Progressives

by
Julius Lewin

sives have failed to recognize it. They do indeed declare themselves in favour of a minimum wage (though no figure is indicated) and they want, bravely, to abolish the pass laws. Then how in the name of reason can they deny to the lowest paid workers, the very poorest section of the whole community, the elementary right to try and run their own trade unions?

The Progressives adopted another fundamental aim that is significant. They declare their attachment to an economy based on "private enterprise." This is sheer conservatism of the kind favoured by the least informed type of business man. Every modern state—and especially those in Africa—has found public enterprise to be an essential part of its economy.

In these days the state itself must play a positive part in planning economic progress, as indeed it already does in this country by running a number of giant enterprises such as the railways, the iron and steel in-

dustry, and the production of electricity and various other essential services.

Municipal enterprise also takes many forms, such as low-cost housing. The modern state is actually based on a mixed economy, with areas of public as well as private enterprise. Debate is necessary on the extent of each area and on their relationship.

But from the experience of many other countries, whose standards of welfare we envy, it is impossible to claim that blind, uncontrolled economic forces will by themselves produce social progress. Of course, it is true that in the wrong hands (as in South Africa to-day) the actions of the state can give rise to inefficiency and worse dangers.

What is under discussion, however, is the principle of economic welfare, not the weakness of a particular government.

The passion for private, profit-making business, without proper regulations in the public interest, and the lack of enthusiasm for the principle of collective bargaining by free trade unions was no accident in the framing of the Progressive policies. It is, in fact, a reflection of the essen-

tially conservative character of the new party.

Those most influential in the party are painfully anxious not to be mistaken for liberals. This anxiety leads them to claim freedom and prosperity for employers, but to omit to ensure a fair share of these desirable things for those in employment—who are the great majority of people.

The Progressives are right to appeal to businessmen but they are wrong to cast their appeal in a form that neglects the vital interests of all who are not businessmen. Capital and labour have certain interests in common but conflict, not harmony, is the result of overlooking the interests of the weaker side, which is labour.

Will the Progressives realize this before they have gone too far in the wrong direction?

Honesty requires more than mere juggling with words. Already there are signs that the Progressives may be tempted to become a *multi-facial* party, taking one step sideways for every two steps forward.

Politicians should not be allowed to use words to conceal their true aims.

Behind the many involved sentences of the Progressive programme there is discernible not so much a desire for political freedom as for unrestrained economic freedom for employers only, in the sense of *laissez faire*

as it was practised in the nineteenth century.

Yet the old idea that, somehow or other, free markets would make free men, is to-day discredited because it ran counter to human experience all the world over. Nowhere has poverty been abolished by simply letting businessmen do whatever they please with the labour they employ.

To set men free from poverty and other hardships, their common humanity must first be recognized. This implies granting political rights not only to a selected stratum of middle class non-Europeans (as I predict the Progressives will eventually propose for their franchise policy), but the creation of a much wider electorate.

Here again it will be seen that the Progressives have their feet planted firmly in the nineteenth century. They want to bring South Africa up-to-date, but the date they want to bring it up to is 1832.

Above all, the Progressives have their eyes fixed on the next election. They are already inclined rather to lower their aims to the level of the voters, than to raise the voters to an understanding of higher aims.

While the next election is certainly a goal to keep in mind, what matters more in the long run than the next election is the next generation.

I-AFRIKA NOLWIMI LWESINGESI

INQAKU eliphume ngoNovemba kwincwadi yeSebe leMfundo yabaNtsundu lifundeka ngokunomdla nakuba linxunguphalisa imiphfumlo. Umbhali walo ongafundanga ngokupheleleyo (le ndodana kunokwenzeka ukuba iligosana elimhlophe leSebe) ubhala clethoba kuludwe lwamanqaku athi "Imisebenzi nabaNtsundu." Eli nqaku liphethe umcimbi othi "Umsebenzi wokuchola-chola Iindaba."

Sixelwa okokuba "noxa okwangoku kungekabikho phepha-ndaba le mihla-ngemihla labaNtsundu elipapashwayo, imfuneko yalo kwakunye nezinye izinto ezifundekayo iyakuqina ngokuqina kwemfundo yabaNtsundu." Inxelo eyaphuma kwi-Unesco (iqumru lentlanganisela yezizwe elijongene nezemfundo, intlalalo-ntle nempucuko) ngomnyaka ka 1952 ithi kweli lomDibaniso ekhulwini ngalinye labaNtsundu ngama 22 abafundileyo. Ngomnyaka ka 1958 eli nani lenyuka laba ngama 35 ekhulwini ngalinye. Umbhali ugqibela ngelithi ngomnyaka ka 2.000 bonke abantsundu kweli lomDibaniso bobekwazi ukufunda nokubhala.

Ngenxa yesi sizathu ikamva lonqwenela ukuba ngumchola-choli weendaba libonakala ngokungathi lehlile kakhulu. Libonakala ngokungathi loba lihle ngokuqambileyo ukuba umchola-choli lowo wothi azayamisane nenkqubo yeSebe leMfundo yabaNtsundu. Ngokunjalo "umchola-choli oNtsundu kufuneka abe nolwazi oluzelelyo lweelimi zase-mthethweni khona ukuze abe nakho ukusoloko ezihlaziya ngolwazi lwemithethwana enxulumene nomsebenzi wakhe . . . ulwazi loLawulo lwabaNtsundu nesifundo

As an experiment we are publishing this article in Xhosa. Will readers kindly write and say what they think of it?

Senza iingxelo ngokubhala eli nqaku ngesiXhosa. Singanovuyi abafundi ukuba banokubhala basinike izimvo zabo ngeli lingxelo.

esimalunga nomNtu (Anthropology) lofumaneka luluncedo olukhulu kuye. Olu lwazi luya kuncedisa ekuqondeni inkqubo kaRulumente nemithetho yolawulo lumenze akwazi nokumisa intetho ecafileyo phambi kwabafundi bakhe. Umchola-choli unesandla ekubumbeni izimvo zabantu kwaye ke ngoko mkhulu umsebenzi ophezu kwamagxa akhe." Kanjalo "umchola-choli unakho ukuthi ngendlela engazicacisiyo atsalele abafundi bakhe ekwamkeleni iingcinga ezintsha, iindlela ezintsha zentlalo, njalo-njalo."

Icace ngokwaneleyo into esegqondweni yombhali weli nqaku. Kunokwenzeka okokuba bobakho abachola-choli bama-Afrika abaya kuvumelana nezi ngqondo. Ngokungathandabuzekiyo baya kuqeshelwa ukubhala amanqaku aya kupapashwa kwiincwadi ezifana nale yeSebe leMfundo. Abanye abachola-choli bosuka "inkqubo

kaRulumente nemithetho yolawulo" bayazi ngokugqithisileyo emgceeni. Kodwa ke kukho ingxaki eyindoqo malunga nemfundo nomsebenzi wobuchola-choli athe umbhali weli nqaku akaphumelela ukuxoxa ngayo. Ngokusenyani-sweni usixelela ukuba umchola-choli womAfrika kufuneka enolwazi lweelwimi eziliqela: IsiNgesi nesibhulu "ebuncinaneni iilwimi ezimbalwa zabaNtsundu." Kodwa ke akathethi nto ngenkqubo kaRulumente malunga neelwimi emfundweni kwanagendlela eyothi le nkqubo isebenze ngayo kubabhali nabafundi.

Malunga neelwimi, uRulumente unengqondo ezimbini azithyala ngamandla. Eyokuqala yeyokuba umntwana ma kafundiswe ngolwimi azalelwe kulo; eyesibini yeyokuba isiBhulu sibe lulwimi lwesibini alufundayo umntwana. Okwangoku iSebe linyanzelekile okokuba lithi xa lisebenza nabaNtsundu abafundileyo lisebenzise isiNgesi. Kodwa ke ukuba inkqubo kaRulumente iyaphumelela kumele okokuba isizukulwana esizayo sama-Afrika siya kuba nolwazi lweentetho zesiNtu nesibhulu kuu-phela. Ngale ndlela boba banqunyulwe elizweni, nakwamanye ama-Afrika agentla komlambo iLimpopo apho isiNgesi nesi-Frentshi zimliselweyo ekubeni zizitya zokuphatha imfundo ephakamileyo, nalapho isiNgesi samkelwe nje ngentetho yokudibanisa i-Afrika eNtsha.

Ukuthotha kolwazi lwesiNgesi kungabuhlungu kubantu bomZantsi Afrika abamhlophe nabaNtsundu. IsiNgesi lulwimi lwelizwe liphela. Iincwadi ezibhalwe ngesiNgesi zingaphezulu ngenani kuna-

zo zonke ezibhalwe ngezinye iilwimi zidityanisiwe. IsiBhulu asinakho ukuze sithabathe indawo yesiNgesi. Maninzi amasebe olwazi ekungekho kuwo negama elinye elibhalwe gesiBhulu. Oku asikukho ukuzama ukusingela phantsi ulwimi olunencasa yalo nobuhle balo. Ngokungathandabuzekiyo enye yeenjongo zokunyanzelisa isiBhulu kwabangemhlophe kukwenza ukuba kubekho imfuneko yeetitshala zesiBhulu, iincwadi zesiBhulu kwakunye namaphephandaba khona ukuze kubekho imfuneko yababhali nabapapashi besibhulu. Le ndawo inakho ukunyusa ukubaluleka kwesiBhulu elizweni kananjalo inyuse umhlaba wokusebenziseka kwaso.

Kodwa ke kungani okokuba inzalelwane yeli lizwe yenziwa amaxhoba alenkqubo? Naku isiNgesi sesikhule saba yintetho ehlanganisa amaXhosa, amaZulu, abeSuthu namaTshangana aphumileyo ekuziphatheni ngokubhlanga angana empucukweni yase-ntshonalanga. Naloo maphephandaba azibiza ngokuthi angawabaNtsundu (Zonk, Drum, World, Golden City Post) abhalwe ngesiNgesi. Ukungafundisi isiNgesi kukuzama ukuvala umsinga oye ufumana amandla phezu kwamanye kweli khulu liduleyo leminyaka.

Abo bethu abaxhasa intshukumo yenkululeko eAfrika, abafuna kwande ulwazi kuthotho ikratshi kufuneka behlangene bakhusele isiNgesi. Ngumcimbi obaluleke kakhulu lo ekubuseni isizwe. Kufuneka siqingqe iindlela zokuncedana nama-Afrika, nokuba ithi ni yona "iBantu Education", siwancede nasekulondolezeni nasekwan-diseni ulwazi lwawo lwesiNgesi.



SAM SLY'S CORNER

FORTNIGHTLY NOTES ON BOOKS AND THE PRESS



Intimations

A spine-chilling half-hour may be spent reading the first and only issue of a journal called *Rassebakens*. It was published in April 1939 by Die Afrikanerbond vir Rassestudies, under the chief editorship of that interesting symptom of our times, Nkosi uC. W. Prinsloo, then of the Bantu languages department of Pretoria University. Mr. Prinsloo is, of course, assured of immortality. Not on the strength of what he said in his article, which gave the sort of history of miscegenation one might have expected from Pretoria University in April 1939. Certainly not for his work as chief barker for the Bantustan flea-circus (and he has some prize boobies to sell the public as chiefs). Professor Hoernlé found in Prinsloo's *Rassebakens* article the best example of "intense hatred of liberalism" and has given him immortality by mentioning him in *South African Native Policy and the Liberal Spirit*. (Admittedly only in half a footnote to p. 103, but still, fame is fame.)

Our literary editors announce that Hoernlé's invaluable book is to be the subject of one of the "Re-views" that will appear on these pages in the first half of this year.

Your New Year resolution: not to use the words "viable", "re-think" or "operative word" once in 1960.

Inspiration

Of over a hundred school magazines I made it my business to see last month, the *Diamantveld-hoërskooljaarblad* was the most revealing. This Kimberley school, whose principal, Dr. O'Grady, has been given a well-earned post at one of the new tribal colleges, takes its politics seriously. A matric pupil writes on South Africa's place in the world ("unfortunately we are a mere handful of whites"), a girl in Standard Nine deals vigorously with "*Die Worstelstryd om Suidwes-Afrika vir Blankes Veilig te Maak*" and is not shy of using the old South African word *kaffer*. Less predictable was an imaginative piece, "Old Faithful", about an elderly African farm servant whom a 16-year-old white boy reveres. He is described with love, rather as if he were an old sheendog. The ending (doctored by the editor?) is puzzling:

"The day old Tom passes away I shall grieve for him, not as a Native, but as my one personal friend and adviser".

Information

This sentimental attitude towards African and Coloured individuals informs articles in more than a few of these magazines. The tattered, shivering little newspaper seller is given a red apple and a florin by a smiling *witbaas* ("Gratitude flooded over him like a tidal wave"); old Jonas thinks of his youth and mourns his old *meid*, Saartjie. These are on the credit side. I suppose. There is no sign of the same thing from the English, though there is a note of social

responsibility here and there. Coloured and Indian contributors are not afraid to refer to hardships in their magazines. From African schools I saw only *The Eagle*, Healdtown, which is in the first rank. The best was *The Olympian*, Clairwood Indian High School. Pearson High School, Port Elizabeth, did well, and the Afrikaans-medium high school at Alexandria produced an interesting memento of the *Wonder van Afrikaans* celebrations. On the whole the magazines recalled the criticism that our educational system is 50 years out of date, recently made by Professor Lloyd on leaving Wits for the chair of education at Cambridge.

Unwordiness

THEORIA is a journal of studies in the arts, humanities and social sciences, edited by Dr. Edgar Brookes and Miss Christina van Heyningen in Pietermaritzburg. Recalling without much nostalgia the shining editorial prose in similar magazines—from Connolly to Segal—I read *Theoria's* editorials with satisfaction. In Nos. 10 and 11 there were seven lines each: No. 12 reads:—

It has fallen to the lot of the more garrulous of the two Editors to write this Editorial. Can he achieve the tour de force of being for once more laconic than his colleague? He can.

In a wordy world this is exemplary. It also has the true Brookes touch—it reads as if composed for translation into Latin.

Gloom trounced

In No. 11 of *Theoria* one C. Webb wrote about the "Great Illusion" that "man himself by careful planning has it within his power to order the future in the way he desires". Gloomy C. Webb puts up a case for doing nothing outside personal relationships, since plans "for the radical transformation of our society" will almost inevitably become perverted. Replying in No. 12, Dr. Hans Meidner makes his trouncing of C. Webb look easy: uncritical adherence to plans is the danger, not the plans themselves. Yet C. Webb's argument should be read by Liberals who believe that we can make a common society by smashing the colour bar. You cannot legislate prejudice away. This is a battle of individual relations, the field of every patriot in the fight for a common society.

Hottentots or Not

ROCK PAINTINGS OF THE SOUTH-WEST CAPE. By Townley Johnson, Hyme Rabinowitz & Percy Sieff (Nasionale Boekhandel Bpk.), 25s.

DURING the latter half of the last century there was in Cape Town considerable public interest in Bushman paintings. People like Dr. W. Bleek, Miss Lucy Lloyd, Dr. G. Theal, W. Palsgrave and others took an active interest in this art, and some even ventured so far as to search for them in the mountain ranges north of the Mother

City. Andrew Geddes Bain, road-builder and naturalist, traced many paintings in the Clanwilliam District and exhibited them at the Colonial Exhibitions in London in 1878 and 1886.

It was almost a century later that Messrs. Townley Johnson, Rabinowitz and Sieff set out to rediscover the forgotten paintings of this area. The result of their many weekends in the veld has just been published with a bilingual text. It is mainly a picture book with one colour plate and 48 in half-tone. Some of the plates are actual photographs of paintings, though sometimes rather crudely retouched, while the rest are tracings superimposed on the photograph of a rock surface. This latter method gives a naturalistic even if not a very honest picture.

The late Prof. A. J. H. Goodwin suggests in the foreword that many of the rock paintings in the South-west Cape were not made by Bushmen but by Hottentots. The three authors are more cautious and leave the question open as to who were the artists. They gave a short résumé of what six years' search and study have taught them about the painters and their techniques and styles. Oldest are probably the pictures of crusader-like figures in yellow garments at Brakfontein, while the pictures of white people and horse carriages at Stompfontein and ships at Ceres and Porterville carry this art right into European times.

We can only hope that this praiseworthy achievement will re-awaken the public to the value of these rock paintings in terms of art and man's history.

J. RUDNER

An Oxford Goal

THE SUBSTANCE. By Brian Bamford (R. Beerman, Cape Town) 17s. 6d.

MAX BEERBOHM said something about Americans not liking Oxford enough and colonials liking it too much. Mr. Bamford simply ate it up and his book is a pleasantly readable and ingenuous account of his three years there as a South African Rhodes Scholar. It does not, as is claimed, "convey the substance of Oxford life" so much as of average - South - African - Rhodes-Scholar life, which is a very minor facet of the whole.

Mr. Bamford's time at Oxford was shortened by severe polio, which kept him down for nine months. He managed to take a first in law, nonetheless, which achievement, with the occasional evidence of this book, shows him to have an intelligence that even a stereotyped South African "old school tie" education could not crush. But Oxford seems somehow to have failed to awaken this intelligence of his, which would have made him do that dangerous and frowned-on thing for a young white South African of his stamp—namely, to *think*. Oxford, indeed, seems to fail with all but a few of the South African Rhodes Scholars, perhaps because they go there from our universities, where their brains have been neatly sealed off for all time.

Though his chapter on Rhodes is not, as the blurb boasts, "a unique view of a unique man", he does attempt a defence of the Rhodes Scholarships. He accepts as a good thing, in fact, the criticism that they produce solid citizens rather than leaders of action or thought.

To the present reviewer, a nasty aspect of the Rhodes Scholar system is the hogging of all the South African scholarships (there have been more than 400 so far) by whites. What a chance for Mr. Bamford and fellow Rhodes Scholars to pay back something to South Africa for what Rhodes's South African fortune gave them! Could 1960 be the first year of both university *apartheid* and of black or coloured South African Rhodes Scholars? If it is too late for that, it could still see the start of a campaign towards this goal.

As things are, Sir John Maud's foreword makes sorry reading, with its reference to "that share of Oxford's wealth which is the common inheritance of all South Africans who have the wish and power to claim it".

S.S.

Arms and the Man I Sing

1

DIE ENKELING. By S. V. Petersen (second edition, Maskew Miller) 11s.

GHAAP EN KAMBRO. By Boerneef (Nasionale Boekhandel) 13s. 6d.

AFRIKAANS poetry sells, as the appearance of a second edition of S. V. Petersen's *Die Enkeling* seems to prove. Or should this reprint be ascribed to a belated interest in the browner brothers of the Cape?

Die Enkeling is not very good poetry, it is too raw with the bitterness of "die vloekstraf van 'n donker huid". And this alternating despair and revolt can only return to childhood memories to achieve a nostalgic and inadequate peace. But from red aloe under the Langeberge, from the simple beauty of the Kafferkuilsrivier the poet has to return to the bitter reality of a man with the wrong colour of skin. And after two volumes of poetry and one novel, S. V. Petersen has preferred to remain silent for long years.

Meanwhile quite a strange new fashion has crept into local poetry—as written by the white-skinned Afrikaners — to write slangy poems based on the rich, colourful songs, humour and ways of speech of the real people of the Cape. Earthy, nostalgic poems revealing a longing for the shared past life in the Boland and a friendly relationship now perhaps lost. It is quite a pure kind of poetry or folk verse, moving in a simple, direct way.

Everybody is taking part. Van Wyk Louw and Peter Blum started it, and in the last year Boerneef followed with *Krokos* and *Ghaap en Kambro*, and Abraham de Vries with *Proegood*. A similar volume by Uys Krige is also in the press. Songs, rhymes, tunes, phrases remembered from boyhood days in Calvinia, Ceres or Ladismith, are now jotted down in a gay kind of sadness.

One wonders if this may be a kind of literary protest against the separation "Transvaal" politicians are bringing about. In any case, the result demands a thorough knowledge of the racy Afrikaans spoken south of the Orange, and contains a sympathy hiding as deviously as a maze of valleys amongst Boland mountains. "*Wyn rym met pyn*", Boerneef says. His titles speak of the sombre harshness of the Karoo: *Krokos* means Karoo food, and *Ghaap en Kambro* are

two of the meagre veld fruits found on the barren plains. See what you can make of this typical one:

*By Tweekop woon 'n snaakse
hy praat met sy mak dassie
ben slegs een waterdrager
ek drink uit die kalbassie
my eie dop
nie water nie
my eie alsie
jou klein maaifoerie se dassie
hoekom is jou stert so kort?*

JAN RABIE

2

DIE STRYD TUSSEN BOER EN BRIT. By C. R. de Wet (Tafelberg-Uitgewers) 25s.

GOOD-BYE DOLLY GRAY. By Rayne Kruger (Cassell) 30s. 6d.

SOUTH Africans who are still prone to violent post-mortems on the Anglo-Boer War, should read both Mr. Rayne Kruger's new book and General Christian de Wet's old one, now in Afrikaans for the first time.

Both present a fair, unbiased picture. The one by the famous Boer general is an eye-witness account written during a voyage to Europe just after the war. The other (called after the song popular with the British Tommies), written by a descendant of Paul Kruger living in London, gives a bird's eye view of the war from a distance of sixty years.

In more than 500 pages Mr. Kruger crams the essential facts and personalities of that surprising war which in many ways revolutionised warfare and, paradoxically, "saved the British Empire". He succeeds in giving us both a complete, objective history, and an epic story breathtaking in its speed. For this we have to thank his extensive reading, and his skill as a novelist.

His fairness allows him to
(Continued on page 11)

NEW... African Farm Labour

A survey: the "volunteer scheme", recruitment of voluntary labourers, labour tenants and squatters, use of prison labour, the present position and future of farm labourers, suggested reforms, statistics.

2s. 6d.

Racialism and the Trade Unions

MURIEL HORRELL

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P.O. Box 97, Johannesburg.

[Continued from page 10]

criticise or praise both sides, to expose the real aims of Milner, to condemn the concentration camps, to dislike his dour ancestor, Kruger, or to call the Boer horsemen "the most formidable fighting men in the world". This is remarkable since he quotes only books available in English.

But Rayne Kruger also sets out to portray the turn of the century in its historical background—which for him implies mainly the reactions of Victorian, imperial London; and to seek the meaning of 1899-1902 in terms of to-day—which implies that the majority of South African inhabitants took no part in this "white man's war". "So we come to the ultimate strangeness of this war, that as it went on it did nothing to solve, and much to complicate, the real problem, which was not whether Boer or Briton should rule South Africa but how white and non-white might live together in harmony."

But was it really necessary for him to "take refuge" in the word "Native"? Even in Afrikaans people are coming to speak of "Afrikaan" as distinguished from "Afrikaner".

By contrast De Wet's account is that of a participant in the war, doing his duty, unaware of the wider issues involved. Reading his straightforward prose, one gets a picture of a honest, intensely competent fighter—in less than a year he rose from the rank of common burgher to the supreme command of the Free State forces. Throughout he remains fair and just,

lauding his opponents when it is their due, and deploring his own men's fits of cowardice and lack of discipline.

Only rarely do we get a glimpse of De Wet, the meteoric man whose name was on everybody's lips. While continuously having to flee before the multitudes of his pursuers, he sometimes felt unworthy to look a small child in the face, and yet again managed the sardonic humour to say: "Die Engelse was baie verlief op my". And he endears himself to the reader of today by his anger at the ox-wagons with which many easy-going burghers encumbered themselves, and at ranting politicians "wat in die Volksraad opgestaan en gesê het: 'Ek sal my laaste druppel bloed vir my land gee' en later daarvoor gesorg het dat niemand ooit die geleentheid kry om by die eerste druppel te kom nie."

Of the two books *Die Stryd Tussen Boer en Brit* is by far the better produced, though marred by printer's errors.

JAN RABIE

An End and a Beginning

1

THE END OF EMPIRE. By John Strachey (Gollancz)

ALL the rich countries of the world are inhabited by white people and all the poor countries by coloured people. The poor countries explain this contrast by the theory that the rich countries have robbed them through the process formerly called imperialism and to-day known as

colonialism. Mr. Strachey describes how this process whereby one country rules another and directs its economy, is coming to an end, as far as Britain is concerned. Mr. Strachey thinks so clearly and writes so lucidly that it is a special pleasure to read his book, the more so because economics is seldom written in plain language which a layman can enjoy.

Mr. Strachey (who was a minister in the last Labour Government) is proud of the fact that Britain released India and other Asian and African countries from her rule without the bloodshed and blundering that the French went in for and still practise in Algeria. He explains that since empire no longer pays as it did in earlier days, Britain without colonies would be no worse off economically. In arguing this point, he shows that the communist critics of the British Empire have exaggerated the extent to which Britain benefits by her possession of colonies. In any case, it is true that in order to have profitable trade relations with another country it is not necessary to rule that country, a fact Americans discovered long ago.

The trouble with empire-building is that the traditions and prejudices which it implants deep in the minds of men, remain long after the process itself has withered away. To this day ordinary people in Britain are more deeply divided about relinquishing the empire than Mr. Strachey allows, as the Suez crisis revealed. Oddly enough, Mr. Strachey does not discuss that ineluctable episode or explain why Britain spent £780 million on it.

Like nearly all Englishmen, Mr. Strachey is weakest on East, Central and South Africa and, indeed on the meaning of the Commonwealth. He fails to see that Britain assisted the growth in Africa of local imperialisms run by white minorities whose policies are to-day in conflict with revised and recent British policy. This conflict, illustrated by the situation in Rhodesia and Nyasaland, confronts the British with a challenge which they would still prefer to evade or ignore.

It is now becoming clear that the poor, coloured countries have plenty of problems to face after they attain political freedom (just as the end of the colour bar would not solve all South Africa's problems of poverty). Mr. Strachey holds that Britain has a moral duty to help poorer countries (just as the rich are taxed to benefit the poor in all civilized states); and the white man must shoulder this burden, whether or not he profits by doing so.

This is a good book. Although his analysis is not the last word on a complex subject, Mr. Strachey's views deserve careful consideration from all who want to grasp the economic and moral issues involved in the political debates on modern colonialism.

JULIUS LEWIN

2

THE ROAD TO SELF-RULE. By W. M. Macmillan (Faber)

IN the lean years of the 1930's, Professor Macmillan was a pioneer in throwing light on Africa. He kept warning the Colonial Office that its policy of "indirect rule" through the

tribal chiefs was inadequate to meet the needs of the emerging continent, mainly because it ignored the interests of educated Africans. At that time it took courage to say this firmly and openly because the conservative theory of indirect rule was part of the orthodox faith then held by almost everyone in London. Men like the present author and Professor A. Victor Murray (who wrote that excellent book, *The School in the Bush*) were penalised by the Establishment for their heresy. But Professor Macmillan has never lacked courage and he went on speaking his own mind until eventually the world war changed the whole climate of colonial controversy and made his heresies look like mere anticipation of the inevitable.



W. M. MACMILLAN

This book is in a sense the crowning achievement of a lifetime of study and research, first as a historian of South Africa and later as a sociologist relying on the evidence of his own eyes and the judgment of his own unwavering moral values. The book is enriched by his close observation in West Africa and in Jamaica as well as in the Union; and by his wide knowledge of British colonial history which enables him to see parallels and trends easy to miss without such knowledge.

Never quick to adopt passing intellectual fashions, Professor Macmillan to-day finds himself out of sympathy with those who are content to denounce colonialism and reluctant to face the problems caused by deeper deficiencies than those due to British policy. He believes that Africans still have much to learn from Europe about the standards and values of western civilization and that too few of them recognize this. "Their inexperience, their irregular habits and general lack of competence, far more than any barriers put in their way, leave them at a disadvantage in their new occupations," he writes somewhat sourly.

He also holds that contemporary critics of colonialism are much too negative, failing to realize that self-government (like the abolition of slavery last century) comes as a beginning, not as an end in itself. Self-government offers great opportunities which Africans will not be ready to use well unless they have learnt that "the fruits so many covet have not come [to Europeans] without effort and are not to be had for the taking." This means that under-developed countries, whether colonies or not, require foreign capital, hard work,



and restraint in consuming such surplus as they may produce, in order to accumulate their own capital—which is what South Africa has done.

Like most British writers, Professor Macmillan sees the mistakes made by the Colonial Office in the past more clearly than those at present in the making; for instance, in Rhodesia and Nyasaland. By his own evidence, the permanent officials in London influence policy more than the politicians do. But who influences the Colonial Office? As the recent general election showed, the British public as a whole is little concerned with Africa.

An important part of the answer neglected in this book was indicated by J. A. Hobson 60 years ago in his classic study of "Imperialism", which pointed to the habits and selfish interests of those who dominate Britain's own economy.

This thoughtful book will stimulate all whom it does not annoy by its stubborn adherence to the kind of realism that is quite uncommon nowadays.

JULIUS LEWIN

Gasps and Titters

LEOPARD GIRL. By Audrey Critchley (Frederick Muller) 16s.

RIDE A RHINO. By Michaela Denis (W. H. Allen) 18s.

LADY GODIVA probably started it all by riding around the place barebacked. It was a good gimmick, and everyone still gasps and titters about these adventuring females who go galumphing about Africa on rhinos and leopards and other patient beasts.

Nowadays these riding women wear clothes, but they do not all have the same social or moral conscience as old Godiva.

Audrey Critchley, for instance, who specialises in wearing leopard skin pants, was a hunter for six years in Kenya, earning her predatory living by trapping wild animals for the cages of zoos or whimsical private collections of Americans.

"Please, fox, give up, just for me, Audrey Critchley," she murmurs to herself as she chases the animal in her Land Rover. "I had four wheels and an engine; he had only four legs and a bursting heart."

She didn't catch him in the end, as it happens, and I thought most of her adventures, like this one, more repulsive than exciting.

She talks very possessively about "my boys" — the African men who guide and help her on her safaris. And why on earth are Africans in Tom Mboya's country calling white women "memsahib"?

Then there is her story of Mau Mau hunting, and how she trapped three Mau suspects. She was just driving along this road, apparently, when she spotted three [Cont. on p. 12, foot of col. 1-2]

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CORRESPONDENCE

All-White All Blacks

SIR.—The South African Sports Association, as a co-ordinating organisation seeking to uphold true sportsmanship in South Africa, has already protested against the exclusion of Maori New Zealanders, on racial grounds, from the New Zealand rugby team to tour South Africa next year for a series of representative matches. It has protested to the South African Rugby Board, the New Zealand Rugby Union, the International Rugby Board and the New Zealand Minister for Maori Affairs on behalf of the eight national sporting bodies and more than 70,000 persons who support the South African Sports Association.

It now proposes to lodge a further protest and is anxious to make an accurate assessment of the measure of opposition which exists to this tour, both because of the racial discrimination in New Zealand and the exclusion of non-white South Africans from the national game in their country.

It would be greatly appreciated if individuals and also organisations would kindly communicate their views to me so that the situation can be fully analysed before action is taken.

D. A. BRUTUS, Hon. Secretary, S.A. Sports Association, P.O. Box 2129, Port Elizabeth.

Private Enterprise

SIR.—On 10 December *New Age* carried a picture on its front page of a four-month-old child, Nomzabalazo Danibe, whose distended stomach and matchstick legs indicated that she, like many thousands of other South African children, is suffering from starvation.

On 12 December several of the daily papers carried a story of 378,000 gallons of life-saving milk being destroyed because it could not be sold at A PROFIT!

Every year enormous quantities of fruit, eggs, butter, fish

and vegetables are destroyed in South Africa and in other countries practising "free, private enterprise" (sounds so much nicer than that word "capitalism", doesn't it?) for the same reason: IT CANNOT BE SOLD AT A PROFIT.

Would those liberal and erudite gentlemen who so vociferously condemn COD, *New Age* and the Congress alliance please explain why, in countries practising "free, private enterprise," it is necessary for food to be destroyed whilst there are so many hungry people.

M. J. FLETCHER, Durban.

A slick point. But how does Mr. Fletcher explain that the best-fed Asian nation is capitalist Japan, and that the free enterprise USA is the best fed nation of all? How does he explain the admitted failure of collective farmers in the USSR to deliver the goods in the way American farmers do?

—Editor.

Rhodesian Liberals

SIR.—John Reed asks what Liberals in Rhodesia are trying to do (*Contact*, 12 December). John should be able to answer this himself from his position as co-editor of that gleaming star in our darkness, *Dissent*. But if he isn't going to plunge, may one of the species from north of the Zambezi do so in his stead?

The country I want here is one in which through universal education there is equal opportunity for all. Where there is a living wage for all, not a cost-of-luxury index on the one hand and a poverty datum on the other.

I reckon that with my secondary education I am worth about £50 per month; because of my white skin I get £100. All right, cut me down, but let me live in housing at a rental appropriate to this—a compound house, if I want it.

Nyasaland seems to have integrated housing. Let the Northern Rhodesia Government allow it as well. Let me be able to go

to my black-skinned friends' houses as easily as I can go to my (now very few) white-skinned ones, and let it be as easy for them to see me without the Special Branch on our heels.

Let me have a black brother-in-law if my sister so wishes. Let me be able to show that if western civilisation means anything at all, it means Christian civilisation, which in turn means a sacrificial sharing not only of money (which can so easily be given without any true sense of gift behind it) but of time and emotions.

Let there be such a legislating as will bring about the fall of barriers, so that—soon—it will be unnecessary to write a letter like this at all, and also, not necessary for me (because of the likelihood of deportation) to use the pseudonym (albeit proudly) of

WHITE AFRICAN, Livingstone, N.R.

Stark Poverty

SIR. Many people are deploring the low scale of wages paid to Africans and we all know that poverty brings misery, hardship and temptation to those with little or nothing which in turn make them steal and even kill innocent people for the sake of money.

But recently I read in the press about one of our location administrators who seemed to be interested only in higher wages so that Africans could afford to pay bigger rents in township areas and not in order to meet the cost of essential food, clothing, transport, rates and taxes and children's education. It is more than time that wages were increased. Some parents with families are only earning £3 a week and doing their utmost to educate their children and raise their standard of living, but these days, even a single man should earn at least £5 a week and a married man should receive more, with additional allowances for each child he has to support.

CROMWELL B. NODODILE Steenberg, C.P.

Good Wishes

SIR.—Long live *Contact* and may it champion brotherhood, peace and understanding in this multi-racial country. May it stamp out *apartheid* and all its evils!

I hope you make every progress in the future.

A. READER, Sharpeville, Vereeniging.

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CHINESE AND SOVIET PRESTIGE SLUMPS IN BURMA

HONG KONG: In Rangoon the New Year almost certainly will find a Russian news correspondent beginning his ninth month of confinement within the walls of his country's Embassy. It is a curious voluntary incarceration that reflects a steady loss of prestige in Burma by both the Soviet Union and China during 1959.

Last April the Tass reporter, Evgyen Kovtunenko, accused a Burmese editor of accepting a bribe from the United States. He was promptly and indignantly sued for libel, but took refuge inside the Russian Embassy. He has been there ever since, while the police and process servers maintain vigil outside.

Other Soviet blunders contributed to Burmese disenchantment during the year. There was the forcible removal of the Soviet military attaché after an unsuccessful suicide attempt, resulting in injury to several Burmese journalists, and the defection of Soviet diplomat Alexander Kaznachev, who said the Soviet Union and China were working for a Communist Government in Burma.

One concrete result of such actions, reflecting growing Burmese unease over Communist intentions generally, has been the cancellation by Rangoon of

five out of eight Soviet aid projects and rekindled interest in what the US has to offer in this field.

Disillusioned about Russia, Rangoon leaders are even more concerned over China's Indian border belligerency, for the McMahon Line also forms part of the Sino-Burmese border. Peking has not helped its cause in Rangoon by financing a pamphlet alleging that "Anglo-American imperialists" are campaigning to prove that Communism is out to destroy Buddhism—an idea already firmly planted in Burma by China's actions in Tibet.

Finally, Burma's long eastern border with China remains undefined and completely vulnerable to the type of infiltration the Vietnamese have been pushing forward in Laos. For here too both sides of the border are inhabited by people belonging to the same ethnic groups.

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The Black Folk's Who's Who. Write to Voucher No. 12/2 *Contact*, Box 1979, Cape Town.

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MISCELLANEOUS

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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."

AFRICAN WRITING

[Continued from page 11]

African men acting suspiciously behind a bush. She stopped and went up to them. Seeing that one of them had "wild, maniacal eyes", she thought he looked like Dedan Kimathi, the Mau Mau leader, and she said to them, "Are you Mau Mau?"

After a little confab, she says, they said they were, and they agreed to be taken by her to the nearest police station rather than starve in the wilderness. She noted with satisfaction how they were covered with a bayonet by police as soon as she handed them over.

A sexy London newspaper then sent her a dozen red roses and a note saying that the staff of the paper considered her the most outstanding woman of the week.

"Now this was real glory," says Audrey Critchley. "Far more than I was ever to receive from hunting rhino or leopard."

I wondered whether she had written her book herself—it is so

singularly coy and fatuous. If it was ghosted, it looks as if she changed ghosts in midbush.

Tucked in right at the end, like a tickle lost in a wadge of tasteless pudding, is a chapter pleading for freedom for all in Kenya, irrespective of race; and a sudden turnabout by the lady herself, saying she intends to go hunting only with a camera in future.

How refreshing it is to turn to Michaela Denis who, with her husband, photographs African animal life for a regular British television programme and who scored a well-deserved success with her last book, *Leopard in My Lap*.

She writes an eager, simple prose and has a kindly, compassionate love for all the peoples and animals of Africa. The risks she takes—and they are considerable—for the rescuing or recording of the wonders around her. Her book is full of good pictures, too.

MYRNA BLUMBERG

CONTACT

9 January 1960