

CONTACT

No substitute for it.

AN interesting letter, signed "Congressman", appeared recently in the left-wing newspaper *New Age*. It pleaded for the establishment of "a multi-national, socialist party" which would be "a brother-in-struggle" of the Congress movement. The letter was a reaction to the pressure that has been developing on the Congress movement to break down its own internal colour-bar.

In the course of the letter the writer said: "For such a party to succeed it must not scamper nervously behind the Congress movement, as does the Liberal Party, always frightened that the Congresses may do something 'rash' always sniffing about for 'communist influence', never sure whether it is more scared of getting too close to the Congresses than of getting too far from them."

This is not a good description of the Liberal Party as a party, composed as it is of thousands of people who have put fear behind them. But it is true that there are individuals in the Liberal Party who do behave in the manner described, and many of them are individuals with power and influence in the party.

An eastern proverb says: "Listen to the voice of your adversary, because it is the voice of God." This critical letter should not angrily be rejected. Each member of the Liberal Party could with profit search his conscience and see how far it applies to his own conduct.

And having done so, it would appear profitable to look also into the nature of the political process and to enquire what are the characteristics that are necessary for a party to grow and flourish. These, surely, from the beginning of history, have been: a deep sense of conviction and seriousness; leadership which begets faith in the rank and file; pride in the party, and a determination to lose no opportunities of bringing in new party members.

Those are the essentials, without which no party can earn the respect of others or indeed of its own members. Also desirable are good relations with other groups and parties which stand nearby in the political struggle.

But however desirable such good relations might be, they can never take precedence over the essentials.

Nor need there be any conflict between the essentials and the merely desirable. For as a party grows in faith, in strength, so it grows in influence, and so much the easier does it find it to make friends outside its own ranks.

Let us therefore read this important letter and learn from it.

Getting off the offshore Islands

WHILE cold war eyes are on Berlin it would seem to be a good moment for Chiang Kai Shek and the United States to depart quietly from the offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu. These are the islands that lie right under the communist Chinese shore batteries. It was a tussle over them in 1958 that brought the world to one of the many brinks of war. Many felt that the Americans ought to have given them up at the time, that they were not worth a war. The Americans did not—and the event justified them. They refused to surrender to force.

At the present moment there is no threat of force. Unlike Formosa which has not been Chinese for generations, these islands have always been part of mainland China, for they lie only a mile or two out to sea. The legal justification for not abandoning Formosa does not therefore apply to these islands.

Communist China is obviously in a dangerous mood. Why not lessen the areas of danger by quietly giving up these two small, useless, Chinese islands while there is no face to be lost by doing so?

Mr. Herter, over to you.

Stop the Sahara Bomb!

FOR "la gloire" (glory) France fought Indochina for years and lost all. For "la gloire" France has used torture against the Muslim people of Algeria. For "la gloire" France now proposes to explode an atom bomb either over the Sahara or over Kerguelen Island.

Either plan would bring over Africa the deadly poison of radioactive strontium—and with it its terrible burden of bone-cancer in children, and mental defectiveness in children yet unborn.

Nigeria has protested and has informed France that it will regard a bomb in the Sahara as an unfriendly act. South Africa should do the same. Up till now Africa and the southern hemisphere have been free of these deadly poisons.

We think that the time has come for the human race to insist that military glory is a bad reason for the exploding of atomic bombs. Otherwise where will it stop?

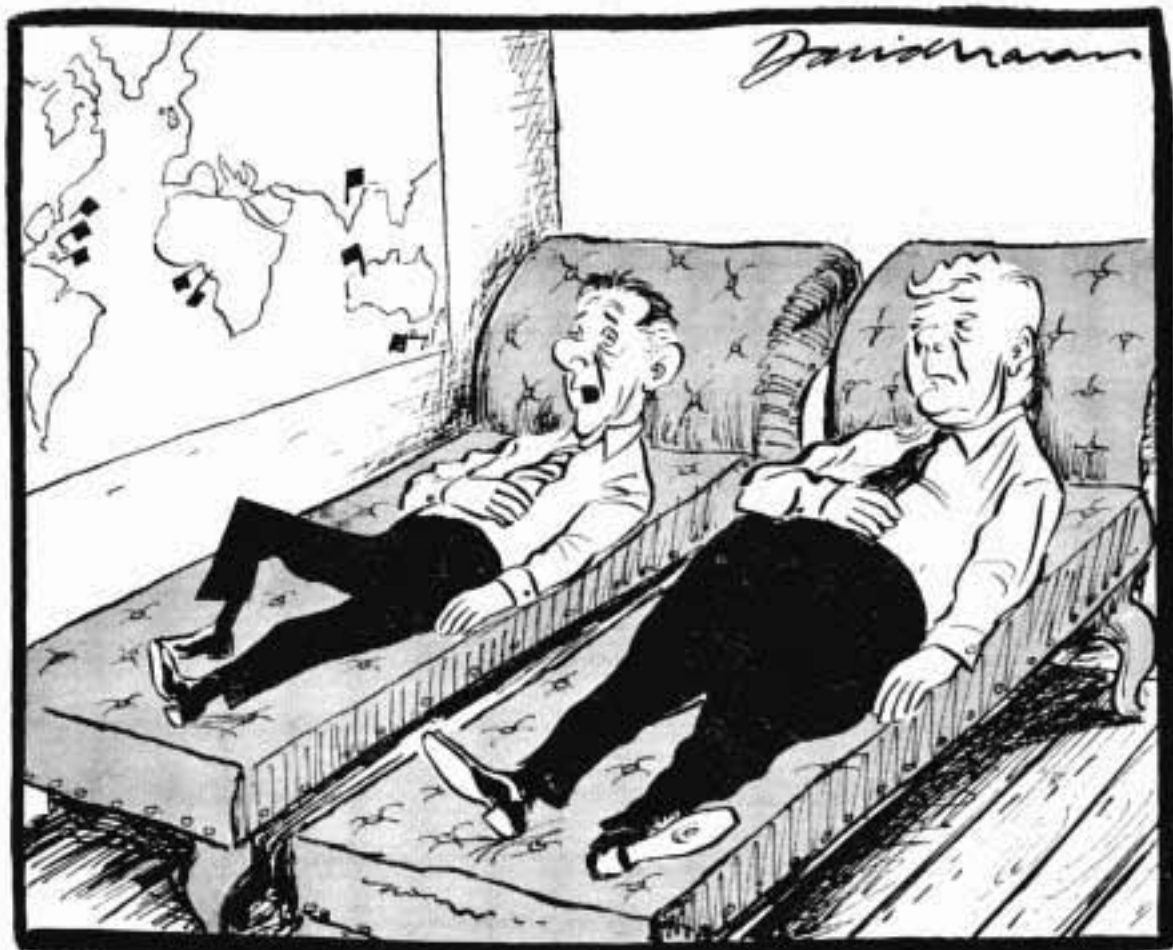
Indo-American Relations

SINCE 1947 India and America have seldom agreed. They disagreed over the recognition of China, the Japanese Peace Treaty, disarmament and nuclear tests, Kashmir. And even when they did not disagree they did not really agree—witness Hungary, Korea, and the Suez crisis.

Now that there is a new Secretary of State perhaps the most fruitful activity he could pursue would be to explore Indo-American relations with a view to improving them.

These two giant countries share many common interests. It is possible that many of the disagreements have been caused by past unsympathetic personalities on both sides.

CONTACT



"Everybody hates me, too."

SOUTH AFRICA PSYCHOANALYSED

NATIONALIST INTELLECTUALS whose consciences have been stirring might find an unexpected source of guidance in the psychology of Jung. Analytical psychology may seem remote from South African politics; but there are striking parallels in the structure of South African society and the structure of the individual in the Jungian system. And the recently publicised awakening of conscience among Afrikaner intellectuals is akin to the awakening that must occur within the individual in his advance towards maturity or wholeness as conceived by Jung.

Nature continually repeats patterns of behaviour and structure on different scales and at different levels. Perhaps then it is possible that the pattern of events on the national level may repeat the individual pattern and South Africa may progress towards unity through a process similar to that followed by the individual.

For Jung the psyche is analogous to an island, of which that part above the sea represents the conscious aspect while the unconscious is the far greater part hidden beneath the water. That part of the mind lit by consciousness and reason

We bring this article to our readers without in any way associating ourselves with it, for we believe that it suggests fruitful avenues of thinking.

ness are many and varied, but that offered by Jung's therapy entails bringing into the light of consciousness the disparate contents of the unconscious. In the process the personality obtains greater power of self-direction and freedom from the irrational, sometimes self-destructive motivations of the unconscious.

South Africa's 3,000,000 whites—the governing, most evolved section of its society—may be likened to the conscious mind, while the 10,000,000-or-so Blacks, only lately beginning to emerge from a primitive environment, would be the equivalent of the personal unconscious.

The Coloured people could conveniently stand for the 'shadow'—Jung's term for that nexus of association of which the personality is ashamed, the past lapses which detract from its images of itself and which have been repressed into the unconscious.

For the 'persona'—the personality's artificial facade—we might have our all's-lovely-in-the-Garden-of-Eden State Information Service!

The extreme Leftists we might regard as representing a 'complex'—that is, a focus of once-conscious associations which have 'gone over' into the unconscious and now form a semi-autonomous entity working against consciousness.

A patient's 'resistance' to acknowledging unavourable aspects of himself is paralleled by the South African reaction to adverse criticism from the overseas Press.

The Nationalist Government

would represent that puritanical aspect of the civilised, rational person's mind which so often seeks to cut itself off from its roots, shying from and repressing instinctual drives. Sooner or later in such a personality, the pendulum swings and the unconscious has its revenge by overriding conscious direction. (Parsons and other respected members of the community who succumb to violation of the Immorality Act may be cases in point).

A similar danger faces South Africa, where apartheid aptly suggests that state of mind in which consciousness seeks to dissociate itself from the unconscious. The directing (conscious) section seeks to thrust out of its structure.

What then is the way to wholeness?

Reverting to the individual, whom we may assume is undergoing Jungian therapy, we find that he must first become aware of those aspects of himself that he has failed to integrate and must recognise and accept the motivating forces within him that spring from the unconscious. He must abandon to some extent the extreme positions taken up by partly dissociated aspects of consciousness and yield to some of the demands of the unconscious.

By a process similar to that which occurs in the individual white South Africa has been made more acutely aware of its society's sickness by the extreme Nationalists on the one hand and the Leftists on the other. If it is to be healed there must, as in the individual, be an awakening in the section that is in control and acknowledgment that healing is necessary.

Here perhaps is where our slowly stirring Afrikaner intellectuals—equivalent to the rational part of the mind—come in.

(Continued on page 12, col. 4)

25th July 1959

'UP WANTS MULTI-RACIALISM'

Mr. Peter Brown (*Contact*, July 11th) says—"Parliament will be a farcical contest between two sides each committed to the same end—the maintenance of White supremacy." Can Mr. Brown give chapter and verse to substantiate his charge that the U.P. is committed to a policy of White supremacy?

According to my own interpretation of United Party policy, based on a reading of the official handbook, the U.P. is committed to the maintenance of White leadership and a natural evolution into multi-racial democracy. Clearly this White leadership is necessary at the present time, for without it the country would soon be in chaos.

United Party policy is obviously very much more liberal than Nationalist policy, and to infer that there is no real difference between the two policies is, to say the least, very misleading.

V. G. DAVIES
Camps Bay

Recently Dr. Steenkamp, a leader of the United Party, accused Mr. De Wet Nel of being the biggest kafferboetie in South Africa. How can Mr. Davies say that "United Party policy is obviously very much more liberal than Nationalist policy"?

—Editor.

MR. NGUBANE (1)

SIR, Would you, or some member of the Liberal Party please enlighten me as to the following:—

1. Did Mr. Ngubane, Vice-President of the Liberal Party, attend the Pan-Africanist Conference as an observer or as a delegate? 2. If Mr. Ngubane attended the Pan-Africanist Conference as a delegate, does the Liberal Party intend retaining him as Vice-President? I ask this because the Liberal Party permits South Africans of all colours to become members; the P.A.C. does not only exclude South Africans of European or Asiatic extraction, but has denounced the Liberal Party from the public platform, as well as in letters to "Contact". 3. Is the Liberal Party against (i) the A.N.C., (ii) the Congress of Democrats, (iii) "New Age". If so, why? 4. What is the Liberal Party's attitude to the Congress Alliance? 5. What is the Liberal Party's attitude to the Freedom Charter? 6. Does the Liberal Party believe that the only qualifications for the vote are age and sanity? 7. Does the Liberal Party support capitalism or socialism? 8. Does the Liberal Party agree that (i) the masses must be organised before a change in the status quo can be brought about, (ii) that the basic causes of injustice, race discrimination and apartheid are economic? I would be pleased if the eight questions could be answered, as a lot of doubt and confusion would then be clarified.

V. KUNENE
Durban

MR. NGUBANE (2)

SIR, My attention has been drawn to the letter by Mr. Z. B. Molete in *CONTACT* in which he denied that Mr. J. K. Ngubane had attended the Pan-Africanist conference in Orlando on invitation. As leader of the Natal delegation I regret very much the embarrassment caused all by the controversy which has since developed from an incident which should have been handled with tact.

In this letter I wish to state that in view of Mr. Ngubane's helpful attitude to us in Natal we had invited him to attend the Pan-Africanist conference as our guest. He has since been admitted also at the regional conference of the Natal Pan-Africanists held in Durban recently.

I hope this clears the impression that Mr. Ngubane gatecrashed into the Orlando conference.

H. S. NGCOBO, Durban.
Leader of the Natal delegation at the Orlando conference of the Pan-Africanists.

ASK YOUR FRIENDS
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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.

OLD DAYS WERE BEST

SIR, While agreeing with the fact that "Nationalist slogans have no meaning" I must cross words with the author, A. Pierce Jones, when he makes the comparison that "... the preservation of Afrikaners with Nationalist views as the ruling class ... brings us back to the condition of the Transvaal before the Boer War."

In the Transvaal before the Boer War, it did not depend on what your language or your views were. You fought for, and won, your burgher rights by going on commando and thereafter had the vote.

My father and his brother, both English-speaking, had these rights and therefore it is unfair to draw a comparison between the present Nationalist "volk"-rule and that obtaining in the Transvaal in the '90's.

H. R. HALL (Mrs.)
Johannesburg

NEW SOCIETY FOUNDED

SIR, Recently a non-racial society has been founded, called "The Society of True South Africans". Its aim is to promote the well-being of all South Africa, by fostering one of our basic needs—inter-racial friendships.

This Society is neither party-political nor denominationally religious, and welcomes as members those who sincerely believe that mutual trust, confidence and understanding between the races (which can only be built by real friendship, without patronage or prejudice) are the necessary prerequisites to the solution of the economic, sociological and political problems which hinder the growth of a united nation.

As yet, membership of the Society is small, but we believe that quality is more important than quantity. I hope therefore, that all those, and only those, who sincerely are interested in building a new, non-racial South Africa, and would like further information about this Society, will write to:

R. S. CLUCAS, Chairman,
The Society of True South Africans,
Room 46, Third Floor,
Darragh House, Plein Street, Johannesburg.

SPAN

(From page 10)

conscientiousness has defeated the spirit of English. Who cares what a seer weighs? Even the best of translators, though, can't make a silk purse from a sow's ear and, unfortunately, the book fairly bristles with these.

Mulk Raj Anand, Han Suyin, Judith Wright, Vance Palmer, and the Prime Minister of Ceylon, Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, may be found among the list of contributors, but even these fail to sustain the sagging literary level.

So much for defects. In spite of them all and in spite of the dreary mediocrity pervading almost every page of the book, *Span* has considerable charm. It lies in the goodwill behind the enterprise, in the exotic material, the glimpses into quite other gardens, bedrooms, kitchens, and graveyards—in short, in its humanity.

MARIE HOOD

S. A. PSYCHOANALYSED

(Continued from page 6)

The federal system suggested by one of them to resolve racial differences (proposed also, incidentally, by the Federal Party) fits neatly into our analogy.

In the individual, aspects of the unconscious must be integrated into conscious functioning. Other aspects must remain confined to their appropriate areas of functioning. The 'shadow' must be stripped of its associations of guilt and shame and wholeheartedly accepted.

This naturally necessitates an interchange between conscious and unconscious. There must be 'consultation' with the unconscious (by the interpretation of dreams, its symbolic language), and consciousness must modify its attitudes to conform more nearly to unconscious intent.

The whole psychic organism must eventually become subject to the directing intelligence of the true mature self.

The equivalents on the national scale are evident and it could perhaps be by a similar process of national individuation

that a sane, federal South Africa might be evolved in which all sections could have their rights acknowledged without abdication by the whites. The predominantly white states could admit a fair degree of direct representation to their non-white populations while the Africans would control their own states and the whole would be subject to a central government in matters of national concern.

One cannot expect at present that the Union's leaders could be sufficiently whole themselves to direct consciously such a move towards national wholeness. That would be like Plato's dream that philosophers might be kings.

But Jung in the thirties made a remarkably accurate analysis of the course of Europe's mass psychic disorder which culminated in war. He has, besides, had remarkable success in the cure of sick souls.

At the least, if our analogy is valid, his psychology might offer hints for the cure of a sick nation. Perhaps our intellectual Afrikaners might heed them.

CONTACT SMALLS

MISCELLANEOUS

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