

contact

SOUTH AFRICA'S NON-RACIAL FORTNIGHTLY

Registered at G.P.O. as a Newspaper

NIGHT ENDING 19th MARCH 1960

Vol. 3 No. 6

THE FEDERATION

End in sight—page 11

BOYCOTT

of Union Festival gains ground—
page 2

POST OFFICE BRITAIN 5.7952



HUDDLESTONE

MAKIWANE

GAITSKELL

U. K. BOYCOTT LEADERS

They are rousing the British people to denounce South African oppression before the whole world.

MANY CENTRES ORGANIZE

Boycott of Union Festival

IN many centres of the Union the boycott of the Union Festival celebration has gone off to a good start. Johannesburg, Cape Town, Durban, East London, Port Elizabeth, Uitenhage and Ladysmith among other towns have been active in organizing the boycott.

CAPE TOWN: "LIBERALS PLAN CITY MARCH ON UNION DAY" - was the Cape Argus headline to a report on a meeting held on Wednesday, 9th March, in the Claremont Civic Centre by the Liberal Party. Mr. Peter Hjul, Cape Provincial Chairman, told the audience: "I hope you and everyone else you can influence will gather in a solemn march up Adderley Street on Union Day and dedicate yourselves to the real ideals of civilization".

On the same night, an Anti-Jubilee Celebrations Council was formed at a meeting of various Union leaders in the Cape Town City Hall library. The meeting, convened by Councillor Mrs. Z. Gool and attended by about 20 representatives of various organizations, resolved to organize a boycott and stage counter-demonstrations to the celebrations.

The Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev. Joost de Blank, is sponsoring a massive demonstration on Union Day, culminating in a ceremony of re-dedication.

Approximately 200 prominent citizens of Cape Town, of every shade of political opinion, and representatives of many sections of the community, are actively supporting the Archbishop.

JOHANNESBURG: With the official start of the Union Festival celebrations on 5th March, the African National Congress began its campaign to call upon South Africans to boycott "50 years of Union".

A total of 400,000 printed stickers, lapel badges and leaflets will be distributed.

The stickers and badges carry the Festival emblem with "boycott" written across it.

The leaflets state: "Don't take part in the Festival celebrations! The Government offers us buns and choirs—we demand higher wages and human rights. The school will give us games for schoolchildren—we demand an end to police oppression; freedom for all!"

On 29th May a national conference will be held in Johannesburg. This will be followed by a

mass demonstration on the steps of the Johannesburg City Hall on 30th May. Similar rallies throughout the country on 31st May.

31st March—Anti-Pass Day—and 14th April—Africa Freedom Day will also be used to urge the boycott of the Festival.

UITENHAGE: In the Eastern Cape there has been strong opposition to the Union Festival. A meeting of the Uitenhage Coloured community unanimously decided to send to the Town Council the following statement, proposed by the Rev. Allan Hendricks:

"The period of 50 years since the founding of Union has been for Non-Whites a period of denial of human rights. There is nothing for Non-Whites to celebrate." The feelings of many were expressed by a man in the audience who shouted out: "The years of my life have brought me only poverty and degradation under the White man's government".

Only a Few Weeks Away?

P.A.C. CAMPAIGN WILL BE TEST

From Contact Correspondent

UNDER the slogan of "no bail, no defence, no fine", the Pan-Africanist Congress will shortly launch a nationwide campaign for the total abolition of the pass laws.

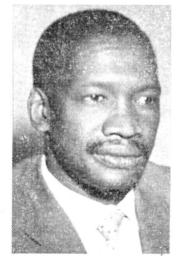
The exact date on which the campaign will start is still unknown. The decision lies with the P.A.C. president, Mr. R. M. Sobukwe. But members say that the campaign will begin "shortly"—within a matter of weeks.

"It is necessary for every African to make up his mind from the day the president makes the call, the African will never again carry the *dom-pass*", says a statement from the leadership.

The organization's leaders have stressed that they will set the example in the campaign, and that no one will be asked to do what they themselves are not prepared to do.

"They say: 'Our leaders will be in front where leaders should be. They will lead under the slogan of 'no bail, no defence, no fine'. And the masses of the African people, whose lives are rendered desperate and bleak by the devilish pass laws will follow the leaders to goa!."

It is impossible to estimate what hope of success the campaign has. The Africanists claim a membership of about 54,000. If a substantial number of these are willing to go to gaol for defying the pass laws (for possibly lengthy periods if they are prosecuted under the Criminal Law Amendment Act), the political situation



SOBUKWE

in the Union could change dramatically.

It is possible that with large numbers of P.A.C. members offering themselves for arrest, other Africans will follow suit. The Africanists would start the snowball rolling in setting off general African resentment against the passes.

This could catapult the Pan-Africanist Congress into national prominence almost overnight. It could lead to a massive build-up

OBITUARY

Mrs. A. Joan Syme

It is with deep regret that we report the untimely death on 3rd March of Mrs. A. Joan Syme while on holiday in Pretoria.

Mrs. Syme, who lived in Claremont, was a sister of Mrs. J. Morris and Mr. Donald Molteno.

She was an active member of both the Black Sash and the Liberal Party. She helped once a week in the Sash Office and on another day of the week in the Fund Office. She also turned out beautifully extended posters for the Sash stands and for Liberal Party meetings. She was an ardent "stander" for the Sash.

Talented and generous, she always gladly gave her services, and her ready response, her humour and warm personality will always be remembered and an inspiration to us. In saluting her, we extend our deepest sympathy to her husband John, and family.

of support for the Pan-Africanist Congress—and perhaps to a consequent falling-off of popular support for the well-established African National Congress.

If, on the other hand, the Africanists fail to rally a substantial number of people to their campaign call, the result could be their total eclipse as an effective political force.

At the moment, there are no ready answers to these questions. The answers will come when the campaign begins. Until then, no one knows.



Photos: Jimmy Matyi

"The minister is the servant of Bantu Education at Fort Hare for 30 pieces of gold", reads the placard in Xhosa. (Judas Iscariot was paid 30 pieces of silver for betraying Jesus Christ.) Outside the New Brighton Methodist Church, Port Elizabeth, an A.N.C. Women's League demonstration picks Rev. J. C. Myssi, who with Rev. J. J. R. Jobobe, the well-known Xhosa author and poet, is serving on the government-appointed advisory board for Fort Hare University College, now under strict Bantu Education Department control. The Rev. Mr. Jobobe, who was also picketed, asked our correspondent: "If we do not join this board, who is going to fight for the interests of African students at Fort Hare?" Like the Fort Hare Past Students' Union, the A.N.C. is campaigning to keep Africans off the board.

CHORUS OF GROANS

New Tribal 'Colleges' Open

FRAMED on a rugged kopie 18 miles out of Pieterburg, and overlooking a dam where White anglers catch fish, is the new University College of the North—Turloof. Turloof, established by the government as its excuse for keeping Africans away from the Whites' "green pastures" and for the purpose of building up a "Bantu culture" among the Venda, Tsonga and Sotho peoples, was officially opened by the Minister of "Bantu Education", Mr. Maree, on 2nd March. He was accompanied by the Minister of B.A.D., Mr. De Wet Nel.

by Vicky Mohlaba

While White guests gorged Western delicacies in the house of Professor E. F. Potgieter, the rector, and a handful of Black lecturers entertained tribal chiefs and supervisors of "Bantu" schools in the college hall (other African guests were snubbed), I sought interviews among the students.

In a restrained manner, several confided to me that they resented training at an apartheid university. Most of them told me they enrolled at Turloof because there was no other university at which they could study. "All educational avenues for aspirant African graduates are closed," they declared.

Qualifications

The bulk of the students have been transferred from the Bantu Normal College, Pretoria, and a number of others disclosed that they had been employed as clerks in "Bantu" Commissioners' offices throughout the country. Others were issuers of reference books. Asked whether that was qualification for admission to the university, the students laughed this off without answer.

Unhappy about their future, the entire student body—60 of them—do not want to be identified with the university where

they are being "tribalized". They strongly protested, hiding their faces, when a Johannesburg press photographer wanted to take their pictures.

Like primary school children students at Turloof will be under very strict control. According to the college "prospectus" a student organization will require the approval of the rector and no other meetings may be held in the college grounds. Except if the rector has granted permission, no student may give information to the press.

Chiefs accept

Tribal chiefs have already shown acceptance and appreciation of the University College by donating cattle. Students are wondering whether "developing on their own lines" (the stated aim of Bantu Education) will include compulsory herding of livestock, as is enforced at Bethesda, a Dutch Reformed Church institution, also in the North.

Turloof, with an all-White Council, all-Black Advisory Council comprising chiefs and a few educationists and 95 per cent White staff, is on the same line as Ngoya (Zululand), Fort Hai (Eastern Cape) and Bellville South (Western Cape), the four "ethnic" colleges whose opening this term has seen the end of real university education for most Africans and Coloureds.

[See picture above]

BISHOPS' VIEWS ON FRANCHISE

CAPE TOWN: The bishops of the Roman Catholic church have, for the first time, issued their views on franchise for non-Whites. A "direct joint statement" calling for a qualified franchise has been issued in the course of a pastoral letter.

"While we concede," say the bishops, "that it would be wrong to allow those with a more advanced culture to be deprived of this stage of an effective part of the government, and to have their economic status reduced, at this protection need not and must not operate oppressively on other sections."

It is clear that the bishops would like to see a qualified franchise, for the statement continues: "In the political field this can be achieved by the operation of a franchise based on justice. It does not follow that the giving of the vote directly to all qualified members of the community will result in the domination of one section over another.

"The first point to be made is that colour should not be the criterion; the qualification should be the ability to exercise the vote in a truly responsible manner."

"As persons emerging from a less developed state and show that they have these qualifications, they must be admitted to participation. The form this takes must be such that it is genuine and effective, and provides an opening for the highest possible participation, that is, at the top level as well as at lower levels."

The pastoral letter is the third major pronouncement on the subject by the Catholic church since 1953. The bishops regard the matter as urgent, for they say:



Archbishop McCann of Cape Town

"South Africa's problem of human relationships must be solved soon, and in the light of Christian principles, otherwise there is little hope for peace and order, as antagonisms will grow, prejudices harden into intolerance, and frustration lead to outbursts of disorder and violence."

LAWS NEED MASSIVE BOOK

From Contact Correspondent

THE vast and complex range of laws to which Africans living in the urban areas are subjected has been set out for the first time in one book. The result: a massive 1,000-page volume.*

But the laws change at such a pace that on the day of publication a special 28-page supplement was issued to bring the book up to date for the six-month period between completing the manuscript and printing.

The authors are two advocates and an official of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development.

All the Acts of Parliament, Government proclamations, regulations and departmental directives affecting urban Africans have been co-ordinated, and relevant case law has been summarized. The subjects covered range from commentaries on the Native Services Levy and the pass laws, to the Immorality Act and the Liquor laws.

The publishers have promised

an annual supplement to keep the book up to date.

One of the authors, in his introduction, states: "It will save hours of research and uncertainty to municipal administrators of Native Affairs, Native commissioners, employers of Native labour, or legal practitioners, and finally to magistrates who have so many judicial and administrative problems to solve daily in connection with the urban Native."

The question Africans are asking is: If local authorities, commissioners and lawyers need a 1,000-page book to know the law, what are WE supposed to do?

*URBAN NATIVE LAW. By Davis, Melansky and DuRandt (Brochures Publishers, S.A. Agents: Messrs. Juta & Co.) £8 8s. 0d.



"That's the Flame of Civilization — VERY exclusive."

Paton (author), Woolfson (producer), Matshikiza (composer) and some members of the cast of "Mkhumbane"

Tax £1,100 a Year is tax free —IF YOU ARE WHITE

THE South African Government, through its administrators, is constantly saying: "The Native has been riding too long on the White man's back. The time has come that he (the Native) should now stand on his own legs."

As a result certain services, such as schools and broadcasting services for Africans, are to be financed exclusively from "Native taxes".

What truth is there in the criticism that Africans do not pay their way in South Africa?

Here are the facts:

Let us take two typical families, composed of two parents and three children, one family African and one family White. No matter whether he earns anything, no matter how little he may earn, the African father must pay a poll-tax of £1 15s. 0d. (£5.00) a year or go to prison. The tax was increased to this sum, suddenly and without warning, last year, from £1 (£2.80) a year.

This year a new tax is being laid on the Africans. In Government Gazette No. 6311 of 13th November 1959 appeared an order that all Africans, men and women, earning more than £15 a month, would have to pay a new "income" tax. If the African father earns between £180 and £240 a year his extra "income" tax is 5s., bringing up his annual tax to £2. If he earns £420 a year, his extra tax is £2 10s. 0d. If the typical African mother earns, she too must pay a separate tax on her earnings. This tax is basically the same as the extra tax on her husband.

In addition African chiefs are empowered to lay levies for education, hospitals, roads and other services.

These taxes do not mean that Africans escape ordinary income tax. This they are liable to, just as much as are the White people.

Now let us look at the typical White family. If the parents earn more than £1,100, they have to pay taxes which are so light that a British or European taxpayer would turn green with envy.

But, if they earn less than £1,100 a year, THEY PAY NO TAX WHATSOEVER. NO INCOME TAX, AND NO PROVINCIAL TAX. Who is carrying whom?

Paton and Matshikiza Create Musical

WRITER Alan Paton and Composer Todd Matshikiza have collaborated to produce a new exciting musical play—*Mkhumbane* (Cato Manor).

Directed by Malcolm Woolfson, it will have its world première on 28th March in the Durban City Hall.

Its music is a combination of traditional African and Western ideas. The beautiful opening chorus is a classical chorale—polyphonic in form. Against this will be spoken a prologue.

The play offers a wide range of musical expression. One song embodies the aspirations of African children. The desperate despair of rebellious African youth is illustrated in the "Calida Blues" and "Tsotsi Attack" song.

Matshikiza has reflected the dignity of age in African society in his "Old Man's War Song". The "Smelling Out Song" and the "Brickworkers' Song" embody essential traditional indigenous rhythms.

Through the medium of song and music Matshikiza has tried to show that African society still sets great store by morals and human dignity. Also that, despite tremendous odds, these values have not been degraded by the sordid conditions of location living.

The music of *Mkhumbane* is a tremendous clash of instincts—of love and hate, as well as of youth and age. As is seen in the new emerging African society the music depicts the impact of the old on the new. This is clearly revealed in the "Old Man—Tsotsi Attack" song. In this number traditional rhythms run concurrently with blues rhythms.



Transvaal Brainwashing II

SCHOOL BOOK VERSION OF "COLOURED MONOPOLY"

By a Special Correspondent

THE book "Race Studies for Standard VI" is not, however, limited to the chapters that deal with the Africans. Thus we are told that: "The Coloured people form an important section of the population of this country and a knowledge of them is essential if one is to be a balanced, level-headed citizen of South Africa." (p. 134.)

The book states that "The policy in South Africa is that the Coloured people should always reside in their own towns and villages". It adds, rather regretably it seems, that "Because of the lack of suitable residential areas some Coloured people still have to live among the Natives", but the general trend is to provide them with their own areas "where they can live in comfort and contentment". (p. 136.)

"Bantu intruders"

In one section of the book an attempt is made to stir up hostility between the Africans and the Coloureds. The writers state:

"In the past few years, and especially in the Western Province, Coloured workers have experienced increasing competition from the Native men who have streamed in in large numbers from the Transkei. Until quite recently the Western Cape was regarded as the living and working zone of the Coloured people only. This monopoly has now been threatened by the Bantu, who in turn are regarded as intruders. This problem is more serious when it is realized that some employers prefer Native labourers. They maintain that the Bantu have a greater capacity for work. These Coloured people and sometimes are also more reliable. These Native workers have considerably upset the economic position of many Coloured people." (p. 143.)

Later, the authors continue: "There are clear signs that the Coloured men and women are proud of their people, and that they are strongly opposed to the entry of the Bantu into their field of employment and into their residential areas. This pride will in many respects be a guarantee for the good". (pp. 147-8.)

The Coloured Affairs Department, whose function it is to control, direct and regiment the lives of the Coloured people and to implement the oppressive legislation affecting them, is also made the subject for discussion.

"The Department of Coloured Affairs has already proved that it fulfils an important function, and that it meets a special need in promoting the interests of the Coloured people. It serves Africans as boycott them. The problem that the A.N.C. is working out at the moment is how to give scope to its non-African allies to help in the boycott. The same problem becomes greater when buses have to be dealt with.

To further complicate matters for the A.N.C.'s allies, the Pan-Africanists are campaigning against passes—a field where Africans are hit hardest as a racial group.

of the intercaste tribal wars between the various barbarous tribes and how the Whites, the 'banishers of the night', brought order, peace and good government. With the arrival of the White man "the intertribal warfare, slaughter, famine and misery which had so often swept the country before the coming of the Whites, were things of the past". (p. 12.)

Praise is bestowed on the Nationalists for their absurd efforts to revive a dead and out-moded tribalism in the midst of twentieth-century industrialism. Legislation which will enable

This is the second of two articles on the racial indoctrination of Transvaal school-children written exclusively for "Contact".

the Nationalists to enforce this backward step (the Bantu Education and Bantu Authorities Acts) is given great prominence.

The role of the lackeys of the government (the out-of-date chiefs) is fully discussed. "The chiefs have been men to form an inseparable, essential part of the organization of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development, because they are the tribal link between the Bantu under them and the Bantu Affairs Commissioner." (p. 117.) This phrase about chiefs concludes the discussion on the subject; "indeed, without their help and co-operation the hands of the Government would be tied." (p. 117.)

Running through all three textbooks on "Race Studies", which read like the rubbish poured out by the South African Information Service, is the idea that the Africans are inferior, uncivilized, backward, "easy-going, inclined to indolence, and suspicious of the development schemes that the Europeans wish to promote in their territories." (p. 125.)

The "heavy responsibilities" accompanying so-called "White trusteeship" are handed d down towards the end of the book. "White trusteeship imposes exacting demands on the

Europeans in this country. The African must be protected from the evils of witchcraft, alcoholic abuse, gambling and "various other bad habits arising from Bantu contact with the poorer elements in Western (sic) civilization. Vigilance must also be maintained against the evil practices of wicked people scheming to exploit Bantu ignorance or to make a financial gain, and against the spreading of foreign ideologies about which they have no clear notions". (p. 169.)

"Bace Studies for Standard VIII" ends with a section called "Final Viewpoint", addressed to the students.

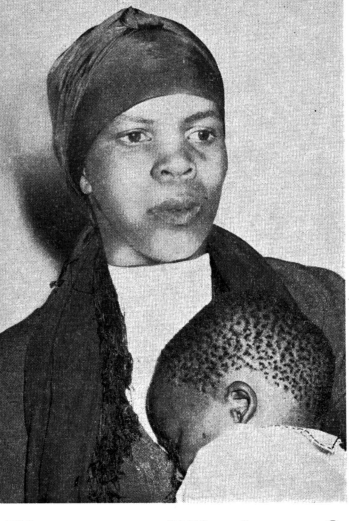
The question to put to yourselves is whether the knowledge you have gained is of any value to you in the solving of our population, or race relations problems. Was the material presented to you the course merely interesting, or did it stimulate you to think and reflect, and by so doing to gain a clearer vision, new insights and new viewpoints? If you have gained a better understanding of the people living in our country, and are able to appreciate your own position in correct perspective, this course will have contributed to the building of a happier South Africa." (p. 170.)

Compulsory subjects

The writers of the Afrikaans version of "Race Studies" are: E. Hudson, J. J. van Tonder, but both Inspectors of Education. J. F. Eloff of the Department of Anthropology of the University of Pretoria, and J. B. de Veld an Inspector of Bantu Education. The English version was written by the same men with the help of R. E. Lighton, Rector of the Johannesburg College of Education.

It is necessary to emphasize that these books on Guidance and Race Studies were approved and recommended for school by the Transvaal Education Department. Thus the spreading of racialism has the approval of the Education Department.

And Guidance and Race Studies are compulsory subjects for all White, Coloured and Indian high school students in the Transvaal.



Teenage Victim of the Pass Laws

From Contact Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH: Mrs. Priscilla Nontshiyana, a 19-year-old mother, has nowhere to live because under the pass-laws she is not allowed to stay legally in any of the three places where her relatives live.

She has been told by the authorities she cannot live with her husband in Port Elizabeth.

She has also been told she cannot live with her husband's parents in the Grahamstown district.

And she is not allowed to live with her own parents at Veeplaats near Port Elizabeth.

Why? She cannot live with her husband because he is a temporary worker. "Temporary" in this instance means he has only worked in Port Elizabeth for six years. They were married three years ago. They have never lived together legally.

She cannot be given a permit to live with her father because she is no longer single.

She is condemned to wandering round the Union in search of a home, risking arrest and prosecution. At present she lives with her parents at Veeplaats in constant fear of the arrival of the police. She could be fined up to £10 (or two months' imprisonment).

Her lawyer says she could try to enter another urban area. But the vicious influx control regulations mean she will have to wait till African women labourers are wanted in a specific town.

She could seek employment with a farmer. But what farmer wants a young mother with a baby?

Before Mrs. Nontshiyana may live with her husband he will have to have worked in Port Elizabeth for 15 years, according

to the regulations. And then there is no guarantee she will be permitted to do so.

Caught between a cruel law and her yearning for her home and husband this teenage mother is a tragic, confused figure. Dandling her crying baby she told reporters with simple pathos: "I'm unhappy".

Co-operation Needed

From Contact Correspondent

DURBAN: As the anti-apartheid boycott called by the A.N.C. becomes intensified here, it is becoming apparent that all races will have to co-operate if the boycott is to be a success.

Here, where the demand for action is loudest, the beerhalls and municipal buses and a certain bakery have suggested themselves as ready targets.

Beerhalls are exclusively for Africans and therefore only Africans can boycott them. The problem that the A.N.C. is working out at the moment is how to give scope to its non-African allies to help in the boycott. The same problem becomes greater when buses have to be dealt with.

To further complicate matters for the A.N.C.'s allies, the Pan-Africanists are campaigning against passes—a field where Africans are hit hardest as a racial group.

Two Died for His "Murder"

A STARTLING miscarriage of justice has taken place in Swaziland, according to a report in *Imvo Zabantsundu* of 27th February.

In 1950 two people, Velapi Dlamini and Khulu Dlamini were sentenced to death by the Swaziland Supreme Court for the murder of a young boy, Solinye Dlamini. They were members of the same family who were accused with the two

men, one was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment and the other three were discharged.

This year (1960) Solinye has suddenly returned home after having run away to seek work on farms and he is very much alive.

According to *Imvo* the reappearance of the "dead" boy has caused a sensation.

They Couldn't Bluff This Netherlands Student

I LEARNED many things while in the Union on a South African government scholarship. I learned that the world outside is misinformed about conditions in South Africa. I learned that Holland has an inferior educational system. My school, plus obviously lying press reports, had given me the impression that the Union contained 15 million people.

What a falsehood!

While in South Africa I learned that the White South Africans who try so hard for dark on air (holiday beaches) that there are only three million South Africans, a few game reserves, one "Bantu Reserve" and a land of thieves and Indians.

Intimidated Whites

These Indians, I learned, are fairly divided into two classes, one are so crafty that they live "in the small of an oil rag"; but some are so rich that they will only drive in Cadillacs, naturally these riches have been taken by fraud from the honest Whites whom they have outwitted.

I soon discovered the validity of all this. I learned that the Whites, because they are "God's children" had never mingled with "God's creatures" (skopsels). Why? Because the lion does not mingle with the elephant. When I asked about the Coloured people

The Writer

KAREL L. ROSKAM is a law student at the Free University of Amsterdam, Holland. Came to South Africa eight months ago on a Union Government bursary — part of an exchange scheme with Holland. Is studying for his Ph.D. in international law. Was sent to Pretoria, but spent most of his time in Johannesburg.

This bitterly satirical article was left by him in the country when he returned home on 11th September.

I was told that "I would never understand the Problem".

Fortunately this prophecy was wrong, for the Problem was amply and adequately explained to me by Professors, Church Officials, Civil Servants, Politicians, and a host of other well-meaning South African Whites.

Magazine's Boycott Cover



BREAKING tradition, the London weekly "Peace News" runs a large cover picture in its issue of 26th February, devoted to the boycott of South Africa. On the front is a quotation from Dr. Verwoerd: "Protests from abroad go straight into the waste paper basket". The centre spread is a dramatic illustration story on South African political exiles (such as Mr. B. Baartman) "They are banished in South Africa"; the whole of page 5 is devoted to an illustrated feature "Apartheid and the Boycott"; and the last page carries an interview with Michael Scott, suggesting an African Peace Conference as an answer to the French atomic bomb test.

From them I learnt:

† that the non-Whites do not want to eat more, because they are not used to eating much. "They are different, you see?"

† that non-White schoolchildren do not need much food, as they sleep more than White schoolchildren. "They are different, you see?"

† that the non-Whites do not want bigger and better houses. They all prefer to sleep on the floor together. "They are different, you see?"

† that the non-Whites do not want better wages. If they were to get better wages, they would all stop working. Besides, their standard of living is lower. "They are different, you see?"

† that the non-Whites do not want better transport. They enjoy seeing their friends in those long queues, on the hard benches, and do not like sitting on leather seats. "They are different, you see?"

† that the non-Whites do not really want education like White people, because what they really need is their own type of schooling, to fit them for the positions they are fitted for. "They are different, you see?"

† that the non-Whites do not want a vote or a say in government. They have no historical perspective, no ability to live in a non-homogeneous country, nor to run a modern technological state, like the people on the backveld. "They are sooooo different, you see?"

Passes are for their benefit. Their property is looked after for them by dedicated White guardians. The industrial colour bar is only there to save the non-Whites from the embarrassment of discovering that they really are less efficient than the Whites.

What to expect

In the Treason Trial Advocate Pirwig (who had been a South African Hitlerite Minister of Defence just before the war against Hitler) thoroughly persuaded me that the A.N.C.'s insidious anti-violence meant actually the advocacy of violence.

Finally I learnt that Lutuli was a communist who worships God. I had originally thought that in Lutuli I had found a man with greatness who yet had a Black skin. But I learnt that this was a sickly, sentimentalist, liberalist point of view. I also learnt that Lutuli had been banished to Tagels out of kindness to him, to allow him to develop along his own lines and work among his own people.

It was good to see with my own eyes how much is done in South Africa for the non-White. When I get back to Holland I will tell all prospective Dutch immigrants what I have seen, and what they can expect in the Union.

I do not think it will be necessary for any of them to go through the process of painful learning through which I have gone.



African Scouts of the New Brighton troop, Port Elizabeth.

No Brothers Across the Colour Line

"A SCOUT is a friend to all and a brother to every other Scout, no matter to what country or social class or creed the other belongs."

This is the fourth of the ten Scout laws as set out by the late Lord Baden-Powell, founder of the world-wide scouting movement.

But in South Africa a Scout is a brother and friend to every other Scout only while the brother lives apart, practises his creed apart and generally does not interfere; or, in other words, behaves like a dutiful poor relation and keeps his place.

A South African handbook issued in 1957 to commemorate the 50th anniversary of Scouting states:

"Although, in the nature of social conditions in South Africa, membership of the Boy Scout Association of the Union of South Africa has always been confined to persons of European descent, the Association has made

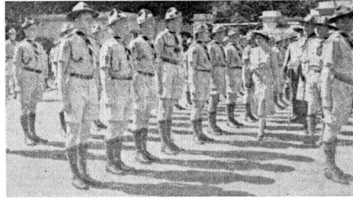
every effort to help non-Europeans by extending Scouting to them on parallel lines." (Our italics.)

Development on parallel lines is the term Dr. Verwoerd uses when he sells apartheid.

Southern Africa is the only area where scouting develops on separate racial lines: there are the Boy Scouts Association of South Africa (to which only White Scouts may belong), the African Coloured and the Indian Associations, each independent of the other.

White control of the non-White movements is ensured by a clause in the constitution which says that powers of restraint are reserved to the European council in the case of acts or resolutions deemed (by whom?—Ed) to be detrimental to the Boy Scout movement in South Africa.

These divisions on racial lines were not forced by government down the throats of the scouting movement but were voluntarily introduced by the movement.



White South African Scouts are inspected by the Queen at a London jamboree.

R.C. School "Not Needed"

"THERE is no need for a Roman Catholic school in this area," said the Dutch Reformed Church Council of Bergsig, Pretoria, "because it is an Afrikaner-Protestant community and such a school would be in conflict with the traditions and history of the area."

According to Southern Cross of 2nd March, the Pretoria City Council upheld the D.R.C.'s opposition to the building of this school in Les Marais, one of Pretoria's northern suburbs, although its town planning sub-committee favoured the establishment of the school.

The archdiocese of Pretoria, when applying for permission to build the school, said that a Catholic boys' school was urgently

required in the northern suburbs and that at present 80 boys were attending the Christian Brothers' College on the other side of the town, which entailed a very long daily journey for them.

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Qualified Support

WE attach the highest importance to the pastoral letter issued by the Catholic hierarchy, reported on another page. It is clearly an appeal to White South Africa to mend its ways before it is too late. In making this appeal the bishops have lined themselves up with the Progressive Party, for they have called for a qualified franchise. In addition there is in the pastoral letter a reference, which we do not publish, to the difficulty of arriving "at a satisfactory determination of these conditions" (of the franchise) which may be taken as an allusion to the franchise commission of the Progressive Party.

This pastoral letter will immensely strengthen the Progressive Party. We welcome it because, for the first time, the Christian church is getting down to brass tacks, and is no longer content to speak in generalities about "justice" which can mean all things to all men.

At the same time our welcome is not unqualified. The Progressive Party, in that it wants votes from White South Africans, must clearly compromise with apartheid. For this reason it is not able at this stage to enunciate clearly and simply that it is in favour of equality and democracy. That is all right for a political party. Their chosen field of operations is the field of White power, and in this field nothing more radical would work. But is it all right for a church? In allying itself so closely with a White party, is this church not in danger of estranging itself from the rising generations of non-White democrats?

These questions are asked in a spirit of real admiration for a church which has shown itself to an increasing extent the friend of African freedom. They are asked in the ardent hope that this church will, in its own development, make the qualified vote a short stepping-stone to the only position that is tenable in the long run—non-racial democracy.

A Scout's Duty

ON another page we publish a report about the Scouting movement in South Africa. This report shows that this movement, like so many others in our country, is caught in a serious dilemma. The dilemma is this: in a shrinking world there is a growing need for world-wide movements of human solidarity and human brotherhood. This need is as real inside South Africa as elsewhere. But in apartheid South Africa the pressures of government make it ever more difficult for brotherhood to be practised here at home where it is most desperately needed.

For too long, South African churches, cultural bodies, as well as the Scout movement, have tolerated this dilemma without doing much about it. That is to say that they have lived a lie. At world conferences and jamborees White South Africans have befriended fellow-members from other lands without regard to race or colour, but have done so on a basis of full brotherhood and equality. But let them return home: when they do, they apply various degrees of humiliating segregation to their brothers in South Africa—brothers who, unlike the foreign brothers, are legally fellow-citizens.

Scouting has succeeded in building a world-wide brotherhood. It has succeeded because Baden-Powell's vision marked the times. Does it still mark the times? The question that must now be answered by the scouts of the world is whether this vision can any longer be reconciled with the meanness and the hypocrisy of the South African situation. To this question there can be only one answer.

Surely the time has come when it is going to be absolutely necessary to "do a good turn" here at home—and to clean the movement of all racialism.

Liberal Re-inspiration

THERE is no point in trying to hide the fact that the Liberal Party has entered a difficult phase. Membership, after a steady rise over the years, is static. In the Cape there have been about twenty resignations. And over several important issues there has in some areas been division, and division serious enough to have almost paralysed the Party in those areas.

The reasons for the difficulties are several. Chief among them perhaps is the fact that the Party has fought an uphill fight for seven years, and that many of those who have given it years of their life are a little weary. Again, on the White side, the appearance of the Progressives, with unlimited money, with clever M.P.s, and a slightly less demanding policy, has drawn the interest of some Liberals. And, on the African side, the enthusiasm aroused by the Pan-African Congress has detached a few members.

Looking to the future, Liberals cannot realistically expect at this stage that a White electorate will vote them into power, for the Party has not once come near winning one White seat. The cause of this, of course, has nothing to do with any failure to evolve the right policy: it is due to the failure to "put across" that policy, as well as to the disfranchisement of those classes and interests who are the natural supporters of the Liberal principles of non-racialism and democracy.

For years, now, the Party has been committed to an extra-parliamentary struggle as well as to a parliamentary struggle, and voices have understandably been raised within the Party calling for an intensification of the extra-parliamentary struggle, in view of the virtual impossibility, in the near future, of winning any seats in parliament.

At the same time, a long-postponed debate is due to be held at the national congress in May, when the Party's franchise policy will be reviewed.

Almost any one of these issues would test the leadership of a movement. But the occurrence of all together throws a truly formidable strain on to the national and provincial policy-making bodies.

The present phase is difficult, yes; but it is more a challenge to re-think and re-plan than a real threat to the movement and the Party.

Our readers will know that we regard the Liberal Party of South Africa as the hope of our country for the future. It is committed to extra-parliamentary action against apartheid, action which more and more is seen as the only way to dislodge a White supremacist government. The Party has thus realistically answered the question: "how do you get there?"

It is non-racial, and welcomes an Africaner to its ranks as warmly as it does an African. It is the only principled non-racial movement in the country—i.e. it really lives its belief that segregation cannot really be fought by a segregated liberatory movement. It is democratic. Its view of democracy is the only one that tallies with that of the great democracies of the world. It has no truck with any form

of totalitarian dictatorship such as fascism or communism. Yet it believes in equality, economic as well as political. This is shown by its land policy which has committed it to land redistribution.

What does the Party need? It needs a re-inspiration of strength, to cause its message to be carried to all the people, all the peoples, of our country. We believe that this will happen, and that during the next few critical years its message will reach and stir. In doing so it will make the practice of racial supremacy quite impossible. In achieving this it will inevitably succeed the Nationalists as the government of South Africa.

"Contact" believes that the first step in this direction must be the clearer enunciation of the Party's existing policies. There is no need for any change in these policies. In 1954 the Party adopted as its aim "to extend the right of franchise on the common roll to all adult persons".

At that time the party had to overcome difficulties in formulating this aim. These difficulties were shown by the somewhat unclear words in which the clear aim was wrapped. These words bore clear marks of the compromises that were made at the time. That, unfortunately, was the only clear thought about them. Ever since then they have served to cause dissension within the Party and suspicion outside it.

The time will have arrived, at the Party's next national congress, in May, for these words to be removed. They have lasted six years now, and what purpose they had has long ago been served.

We are confident that, in fact, they will be removed. There are, of course, many other things that need to be done to launch the Party into its victory orbit. But all these other things will follow if this one, central, adjustment is made.

It must be repeated that no change whatsoever is necessary in the actual policies of the Party, which are admirable. It is necessary that these policies be presented with that clarity without which no party can ever hope to get its policies across to the people.

This is not asking much of those Liberals who like the idea of a "qualified" franchise. For even the Progressives—far out beyond the Party's "right" wing—admit that their policies, too, lead to a non-White majority in Parliament. And, as is learnedly pointed out in "Raf's" review on the book pages, there is virtually no difference in Africa between a non-White majority and adult suffrage. The time has come for the Party to have the full courage of its convictions, and to say what it means in words that all can understand.

Creating D.P.s

ON another page we print the utterly shocking story of a woman who has been told by authority that she will be breaking the law if she lives with her husband, with her own parents, or with his.

As a result a person who in the eyes of the law is a full citizen of our country has, legally speaking, nowhere where she can live without becoming a criminal.

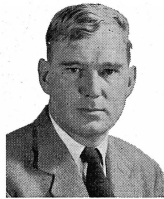
There are enough displaced people and refugees in the world already. It is a crime to add to their number.

We demand that this dreadful law be changed, and changed immediately.

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

JUSTUS





Peter Brown, Chairman of the Liberal Party

Where the Liberals Stand

crimination is only an unpleasant memory, we must start making the preparations now. If we must learn to live without the colour bar, we must start practising to-day. We must do so not only in our own lives but, quite as important, in the political organizations to which we belong. If we cannot now establish a working non-racialism in organizations claiming to aim at building a common society, how on earth can we hope to convince anyone that such a society can work in the future?

There is another point. One of the commonest charges against the Nationalists is that they legislate for others without paying any great attention to the views of those for whom they legislate. The charge is valid. Is it not equally indefensible for any political organization, whether it is in power or not, to work out policies for other people without paying proper attention to their views? And is it not true that the only time "proper attention" is paid to a man's views is when he is there to argue them himself and to vote for them? And is it not also true that he can only do this when he is a full member of the organization which is formulating policy?

This is the fundamental difference between the Liberal Party and every other South African political organization. It is the only one which any South African subscribing to its views can join. It is the only organization which has refused to practise any sort of bar within its own ranks and, if the consent of all South Africans to future policies is a pre-requisite to their stability, as I think it must be, then the Liberal Party is the only one which offers such stability. It

is therefore difficult to imagine anyone who has once accepted these basic tenets of the Party feeling at home anywhere else.

The Liberal Party is often accused of being impractical. The accusation usually comes from White South Africans, who think in terms of seats won at elections and no further. But what are "practical" politics to-day? Practical politics must surely aim at creating a society in South Africa which can live with the rest of the continent and which can satisfy the aspirations of most South Africans. There is no doubt in my mind that both Mr. Basson and the Progressives are as much the product of the pressure of events in Africa as they are of internal inadequacies. But have either of them yet faced the full implications of what these pressures mean? Have

not the last few months in Kenya shown that, in the long run, wherever they may be, Africans will enjoy at least the same rights as anyone else, and that they will not be satisfied for long with less?

Only the Liberal Party, of the South African political parties, has made an attempt to face this fact and to that extent its policies are more practical than those of the others. Those political parties which persuade White voters to support them with the promise of a future which is not the one they are likely to experience, are simply leading them up the garden path. It remains the task of the Liberal Party to confront White South Africa with the facts of what the future is likely to be. For the present this may not be politically "expedient" but it

has to be done if White South Africa is to accept its future in a common society with reasonable grace.

In our present fluid and confused state we should face the issues squarely. The alternatives before us are: continued and intensified White domination, its overthrow and almost certain replacement by Black domination, or a massive evolutionary development towards a common society. Against the background of Africa as it is to-day I cannot see any other alternative. Every recruit to the Liberal Party, African, Coloured, White or Indian, makes the last alternative more certain; every defection from the Liberal Party makes the first pattern more likely. If non-racialism is to be an effective influence in the future this may well depend on how uncompromisingly its advocates stand up for it in the deteriorating racial circumstances which seem inevitable while apartheid lasts.

What's New by "Gadfly"

THE "Union Festival" began in Johannesburg with a procession through the streets. It was called a procession of sportsmen and that, of course, meant white sportsmen. It was a gay and colourful procession, full of bright and healthy young people. It was also very sad. Sad that one half of the youth of Johannesburg should be marching through the streets with their eyes averted from the other half. Sad that these young people could be given nothing better to celebrate than the mess which their parents have made of South Africa.

NOTHING could have been more suitable to the occasion than Dr. Dönges's Golden Jubilee budget. It neatly sums up fifty years of "to him that hath shall be given". The foundations were laid last year, when Africans' poll tax went up by 75%, and excise duties were increased on various commodities used by all sections of the population. This year comes the pay-off, an average reduction of five per cent for all income tax payers. If the Nats are looking for a new national anthem for their republic, I can recommend a little tune from the musical show *Irma la Douce*. It is all about money, and the refrain is "Grab, grab, grab, Grab all you can pay".

I give credit where it is due, of course. Dr. Dönges did not forget the old-age pensioner. One cannot give the native higher pensions, though, because that destroys his self-reliance and makes him expect to be spoon-fed by the state. The native will be far better off if he is not given money to spend on himself, but some money is set aside to spend for him by Koois-in-office. That is not spoon-feeding. After all, it might mean jobs for Koois.

THE news that China has become South Africa's best customer for certain types of wool is being received with some embarrassment in local left-wing circles. I suppose the communist countries must be the only ones left in the world in which no whisper has been heard of the boycott of South African products. Altogether, it is not nearly as embarrassing as it used to be to present Russia and China as the only true friends of the oppressed peoples.

Fortunately for the faithful, there is yet no sign that the U.D.F. is to become a customer at Khrushchev's De Luxe Armaments Emporium. That would presumably turn Verwoerd into a people's democratic anti-

imperialist patriot, and would be very difficult indeed.

"IN gold mining," South Africa's most important industry, runs a recurring advertisement, "the way to the top is open to everyone, provided he has the necessary ability. . . . As a learner official in gold mining, your work is varied, interesting, and secure. The starting salary . . . is approximately £50 a month."

Nowhere is it said that this is "For Europeans Only". But it obviously is. Somehow it hurts even more this way, after all, the segregation noise dies down at least acknowledge that non-Whites exist.

USUALLY ill-informed circles close to the Cabinet deny that Mr. Fouché changed the army ranks back again because it was feared that the title of Combat-General might be thought to imply that those who held it had at some stage in their careers actually engaged in military combat.

EVERYONE is laughing at General Rademeyer's statement that if his policemen are not allowed to trap prostitutes, just about the whole female population of South Africa will promptly set up in business. The statement has a serious side, though. It reveals the General's fundamental beliefs about the role of the police in society. He believes on the one hand that the police are omnipotent — that there is nothing they cannot achieve if they are given a free hand. On the other hand, he believes that the public can do nothing to check vice or crime — that he and his men are all that stands between us and chaos.

He must learn to take a more modest view of his functions. No police force has ever succeeded in stamping out prostitution but if all police forces were to be abolished tomorrow, the increase in prostitution would not be very great. Let General Rademeyer read the statements of some of his own senior officers on the liquor laws, and he may begin to see the point. If the police attempt the impossible, they will end by achieving nothing. If they merely attempt to help the public to keep his house in order, they will be as useful to society as any other body of men — and that should be the height of their ambition.

Handshake Apartheid

White inspectors of Bantu schools have been instructed . . . not to shake hands with Africans. Mr. Marce, Minister of Bantu Education, said that the instruction was Government policy.

Press report.

Don't shake hands with the Bantu.

Dear official,

But greet them in the customary way:

Remember the value of your white skin.

Dear official,

Remember "integration" doesn't pay

"Molo", "Kaffer", "Swartpens",

Dear official,

Are the terms that you must use,

And don't shake hands with a black man.

White official

Or great will be the Heritage we lose.

"MKHONTO"

Russians Voted Against Them

CHINESE SNUBBED IN CAIRO

From a Correspondent

CAIRO: Peking has suffered a defeat in Cairo and representatives of the independent countries on the Afro-Asian Permanent Secretariat are drawing discreet attention to it. The Permanent Secretariat, which, to give it its full title, is that of Afro-Asian People's Solidarity, has been suspect in Western circles ever since its creation in Cairo in December, 1958, when it included both a Chinese and a Russian member who have kept their seats ever since.

Though the secretariat likes to trace its descent from the founding conference of Afro-Asian leaders in February, 1955 (to which Russia was not invited) its true descent is from the Delhi conference of Afro-Asian People's Solidarity held a few months earlier. At Delhi the Russians were present and so were some conspicuous fellow-travellers.

Eyes opened
Since the secretariat's sole function was to combat imperialism, it was never much moved by Western suspicions. But some Afro-Asian eyes began to open when it was severely cold-shouldered at last year's Afro-Asian People's Conference at Accra. The secretariat was not listed as an official observing body and its message to the conference was not read. It became clear that there were Africans as well as Westerners who doubted the secretariat's credentials.

According to Sri H. D. Malaviya, the Indian member of the Permanent Secretariat, the organization has, as a whole never acted on behalf of communism. Whatever the Russian and Chinese members may have been up to on their own. He believes, however, that the Chinese invasion of Indian territory brought a full realisation to members from the independent countries of the danger of being charged with communist connections.

Certainly there was a general revulsion in Afro-Asian circles against this Chinese brutality. Even some of the Free Algerians there who are grateful to China for aid and can be suspected of communist loyalties themselves went out of their way to sympathise with the Indians. The Chinese representative on the secretariat, with passive assistance from the Russian, managed to send a message of support to Mr. Khrushchev when the Russian Premier called for the Sino-Indian argument to be settled by peaceful means, and the brazen behaviour of this brought about Sri Malaviya's attempted resignation.

Non-alignment

But Sri Malaviya is an intelligent and persistent man. As a result, in the message which the secretariat addressed to the recent Afro-Asian People's Conference in Tunis there appeared the careful phrase: "We are overjoyed at the prospect of more and more nations of Africa gaining freedom and joining the Afro-Asian family, because each such step will strengthen the unaligned area of peace and enlarge it."

It was the first time the secretariat had come out in straight support of non-alignment. The

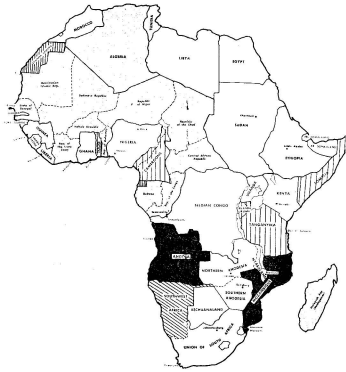
eight members divided six-two, with Russia for, and only Guinea supporting China against. Thus the apparent division between Russian and Chinese policy, which one has noted in Iraq and is noticeable in their rivalry to possess certain contact men in Africa, was again displayed.

Most Afro-Asians of the independent group here attribute this Russian support to a realisation in Moscow that attempts to create new communist states in Africa or Asia are more likely to create suspicion rather than win friends. They say that had Russia been bent on creating a communist state in Iraq she could have done so with ease. For the secretariat, the most important point is that it has whitewashed its house before the Afro-Asian Solidarity meets at Conakry in April.

President Sékou Touré of Guinea. He will be host to the next meeting in Conakry, of the Afro-Asian Solidarity.

Some 65 delegations—300 persons in all—are expected at Conakry. It is believed that countries like Turkey and Thailand, members of Cento and Sento which boycotted the 1957 Cairo conference on account of its communist odour, are getting a nudge of advice from the Western Powers to accept their invitations this time so that the pro-Western case may not go by default.

An ideological battle on the conference floor might well make it harder for the secretariat to pursue its policy of non-alignment. But by its constitution the conference is apparently open to all comers, even South Vietnam and South Korea if they should choose to sit down with the Chinese. The secretariat's activities are still largely financed by Russia, China and the United Arab Republic, though independent members, say the none of the three has ever tried to make their money talk. But if political divisions were to sharpen within the secretariat the purse strings could be an important factor.



A Portuguese Plan for Africa

AS the tide of African independence sweeps southwards through the continent it is bound to collide with the Portuguese territories of Angola and Moçambique.

Will the Portuguese, like the Belgians, bow before the storm and yield independence? All the signs are that Portugal will not, and that she is making every possible preparation to hold on and never to surrender.

Firstly, press censorship and police repression is more severe than ever. Then, military power is being strengthened. General Nascimento E. Silva has been inspecting troops and installations in Moçambique and is due to make an early visit to South Africa to have talks with defence authorities here.

The principal bulwark being erected by the Portuguese is "Portuguese nationalism". Every person, Black or White, in Angola and Moçambique, is regarded as a Portuguese citizen, and the countries are regarded as integral parts of Portugal. This nationalism is

intended to neutralize and offset "African nationalism".

Another reaction to African nationalism is to strengthen the non-racial aspect of Portuguese policy. To their credit the Portuguese have never allowed considerations of colour to influence them in their contacts with other peoples. But, in Africa, their concentration on the task of building Portuguese nationalism has led to a separation of those who could share in this nationalism from those who could not. The vast majority of the people in Moçambique and in Angola are not able to speak Portuguese, and are therefore not able to form part of a Portuguese nation. A culture-bar, in many ways as repressive as the worst colour-bar, has been formed.

The Portuguese government is aware of the dangers, and, in an interview with the Brazilian

newspaper *O Globo* on 5th February, the Portuguese Overseas Minister Adolfo Leite Lopes Alves, stressed the raciallessness of the Portuguese empire. "The Portuguese people," he said, "in all the lands to which they emigrated, mixed themselves with the populations, without prejudices and without segregation . . . in accordance with the government policy of non-discrimination."

Another reaction to the challenge is to speed social progress—a field in which Portuguese policy has in the past left much to be desired. In the same interview the Minister stressed all that Portugal was doing to build schools and communications, and to fight disease, in the countries of the Overseas. In Angola and Moçambique, but also in Guinea, in the Cape Verde Islands, and in Timor.

Perhaps the most interesting reaction of all is the growing talk of a Portuguese-Brazilian "Community" on the lines of the French Community or the British Commonwealth. Senator Paulo Ramos, of Brazil, speaking in Rio de Janeiro on 9th February, stated that the cohesion of the Portuguese-Brazilian Community was already greater than that of the Commonwealth, and proposed a "unity" flag to symbolize this same unity.

The idea was raised at the recent Tangier meeting of the U.N. Economic Commission for Africa, also by a Brazilian, Deodoro de Carvalho. In his speech he stressed that Brazil was created by a fusion of the spirit of Africa and that of Portugal.

If this idea could be accepted, it would enormously strengthen the Portuguese hold on Africa. What menaces Portuguese Africa, of course, is the tremendous tide running against colonialism. Brazil, being a liberated ex-colony, cannot convincingly be charged with colonialism. If Brazil, with its 63 millions, of whom perhaps a third are Negro, were accepted as a partner in such a community, the community would stand a good chance of successfully ducking under the anti-colonialism hurled by the anti-colonialists.

Passport Ban Dismays U.K.

THE Cambridge University African Scholarship, founded in 1957, for which a candidate had been chosen in the Union of South Africa, is to be awarded, instead, to a candidate from the British High Commission territories of Bechuanaland, Swaziland, and Basutoland because the Union authorities have refused to grant a passport to the African selected.

The trustees state that, in devoting the scholarship fund to this alternative purpose, they can at least be assured that a student from one of these territories will not be deprived of the right to travel to Cambridge for the purpose of his further education.

When the appeal was launched in February, 1957, it was supported by all the

principal undergraduate societies, and among senior members of the university who sponsored it were five heads of houses and 14 professors. By the summer of 1957 over £2,000 had been raised, mostly in small donations by thousands of Cambridge undergraduates.

The scholarship was advertised in South Africa in 1957 and, with the help of a distinguished selection committee in the Union, a candidate with high academic qualifications was chosen. A place was found at a college for October, 1958.

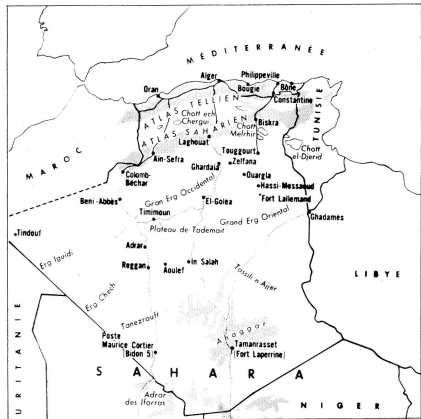
"At the last moment," state the trustees, "the Union authorities refused to grant him a passport. No explanation of that refusal has ever been given to the trustees and committee of the scholarship, nor, as far

as we know, has any been offered to the student himself. Negotiations extending over the past months with the Union authorities have not persuaded them to alter their decision.

The policies of the South African Government, which lead it to place its own boycott on academic intercourse in this manner cannot fail to cause dismay in the rest of the Commonwealth, particularly in the light of the discussions on academic interchange at the Commonwealth Education Conference at Oxford last July. As that conference showed, such interchange, irrespective of race, is not purely a matter of domestic interest, but is of primary importance to each of our countries."

[The Times, London]

Water Under the Desert



million tons a year from it, and the strictest control is being used to see that too much is not taken. The above details were recently released by Unesco.

Saharan development is at the moment in the hands of French engineers and administrators. But President De Gaulle is committed to allowing Algeria to vote on its future within four years. The above map is a map of Algeria, and most of the Saharan development is within the Algerian borders. The political future of this vast area is thus in the balance.

Development of the Sahara races forward. A new oil pipeline joins Hassi-Messaoud (see map) to the Mediterranean. Iron will soon be mined in Mauritania.

Some of these developments would have been impossible if scientists had not discovered one of the most amazing underground lakes in the world, the "Al-Bienne Nappé". West to East it stretches from Tindouf to Ghadames, from Mauritania to Libya. North to South it stretches from the Atlas mountains to the Plateau of Tademaït, underlying an area of about 500,000 sq. miles.

At least one thousand million tons of water flow into this underground lake each year, the rains and the snows of the Atlas mountains. When one borehole reached it the pressure was so great that the spray rose one thousand feet into the air. People are already drawing 850

Part of World Census

GHANA WILL COUNT HER PEOPLE

GREAT preparations are being made in Ghana for 1960 March, the date set for a country-wide census. With 1960 scheduled as World Population Census year, Ghana is one of a hundred countries carrying out population counts on a scientific basis.

During the past six months the government statistician's office in Accra has resembled the operations room of a military headquarters. The country has been divided into 6,000 enumeration areas and 7,000 field workers have been trained to ensure that the census is carried out in a uniform manner with the same questions being asked in the same way with the answers compiled in similar fashion.

Although official population counts are not new to Africa, statisticians, economists and others concerned with the development of backward areas have long questioned the accuracy of most of these counts. It is accepted that in former counts entire villages and even tribes in the more remote areas were missed or, at best, their numbers estimated by an "inspired" junior official.

Trial counts

In addition, the type of information collected varied so much from one census to another and the methods adopted in the various areas were so irregular that there was no standard upon which scientific comparisons could be made.

For this year's operation several trial counts have already been held in rural and some urban areas. These have proved extremely useful in helping to train the enumerators and in preparing the people for the real thing. They have also shown up several practical difficulties which could not otherwise have been foreseen.

One of the most important items of the pre-census programme has been the publicity campaign or, as the Government calls it, self-rule was granted to the African region of the confederation. This grant has removed most of the objections that have been made against the I.C.F.T.U. in Africa. Two of the countries (Algeria and Morocco) that attended Dr. Nkrumah's Accra conference were present at the Brussels conference, and expressed themselves satisfied to remain affiliated with the I.C.F.T.U.

Both sides of the African trade union world have now agreed to attend the forthcoming conference to be held in Casablanca, Morocco, in May this year, at which the whole question will be debated.

Speaking to a *Contact* representative early in March, Mr. Mboya said he had no intention of abandoning the I.C.F.T.U. His view is that Africa needs to take its place on the world stage, and that it can only do so through the I.C.F.T.U. He criticizes Africans who feel that if they affiliate with the I.C.F.T.U. they will be "outsmarted". He regards such a view as being an inter-tribe complex which is quite without justification. He believes that Africa has much to give world trade-unionism, and much to gain by association with it.

the "education programme". Every politician from the Prime Minister down and every chief is co-operating in this drive, for the census has become a "prestige matter" for Ghana.



NKRUMAH

Where in former counts the chiefs of some villages used to fear being counted because it was felt that this might result in their having to pay more taxes, now the chiefs themselves are telling the people that the census will help the Government in "deciding the amount of financial aid to be given to each local authority in the country". One chief has gone so far as to state: "Whoever would abstain from being counted during the forthcoming census should be regarded as a living corpse and therefore not entitled to human amenities". He has also threatened to expel any of his tribe who dodged the enumerators.

Accuracy

The last census held in Ghana was in 1948. Then the total was found to be 4,117,779. Since then the population is officially estimated to have risen to five million. However, statisticians and politicians alike question the accuracy of the 1948 figure and they feel that the census this year should show the population as between six and eight millions. Whatever the final total turns out to be, there should be no questioning the accuracy of this count.

A GREATER TASK
"Once freedom is gained a greater task comes into view."—Nkrumah.

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AFRICAN LEADERS IN TRADE UNION CLASH

A SERIOUS clash has taken place over the last four months between Dr. Nkrumah and Mr. Tom Mboya over trade unionism in Africa. Mr. Mboya has been under heavy attack, not only by Dr. Nkrumah, but also by communists, for his attachment to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

After several skirmishes it is becoming clear that Mr. Mboya is likely to win, and that, as in the past, the I.C.F.T.U. will continue to hold the affiliation of most African trade unions.

The question at stake is: through which organization will African workers take their place on the world labour stage?

There are three bodies through which this might happen. Firstly there is the I.C.F.T.U.

Out of over 2,000,000 organized workers in Africa some 1,500,000 are at present affiliated to the I.C.F.T.U., according to Mr. Mboya in an article in *Free Labour World* (December 1959). This figure probably excludes South African totals.

The second body to which African workers are affiliated is the World Federation of Trade Unions. The greatest strength of this body lies in certain communist-dominated unions in Europe, and in the official unions in Russia, China, and their satellites. The W.F.T.U. is thus a body of a different nature from the I.C.F.T.U., for in communist countries unity is quite powerless, workers not even having the right to strike.

The South African Congress of Trade Unions, allied to the A.N.C., is affiliated to the W.F.T.U. Another South African body, the Federation of Free African Trade Unions (S.A.) is allied to the Pan-

Africanist Congress, and is affiliated to the I.C.F.T.U.

There is a third body to which, possibly, African workers may affiliate. This is the All-African Trade Union Federation. It was founded in November 1959 at the instance of the Ghana T.U.C.



MBOYA

Ghana pressed for the A.A.T.U.F. to be set up because, it was believed, only by the affiliation of African trade unions to an African co-ordinating body could Nkrumah's "positive neutralism" be achieved. It was felt by Mr. John Tettegah, President of the Ghana T.U.C., and Dr. Nkrumah, that to affiliate with the W.F.T.U. would mean

joining the Soviet bloc; while affiliation with the I.C.F.T.U. would mean alignment with the Western bloc. Neither position they felt, would be truly neutral.

In fact I.C.F.T.U. leaders strenuously maintain their independence from either power-bloc. They are as quick to condemn Russian activity in Hungary as Chinese aggression in Tibet and French brutality in Algeria. In January the General Secretary of the I.C.F.T.U. launched an attack on President Eisenhower for his visit to General Franco, the "blood-stained dictator".

The chairman of the African region of the I.C.F.T.U. is Mr. Tom Mboya. When he and Dr. Nkrumah clashed over this issue, Dr. Nkrumah's *Positive Neutralism* Times called him an "imperialist stooge", for having attended a conference of the I.C.F.T.U. in Lagos, Nigeria, in November, at the same time as Dr. Nkrumah's A.A.T.U.F. held a preparatory conference in Accra. The I.C.F.T.U. meeting was attended by delegates from thirty-nine African states.

The conference called by Dr. Nkrumah in Accra, on the other hand, was attended by organizations from only four countries (Guinea, the U.A.R., Algeria, and Morocco).

At the sixth world congress of the I.C.F.T.U. held in Brussels, Belgium, 3rd-11th December, 1959, a considerable degree of

Federation Report

More Give Evidence Before Monckton Commission

From Contact Correspondent

THE Monckton Commission has been hearing evidence in Northern Rhodesia and Barotseland. At first there were reports that many people of all races are coming forward to give evidence, but lately we have been told that would-be witnesses are being intimidated and a minister of religion who appeared before the Commission had his church burnt down.

On the Copperbelt, a number of demonstrators displayed placards telling members of the Commission to find other means if spending their time.

More Africans than were expected have, however, given evidence to the commission. This is believed to be due to the change of tactics on the part of African National leaders. After some of them had met Mr. Macmillan, they decided that although they would not give evidence personally, they would see that their point of view was put before the commission.

From Northern Rhodesia the commission goes to Nyasaland. It was expected that "trouble" would break out when the commission arrives there and so the Governor has imposed certain emergency regulations requiring the closing of bridges, airports and other strategic points. Although there may be demonstrations, Nationalist leaders in Nyasaland are believed to be restraining their followers in an effort to prove that there would be no riots even if Dr. Banda were released.

Inquiry

"Great interest has been aroused among the people in Southern Rhodesia by the recommendation of a Select Committee of the Southern Rhodesia House that an inquiry should be held on the Native Affairs Department. The N.A.D. was said to be breaking down because of a dearth of suitably-qualified men, constant pilfering by the Department's officials and the fact that the Department had now grown to an unmanageable size. The committee's recommendation was rejected by the United Federal Party in the N.A.D. and the inquiry will not be held. What is intriguing Africans is that they have known and said this all along, and are

glad that a select committee of the House has proved them right.

It is, however, difficult to see how the Department can complain that it is too big when it has always resisted attempts to make it smaller. It is known that one of the reasons why Mr. Todd was thrown out was because the Native Affairs Department accused him of undermining the authority of its Commissioners by removing African Education and African Labour from the N.A.D. and actually talking to Mr. J. M. Nkomo, then President of the now proscribed African National Congress, without a Native Commissioner in attendance.

Isolation

The Department has made no real efforts to promote Africans to positions of responsibility above the posts of messengers and court interpreters. It is a pity the United Federal Party rejected the select committee's recommendation as an enquiry might have been the best way of breathing new ideas into this department if killing it was not the best thing.

On the first anniversary of the declaration of the Southern Rhodesia emergency in which hundreds of leaders of the now proscribed African National Congress were rounded up at 2.30 a.m. and locked up, two members of the National Democratic Party, Mr. Stables and Mr. T. Samkanga, Secretary General, and Mr. Nazario Marondera decided to protest against the continued detention of the N.A.D. by fasting for three days in front of Sir Edgar Whitehead's office. This use of "passive resistance" in politics by Southern Rhodesians for the first time is a matter of some significance. This will certainly not be the last time we hear of this method used in politics in this

country.

During the day the men were detained by the wives of the detainees. These wives had made many fruitless attempts to see Sir Edgar Whitehead and present to him a memorandum they had prepared demanding the release of their husbands.

Sir Edgar refused to see them and told them to see the Secretary for Native Affairs. The women refused to see the secretary.

Rejected

In refusing to see the women perhaps Sir Edgar was being careful. After all one of the accusations levelled against Mr. Todd was that he had ignored the Native Affairs Department and had actually talked to Mr. M. Nkomo. This proves the point often made by African critics of the Native Affairs Department that the department is not independent of the African Ministers. The views and opinions ministers have of African thinking and actions are those held by members of the department. They ultimately agreed to meet the two passive resisters and a wife of one of the detainees.

"Rents in the Frail Fabric"

C.A.F. Time Runs Out

From Special Contact Correspondent

JUST one year ago *Contact* told its readers: "What is happening in Nyasaland to-day is no less than the first irreparable rent in the oh, so frail fabric of the Federation". For saying this *Contact* lost some good subscribers in the Federation. Yet everything that has happened since has proved that that analysis was correct.

It is now clear that the end is near. Britain has virtually committed herself to the release, in Nyasaland, of Dr. Hastings K. Banda, leader of the Nyasaland African Congress.

Mr. Macmillan and Mr. Macleod are also committed to aligning British policy with African nationalism. "We will accept it as a fact and our national policies must take account of it," Mr. Macmillan said in Cape Town.

For Nyasaland this involves the rapid grant to the Africans of an African majority in the Legislative Council, and of a government which will satisfy the nationalist movement there. This means nothing less than the end of Federation, for no one has ever denied that the overwhelming majority of the Nyasas want an end to their association with white-dominated regime.

The struggle clearly going on at this moment between Mr. Macleod and Lord Horner on the one hand, and Sir Roy Welensky on the other, is thus a struggle between those who wish to let Nyasaland free at the cost of dismembering the Federation, and those who wish to continue with the disastrous experiment at the cost of all else.

It is a struggle with a foregone conclusion—a victory for Britain and the Africans, and defeat for Federation. For Britain has given

firm pledges to the Africans. Speaking to the Rhodesian National Affairs Association in Salisbury, Mr. Macmillan 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".

Two facts must now be taken account of: the first is that the Africans in the Northern territories will never express such a wish, as long as White settlers are in charge of the Federal and Southern Rhodesian governments, as is to-day the case. And the second is that these White settlers will never willingly throw in their lot with the Northern Africans as long as they too have the possibility of seceding.

Britain is in a hurry to liquidate the ugly remnants of colonialism in her colonial empire, and Mr. Macleod is thus in a hurry to do for the Federation's Northern Africans what he has done for Kenya—to give them African majorities in their legislatures. A time limit of three years has been mentioned.

From what has been said above it is clear that the Macleod policy is quite incompatible with Sir Roy Welensky's Federation, and it therefore follows that the present Federation may last, at the outside, three years.

What is more hopeful is

Patrice Lumumba, President of the Congolese National Movement, went to Brussels to take part in the conference of self-rule for the Congo, as soon as he was released from prison in Stanleyville where he had been sent for stirring up revolt.

On his arrival at Brussels airport he showed reporters injuries to his wrists through ill-treatment at Stanleyville.

The conference has now decided that 30th June is the date on which the Congo's independence will be declared.



New Constitution for Nyasaland

From Contact Correspondent

SALISBURY: The British Colonial Secretary, Lord Iain Macleod, is reported to be coming to Nyasaland where he will discuss a new Constitution for the Territory. This Constitution, details of which are not yet known, is expected to be introduced before the end of the year so that Dr. Hastings K. Banda can represent Nyasaland when the Constitution is passed in London. Sir Roy Welensky, and the Governor of Nyasaland, Sir Robert Armitage, and, second, due to Dr. Banda's insistence that all

other Nyasaland detainees be released with him.

A row seems certain between the Colonial Secretary and the Federal Prime Minister; and the White population of Nyasaland is generally unfriendly to Mr. Macleod. He will, however, be warmly welcomed by Nyasaland Africans, two of whose leaders, Mr. O. Chirwa and Mr. Manosh Chiwa, forecast his visit after seeing him recently.

Although the White Federal and Dominion Parties are against any constitutional changes before the November Conference, it is believed that the Central Africa Party and other political organizations are in favour of changes which would result in another election with as many Africans as Whites on the roll.

that Mr. Macleod's present journey to the Federation, scheduled for 24th March, and hardly mentioned in the South African press, which seems unaccountably unaware of the tremendous events on the go in the Rhodesias, is a journey to break Nyasaland away now, and thus end the Federation now.

What is given the Nyasas in 1960 cannot long be withheld from the Northern Rhodesian Africans. Lord Malvern expressed this view forcefully in the December issue of *Gymna*. Thus in a short time it is likely that the tide of African freedom will be lapping the northern banks of the Zambezi. I understand that informed opinion in Southern Rhodesia and Northern Rhodesia expect that this will happen. Sir Ronald Prain's sharp words to the Federation some months ago when he said that the time had come for a more honest application of true partnership, probably mean that his giant copper combine, Rhodesian Selection Trust has reconciled itself to the coming break-up.

Sir Edgar Whitehead has intimated that a link-up with South Africa might be necessary. My information is that nothing more than a close military and security tie-up is at present possible, for Dr. Verwoerd does not want 200,000 anti-republican Whites, nor do they want to enter a Broederbond republic.

RESPONSE

"THE WINDS OF CHANGE"!



SIR.—It is a truism that many liberals have such high principles that they cannot see over the top of them in order to do justice to others. We have been hoping for weeks to obtain a contradiction to a flat lie printed in one of the most famous liberal papers in the world, and we are still hoping, for it is surely also a liberal maxim that one must never weary of doing good.

Yet it is with a touch of hopelessness that we seek to correct your extraordinary interpretation of Mr. Jackson's cartoon, which you reproduced without permission on page seven of your current issue. It has become one of the minor South African pastimes for you, along with Dr. Verwoerd, to attack *The Argus*.

but, surely you will agree that it is carrying matters a bit far when, in order to further this campaign, comment or illustrations are given a diametrically opposite meaning from that which was intended.

One would expect Dr. Verwoerd not to notice, even in plain black and white, which way the wind was blowing, but not those who boast the name and function of making "Contact". If you care to look at the cartoon again you may notice that the wind was blowing away the emblems of magic and superstition, while Mr. Macmillan's hat—which he undoubtedly threw into the ring—is blowing in the right direction.

We would be glad, therefore, if you would explain to your readers where the "insult" to Mr. Macmillan lies and, also, what is the "cynical use being made of anti-African prejudice". For both these inexplicable mental lapses you owe an apology not only to us but also to your readers. May we also suggest that it smacks faintly of the "cynical use being made of anti-South African prejudice by portions of the liberal press in Africa".

Finally, it falls to be emphasized that *The Argus* is conducted as a newspaper, and not as either a party organ or a propaganda sheet. Mr. Jackson, within the limits of the laws we all have to observe, is free to express himself

and is not bound to the chariot wheels of any policy whatsoever, although we are fully aware that nothing is more abominable to doctrinaires than to give free play to anyone with a sense of humour.

MORRIS BROUGHTON (Editor)
"The Cape Argus", Cape Town

Mr. Broughton's interpretation: "The wind was blowing away the emblems of magic and superstition while Mr. Macmillan's hat... is blowing in the right direction".

Contact's interpretation: the wind is blowing away *White control*, and Mr. Macmillan's hat, or influence, which is, while the forces of darkness come leaping gleefully back into their own.

With apologies to Mr. Broughton for again reproducing the offending cartoon without his permission, we suggest that readers take their pick of the two interpretations.—Acting Editor.

Pro-Boycott

SIR.—At a meeting a short time ago, the Students' Union at the University of Göteborg after a sharp discussion passed the following resolution:

Owing to the apartheid policy of the Union of South Africa and its disgusting violation of academic and intellectual freedom, this meeting recommends to the members of the Students' Union at the University of Göteborg, irrespective of political opinion and political membership, that they participate in a boycott of South African goods in accordance with the resolution accepted at Brussels at the beginning of December last year, a resolution whose aim was declared to be to bring the greatest possible pressure to bear on the Government of South Africa in order to effect a change in its inhuman racial policy.

We will later on send you further information of how the boycott was carried out.

ERIK MOBERG
President of Students' Union of the University of Göteborg, Göteborg, Sweden.

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