

contact

SOUTH AFRICA'S NON-RACIAL REVIEW

Registered at G.P.O. as a Newspaper

FORTNIGHT ENDING 6th FEBRUARY 1960

Vol. 3 No. 3



MEANING OF BASUTOLAND ELECTIONS

—SEE PAGES 2 and 3



NTSU C. MOKHEHLE, PRESIDENT OF THE VICTORIOUS BASUTOLAND CONGRESS PARTY.

— see pages 2 and 3.

Basutoland General Election

Implications of Landslide Victory for Congress Party

THE victory of the Basutoland Congress Party in the general election of 20th January attained the proportions of a landslide. As a result the internal and external affairs of the Basuto have been affected. How big was the victory?

Out of a total electorate of 191,663 men and women, Basuto, Whites and Asians, 35,302 voted. 12,787 voted for the Congress Party, giving them 73 seats, while 7,002 voted for the more moderate National Party, giving them 22 seats. Another party, the Marema Tlou, got 16 seats, and 51 independents were elected.

As a result the Congress Party will probably control six out of the nine District Councils.

First meeting

The next move will be made when the High Commissioner, Sir John Maud, proclaims the new constitution. When this has been done the first act under the new constitution will be for the nine District Councils to meet. They will sit as "electoral colleges"—i.e. they will elect from among themselves the forty democratically-elected members of the new Legislative Council.

Owing to the magnitude of the Congress victory it is likely that 30 out of the 40 Members of Legislative Council will be supporters of the Basutoland Congress Party.

During this time the senior chiefs of Basutoland will be sorting out the differences that have arisen between the Regent Paramount Chief Amelia Mantsobo Seeiso, senior widow of the late Paramount Chief Seeiso Griffith, and his eldest son, Prince Bereng Seeiso (22). She wishes him to complete his time at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, before being "placed". She also wishes him, in accordance with the old custom, to marry before being "placed".

He on the other hand has demanded an immediate "placing", on the grounds that the old custom has lapsed, and also that his private affairs, as well as those of the nation, make it necessary for him to take over now.

by
Patrick Duncan

At stake are fourteen seats in the new Legislative Council of 80, for whoever is Paramount Chief will have the right to nominate this number of Members. Four others are nominated by the British Administration; and twenty-two seats are filled by the twenty-two senior chiefs.



BERENG SEEISO

To solve the Paramountcy crisis the twenty-two senior chiefs will soon have to meet, apart from the Council. At their meeting they will make a formal decision and send their recommendation to the British Resident Commissioner, Mr. A. G. T. Chaplin, who will forward it to Sir John Maud, who has to make the final decision and proclaim the new paramount chief.

All have already declared for Bereng, so his early "placing" is a foregone conclusion.

The new Legislative Council will meet within three months. It will elect three members to the

new Executive Council of eight—the Paramount Chief will nominate a fourth, while the British Administration will nominate four others. This Executive Council will be the "cabinet" which will be primarily responsible for policy-making in the country.

Vote of confidence

The sheer size of the Congress victory means that both the British Administration and the Paramount Chief will have to treat the Congress Party with respect. In particular, when the time comes to nominate members of the Legislative Council, these authorities will no doubt be fully conscious of the vote of confidence given by the electorate to the Congress Party.

Fortunately for the country the

BANNED BOOK ISSUED IN S.A.

FOR almost certainly the first time Afrikaans-speaking South Africans will be able to read in their own language a work by Bertrand Russell or for that matter a book or pamphlet advocating free-thought, atheism or agnosticism.

This has happened because the Rationalist Association of South Africa, P.O. Box 11221, Johannesburg, has published at 2/6d. per copy post free the title-essay of Bertrand Russell's banned book *Why I am Not a Christian* in English and Afrikaans.

Why I am Not a Christian is the title of an essay delivered by Bertrand Russell at a meeting of the South London Branch of the National Secular Society in 1927. It was issued at the time as a pamphlet.

In April 1959 the South African Customs Department placed a ban on the importation of the collection of Bertrand Russell's essays written between 1899 and 1954 under the general title of *Why I am Not a Christian*.

In spite of protests on the issue, and a question by Mr. Boris Wilson, M.P., to the Minister of the Interior, the ban on the book still stands.

AFRICA BOOKS

P.O. Box 59

RONDEBOSCH

NEED your second-hand books on Africa. Please send us a list—TO-DAY.

Best prices offered.

leadership of the Congress Party has, during the election campaign, shown signs of high responsibility. Although another party attempted to make the early placing of Prince Bereng an election issue, the Congress Party did what it could to keep it out, on the grounds that such a controversy could only injure the Paramountcy. And, recently, Mr. B. M. Khaketla, now member for Maseru, asked for Princess Margaret or some other member of the Royal Family to open the first session of the new council, on the grounds that "the time had come to strengthen the link with Britain".

This was the first election in the history of Southern Africa in which a decisive degree of political power has rested in the hands of a predominantly Black electorate. They voted peacefully; and they voted understandingly,

although the majority of voters were probably illiterate.

It has been said that the low percentage poll—under 20%—showed apathy. There may have been some apathy, but there were three major factors that kept the poll low: the rugged terrain; the absence of nearly half the electorate in the Union; and the fact that this was the first election—and there is no habit or tradition of voting. The poll will almost certainly be higher next time.

The result will undoubtedly influence developments in the Union. As *Drum* said in a brilliant article on the election, "the first ripple of democracy has reached our people in Southern Africa".

This free election in Basutoland will be studied with care, and some envy, in Eshowe, Umtata, and other centres of Dr. Verwoerd's "Bantustan" experiments.

Vast Broadcasting Scheme Will Isolate S. African Listeners

THE MULTI-MILLION pound plan which Dr. P. J. Meyer has put before the cabinet for the re-casting of the whole broadcasting system of the country is a plan to cut South African listeners off from the rest of the world.

In this connection the *Cape Times* of the 21st January says that a vast expansion scheme envisaging a change from the present Amplitude Modulation (A.M.) system of broadcasting

small, and easily concealed. It is probable that Africans will be forbidden to own any set that is able to receive foreign programmes, once the new scheme comes into operation.

Advertisements have been appearing in the papers for valve sets powered by large batteries. These sets are not suitable. They use big expensive batteries, which can be easily withdrawn from the shops, while torch cells will always be on sale. Also valve sets operated by batteries use so much power that the batteries last for a very short time. But transistor sets use hardly any power at all, and four torch batteries can keep an all-wave set working for months.

Cost of F.M.

I have a Japanese all-wave set. In the evenings I can get All-India Radio, the Voice of America, the Voice of the East (Manilla) and Radio Peking with terrific strength. I shall certainly be able to get Radio Ghana when its Africa Service comes into operation. The set is the size of a large book, and its volume can fill a room. It weighs only five pounds.

If you have any trouble getting transistor all-wave sets, get into touch with me urgently, and I will see what I can do.

A final comment. I believe that Dr. Meyer's plan will cost the Government at least £40 million. There are at least two million sets in the hands of the public. All these (value about £10 each) will be rendered useless if F.M. is adopted. Thus the scheme will cost the country £60 million.

Thus, in yet one more way, apartheid is bleeding our country to death. When it comes to ideology, there is always money. But when it comes to school-feeding or the preventing of starvation, or the raising of wages, there is never any.

The Editor

to the very modern Frequency Modulation (F.M.) system, and a full scale "Bantu service" costing an estimated £8 million are among the recommendations of a special committee of the South African Broadcasting Corporation.

All other countries use the A.M. system. Should South Africa switch over to F.M. it would mean that all the sets now in use here will be rendered useless. South Africans using F.M. sets will be unable to receive broadcasts from other countries.

The change is probably intended to neutralise foreign transmissions such as Radio Cairo and Ghana. At this moment Radio Ghana is busy putting up four transmitting stations of 100 kilowatts each—compare South Africa's "powerful" 15 kilowatt station at Parady's, O.F.S.

Because F.M. cannot carry far beyond the visual horizon, about 100 broadcasting stations will have to be established at various points in the Union, at vast expense.

Word of advice

Now, to those who want to remain in contact with the outside world, a word of advice.

Buy Japanese all-wave transistor sets as soon as possible. Do make sure that the set you buy is all-wave. They are relatively cheap, and operate on ordinary torch batteries, which are also cheap. These sets are

CONTACT

SOUTH AFRICA'S NON-RACIAL REVIEW

SUBSCRIPTION RATES

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

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

14s. for twelve months (or U.S. \$2.00); 7s. for six months (or U.S. \$1.00)

ELSEWHERE: 17s. for twelve months (or U.S. \$2.50); 8s. 9d. for six months (or U.S. \$1.25)

Send cheques, postal orders, money orders, or cash to: Manager, Contact, P.O. Box 1979, CAPE TOWN, South Africa.

(Name).....

(Address).....

.....

.....

Enclosed £.....

Man Behind Basuto Victory

Ntsu Mokhehle, Man of Power

—See Front Cover

ON OUR COVER appears the face of a South African who has fought his way upward to considerable political power. He is not white. How, inside the land of apartheid, has this been possible? It has happened because the Basuto, under his leadership, have toughly insisted on their rights as members of the Commonwealth. And it has happened because Britain has toughly refused to sell the Basuto down the river to the incomparably more powerful dominion of South Africa, which totally surrounds Basutoland.

Within this island of freedom, freedom has been conceded freely to Mokhehle to organise and build, over seven years, his Basutoland African Congress and its heir, the Basutoland Congress Party.

What sort of man is he? He is rather like a brown bear, giving an impression of heavy burliness and of roughness. He can be rough in words, too, but he can also be gentle. With his gentleness often goes a sharp and merry sense of humour. With all his toughness there is never absent a determination to subject himself and his acts to a searching and humble self-criticism. If Mokhehle feels he has made a mistake he will say so, no matter who is present.

Family background

Where has he come from? What has moulded him? He was born on 26th December 1918, at the small village of Mokhehle's in the Teyateyaneng district of the Basutoland lowlands. His father is Cicerone Mokhehle, a sheep-owner of moderate wealth, for many years a civil servant.

When he was seven or eight he herded sheep, but never in the far cattlepost country of the Maluti mountains. He went to a little village school, and thence to the big Anglican school of St. Agnes, at that time ruled by a saintly ascetic priest, Father Wrenford, who remained until his death a close friend of the Oppenheimer family.

"Father Wrenford was harsh sometimes," says Mokhehle, "especially over mistakes in Mass. I was a server for four years from 1929-1933. But he was a nice man."

For about two years in 1934-5 he returned home to help the family look after its sheep and cattle. Then, in 1935, he went to the secondary school of St. Matthews, Keiskammahok, near Grahamstown.

When he was nineteen he began writing articles for the independent Basuto newspaper *Mochochonono* (the Comet), many of which were published. The articles spoke of the sufferings of the people, compared with the White traders, and of the mistake of thinking Africans mentally inferior.

CAPE LIBERAL CONGRESS

The Cape Provincial Congress of the Liberal Party will be held in the library of the Cape Town City Hall, on SUNDAY, 7th FEBRUARY. The Congress, which is open to all members of the Party, will start at 9 a.m. and will be attended by the National Chairman, Mr. Peter Brown.

by
Patrick Duncan

At university

In 1940, when he was rising 22, he went to Fort Hare. In 1941 there was a strike there, and he was one of the leaders. In 1942 he and Oliver Tambo helped lead another strike, and he was expelled. In the same year he joined Josiel Lefela's pioneering Basuto anti-colonial movement *Lekhota la Baso* (League of the Common Man). Sixteen years later he was still a member.

In 1944 Fort Hare took him back, and he got a degree. He did a bit of teaching, and then in 1946 he went back to Fort Hare for his M.Sc. He was enabled to win this distinction because he had a Basutoland Government scholarship, and also



MOKHEHLE

a grant from the (Union) Council for Scientific and Industrial Research. His thesis was on the parasitology of birds.

By this time Mokhehle had joined the Youth League of the (Union) African National Congress and was a fire-eater in politics. He taught at Ermelo for a season, and then, in 1949, returned to Fort Hare for the last time. There he took the Union Education Department diploma — the first African student to win this prize.

"At Fort Hare," Mokhehle says, "we worked out a change in the A.N.C. leadership — we attempted to work out a programme. We aimed at the removal of Xuma, and tried to get Matthews in. At the annual conference we managed to get rid of Xuma. We also agreed upon a programme whereby Congresses would be founded or strengthened all over Africa."

Mokhehle now returned to Basutoland, despite the low pay which the country could afford to its teachers.

He immediately made his mark.

The Basutoland African Congress was founded in 1952, and he became its first president. He was also president of the Basutoland Teachers' Association, and of the Basutoland Sports Association. And, after only three years, he was made principal of the Maseru Primary School.

The Congress was slow in growing. Then the Union Government stepped in to help him. Ezekiel Mphahlele (now in Nigeria) and Zeph Mothopeng (now of the Pan Africanist Congress), two of the most brilliant teachers in the Transvaal, were sacked, and placed on the black list of all African schools in the Union, for opposition to Bantu Education. Courageously the little British Basutoland education department gave them both jobs. They soon got together with Mokhehle, and the trio was joined by Bennet Makalo Khaketla, author, teacher, and Sotho language expert.

"Mohlalani"

The four of them soon got things moving, and in 1955 they started a monthly journal which they named *Mohlalani* (The Warrior). The warrior's spear was sharp, and soon they were pricking balloons (most of them pompous and self-important and White) all over Basutoland.

It was a tremendous economic struggle to keep going, but he and Khaketla won through. Both have working wives. If they had not, there would probably be no Basutoland Congress Party today.

In 1955, dimly aware that the Basuto were demanding a say in their own affairs, the British produced a one-man commission to make recommendations. That man was Sir Henry Moore, ex-Governor of Kenya. The recommendations were modest — some advance in parish-pump district government, but no real power at the centre. The Basuto, led by Mokhehle, fought back and called for total rejection.

Government defeat

Ill-advised, the British persisted. The Resident Commissioner forced an unwilling National Council to debate the proposals, when all it wanted to do was to reject them *in toto*. So a solemn farce was enacted: each paragraph was solemnly debated and solemnly rejected. *The Observer's* Cyril Dunn who listened said: "If the date had been printed on the report they'd have rejected that too." After they had rejected 47 (out of some 200) paragraphs the Resident Commissioner conceded defeat, and sent the councillors home, calling them "naughty boys".

Before going home, 66 out of the 100 councillors got together and drafted a letter to London asking for the recall of all the senior officials involved.

By a curious coincidence all four top officials, including the Resident Commissioner, were transferred on promotion within the year.

For some time thereafter the Basuto writhed in political discomfort, uncertain of the next step. Then their National Council formed a constitutional committee. That committee called in Professor Cowen of Cape Town, and it is on the recommendations of that committee that the new constitution is based.

Behind all this stubbornness sat Mokhehle like a lump of granite.

In 1958 his Congress was invited to attend the first meeting of the All African Peoples Conference at Accra, and he went. He was immediately placed on the steering committee, and on that committee represents Southern Africa. This position has led to an enormous widening of his horizons. He was in London (which he fell for — he is an Anglophile) in 1958, then in Ghana and Guinea during 1959. He demonstrated in December 1959 with Michael Scott against the French atomic bomb. He has become a staunch admirer of President Sékou Touré. "Touré is a wonderful man," he says, "for he carries upward the whole people. He cannot be parted from the people of the villages, and to them he brings progress, cleanliness, prosperity."

This Mokhehle is the man who has come out of the 1960 general election as the undisputed winner. It is safe to say that few things will happen in Basutoland public life in the near future if Ntsu C. Mokhehle does not wish them to happen.

"WHITES ONLY" CRICKET TOUR PLANNED

TRIALS to select the South African cricket team to tour Britain this year will be a "Whites Only" affair. This despite the fact that there are outstanding non-White players such as Basil d'Oliveira. The South African Sports Association, founded in 1958 to remove discrimination in sport, intends placing the matter before the Imperial Cricket Conference and also proposes taking other steps to promote its ideal of non-racial sportsmanship.

The Olympic Committee has also heeded the case made by S.A.S.A. against racial discrimination in the choice of members of teams representing South Africa at the Olympic Games.

This year S.A.S.A. is fighting for a non-racial New Zealand rugby team, and is calling for the inclusion of South Africans of all races in so-called South African cricket, rugby and Olympic teams.

In July, last year, S.A.S.A. put the following questions to the S.A. Cricket Association:

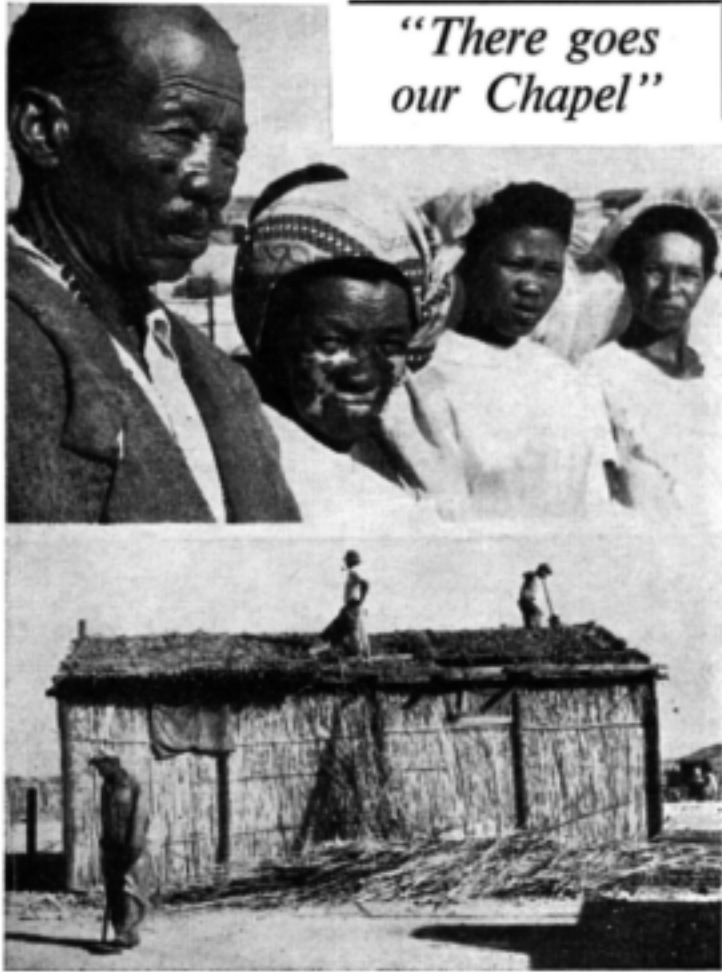
1. What are the regulations, if any, governing the admission of non-white cricketers to nationally organised cricket?

2. Are non-whites likely to be considered for trials prior to the selection of national sides, e.g. the South

The Boycott



The overseas boycott movement continues to gather strength. It is no longer mainly a British effort: the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions has taken it up, as have many bodies right round the world. At the Tunis meeting of the All African People's Conference, attended by Mr. Patrick van Rensburg, representing the Liberal Party, and Mr. Tennyson Makiwane, representing the (S.A.) A.N.C. Here is a young demonstrator in London.



"There goes our Chapel"

D.R.C. PULLS DOWN CATHOLIC CHAPEL

"THE hundreds of Roman Catholics of Marchand have now no chapel." This is the concluding line of an article appearing in the *Southern Cross* of 13th January, 1960.

The Kakamas settlement, administered by the Dutch Reformed Church, is a strip of land thirty miles along the southern bank of the Orange River and comprises Kakamas, Alheit, Marchand (with 2,000 Catholics most of whom are Coloured), Perde Eiland and Rhenosterkop.

When the Marchand location was being reorganised by the authorities one of the streets was made crooked, said Father-in-charge Balducelli, so that the reed chapel put up by the Marchand Catholics should be in the way.

Southern Cross goes on to say: "On the 2nd December, without notifying Fr. Balducelli or the local Catholic community, the administration of Kakamas sent a European workman to demolish the chapel. The foreman asked the Coloured people to help him do it, but no one, Catholic or non-Catholic, would do so. He then sent for a gang of African labourers and the demolition went ahead.

"The news spread around the location and a crowd gathered. Men working on the lands left their work, women came out of their houses and

they stood round watching the demolition."

"When the foreman needed a pair of pliers he tried to borrow them but nobody would lend them to him."

When the Roman Catholic Church asked to be granted another site on which to build a new chapel, permission was refused by the Kakamas Administration.

B.A.D. MARRIAGE TAKE-OVER

EVER SINCE Union, there has been one way of registering all marriages no matter the colour of those getting married. Now there are to be "marriages" and "Bantu marriages".

Circular No. 10 of 1959 of the Registrar of Births, Deaths and Marriages gave eight days' notice of two most important changes in the documentation of African marriages.

Firstly, an additional original marriage register must be made out for all "Bantu" marriages (i.e. all marriages where the husband is an African). This has the effect of requiring at least 19 original signatures per wedding (the present number is 14 for Africans and 10 for others).

No doubt social columnists will soon be reporting that "six hymns were sung during the signing of the registers".

The other important change is that these documents must now be sent not to the Registrar but to the local Bantu Affairs Commissioner.

Since 31 December 1959 it is

Liberal Party Survey reveals all the facts

93 Exiled Without Trial

BECAUSE of the recent deportation of Mrs. Elizabeth Mafekeng, trade union organiser of Paarl, the Liberal Party of the Transvaal investigated the whole system of arbitrary banishment of Africans by the Union Government. The Party established that the legal basis for these deportations was to be found under Section 5 of the Native Administration Act (38 of 1927) which reads:

"Whenever he deems it expedient to the general public interest, the Governor-General . . . may order any tribe, part of a tribe or Native . . . to proceed to any place and not leave it except with the permission of the Secretary of Native Affairs . . ."

The courts are unable to provide any relief; the Prohibition of Interdicts Act prevents a banished African from applying to the courts for an order staying the banishments. The minister is not compelled to give reasons for the banishments.

Increase in deportations

The Transvaal Liberal Party also established that at least eight of the banished people have been allowed to return to their homes under certain conditions such as: promising not to take part in political activities; recanting their political beliefs; and renunciation of chieftainship.

Since December 1958 the rate of deportations has been increased. Where the government does not wish to banish people itself it asks local authorities to refuse permission to certain people to stay any longer in their areas.

Investigations revealed that a few of the deportees have been able to get work of some kind:

Mr. Nkosiyane, an educated man, has been working

as a labourer for £4 8s. 4d. a month.

Mr. Esrom Hloniyane had a lucrative herbalist business; he is unable to support his family which is suffering from malnutrition.

Mr. Morris Ramoto, a man who once had money in

He is reported to have said (*Cape Times* 18th Jan. 1960)

"I get no financial assistance from the government and were it not for friends who supply me with food parcels, I would starve to death." This was denied by the Minister.

Asked whether he intended

All the Names we have been able to get

The following 93 Africans were banished during the period January 1948 to December 1958 according to details given in Parliament on 10th April 1959 by the then Minister of Native Affairs regarding 81 of them, plus 12 others, brought to light through enquiries made by Contact:

Mokoena Mafala; Mabaso Sijila; Caswell Moloi; Matela Mantsoe; Ntlebeli Jojo; Tlou Mafala; Piet Mabokela; Sibija Mafala; Mabiya Mafala; Klaas Mafala; Michael Mafala; Paulus Howell Mopeli (alias Mopelinyana); Treaty Mhlosoa Mopeli; Mnggingo Pkani; Solomon David Lion; Piet Mokoena; Moepa-dira Mphahlele; Harry Mphahlele; Nemedi Mphahlele; Alfred Mshu; Maphuti Moraka; Maphuti Molatela Seopa; Boy Seopa; Mamolatlala Seopa; Isaac Molife; Monica Molife; Joseph Hugo Saliwa; Mzwangedwa Mlaba; Charlie Mlaba; Mpiyeza Mlaba; Makomba Ngomane; Caba-zela Ngubane; Mzinto Ngubane; Nkune Ngubane; Mabusu Mlize; Jim Lithako; Mamokgalake Lesiba; John Choene; Alcott Sisi Gwentshe; Joel Lengile; Vuna Moya; Thompson Dlamini; Paul Mowetsholo; Mochobane Kuene; Esrom Hloniyane; Morris Ramoto; Frans Ramaro; Moses Molchela; Jacob Matome;

Solomon Thamaga; Martinus Boshomane; Elias (alias Korea) Mosare; Jeremiah Rakoko Mabe; Mokate Ramafoko; David Tholoyane Mabe; Ras Thomas Makoka; Seth Boane-kwena; Nthoe Mabe; Nhdlovu Mufu; Paul Ramadiba Mokgatle; Yuzumi Make; Joseph Kumalo; Saul Simon Nhlapo; Ralekeke Rantube; Phethedi Thulare; Mhlupeki Hlongwane; Mxosha Mdhuli; Kgagudi Maredi; Kenneth Mosenyi David Molloa; Boas Molloa; Abraham Mogale; Godfrey Sekhukhuna; Morwamotse Sekhukhuna; Mankopodi Sekhukhuna; Douglas Ramokgopa; Ruben Makgato; Jackson Nkosiyane; Marelane (alias Bangilizwa) Joyi; Joqimfene (alias Tsalimfene) Gobi-namba; McGregor Ngolombane.

S. Thabane; G. Mokoena; M. Mofhera; L. Mlini; Y. Seane; N. Mpongula; D. Shock; Chas. Kirirose; Edwin Mandibike; John Mofhamba; Johannes Moloto; John Mokoena.

Pietersburg, is supported by sons who send him food parcels.

Mr. Solomon Thamaga was a farmer; he receives £5 per month working on a government tree-planting scheme.

Since 1956 (not before) a subsistence allowance of £2 per month has been paid to some of the deportees. Nevertheless, with the income they can obtain, they have barely sufficient to live on, particularly when families try to live with them. People who have visited deportees talk of signs of chronic malnutrition and clothes no better than rags.

Mrs. Baartman, wife of deportee Ben Baartman, died recently at Worcester. Mr. Baartman could not attend her funeral but has since been allowed to go to Worcester for two weeks to arrange for relatives to take care of his four minor children.

to take his children back to the reserve with him he said, "No. It is a terrible place—a living hell." Since leaving Worcester he said he had lost 20 pounds in weight.

South Africa is frequently referred to as a "democracy". In view of the above facts this term must always be understood as referring to the White inhabitants only. The Party comments: "Banishment therefore appears to be a weapon used to stifle the opposition of leaders of that section of the population that is allowed no political voice whatsoever. It is an exact parallel to the system of banishments to Siberia that were a feature of the Russian political scene for many years."

THE RIGHT OF THE STRONG

These books affirm the unity of the human family. They affirm the right of the strong and the enlightened to speak loudly and clearly for the silent, the ignorant and the dispossessed. — Morris West. (From a review of a book dealing with poverty in Southern Italy.)

WANTED

Agents wanted to sell
Contact

Good commission offered

Write Manager: CONTACT

P.O. BOX 1979

CAPE TOWN

"The Institute" at Durban

"State of Nation" Speeches at Historic Meeting

"SOCIAL DEVELOPMENTS since Union reflect the paradox of colossal achievement and tragic failure. Scientific, technological and industrial development has been enterprising and uninhibited, but human relations are confined within the strait-jacket of the past, weighed down by myth, prejudice and irrational fear. Ideals and beliefs of one section are forced upon the whole community, differing traditions and values suppressed, violated and regarded as 'un-national'. It is this moral corrosion, this 'shrinking personality', this regimentation, that is the price exacted on all white South Africans in the cause of separation."

These views were expressed by Professor Hansi Pollak at the annual Council meeting of the South African Institute of Race Relations held in Durban (11th-14th January).

Professor Pollak continued: "No more potent weapon of deliberate destruction of family life could have been devised than the migratory labour system. Current wage disparities condemn the unskilled and semi-skilled labourers and their families to chronic and overwhelming insufficiency of income to meet even basic needs. The African lives in a strait-jacket of regimented control, restriction and prohibition.

"Whereas twelve years ago it was the African who was regimented, dominated and controlled, to-day it is the entire South African population. To make a reality of the 'five stream' separation, all have had to surrender freedoms and many of their civil rights."

"The Group Areas Act is perhaps the most complex, far-reaching and arbitrary of all the legislation on the South African Statute Book. Large-scale movements of population will be enforced, and it is abundantly clear that the overwhelming burden of hardship is to be borne by the non-European groups—in particular the Indian community. One hesitates to think what the future holds once the impact of the Group Areas Act is felt in its full force.

"The times require that we declare in clear, unmistakable terms that there are no substitutes in true democracy for equal opportunities to jobs, housing, health, welfare, education and to equal protection for all people under the law.

"As practitioners in the field of human and race relations, we must declare that the security of the nation lies not in Saracen tanks, mobile armies, arrests, banishments. Man's only sure and ultimate defence against destruction lies in learning to live—how to live with himself and how to live with his fellows."

"BREACHES OF FAITH"
—COOPPAN

The plight of the Asian community throughout the Union was stressed at the meeting by Dr. S. Cooppan, a prominent Indian economist. He said:

"White South Africans are but mortal men and not saints or sadists . . . in the process of crushing the Indian personality the English-speaking people are equally culpable with the Afrikaans-speaking white people—there is no more willing party to the implementation of

apartheid than the Durban City Council.

"Going for a holiday, putting a son into school or university, renting or buying a home, getting a licence for a shop or a job, inheriting property or travelling by bus or train—all these ordinary things which are taken in their stride by Whites are never so simple for the Indian or non-White. Some of these things are, to-day, even impossible of execution.

"Three major breaches of faith have been committed against the Indian in South Africa:

1. *The promise of land, which was written into the law governing Indian indentured immigration, was repealed.*
2. *Persistent efforts have been made to repatriate—expatriate would be accurate—the descendants of the Indian labourers who had saved Natal from economic ruin . . . This repatriation policy, which has been condemned as the 'sucked orange' policy betrays an astounding moral depravity.*
3. *The Natal Indians were deprived of the parliamentary franchise—witnessed by a British government . . .*

"This was the Act that decided Mahatma Gandhi to take up residence in South Africa and fight against the disabilities of the Indians. So the Indians who had originally been brought out by the Whites under certain promises of fair treatment and equality of opportunity found themselves the target of and the scapegoat of the White man's tremendous temptations, fears and dilemmas. The non-aggressive nature of the Indian was at once the armour against this onslaught and the very reason for the liberties that were taken against his personal dignity and vital interests.

"Indians in South Africa have become a small but powerful centre for the radiation of high human values. If it is the cynical intention of the rulers to bring about the disintegration of this centre they will then stand charged before the world with genocide."

**"WORLD OPINION
RIGHT"**

—BROOKES

Another important aspect of life in the Union to-day, namely its relations, now and in the future, with the rest of Africa, was referred to by Professor E. H. Brookes. He told the meeting:

"During the very period in which the wider Africa has been liberated, South Africa has rushed along in the opposite direction. World opinion has over-simplified the South African position. But, however imperfectly informed, over-simplified, dogmatic and occasionally sentimental, world opinion is fundamentally and essentially right. The Union has lost the sympathy both of the wider Africa and of the wider world: it cannot in 1960 expect, as it could have expected in 1910, sympathy or support from the world outside in the event of any African uprising within its borders.

"The golden image of apartheid has been elevated above God, as is clearly demonstrated by the fact that those who worship will grant to the white atheist privileges which are denied to the most devout and faithful African.

"Universal suffrage is not necessarily the best way to efficient government but the franchise has become a badge of manhood, and to refuse a whole group of people the vote on the grounds of their race and colour only is to deny their humanity.

"Despite all the excesses of African nationalism or authoritarianism, the fact remains that between 1939 and 1960 we have passed a point of no return in Africa's and the world's history. We can never go back to a world where Africans and Asians are inferior.

"The Afrikaner nationalism which excludes all from official service who do not accept its central dogma hurts us all, but the person whom it hurts most is the Afrikaner himself. If the Afrikaner stopped protecting himself and poured himself out in caring and service for his fellow South Africans, of whatever speech or colour, he would lose nothing that mattered: he would gain immeasurably. Whatever we do in the way of working out better constitutional machinery, the real problem is a question of the spirit in man.

"South Africans who desire to remain hopeful by evading the extreme rigours of truth are indulging in our national sin—the lie in the soul. This is the evil in pipe dreams of apartheid which cannot stand the tests of a map, a balance sheet, or an honest election with all the facts laid down.

"Many white South Africans despair of the future when they face the facts. But hope is one of the supreme Christian virtues. And yet no self-respecting man wants to build his hope on a lie.

THANKING YOU!

- /M

Telegrams: Principal, Fort Hare
Telephone: (College 20
Principal's Residence 41
P.O. Fort Hare
Mail: Alton

Library Department

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE
of
FORT HARE,
P.O. FORT HARE,
CAPE PROVINCE.
21st January, 1960.

The Editor,
"Contact",
Selwala Publications,
P. O. Box 3613,
CAPE TOWN.

Dear Sir,

We wish to advise that when our subscription to your periodical "Contact" expires in March, we shall not be renewing our subscription.

Thanking you,
Yours faithfully,

Bm.
Assistant Librarian.

This is a letter we got the other day. Many other great libraries take "Contact" and we feel that only lack of funds could have induced Fort Hare to do this. So we are putting them on our free list—with all good wishes for many hours of good reading.

The facts, even if appalling, must be faced and accepted."

**"PEOPLE'S GROWING
COURAGE"**

—LUTULI

A refusal to be intimidated, on the part of the Africans, and their "growing mood to show a courage that rises with danger" were emphasised by Chief Lutuli in a paper read at the meeting (as he has been banned for five years from attending any public meeting). He stated:

"The non-Whites must be excused if they see nothing but bad in the compact of Union, especially in the political sphere. In the fifty years of Union we have lost all rights politically and have suffered most grievously, more especially during the twelve years of Nationalist party rule, mainly because we do not enjoy democratic rights.

"What we want is a link with the sovereign body in the land, parliament, not only with the government whose dictatorial ruthlessness can only be moderated by parliament and the ballot box.

"The desire to see the vote extended to the people of all racial groups has led the African National Congress to advocate a nationalism that embraces all in the country provided they give undivided allegiance to the land of their birth or adoption, as the case may be in Africa. This is the happy development Africans have come to.

"Apartheid and the Bantustan schemes are causing chieftaincy to die unmoored and unsung as people are increasingly coming to regard the chief as a government stooge, a government man, not their man, their persecutor, and not a father who punishes to discipline for the good of the tribe.

"The Promotion of Bantu-Self-Government Act of 1958 is an evasive piece of legislation that provides a mongrel-like form of

local government which has no semblance of democracy. It is the worst caricature imaginable of our traditional form of government. For Africans, the Act is a culmination of a process that has its genesis in the Act of Union itself.

"Well might some cynic say that the Act of Union was a triumph of the spirit of disunity and domination, and not of unity and friendly tolerance.

"The white leadership saw the new state as supplying white South Africa with a government strong enough to guarantee effective control over 'Natives', and thus facilitate the exploitation of the black man.

"Successive governments of the country, especially the government of the day, the Nationalist party government, have armed the state with drastic security laws that are accompanied by severe sanctions. The Nationalist party government is already using these powers most drastically and with little respect for the rule of law. The reply of the people on the whole is a refusal to be intimidated and in a growing mood to show a courage that rises with danger."

**AFRICAN AID
ASSOCIATION
PTY. LTD.**

Monthly membership for advice on legal and social assistance, including FREE life and burial insurance.

Write now for full particulars
P.O. Box 10853, Johannesburg

contact

U.P. SURRENDER

THE United Party has surrendered almost unconditionally to apartheid. This is the meaning of two votes last week when it crossed the floor to vote with the Nationalists against the Liberal and Progressive opposition. One occasion was the Reservation of Separate Amenities Amendment Bill; the other was the Factories Act Amendment Bill.

The first measure empowers the Government to extend segregation in places like beaches; the second empowers the Government to extend the already ridiculous separation between working people of various "races" in the factories—and is, in addition, another form of job reservation.

An indication of the degree of surrender is the fact that in 1953 the United Party voted solidly against the Separate Amenities Act when the Nationalists first brought it in. Over some twelve years the United Party has fought a carefully-posed (before foreign pressmen) sham fight against oppression by White of non-White. But to-day they have given up the fight. They have crawled—reluctantly and shamefacedly perhaps, but still crawled—across the floor of the House to sit on Nationalist benches and to vote for Nationalist-manufactured apartheid.

How come? What causes lie behind this unprecedented humiliation of a once-great party?

The answer is really simple. Twelve years ago the Nationalists occupied strategic ground, ground that, with their greater vision, they could see the United Party would be forced to occupy too, in due course. The Nationalists occupied it and put up their own beacons round it.

That ground is the ground of White Nationalism, White unity created by the destruction of the interests of the non-Whites.

In Parliament and in the country for twelve years the Nationalists have been beating the tribal drums of "South Africanism". In the schools Broederbond-paid teachers, English- as well as Afrikaans-speaking, have been bringing up a new generation of brainwashed White youth. Slowly the very ground has been cut from under the feet of the United Party.

Last year Dr. Verwoerd amputated, as if with a surgical knife, part of what is left of the United Party. He did this by his daring Bantustan policy. This year he is aiming to amputate some more by his daring Republic policy. He will probably succeed.

If the United Party knew its own mind on this issue Sir de Villiers Graaff would have sent round the country a loud and clear call for resistance to the Republic.

What he has done has been to mumble something about Dr. Verwoerd having said nothing to alter United Party "policy" on the subject.

This is easy to say, for no one knows what that "policy" is. In the event of course the United Party will be forced to move, and when it does it will probably shed more support, more Members of Parliament.

The present political situation in Parliament is that Dr. Verwoerd could have Sir de Villiers Graaff for his office boy—if he wanted him.

All the United Party can now hope for is some form of coalition. When they are forced to ask for one they will find not coalition but, let us call it, cannibalism.

They will be swallowed. And then the real troubles will begin for the Nationalists—but that is another story.

JUSTUS



This fortnight we introduce Constable Justus of the South African Police who will dominate our new strip cartoon—yes, dominate it, although sometimes even more important people may find their way into it.

Look at him—taking his first look at "Contact". And look down lower to see him doing his first job on the beat.

Constable Justus will be back next fortnight . . . and the next . . . There's a lot of work for him to do.

THE REPUBLIC

DR. VERWOERD has made an astute move by promising a referendum on the republic. He will be able to spend the rest of the session watching the United Party writhing in discomfort, and perhaps again splitting. But he has not been clever enough. His referendum, like all else that is enjoyable or meaningful in South Africa, is "For Europeans Only".

This means that no non-White will feel the slightest loyalty to the new South African state.

A man must be politically blind indeed if he does not see that this will cripple the new state from the first day of its existence.

MR. MACMILLAN

ALL the propaganda potential of the Union Government has been harnessed to give Mr. Macmillan the impression that apartheid is permanent, that the non-White people like it, and that the White people are in the saddle and are going to stay there for all time.

If Mr. Macmillan has swallowed this line it will mean that Dr. Verwoerd will receive even more solid backing from Britain in the future than he has in the past.

Our view is that Mr. Macmillan has not swallowed this line, and that, particularly after his tour through Black Africa, he knows the true score—that apartheid is an insult to all men of colour the whole world round, and that the time is near when the almost unlimited patience of non-White South Africans will come to an end.

If we are right, then Dr. Verwoerd will receive less backing from Britain in future than he has in the past. We say this because Mr. Macmillan is out here as a diplomat, a representative in South Africa of the interests of Great Britain. And these interests are not just the interests that may exist to-day; they include to-morrow's interests. A prudent Prime Minister is like a prudent business man. He is as much interested in laying aside something for the morrow as he is in making profits to-day.

Mr. Macmillan should have learned by now that Britain's appalling record at the United Nations on the apartheid issue has not passed unnoticed in Africa. He should by now realise that this record will have to change if Africa, to-day, is to stay within the Commonwealth.

He should by now have learned also that non-White South Africa is watching his country more critically than ever before, and that it is just not possible to be supporter of Dr. Verwoerd and a friend of non-White South Africa at the same time.

And he should also have learned that

the future democratic South Africa will, on issues such as this, feel very much as non-White South Africa feels to-day.

It is possible that, out of a desire not to offend his host, Dr. Verwoerd, Mr. Macmillan may leave this country without having talked to a single independent non-White leader. If this were to happen he will gravely have damaged any value that his tour might have had. For the people of South Africa, despite all the talk, are not all White—they are largely non-White. Failure to meet men like Chief Lutuli will not only mean that Mr. Macmillan has failed to meet the people; it will be taken as an insult by the overwhelming majority of people living in our country.

All this should by now be clear to Mr. Macmillan and we believe that he must already have decided that, if Britain's interests are to flourish in Africa, Britain must dissociate herself from apartheid.

MR. VAN RENSBURG

THE second meeting of the All African Peoples Conference, held at Tunis, has come and gone. Much good sense was no doubt talked, along with the more enthusiastic speeches which, naturally, received all the publicity. Mr. Patrick van Rensburg was there representing the Liberal Party. His presence has been bitterly criticised by the Nationalist press in South Africa, and it is probable that there are some who are not nationalists who criticise him for having gone there.

It is our view that his presence there was essential. The gathering was a gathering of the peoples of Africa; by representing South Africa he staked the claim of all the diverse peoples of our country to be numbered among the African peoples, with a right inferior to none other, to call our part of Africa our own and to put down our roots as deep as those of our fellow-Africans elsewhere.

By attending he demonstrated in the clearest possible manner imaginable that it is not necessary to have a black skin to love justice and freedom. He showed that democracy, in Africa as elsewhere, is non-racial.

Some will feel that Mr. Van Rensburg has, by his attendance at Tunis, worked for the rights of the non-Whites only. It is our view that this is not so, that he has worked for the rights of all, and that in particular he has done more for the future security of the White South Africans than our United Party and Nationalist M.P.'s do in a lifetime in Parliament.

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.





Peter Brown, Chairman of the Liberal Party

Why I Support the Boycott

it work, may give with one hand: it takes away with the other.

Let us also face the fact that, between 1910 and 1960, when their voice in Parliament was considerably stronger than it is to-day, they were unable to prevent one single serious encroachment on their rights. If parliament has failed them, must they then accept things as they are? It is not, in fact, even a question of accepting things as they are, for each year things get worse. Is it surprising, or wrong, that South Africans who have no voice in parliament should look outside it for some hope of salvation?

he will get rid of apartheid without making any sacrifices at all? Thirdly, it is said that the boycott will not be effective. I believe it has already been effective. Whatever its economic effects, and they may not be great, its political effect has already been very real. White South Africa has been shown unmistakably that those whom it regards as its best friends overseas don't like what it does. No statement issued overseas in condemnation of the boycott has failed to condemn apartheid even more heartily. World pressure against apartheid is likely to mount and South Africa has been given notice of the fact.

so, but there is no reason to believe that the Nationalists will allow economics to override ideology any more than the Germans were prepared to do. It is also, I think, questionable whether economic integration, allied with the Colour Bar, is all the blessings we are told it is.

I do not like boycott, but I like apartheid less. I do not believe the March campaign will bring Dr. Verwoerd to his knees. What I do hope is that it will bring home to all advocates of white domination in South Africa the loneliness of their position. What I also hope is that it will give assurance to advocates of non-violence in South Africa that they have friends who are not only prepared to protest but to act.

WHY do I support the boycott? Not only because Dr. van Rhijn and Major van der Byl disapprove of it, although that might be good reason for doubters to consider giving it their support. After all, both are firmly pledged to the maintenance of white supremacy. I support the boycott because I believe that non-violent weapons of this sort must be used now if there is to be any hope of peaceful changeover to the society I want. And if apartheid is not replaced non-violently, who knows what will step into its place?

I have mentioned the restraint with which Non-White South Africans have met the continuing assaults on their rights. Is it not remarkable that, after 50 years of Union, every important Non-White leader remains committed to non-violence? How much longer can this restraint last? I believe it is a waning asset and the asset has waned because white South Africa has squandered it. Wise men will heed the warning in the riots at Paarl and the upheavals which shook Natal week after week last year.

There is another argument against the boycott. It is said that it will slow down economic development and economic integration, which, in the long run, will undermine apartheid anyway. In theory this may be

Recent medical research suggests that malnutrition is worse amongst African children today than ever before. Durban's *kwashiorkor* revelations were no tribute to the benefits of integration under apartheid's dispensations. Were the Natal upheavals not directly related to the conditions of increasing poverty in which influx control and the industrial colour bar are forcing Africans to live? Is it true that TB is on the increase in some Natal rural areas and that the cause is directly related to restrictions on economic opportunity for Africans? Economic integration, in the way the Nationalists let

To confine the fight against apartheid to a Parliament which has become a rubber-stamp for Nationalist policy is to concede them victory. Without effective extra-parliamentary pressures within South Africa and a growing agitation overseas, our prospect is one of unending Nationalist domination and all that means.

It may not mean much in Houghton and Kenilworth and Kloof, but it means an awful lot in Cato Manor and Nyanga and Alexandra.

Why do some South Africans regard the boycott as a legitimate means of bringing pressure to bear on their government? They do so in the light of their experience. They do so because, for fifty years, every normally accepted democratic pressure has been used on successive South African governments to try to halt their plans for increasing racial discrimination. With what result? None at all! Since the days immediately after Union, when African land rights were first attacked, South Africans of colour have been a model of restraint in fighting for their rights. But where has it got them? Their deputations have been side-tracked; their petitions have gone into the wastepaper-basket; their appeals to decency and Christian charity have met the cold, unrelenting silence of rejection. Race discrimination has gone on unchecked, gathering momentum down the years.

Violence draws closer, forced on reluctant people by the failures of the past. Must we meekly watch the tensions grow, or must we give what support we can to weapons of non-violence, to try to bring about some change while there is still some time?

Fair Comment --- by Patrick Duncan

AN old friend, active in A.N.C. and other politics for over 40 years, came in the other day to have a chat. The conversation drifted on to the subject of Mr. Macmillan's visit. "The African people," said this most moderate of men, "are disappointed already with Mr. Macmillan and Britain. He has said that there is nothing that he can do about our racial situation out here. Does he realise the consequences of washing his hands of South Africa? It means that from now on we shall accept help from any other government that is prepared to give it. We shall no longer look to Britain."

LITTLE has been heard here about Mr. Macmillan and "the pledge" which he made in his speech to the Rhodesian National Affairs Association in Salisbury. But that does not mean that it is not important. The opposite.

He said that Britain would continue to protect Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland "until it is clear that the expressed wish of these peoples is to enter a full and independent Federation..."

A letter from "White Housewife" to a newspaper said: "Thanks, Mr. Macmillan. Now I know there is no place for my family and me in Rhodesia." A Northern Rhodesian African's comment (writes George Clay, reporting to *The Observer*) was "We have never heard it so good."

"The pledge" means nothing less than this: that the Northern Africans will not be forced into a self-governing, settler-dominated, Federation. Therefore Sir Roy's Federation will be dismembered, for the Southern Rhodesian settlers will opt for Verwoerd rather than Nkumbula. It is as simple as that.

SOMETIMES I feel that the African people are not losing much by not belonging to the South African Parliament. Even at a beer drink it would be unthinkable of one African to say to another, "Shut up", as did the Hon. Prime Minister to Mr. Hamilton Russell in Parliament the other day.

TWO things shocked me about the dreadful disaster at Clydesdale. The first was the force of the explosion. It was sufficient to put six-inch cracks in the asphalt road that runs near the colliery.

The second is the fact that, some forty hours after the disaster, the mine authorities still did not know how many African workers were missing. They of course knew the names and addresses of the missing White miners. But their estimates of the number of lost Africans varied between three hundred and five hundred. What could more clearly show to a watching world the contempt felt for African life by the people who run this country?

A SMALL point, that probably most people missed, was this: when Dr. Verwoerd was replying to Dr. Steytler in the no confidence debate in Parliament, on 20th January, he said that he disagreed with Dr. Steytler "unto death".

I do not think that Dr. Verwoerd always tells the truth, but I think he told the truth on this occasion. I have little doubt that he has staked everything on the gambler's throw that his policy is.

REMEMBER how the Japanese called their pre-war imperialism the "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere"? Verwoerd is outdoing them: when he forbade Non-Whites to go to the open universities he called the law the "Extension of University Education Act". When he redoubled the ferociousness of the pass law and, for the first time, included women, the law was called the "Abolition of Passes Act".

Now he's come up with the best yet. Bantu Authorities, the meanest form of tyranny yet devised in South Africa, has been christened by his Transkei agents *ziphathe*.

This word, believe it or not, means "self-rule".

SPEAKING for the Liberal Party, Alan Paton and Peter Brown issued an excellent statement on the overseas boycott. We are not running it because Peter Brown's "Long View" deals with the question more fully.

There was one dramatic point made in the statement which should reach our readers. It was that apartheid itself is "that inhuman boycott of men's lives and energies".

In 1960 one looks back to 1910 and sees the rights of African, Coloured and Indian people which fifty years have whittled away—the right to buy land, to live where you like, to work where you like at the job that you like, to have the education you would like—the list stretches endlessly on. One sees particularly the erosion of political rights.

In 1960 Indians have no political rights at any level of government: Africans are watching the last Parliamentary session in which they will have any representation at all, and Coloured people, having followed Africans on a communal roll, can also expect to see their representatives leave the parliamentary scene in the fullness of time. Let us face the fact, then, that in 1960 the possibility of South Africans of colour influencing one single decision of parliament does not exist.

United Nations Economic Survey discloses

Africa's Production Rising —But Not Fast Enough

ARISE, over the last 20 years, of 40% in the total agricultural production of the nations of Africa, is disclosed in an important United Nations Economic Survey which was published on 19th January. This rise increased the standards of living of the peoples, because, said the Survey, it was "considerably in excess" of the growth of the population, and also because most of the income of the continent is agricultural income.

It is nevertheless clear that the growth in incomes per head in these countries has been much slower than in the advanced countries of Western Europe, the Soviet bloc and North America. The gap between the advanced and the less advanced countries continues to grow.

Africa enters the first decade of its political independence with a tolerably satisfactory background, but no more. It will be hard work to speed the process of growth without causing impossible social, political and economic strains as the exchange economy takes over completely from the subsistence economy.

How was the economic growth speeded during the fifties?

Many of the answers appear in this Economic Survey, prepared at the request of the new United Nations Economic Commission for Africa.

This Economic Commission has acquired sudden local importance for South Africa, for the Union Government has just announced that it would attend the second session of the Economic Commission for Africa which opened on 26th January in Tangier. The decision reversed the earlier decision not to co-operate with this Commission, for the

by "ORYX"

Union stayed away from the first session, in Ethiopia a year ago. It is possible that this new decision represents a new trend—towards involvement in black Africa.

The Economic Commission has been set up because Africa's speeding political advance makes it vitally necessary that economic advance, too, should be greatly accelerated.

The Survey takes the view that economic progress in most of the African countries—the major exception is the Union of South Africa—must depend largely upon the initiative of governments. Only by large-scale government enterprise and interference will it be possible to speed up the immense task of transforming the traditional subsistence economy into a modern exchange economy.

The Survey shows that the first period of "deliberate" development policy by African governments on a large scale started immediately after World War II—at the time, in fact, when governments all over the world were first becoming really aware of the need for conscious development policies.

By about 1949, these African policies really started to get under way. The Survey shows that, from about that time onwards, a large and increasing proportion of domestic capital formation in the African countries was carried out by the governments and other public authorities, and government policies became the largest single determinant of the way in which investment funds were used.

Source of finance

Except in the French territories, where three-quarters of the new funds available for investment came from the metropolitan government, the main sources of investment funds in Africa were within the individual territories themselves. On average, internal financing accounted for two-thirds of total funds; in most of the non-French territories, the proportion was even higher.

In the British African territories, most of the internal funds came from collective savings, rather than private individual savings; the policy was one of accumulating budget surpluses and marketing boards funds, particularly in the more prosperous years.

Most of the economic development programmes in Africa in the fifties are described by the Survey as "essentially preindustrialisation programmes". Their aim was to provide a basic framework of communications, housing and social services, in the hope that they would facilitate and induce spontaneous private investment. In fact, however, things have not worked out as intended, particularly in the countries which are only at the earliest stages of leaving a subsistence economy. In many of these, the expected complementary private investment has not always materialised, although in countries with good mineral deposits, private investment (generally financed by overseas interests) has taken place on a large scale.

Even though there is rapid movement towards a monetary economy, and even in some cases an industrialised economy, the Survey emphasises that it is still misleading to look on the African economies as if they were modern money economies of the kinds found in Europe and America. In a remarkably turgid phrase, the Survey says the economic system in Africa must be regarded as "an aggregate of juxtaposed complexes"—which translated into English simply means that a subsistence economy and a market economy are to be found side by side.

All the same, the movement

is steadily towards a market economy. The movement is taking place in two ways: traditional agriculture starts to develop and sell marketable surpluses; and on the other hand, market production is undertaken on a large scale. The former kind of movement demands less capital and less in the way of central organisation, but at the same time it is harder for a government which is intent on rapid industrialisation to induce this movement voluntarily.

The latter kind of movement tends to be much more costly, and it may cause social strain by drawing away part of the labour resources from the

traditional economy into wage-earning employment. Indeed, the Survey suggests that this drain may be economically harmful as well; in most of Africa there is no problem of overpopulation, which means that there may be too little labour left on the land to farm it properly, if wages are too attractive in the towns and mines.

Largely as a result of this progress from a subsistence to a monetary economy, the last decade has seen more or less sustained increases in real national income—and the increases have generally been a good deal faster than the population rise.

Science Opens Up The Desert

ALGIERS: There is always both excitement and sadness when a new lonely part of the world is conquered by twentieth century technology. The Sahara, now being opened up for oil and minerals, rocket and atom bomb tests, is no exception.

From oasis to oasis used to be two or three hard dangerous weeks by camel; later, it was two days along bumpy desert tracks by lorry; now there are straight stretches of tarmac hundreds of miles long for military trucks and oilmen's supply convoys; and each oasis has its landing strip, often with standard glassed-in control tower and a line of whitened stones distinguishing the "runway" from the flat, hard desert all around. Two hundred miles of the driest, hottest, most desolate landscape in the world has now been tamed into an hour's droning flight in a DC-3.

There are Frenchmen—old Sahara hands—who resent this. They remember the days when camels were compulsory, and one survived the gruelling summers without air-conditioning or other new-fangled nonsense. There are still lonely French officers in charge of isolated desert forts or administering thousands of square miles of desert, empty of all but a few nomads whose attachment to the desert and the desert tribes is at least partly romantic. They doubt if the twentieth century will make either them or their tribes happy.

Romantic surroundings

At a small outpost in the Sahara I witnessed a scene straight out of Beau Geste. A young French officer, no more than 18 months in the desert, rode in at the head of his gorgeous camel patrol. Below his officer's tunic he wore baggy black Arab pantaloons (a common sight in Saharan officers' messes), with hardened bare feet crossed on the neck of the camel. His patrol, formed and trained by him and one other officer, looked superb in white robes and scarlet bandoliers. These were all nomads, dark and austere-looking, and the patrol is more a psychological than a military instrument, a Saharan equivalent of the bearskinned Buckingham Palace guards.

At the end of the day, he

took the salute with his wife, who appeared in white pantaloons and rough white native cloak. The scene epitomised a romantic attachment to the desert, practical enough in its way in the absence of technology, but whose day is almost over.

In the south-west Sahara, now part of the new independent republic of Mauritania within the French Community, is a tiny crumbled village whose inhabitants are going to encounter the twentieth century perhaps more suddenly than any other Saharan community. The village shelters in the lee of a modest brown barracks, Fort Gouraud, established in the 1930's to ward off marauding slave-gathering parties from the mountains in the west.

Housing and railway

Behind the village, there rises suddenly out of the flat desert a black mountain, 20 miles long, like the sinister fortress of a fairy tale enchanter. Much of the mountain is nearly 70 per cent iron, and represents one of the richest deposits in the world. Within the next three years, if all goes according to plan, a 400-mile railway will reach the village from Port Etienne on the coast. A town which will eventually house 10,000 people will have begun to spring up. There will be a clamour of blasting, shunting ore trucks, grinding 40-ton ore lorries, giant excavators, and clanking conveyor belts burrowing through tunnels in the mountain.

At the moment there is nothing but the occasional painful snarl of a camel, the buzz of flies, and the squeaky voices of the dark-skinned children playing elaborate tag in the dust of the empty village street.

All the same, the villagers know what is up. For two years there have been jeeps and visiting geologists; trial borings high up the jagged black mountain slopes, and bulldozers

[Continued on page 12]

"Christians Should Take Part in Politics"

A STATEMENT issued by the Christian Council of Tanganyika to all its member churches, with a request that it be read in all of them, contains a number of questions and answers on politics and religion. The statement reads as follows:

Question: Is it the responsibility of a Christian to take part in politics?

Answer: Yes.

Question: Does the Christian Council of Tanganyika support the demand of the people of Tanganyika for political self government?

Answer: Yes.

Question: Is it the aim of the Christian Council of Tanganyika that African members should play their full part in government of the Church?

Answer: Yes.

"The Christian religion is concerned with the whole man. It is concerned not only with the souls of men, but also with their bodies and minds. Christ is the Lord of All. If we exclude Him from any part of human life we are at fault. It follows therefore that politics is one of the matters in which every Christian should be vitally interested."

"God is Love and has taught us to love our neighbour as ourselves. To love our neighbour means to promote his welfare in any possible way. One such way, in our present situation in Tanganyika, is for the Church to assist the people of this Territory in their desire to reach political self-government.

"Therefore it is the hope of the Christian Council of Tanganyika that Christians will play an increasingly large part in the politics of this country, bringing Christian judgment to bear upon public affairs, creating a Christian conscience in political matters and showing an example of Christian integrity in public life. Moreover, within the Church, the Council declares that there are no racial barriers which will prevent Africans from bearing their full responsibility for the government of the Church."

Abubaker Tafawa Balewa of Nigeria

"Unfiery" Premier of Biggest African State

LONDON: By a quirk of history, an unfiery and unpassionate school teacher has emerged as the leader of Africa's largest and potentially wealthiest country on the threshold of its freedom. He is Alhaji Sir Abubaker Tafawa Balewa, Federal Prime Minister of Nigeria, which becomes independent of Britain next October. Mr. Harold Macmillan who met him during his recent visit to Nigeria, found him a very different type of African leader from his last host, Ghana's revolutionary Kwame Nkrumah.

The honorific Alhaji simply indicates that as a devout Muslim he has gained his red fez by making the pilgrimage to Mecca; Tafawa Balewa is the name of the tiny village in Northern Nigeria where he was born. The knighthood is brand new. Stripped of this armour of honours and localities, Abubaker stands forth as the modest teacher and serious student he might have remained had the tide of African affairs run otherwise.

Qualities of leadership

Abubaker is the great mediator; more accustomed to pouring oil on troubled waters than stoking up the fires of nationalism. His great weakness, in fact, is that there is so little "fire in his belly". He refuses either to popularise himself, or to establish himself as the leader of a mass movement.

His belief in statecraft rather than in oratory has driven many of his admirers to distraction. Once a senior colonial administrator urged him to enter the market-place and arouse the public. "Put yourself at the head of a popular movement; go out and denounce the wicked imperialists; proclaim your faith in nationalism and independence".

But the advice was lost on Abubaker. "I don't believe in that kind of propaganda," he replied. "I prefer to do things my own way. If that is not pleasing to the people there is nothing I am prepared to do about it."

Here is not only honesty and patience, but a remarkable degree of self-confidence. There is no doubt that he lacks the qualities of popular leadership that characterise Nigeria's impressive band of leaders. He has none of the mercurial brilliance of the nationalist leader Zik (Dr. N. N. Azikiwe), whose party is in Abubaker's present coalition Government. He has none of the forceful ambition and adventurousness of Chief Obafemi Awolowo, the leader of the Opposition. Nor has he the presence or the uncompromising toughness of the leader of his own party, Sir Ahmadou Bello, the Sardauna of Sokoto.

Yet his own qualities seem admirably to suit the present needs of Nigeria. Its experiment in federation is a precarious affair. Holding a balance between the powerful rival regional States is no easy matter; nor is it going to be easy to allay the suspicions of the Muslims in the north (his own territory) whose rulers fear the effects on their traditional society of a too-drastic rush towards modernism.

from
Colin Legum

He accepts the need for reforms, but rejects radical changes. "Drastic change," he says, "makes people unhappy; we are introducing it gradually."

His father was a District Head and young Abubaker went to the local schools before going to Katsina College in Northern Nigeria. He had no education in Europe until he was 33 when he went to the Institute of Education at London University to take his teachers' professional certificate. By that time he had served for years

as a teacher and as a trainer of teachers.

His stay in Britain infused him with an ambition quite different from that often gained by colonial students. "I returned to Nigeria," he has said, "with new eyes because I had seen people who lived without fear, who obeyed the law as part of their nature, and who knew individual liberty."

These are the things that matter most to him. He has no illusions about how far Nigeria still needs to go to achieve these traditions; not least in Northern Nigeria where his own party leaders have not always taken easily to the accommodations entailed by democratic politics.

He believes wholeheartedly



ABUBAKER TAFAWA BALEWA

in Nigeria's independence because he is personally incapable of accepting anything that smacks of inferiority. But he is not a nationalist in the accepted sense of the word. Pan-Africanism has few attractions for him.

However, he is shrewd enough to know that Nigeria must not thwart pan-Africanism; nor can it fail to play its part in the movement towards a community of West African States which is

being developed with great passion by his smaller neighbours.

In the councils of pan-Africanism his role will be that of the moderator. He will find his strongest allies among the present leaders of Ethiopia, Liberia and the Sudan.

For him non-commitment in foreign affairs is an unrealistic policy. He is wholly committed to the West and he is not afraid to say so.

Houser of the American Committee on Africa

GEORGE M. HOUSER (43) has been the executive director of the American Committee on Africa since September, 1955. Although the Committee had an informal existence prior to Houser's taking over the directorship, it had not established itself as an organization with a full-time programme until after that date. Active American concern and interest in Africa was just beginning in 1955. As this interest has grown among the American people, so has the American Committee on Africa expanded.

Although George Houser was trained in theological school and is a minister in the Methodist Church, he had not primarily worked out his vocational calling as a clergyman in a local church. Rather, his sense of social justice has impelled him to work through various organizations attempting to achieve racial justice, peace, and freedom for all people.

Pacifist background

For more than ten years he was Director of Race Relations on the national staff of the pacifist Fellowship of Reconciliation in the United States. In this capacity he initiated experiments on non-violent methods for lessening racial discrimination and segregation in the United States. One project in which he was the chief organizer was called the Journey of Reconciliation. This gathered together a dozen Negroes and Whites who travelled together in several states in the South sitting interracially on buses and trains in which they rode. For a two-week period the group participating in this project violated the state segregated seating patterns twenty-six different times. A total of twelve arrests were made. All but one of the cases ended in a victory in the courts.



HOUSER

This pattern of non-violent direct action has characterized George Houser's approaches to many problems in the field of race relations and social justice. He has had a strong interest in the Gandhian approach to the solution of social and political problems, and this undoubtedly was one of the factors which attracted him vocationally to African affairs. He was convinced that in Africa there was perhaps the greatest racial problem in the world, especially in such areas as South Africa, Kenya, and the Rhodesias. Also

he felt that Africa was a ripe field for using methods of non-violence in order to bring about peace and reconciliation.

Defiance Campaign

Very naturally Houser became interested in the Defiance Campaign in South Africa, committed as it was to methods of non-violent direct action in 1952. He organized a group in the United States at that time which helped to raise several thousand dollars to be used to assist the dependants of those arrested while participating in the campaign. Perhaps it was this experience that helped to lay the groundwork for the later organization of the American Committee on Africa, although these two efforts were never formally related to one another.

For six years prior to his work with the American Committee on Africa and while he was working with the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Houser was the Executive Secretary of the Congress of Racial Equality (Core), a national interracial organization in the United States committed to using non-violent methods for erasing the colour bar. He helped to direct projects in all parts of the country through Core to end discrimination and segregation in public places.

Houser has taken four trips to the African continent, the first in 1954. The only area of the continent that he has not been able to visit is East and Central Africa, from Uganda and Kenya through Southern Rhodesia. Undoubtedly his background in the field of race relations and his general sympathy with those who are struggling for independence and equality has been responsible for his having been declared a prohibited immigrant in these areas. He was able to get into the Union of South Africa in 1954 for several weeks, although it is questionable that he would be permitted back into the Union at the present time.

In 1957 the American Committee on Africa initiated the World-wide Declaration of Conscience on Human Rights Day as a day of protest against South Africa's apartheid policy. This campaign and the American Committee on Africa were condemned by Foreign Minister Eric Louw in a nationwide broadcast for this effort.

George Houser attended the first All-Africa Peoples' Conference in Accra in December, 1958, and also the second Conference in Tunis last month. He has had a close working relationship with many leaders in both the independent and not-yet-independent countries of Africa. Through the American Committee on Africa he has been very active in the United Nations in working on issues affecting Africa and has been particularly helpful to petitioners from Africa going to the United States to plead their cases.

Uys Krige to Sam Sly

THE AMERICAN IS MODERN MAN

SAM SLY: Coming back after seven months in America, do you still hold the high opinion of American writers you had when you left here?

UYS KRIGE: Yes, I do. But I now appreciate their serious isolation — isolation one from another. Robinson Jeffers in Big Sur on the West Coast and Robert Lowell in Boston, 3,000 miles away — how can they meet and talk as European writers do in Paris, say, or Rome? Even in New York and the cities, writers are isolated, except the Beatniks in San Francisco.



"... cork and wave ..."

SS: Do they count?
U: No, I don't think they're important.

SS: Is it distance only that isolates them?

U: No, they're isolated from other Americans. They are critical of the American Way of Life, and this must cut them off from it.

SS: So there really is an American Way of Life?

U: There's certainly a pattern and the writers are in revolt against its uniformity and the conformity of thought it demands.

SS: What about their writing?

U: I believe that American literature is the most vital in the English-speaking world. At its best the criticism of a few excels — Edmund Wilson, especially, and Lionel Trilling. Other arts too — architecture the most impressive I have seen, non-representative art, most striking in its scope and range. Their literary scholarship is unique in the world I would say. In its tremendous volume as well as in individual contributions. This is the work of the universities. They are the writer's greatest asset, too.

SS: In what way?

U: Well, they've solved the problem of the patron. They're generous and helpful to writers — they pay them, listen to them, publish them. The universities do other things we can learn. We should have their seminars here.

SS: We do, don't we? How do they differ?

U: One goes, the students ask questions — all sorts of byways lead off, ideas appear and are thrown back and forth. I went to the University of Texas at Austin to give one of these — I gave five!

SS: This was exciting?

U: There's the warmth of the contact with students. There's a feeling like a cork on a wave — though I sometimes felt I didn't know which was cork and which was wave. I learned and they learned — often about things we never thought we'd find.

SS: How else did the universities strike you?

U: I was happiest in Texas, in 2½ weeks of university work there. Perhaps it was because I was longest there. I have to get involved with people to know them. But universities — the most significant thing about theatre is what the universities are doing. There is a great effort to give the drama student a grounding in the humanities, to give him the broadest background, to equip him completely for the stage. The drama school at Yale, for instance — I don't know of anything of its kind anywhere in the world.

SS: You saw a lot of theatre?

U: Yes, but Broadway was disappointing — too geared to the commercial machine. I liked *Raisin in the Sun*, but not as much as Tynan did. The new Tennessee Williams, *Sweet Bird of Youth*, is a horror. The 15 theatres off Broadway were better. And apart from San Francisco, there's nothing much else. One theatre in Washington — one of the world's great capital cities. When I was in Chicago — 5 million people — there was nothing playing at all. The link has been broken somewhere — by cinema and this terrifying television, perhaps.

SS: What about criticism in general? Do they write as well as they talk?

U: The level of literary criticism in the *New York Times* and *Herald Tribune* is much inferior to the *London Observer* and *Sunday Times* for a start and this inferiority is general, compared to Europe. Papers like the *Portisan Review* and the university quarterlies are excellent, but for the elite. And ordinary journalists write so badly. Mediocrity rules — even on the *New York Times* the writing is undistinguished. Outside New York the newspapers are provincial — even in San Francisco and Chicago. I suppose the tradition of writers starting as reporters is gone. I mean Ring Lardner, Hemingway, even Faulkner.

SS: Are the writers of to-day not part of the American fabric as they were?

U: The malaise of writers — the loneliness of the individual in America — is beautifully illustrated in *The Catcher in the Rye*, which seems so popular in the universities — almost bedside reading. Everybody seems to see himself reflected in it. The book is a whole — it flowers from its own cup and dies on its own stem. So difficult a thing for a novel to do. Salinger's dialogue shows the toughness and truthness I admire in American novelists, too.

SS: But this malaise is old?

U: The older writers left

America — James, Pound, Eliot, Hemingway. These ones stay — or they go to the Left Bank but they come back. Frost wrote: "The land was ours before we were the land's". The situation is changing for them. They are in revolt against home but they stay home.

SS: In general, do the people know about Africa?

U: No. Intellectuals, yes, and there are so many real experts. And in the press too. There's a news story about South Africa in the *New York Times* nearly every day. There's not much in the provincial press.

SS: And about our writers?

U: They are very much aware of English writing in South Africa and the writers are known and discussed — Lessing, Gordimer, Jacobson, Paton, and the others. *Cry, the Beloved Country* is valued very highly. In eight days there were two articles in the *New York Times* calling attention to the remarkable production of work by South African writers in English. Many people came to me and said they had read this novel or that short story.

SS: Is there an expert on this subject too?

U: An extraordinary man with a great interest in South Africa



"... a long, long process ..."

is Joseph Jones of Texas University. He has seen in Commonwealth writing a parallel with the development of literature in the United States — away out on the Frontier, away from England. It's there in the affinity of Mark Twain and Herman Charles Bosman. Joseph Jones finds these parallels in New Zealand, where he has taught, in Australia and in South Africa. He predicts a big flowering in the Commonwealth countries and then a breaking apart, for the common enrichment of literature. He knows Afrikaans, and introduced me once with a nice little speech in it. He is coming here next month — for 6 or 8 months, then goes to Australia.

SS: Is one wrong to believe that liberalism in the broadest sense is the American creed today?

U: They are swinging away from the harshness of old — especially about race troubles. The political scene is more relaxed, with McCarthyism like a bad dream and Little Rock behind them. The laws are improving where ours are getting worse. But it's taken a thousand years for the nationalities in Europe to control their hatred of each other. It will be a long, long process in America, with colour to complicate it. Prosperity helps, and the South is booming.

SS: And in New York?

U: Whatever one may think of New York — and I didn't like it — it's an amazing example of people of all kinds and races getting along together. It's a compliment to America that the sense of oneness of these people is greater than the explosive force of the mixture. There is enough material for a mighty explosion but they get along together. You feel this all over New York.

SS: These gangs of young Negroes and Puerto Ricans — they are the exception to this?

U: They're there because of overcrowding, and a situation not unlike ours of the *platteland* coming to town. Generally, the people get on. New York may be one of the rudest cities in the world but it's not racial.

SS: You didn't like New York. What do New Yorkers think of it?

U: It's awfulness is a big subject with them. I said something to a Negro taxi-driver about "Your New York", and he cracked back: "It's not my New York. It's getting that bad, nobody wants it!" At certain times of the day it has great visual beauty.

SS: Uys, we must end. It's traditional to come back from America bewailing "the American dilemma", isn't it?

U: It's not "the American" dilemma at all, of course. It's the dilemma of modern man at his most industrialized and with the maximum of possessions. The American is modern man, not just an American. His dilemma is our dilemma — or will be when we've reached his level of wealth and comfort. It's what to do about all this that he's so puzzled about.

SS: And is he finding a way out?

U: There is so much vitality and genuine idealism in America that whatever flaws and faults their pattern, their American way of life may have, I feel these faults are only part of a transitional phase. They'll get through it all right. If you believe in people, as I do, then you believe in Americans.



REVIEWS

Purged of Heat

COMMONSENSE ABOUT AFRICA. By Anthony Sampson (Gollancz) 6s.

THAT progressive publisher, Mr. Victor Gollancz, is producing a series of small books designed to introduce (especially to young people) the most exciting parts of the world today. The first four in the series are on India, China, Russia, and Africa. For the last, the publisher chose as author Mr. Sampson, whom we in the Union remember as a former editor of *Drum*.

Mr. Sampson's own sympathies are on the side of Africans but the publisher told him to be "objective", and in striving to keep controversy and emotion out of his pages, he has also purged them of the heat and dust of conflict which are a necessary part of the contemporary picture. This really suited Mr. Sampson, for he has a quicker eye for

human frailties than for the economic interests underlying them. He describes rather than explains what is afoot, giving a clear and concise account of the situation in the main areas of the continent, but never quite indicating why conflict arose or how it is proceeding.

On some pages Mr. Sampson almost leans over backwards to avoid any suspicion that he favours one side. Thus he distinguishes *apartheid* from British and American segregation by saying that "Afrikanders have no other home". Yet this fact does nothing to explain or excuse the crudities and cruelties of *apartheid*, which are what really distinguishes it from other forms of racialism.

Mr. Sampson finds it hard to understand white liberals. He lumps South African and Rhodesian liberals together, although there are obvious differences. "The main complaint of politically-minded Africans against white liberals," he writes, "is that they assume Africans cannot lead themselves." Surely this is not so.

Mr. Sampson must have composed his book in haste, for how else can one account for the number of minor errors and questionable statements? None the less, in spite of its limitations, this book is useful, especially if the reader goes on to gain a deeper knowledge from other sources. JULIUS LEWIN

Oldtimer's Chuckle

AFRICAN RAINBOW. By H. K. Binks (Sidgwick & Jackson) 21s.

THIS pleasant ramble through Kenya of the early 1900's is an oldtimer's chuckle over good, tough times long gone by. The author landed in Mombasa 60 years ago, a raw, red-headed Yorkshireman of twenty. Within a week he was on his way inland to Nairobi — a collection of tin huts — where he tried farming and later became a pioneer of safari photography. The story is thin, but photographer Binks bulks it out with several lively hunting yarns, and some improbable conversations which would do credit to the most imaginative gossip columnist.

East Africa at the beginning of the century was the stamping ground of some remarkable adventurers. For a while H. K. Binks photographed for big Paul Rainey, the American who hunted lion with dogs; he also met the lassoing cowboy, Tarpon Dick. Helped by a band of Arizonians mounted on cow ponies, Tarpon Dick first caught a lion and "with a lariat strung on each side . . . the king of beasts was paraded through Nairobi nicely spaced between two horses, his rump branded with the ranchman's private mark".

Encouraged by this success, the cowboys went for a rhino who put up a much harder fight but was also paraded down the dusty streets before being taken back to the plains and released.

After lassoes, safaris and elephant hunts, *African Rainbow* concludes with a provocative chapter in which the author outlines his ideas on the origin of the Rift Valley. This, he believes, took its present form in a cataclysm 3,500 years ago which also obliterated an advanced race of Africans — the descendants of tribes once enslaved by the Egyptians.

PETER HJUL

DIE MISHORING-PERS

Jan Rabie's
DIE EVOLUSIE VAN
NASIONALISME

the crisis of nationalism
in perspective . . .

9s * 6d. postage

from all booksellers and
from

6 CHEVIOT PLACE,
GREEN POINT, CAPE

Too late to-day

OUR RESPONSIBILITY; A Discussion of South Africa's Racial Problems. By H. A. Fagan (Universiteits-uitgewers, Stellenbosch) 10s. 6d.

I REVERE the personality and intelligence of ex-Chief Justice Fagan. For some time I have known that he has been highly critical of apartheid. So when I knew that he was busy on a book on apartheid I rejoiced.

I have just finished reading the book. I read it with a mounting sense of disappointment.

It is true that this most distinguished of living Afrikaners has cut Verwoerd's apartheid to ribbons. Without for one moment lowering his style from the heights of judicious—and judicial—impartiality, he has made Dr. Verwoerd look naked and foolish. Listen to this: "If one black spot is cleared and added to another so as to make the second one bigger, there is a triumphant announcement that a black spot has again been removed." The context is the removal of people from places like Sophiatown to places like Meadowlands.

He has passed his quiet rapier over and again through the body of Verwoerdian apartheid and when he has finished with it there is nothing left but some tattered rags of flesh.

The trouble with this book is that it offers nothing in place of this apartheid. It is true that it does make what are intended to be constructive suggestions. But all they amount to is a plea to leave the Afrikaners in undisputed control of the situation, and to trust that their heavy responsibilities will make them responsible. "I myself have sufficient faith in my fellow-Europeans and my fellow-Afrikaners to believe that, if our judgment is not warped by the fear complex or by unrealistic aims and emotional slogans, we shall be conscious of that responsibility and strive to perform that duty with honesty and sincerity."

Surely the past hundred years, during which few Whites except the far-sighted have had any fears, sufficiently disprove this idea?

He specifically rejects any scheme for increased political power for the non-Whites: "In conditions ruling at present—and that includes the future as far as my suggestions for planning can go at the moment—I do not advocate any further extension of the parliamentary franchise of the non-Europeans or of their representation in Parliament." And, elsewhere, "I can therefore say to the (non-Afrikaners): Show a faith in Afrikanerdom. Do not come along with proposals which, in the first place, may be regarded as evidence of distrust of the Afrikaner, and, secondly, are calculated to revive or to strengthen the fear complex in him." Be nice to the Afrikaner and wait for the Afrikaner to give up his unfair privileges, that is.

Why should we, the peoples of South Africa, wait? It is not as if the movement were in the direction of greater justice or humanity. The opposite.

Above all, I should have thought that one of the lessons of history was that power is the only defence of the powerless.

Certainly this is the lesson of the Afrikaner nationalist movement, of which Judge Fagan has been one of the chief leaders. And if this solution was good enough for the Afrikaners, why

should it not be acceptable for the non-Whites?

It is as if a writer, speaking to the Afrikaner people in 1903, had advised them to leave the victorious British in undisputed control of the situation—on the grounds that one day they would learn, by some magical process, how the Afrikaner shoe was pinching. Such a book would have been as unreal as this is.

The essential of the present situation, as I am sure Judge Fagan will admit, is that any solution, to be of any use, will have to win acceptance from the non-Whites. What he proposes has no hope of such acceptance. It is not only the Africans who will reject his ideas: the Coloured people, too, are offered nothing but a return to the apartheid of



FAGAN

Hertzog, that is to say, a slight loosening up all round, but maintaining separation, and increased economic opportunities.

Such ideas could have worked thirty years ago, but it is too late, to-day, for anything resembling them to win general acceptance.

To have to say this gives me pain, for, as I have said, I revere the author. He is the author of the beautiful Afrikaans poem which embroiders and comments on "Nkosi Sikelela". And he is a genuine patriot. His book ends with a plea for a true South African patriotism including all, African and White, Coloured and Indian. He is a person who welcomes and is proud of the diversity of South Africans, and who longs to help weld us together in an honourable unity.

Most readers of *Contact* will back him in his eloquent plea for a new patriotism. I hope many of them will buy and read this book. But I fear that few will be found who will regard it as much of an answer to the groans of those now suffering from apartheid, of those whose children are now dying of hunger, of those skilled men now legislated out of their jobs, of those non-Whites now uprooted from their homes and driven to suicide. Above all, I fear that it will be brushed aside as an irrelevance by the rising generation of young non-Whites who mean business, and who justly demand "freedom in our lifetime".

PATRICK DUNCAN

Bent Conventions

ELECTIONS ABROAD. Edited by D. E. Butler (Macmillan) 32s.

MORE by circumstance than design, Nuffield College, Oxford, having sponsored descriptive studies of recent general elections in France, Poland,

Ireland and South Africa, decided to present them under one cover.

Although each study is completely separate, the result for students of psephology (the science of elections), is a series of fascinating descriptions reflecting at their most sensitive and revealing moments, the fundamentally different economic, social and political backgrounds of the four countries.

And for South Africans in particular, the section on the 1958 General Election gives a devastating insight into the way that others see us.

The section on South Africa, by R. R. Farquharson, opens with the statement that "elections in South Africa have a deceptive air of reality. Their apparatus of meetings, ballots and returning officers is so convincing that the psephologist may need a positive act of will to break the spell".

Contrary to what one might expect after such an introduction, the study is by no means hostile to the white group. It is factually well-balanced and accurate.

The final prognosis is not too gloomy either, for the study concludes that we are still a country on the "hither side of the line between liberty and dictatorship. Many freedoms had dwindled, much injustice prevailed. But it was still possible for opinions to be spoken and printed without prior censorship; those who could vote did not need to fear the secrecy of their ballots; though laws were unjust, the rule of law at least remained. The government had bent, but not broken, the democratic conventions within the white community".

The South African reader might find it advisable to read the section on South Africa first, then Ireland (with its interesting proportional representation voting system), and finally the two relatively more complicated sections on France and Poland.

The elections in France and Poland both had as a background a near-revolution which had taken place some months previously. There, however, the similarity ends. In France democratic ideas still prevail, albeit with glaring imperfections. In Poland the police state is all-powerful, but a faint stirring of the forces of freedom has apparently made itself felt.

The South African reader who completes all four studies will inevitably reap the benefit of having had his attention focused on some people who are better off and some who are worse off than himself. He should find himself more aware of the infinite possible varieties of political organization and expression in a modern state, and in a better position to evaluate the good and the bad in the political set-up of his own country.

H. J. BRODIE

An Inferior Order

THE LONG DREAM. By Richard Wright (Doubleday)

RICHARD WRIGHT is at his masterful best when his theme is negro-white relationships in America's deep south. In this, his latest novel since the disappointing *Outsider*, in which his material lay outside his usual source, he gives us something that compares favourably with his magnum opus, *Native Son*. Written with power, punch and passion, he has lost none of his genius for a racy, narrative style, clipped dialogue and crafty, gripping story-telling.

A FALL OF ROCK

Five days after the disaster at Clydesdale Colliery, Coalbrook, neither public, press nor radio knew exactly how many men were trapped 515 feet down . . .

Where not so long ago the breezes stirred
The summer grasses, now
A fat contralto gargles for applause
And bows in sequins when the curtain falls.

A sudden tremor shakes the theatre
And 'Oh!' cry two or three, while red and blue
Sparks fly from the diamond earrings; several men
Are glad of an excuse to squeeze white hands
And murmur reassurance in small ears.
They say perhaps it was a fall of rock
In the deep mines below.

From "A Fall of Rock", from William Plomer's *Collected Poems* to be published in March by Jonathan Cape, London.

The *Long Dream* makes one feel, above all, a deep sense of outrage against the status of the negro in America. Wright cleverly elucidates the negro's tragic plight with apt comments upon situations in which the characters find themselves, and which will make one shudder as they reveal how the negro is suffocated morally and in every other conceivable way.

What Wright tells us is that the negro is simply a nobody because the white man wants him to be so. To be forced into this inferior status is the common legacy of every negro and willy-nilly he has to learn this lesson sooner or later. Wright says: "they fight us in the street, in church, in school, in the home, in business—they fight us everywhere—they hate you the moment you are born and all your life they are looking for something to kill you for."

The negro's plight, Wright makes it clear, is of a particularly cruel kind, for being in a minority he is completely at the mercy of the majority white. Any improvement in his position depends solely upon the goodwill of the white man. Race-riots break out following a suspected affair between a negro and a white prostitute, and a white mob goes on a mad killing spree. The hero, Fishbelly, shocked at the fear of his parents, asks his father Tyree, why negroes do not kill in retaliation. "Don't talk foolish, I told you we was outnumbered. If we try to kill the whites, they'll kill us all," Tyree replies.

Faced with this nightmarish oppression the negro is forced to live without any dignity. He feels he must cringe and truckle before the white man to get what he wants from him. The white man controls his destiny and does not give him "the slightest human recognition". In the words of O. Mannoni whom Wright quotes as a prelude to Part Two of this novel, they "naturally make for themselves a place of an inferior order and cannot fully compensate for their feelings of inferiority". This is the great moral lesson of the book.

Tyree embodies this basic fact of negro life. After the race-riots when Tyree decides to teach Fishbelly what it means to live in a hostile white world he warns him sternly: "Obey them, don't dispute them, Fish. That's the key. How the white folks look at you is everything. Make them mad and you kicked afore you start. Be a man, son."

Wright points out the meaning of a white woman in the diseased prejudices of the white world. Tyree tells Fishbelly the fact which he discovers for himself, "Never look at a white woman. When you in the presence of a

white woman remember she means death".

And yet because the white women are taboo they are eagerly desired by black men. Fishbelly himself hating the white world falls in love with Gladys, the bastard daughter of a white father and a black mother, "because she was whitish".

He wants to crash into the white world, which is a challenge to his dignity, and which can fulfil his search for status. One way of doing it is by having a white girl. Hence Fishbelly's love for Gladys, which is the nearest that he can get to it.

Fishbelly's white world is a negative shadowy world marked by rejection and inhumanity. Eventually in desperation when Fishbelly can no longer tolerate all that happens to him at the hands of the white man he goes to France in search of "some place that he can call a home", so that the "long dream" of becoming something and not nothing, of feeling wanted and not unwanted, may come true.

BENNY BUNSEE

A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa 1958-9

The latest issue, published this month, of the Institute's comprehensive, factual year by year report on events and trends in all fields affecting race relations. Compiled by Miss M. Horrell. 356 pp. 10s.

The Cost of Living for Urban Africans Johannesburg 1959

Published at the end of January, 1960, Mrs. Joy de Gruchy's comprehensive and detailed study will give the most up-to-date figures on this vital question. Mrs. de Gruchy was commissioned to bring up to date the previous studies with which the Institute first brought the economic needs of urban Africans to the notice of the public and carried out her investigation during 1959. Price 4s. 6d., plus 3d. postage.

from the S.A. INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS

P.O. Box 97, Johannesburg.

CORRESPONDENCE

AFRICAN TRADE UNIONS

SIR.—Our attention has been drawn to an article appearing in *The World* of January 16, 1960 under the heading "New Trade Union Federation is sweeping Africa".

Because of inaccuracies in the statement by a Mr. Leon Levy, of the South African Congress of Trade Unions, we wish to bring the following facts to the notice of the public.

It is not true that the All-African Trade Union Federation has already been launched. It is an idea flowing from the A.A.P.C. Steering Committee resolution of the 6th-9th October, 1959. A constituent convention will be held in May in Casablanca, Morocco, for that purpose. The Fofatusa has an invitation to that convention.

Further, it is not true that the I.C.F.T.U. and the A.A.T.U.F. are "battling for leadership of the Trade Union movement throughout Africa". This is propaganda widely spread by imperialist agents and enemies of Pan-African unity. What has to be finalised is the transfer of leadership from trade unions that were formerly under the I.C.F.T.U. before the idea of A.A.T.U.F. came into being.

It is misleading to say the I.C.F.T.U. is "opposed to African unions playing a part in the liberation movement". The preamble to the I.C.F.T.U. Constitution reads: "The Confederation proclaiming the right of peoples to full national freedom and self-government will support efforts towards creating conditions for the realisation of this right at the earliest possible moment . . . It pledges solidarity with and support to all working people deprived of their rights as workers and human beings by oppressive regimes".

This dismisses effectively the misstatement that the I.C.F.T.U. is opposed to national liberation.

It is also misleading to say that Fofatusa was formed by the I.C.F.T.U. last year. On the contrary Fofatusa is a voluntary organisation, a successor to the Action Committee of African Trade Unions which seceded

from the Council of Non-European Trade Unions on 6th September, 1953. Here we must point out that the S.A.C.T.U. is the successor to that Council.

The Council, in defiance of its resolution to fight against the Natives Settlement of Disputes Act, and in capitulation to political pressure from the so-called Congresses, had abandoned its trade union autonomy and had become a willing tool of the multi-racialists.

Finally we fail to see how the S.A.C.T.U., which is a member of the so-called Congress Alliance, can boldly say it supports the principles of the A.A.T.U.F. In our view this is a hollow boast and an empty bluff which we wish to call off. The Alliance is known to be hostile to African nationalism and Pan-Africanism which is the accepted ideology of the African continent. The Alliance has never adopted the positively "neutral" stand in international affairs, but has always acted as the distant spokesman of the totalitarian East.

JACOB D. NYAOSE
President, Federation of Free African Trade Unions, S.A., Johannesburg.

SIR.—In case a sentence in the article "Big T.U. Split in Africa", which appeared in your issue of 26 December, 1959, he misinterpreted, we want it to be made known that neither the I.C.F.T.U. nor its representatives have been concerned in the formation of the Federation of Free African Trade Unions of South Africa (Fofatusa).

If our information is correct, the establishment of this organisation was a completely voluntary action in accordance with the wishes of its constituent unions. Just as we wish success to every organisation which makes serious attempts to organise the unorganised workers in South Africa, particularly the African workers, we also wish Fofatusa success in their efforts to this end.

The I.C.F.T.U. condemns racial discrimination and colonialism in all its forms and opens its ranks to all who believe in freedom and democracy. For years it has

had loyal affiliates in such "neutralist" countries as India, Malaya, Ceylon, Indonesia, Tunisia, Morocco, Sweden and Switzerland. Recently Africa's largest trade union movement, that of Nigeria, decided to affiliate, and the I.C.F.T.U. has members in 20 African countries.

The I.C.F.T.U. is dominated by no organisation and its independence to make up its own mind makes it the home for all true national trade union organisations. Political neutralism is no bar to I.C.F.T.U. adherence, and the I.C.F.T.U.'s continental regional organisations ensure that specific aspirations are given full play. Trade union neutralism is a meaningless phrase.

C. H. MILLARD
Director of Organisation,
International Confederation
of Free Trade Unions,
Brussels

MR. VAN RENSBURG

SIR.—Much as I admire the courage of Patrick van Rensburg, I consider he is harming our Liberal Party and South Africa by his actions overseas.

I wonder how many other Party members are disturbed by his actions?

WILFRED T. KIRBY
Pretoria

He has the full support of "Contact". This boycott is surely one of the most effective pieces of opposition the Party has ever supported.—Editor.

RHODES SCHOLARSHIPS

SIR.—In his review of my book *The Substance* (*Contact* 9th January) "S.S." said "... 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."

Firstly, Rhodes cannot have been responsible for this. Secondly, it cannot be his trustees—for example, in this very last year they have created scholarships for five new constituencies—Ceylon, Malaya, Nigeria, Ghana, and the Caribbean. Thirdly, it cannot be Oxford itself—for example, in your same issue of 9th January you report the election of a Ghanaian to the august assembly of All Souls.

We are left with the home-grown selection committee. Let me, as a member of one of those committees—but not holding any brief—state categorically that a non-White student, firstly, has, as far as I am aware, never applied for a South African (or Rhodesian) scholarship, secondly, would in no way be precluded from so applying, and, thirdly, would be judged absolutely on his merits in competition with other applicants. I may also say that, to my knowledge, at least two negroes have been elected in American constituencies.

To Correspondents

Because of shortage of space many of the letters which we publish have had to be shortened. Other things being equal we will give priority to letters that have been kept as short as possible.

That there have been no non-White applicants (or successful candidates) here is a commentary, not on the scholarships, but on our times.

If "S.S." knows of any likely candidates, I should be pleased to meet them and to assist them in applying. I cannot think, incidentally, that "S.S." suggests that non-Whites should be specially favoured; that would surely be unjust to those Whites *proxime accedentes*—and illiberal as favouring a man because of his colour. Nor do I take it that "S.S." suggests specifically non-White scholarships—wouldn't that be contrary to Rhodes, the will, the trustees—and Liberal Party policy?

Let me say that I am almost induced to subscribe to your paper for the excitement of its inaccuracies and the blandness of its own peculiar prejudices.

BRIAN BAMFORD
Cape Town

What inaccuracies?—Editor

ENGLISH ONLY

SIR.—As an ordinary simple African I agree with the contents of your Xhosa article. I think all South Africans—black, white, blank or brown, will agree with it.

But I do not agree with the idea of writing in one particular language in *Contact* (other than English). It follows from the article that English must be the language of *Contact*.

If you were to use Afrikaans, Sotho, Zulu, Hindi, French, etc. you would soon land yourself in difficulties and you would be also accused of creating racialism—the very thing you are fighting.

C. NKOSI
Springs

REJECTED LETTER

The following letter was sent to The Natal Mercury for publication, but returned to the writer "with the Editor's regrets".

SIR.—I should like to support your correspondent, N. C. Roulston, who has drawn attention to the lack of proper

REPUBLIC

On 9th January we published Dr. Edward Roux's article "Should Liberals be Republicans?".

On 20th January Dr. Verwoerd, the Prime Minister, speaking in the no confidence debate in Parliament, announced that a referendum would be held after 31st May to decide whether South Africa should become a republic.

As a result we have been deluged with letters on the subject.

Our own views appear on the editorial page.

We thank our correspondents; but regret that because of lack of space we shall only be able to publish their letters in the issue of the 20th February.

—Editor.

reporting in the South African daily press of bannings and banishments imposed by our government.

The most glaring case of this was surely that of Frenchdale, the "concentration camp" (alias banishment farm) in the northern Cape. Originally written up in *Drum*, the story was taken over by *Reynolds News* in London. Reuter quotations from the latter then found their way into the South African press. Surely a very devious route, revealing a lamentable lack of initiative or interest on the part of local newshounds.

It is vital for the voters of South Africa to know what is going on in the country, and particularly important for the press to present accurately the feelings and aspirations of the unenfranchised majority. At present one is forced to read papers such as *Drum* and *Contact* to obtain the real feelings of the masses.

DISAPPOINTED
Durban

ALGERIA TO-DAY

(Continued from page 8)

ploughing out the first access roads. A line of aluminium pegs now stretches from near the village across the desert to the coast, marking the track of the railway.

Behind the Fort Gouraud operation is a French company in which Britain, Germany and Italy have substantial interests. Production will eventually be six million tons a year. The richness and quantity of the ore offset the isolation and extreme climate of this piece of desert. Money will have to be poured into it. Preliminary surveying has been expensive enough. Until now, heavy equipment, food, huts and machinery have all been carried across the desert from Dakar in heavy trucks at a cost of £50 a ton. When the railway is through, transport will be cheaper, especially as the ore trains will return from the coast empty.

But the supply and upkeep of a mining town several hundred miles from anywhere is bound to be a major operation.

There are other parts of the desert where industry is breaking in—notably where the oil wells are gushing. But oil is a quiet, streamlined industry. Once a well has been bored, nothing but a kind of stopcock and a pipe emerges from the desert to reveal its presence. Processing and pumping can be done at a few central places. There is none of the clangour and massive machinery of a major mining operation.

This is what lends piquancy to Fort Gouraud. Heavy twentieth century industry will develop in this isolated spot at express speed. The repercussions will ripple over much of the Sahara, where the romance of camels, sand and palms is fading into a faint, shimmering mirage.

CONTACT SMALLS

Office: Fourth Floor, Parliament Chambers, 47, Parliament Street, Cape Town.

Telephone: 2-4524.

Postal Address: P.O. Box 1979, Cape Town.

SMALLS RATES

1d. a word (minimum 1s.)

AFRICANA

Offered.—Books on Africa, South of Sahara, old and new. Write for requirements.

Valuations of books and antiques undertaken and advice given for disposal.

Write M. K. Jeffreys, Africana Consultant, Box 4232, Cape Town.

MISCELLANEOUS

Read 'LOTUS', Rhodesia's Liberal Asian Monthly. Annual Subscription 10/-. Box 998, Bulawayo.

"EDUCATION FOR BARBARISM"

What is behind South Africa's Education Policy?

Why Christian National Education for the white child and Bantu Education for the African child?

For the most incisive analysis of Christian National Education and the most searching criticism of Bantu Education read:

"Education for Barbarism" Price 5/6, post free, by I. B. Tabata.

Order yours, by enclosing 5/6 cheque or postal order from South Africa's leading distributors of progressive literature, Advance Booksellers, P.O. Box 26, Pimville, Johannesburg.

"MENDI" 1917

Pictures, souvenirs or recollections of the "Mendi" disaster wanted. Write 12/2 *Contact*, Box 1979, Cape Town.