

# contact

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## THE AGONY OF CAPE TOWN

—see page 2

### OUR MESSAGE TO THE COMMONWEALTH PRIME MINISTERS' CONFERENCE

#### WE DO NOT FEAR A REPUBLIC OUTSIDE THE COMMONWEALTH, BECAUSE

- 1. The way to freedom in South Africa is through non-violent non-co-operation inside our country, and total isolation from the outside world.*
- 2. We do not fear Verwoerd's republic: the State of Emergency has already given Verwoerd and his followers all the power that they need, whether Swart is called Governor-General or President.*
- 3. If Verwoerd gets his republic the apartheid government of South Africa will be even more isolated than it now is, which is what we want.*

#### FOR THESE REASONS

*We do not fear expulsion from the Commonwealth: on behalf of the voteless people of South Africa we even ask for it, in this way:*

*Let South Africa be suspended from the Commonwealth until a non-racial government comes to power and is invited by the Commonwealth to return*

# The Agony of Cape Town

**I**N our last issue we reported how the vast non-violent demonstrations in Cape Town were followed by certain concessions and how these concessions were later withdrawn.

Since then the townships of Langa and Nyanga has been subjected to a police reign of terror. Senseless beatings and destruction of property have continued for weeks.

The Liberal Party has collected information about this phase, and has many statements and affidavits which show what has been done to the people of these townships. We print extracts below, from only a few of the many which have been collected:

## Shooting of Innocent Party

At the Klipfontein Road entrance to Nyanga East, on the evening of 5th April at about 10 p.m., several Africans threw stones at a Saracen stationed at the Klipfontein Road turn-off. The demonstrators were hidden by darkness (there is no street lighting in the area) and consequently when the Saracen opened fire on these people it was in a haphazard manner. Further it would appear that the gunfire was not directed at any one spot as two of the persons shot were at least fifteen yards apart. The two persons referred to were in their houses during the trouble and were wounded by bullets which penetrated the flimsy zinc and cardboard walls of their homes.

Mrs. F. was wounded in the head and chest by two separate shots and is still in a serious condition. After the shooting the Police took her to hospital where she was kept for two-and-a-half weeks. We have her hospital number.

Mrs. E.O. was wounded in the neck and received treatment from the local African doctor for six days. He referred her to the Groote Schuur Hospital, where she received further treatment.

On the day following the shooting the Police searched the houses where the above incidents occurred and tried to remove evidence of the shooting. Several of the bullet holes can still be seen in the zinc and cardboard. There are witnesses to confirm details of the shootings.

## The Spoilers and the Police

After the tremendous publicity given to the alleged beatings by intimidators and the "spoilers" we also investigated any cases we came across. In all we found two cases of persons being attacked by "spoilers". One was Mr. F.F. of Langa whose arm and leg were broken by his assailants. At the time of this assault Mr. F.F. confesses to having been drunk. He states definitely that prior to the arrest of A.N.C. and P.A.C. leaders there was no trouble from this source.

We have statements from several persons arrested and beaten up by police during swoops, and of their experiences at Philippi Police Station. Prior to being released, groups of

Africans were assembled and addressed by a uniformed White Police officer who told the injured to say that their wounds were caused by the "spoilers".

We have statements from Nyanga, Langa, Blouville and Jafta's Farm all of which point to the use of Police intimidation to break African resistance. Africans were assaulted with sticks, batons, and crowbars by uniformed Police, both White and non-White.

The following are several instances of assault.

**Mr. H.M. of Nyanga** was in his house on 7th April when at about 2.30 p.m. somebody banged on his back door. He opened the door and was confronted by many uniformed Police. At the same time the other door of his house, which was locked, was forced open by policemen wielding crowbars. He was ordered to leave his home and was severely beaten by the Police, who fractured his left arm and the thumb of his right hand. \*See story bottom of column 4 for details.

Another crowbar case is that of **Mr. C.N. of Nyanga** who was hit over the leg with a crowbar and on the head with a rifle butt. We saw the wounds three weeks after they had been inflicted and they were still very bad.

In all we have recorded 28 cases of severe assault and injury. This is only a very small number compared with the actual total of persons beaten up.

## Details from Our Files

### Mr. J.N., of Nyanga East.

Flogged at Claremont Police Station on 4th April. His two-month-old baby was to have been buried that day and was returned to the Red Cross for burial.

### Mr. V.P., Langa.

Went to work on Monday, 21st March. Could not go to work the following day.

Between 8 and 9 a.m. uniformed Police arrived, both White and non-White. They broke into P's room and started to beat him with sticks without saying anything. P. ran out, but the Police had lined the steps and he had to run the gauntlet.

### Mr. F.A., Langa.

(Interviewed in Rondebosch Hospital.)

On Tuesday, 22nd (?) March the police were searching the location. A. tried to run into the bush and was in front of the Flats when a shot was fired and he was wounded in the left arm. He continued to run, and in the bush which surrounds the location a friend bandaged his arm and brought him to Hospital where he is at present being treated. When he ran from the Police he was one of a crowd and did not hear any command to stop running.

### Mr. J.N., Langa.

(Interviewed in Rondebosch Hospital.)

On Tuesday (same as above) he thinks (not sure) he was outside the Flats in the Bachelor quarters when the Police arrived. He with many others attempted to run away. He was shot by the Police in the head, fell, and lost consciousness. He later woke up in Hospital. His wound has now healed but the sight of his right eye is affected and he is still unable to see with it.

### Mr. W.T., Langa.

(Interviewed in Rondebosch Hospital.)

On Monday (date uncertain) in the daytime he was running from the Police outside the Bachelor quarters. He heard no command to stop running. Shots were fired, one of which hit him, passing through his left arm into his chest. He collapsed and woke up in hospital.

### Mr. H.B., Langa.

(Interviewed in Rondebosch Hospital.)

On Monday, 21st March, B. was among a large crowd which gathered outside the Bachelor quarters in Langa. Unexpectedly the Police arrived. He heard no order to disperse and the first indication of trouble he noticed was the Police charging and hitting people with sticks. People ran away, B. among them, and he felt a pain in his leg. He was taken to Hospital and treated for a bullet wound. The bullet is still lodged in his thigh. The only question to date asked of him by the Police was his name.

### Mr. G.M., Langa.

Assaulted on Tuesday (22nd March?) in the evening by several uniformed African policemen as he was walking peacefully near the Anglican Church and St. Cyprian's Mission. He was beaten with sticks. He has a gash above the left eye, which was treated by a doctor. M. then went to complain at the Langa Police Station. No attention was paid to his complaint.

### Mr. L.S., Langa.

Mr. S., who works night shift in the city, was asleep during the day in his brother's room in the Bachelor quarters. Police entered and he was assaulted. This took place on Tuesday, 19th April. He was taken to Hospital and is still unconscious. He has a wife and two children.

### Mr. C.M., Langa.

(Affidavit signed 25.4.60.)

On Wednesday, 30th March, at about 9.30 a.m., Police raided the Bachelor quarters in Langa. Prior to this he had been sitting in his room when Police burst in and chased everyone into the passage where he was struck on the head from behind by a uniformed White policeman. His head started to bleed. He was further hit by the same policeman with a stick on the left arm and buttocks. He was treated in hospital for the wound on his head which was about 7 in. long; it was stitched.

### Mr. L.N., Nyanga.

(Interviewed 25.4.60.)

I, the above, left my house on 7th April and ran to my grandmother's house because the police were raiding the township and I was scared. She put me under a mattress. Two White and two Coloured police broke down the door of her house with a rifle butt and they found me and hit me with a crowbar on the right leg between the knee and the groin. We were then taken outside and while I was standing there a soldier hit me on the head with a rifle butt. At Philippi a White policeman addressed us and told us to say that the "spoilers" had hit us.

### Mr. E.M., Steenberg Estate.

On the morning of 4th April at about 8.30, while washing outside my home, I was approached

by about six uniformed policemen and two plainclothes men. Without asking any questions, a uniformed policeman hit me on my thighs and buttocks with a stick. I asked why I was being attacked but received no reply and was arrested. I and two other men who had also been arrested were taken to Muizenberg. After staying in the Charge Office for about half an hour we were taken to the yard where five policemen then attacked us again. A policeman said, "Kaffir, ek sal jou opdonder vandag". I was not searched, questioned or told why I had been arrested. A policeman then hit me with a boot in my stomach and smacked my face with the flat of his hand. Then I was kicked with the knee in the stomach. Then I was held by the shirt collar and hit and kicked so that I fell down. Then I got up and was hit with the butt of a gun on the shoulder and waist, and I fell again. While on the ground I was kicked in the ribs and on the shoulders. I then got up and saw the other two running from the policemen who had been hitting them. I tried to run out of the yard and was hit again on the back of my head with a hand. And I then staggered out on to the pavement where I sat for about quarter of an hour. I then took a train home.

When I got home my right shoulder was very painful and my arm could not move. I was also unable to pass water and my stomach was very painful.

I went to see a doctor in Wynberg who examined me and asked what had caused the injuries. I told him. He then gave me pills and ointment to rub on the injured parts. The doctor put me off work and gave me a certificate. I was off work until 21st April.

Now, 24th April, I have still got a painful back over the right kidney, which seems to be getting worse. I can now move my right arm but it is stiff and painful. Not having any money I am unable to return to the doctor.

## \*The Majija Case

(See column 2)

### From a Correspondent

CAPE TOWN: Hammington Majija lives with his family at Nyanga and, until recently, worked for a picture-framing firm in Woodstock.

To-day he is out of work and has a fractured left arm and a fractured thumb on his right hand. He is behind on instalments for the hire-purchase furniture in his Nyanga home.

This is the story he told me to-day: "On Thursday last week—the day of the big police drive to clear Nyanga of tsotsis and intimidators—I was at home with my wife. I sent my children to Stellenbosch.

"On Thursday afternoon I heard the helicopter overhead—it was telling people to stay in their homes.

"Then I heard a knock on the back door. I went to the door and found some police and soldiers there. A policeman raised some sort of club and struck me. They chased me into the bedroom. I raised my arms to ward off the policeman's blows and was struck several times on the arms.

"They chased me outside and I fell to the ground. Someone struck me on the back.

"The next day I saw a doctor and he sent me to hospital to be X-rayed. At hospital they put my

right thumb and my left arm in plaster.

"On Friday morning I went to work and my employer said I had stayed away from work and he was sacking me. My wife, who works as a domestic servant in my employer's home, has also been sacked.

"I do not know why the police picked on me. I am not a trouble-maker and I did not urge people to stay away from work.

"I stayed away from work because I could not leave my home undefended. There were a lot of tsotsis going around.

"I am a member of the Liberal Party of South Africa and would have shown the police my membership card if they had given me time. I did not have time to say anything. They just hit me."

## ... EVEN THEFT IS ALLEGED

During the current week police raids on Nyanga and Langa have reached a new low level. The accent has not been on beatings, though there have been enough of these. The accent during this week has been on searching the property of the people.

The procedure has been: first the owners of the premises are ordered out. Then the police move in. Money is taken, also any goods of value, including new clothes. When complaints are made at the police station the complainants are beaten.

Contact has a reporter out in the field to-day investigating these complaints, and possibly the results will be published in this issue. At the moment, apart from widespread beliefs, the corroboration available to us is the following, signed, letter, which clearly states that a *bona fide* complainant was beaten merely for complaining, and this his serious allegations against the police were not even listened to.

Dear Sir,  
I am very sorry, I would like to come and see you myself, but I can't. Here is the reason. At Langa I live in the Flats: there are three of us in one room, and I am the first to get there on Fridays. Last Friday I found the room open. I went in: everything was so upside down that I didn't know where to start. The pots, plates, spoons and that sort of thing were near the door. The first thing I did was to look at the suitcases, and I found that there was no money in them: before there had been about £15.

Ten minutes later another occupant came. He is a business man who sells new clothes from the wholesaler. He couldn't find his whole suitcase full of clothes.

And we were hungry; we always cook very early in the morning, and they had eaten all our supper. We had to start cooking again.

We locked the door and went to the Police Station to make a report. On the way we found a lot of our local friends and they told us that the police there were beating them so they ran away.

I said to the other man "Let's go. Nothing will happen. I want my money." When we got there they started beating us and I said that they could shoot me but I want my money. We went away. The police just looked at us and gave no answer.

Many people at Langa have had things stolen: suits money and other things.

I don't mind giving my name, because this is true.

Thanks a lot for the help.  
ALFRED MAQUBELA.



## P.A.C. CAMPAIGN DIVIDES THE CABINET

## Nationalists Are Bewildered

**D**URING the Union's March and April days scattered demonstrations by the Pan-Africanist Congress shook the Nationalist government's grip on South Africa. They shook it more severely than the score of carefully - prepared, well - financed assaults on it which have been made since 1948 by White opposition groups.

But, potent as the assault may have been, it has been flogged down to the ground by a deliberately-planned police reign of terror. South Africa is now, barring details like a continuing State of Emergency, back to "normal".

By restoring public order the Government has again seized the initiative, which it lost during the period of the campaign.

What use will it make of this initiative? How will the Union Government react to the great crisis through which it has passed? This is the central question of the present.

A thorough analysis of Nationalist thinking reveals that two main plans exist for the future. The first, that of the circles round Dr. Verwoerd, the Transvaaler Prime Minister, can be summarized as "more apartheid faster". The troubles, say this group, spring from the fact that not enough has been done to clear Africans out of the cities, to build Bantustans, to trample into the ground the A.N.C., and P.A.C. and other freedom organizations. With Minister Louw as one of its spokesmen, who brazenly told the assembled Foreign Correspondents that the "urban Bantu" had no grievances, this group professes to believe that nothing whatsoever is wrong with apartheid: all the troubles spring from the intimidators and agitators who have maliciously misled the masses.

This group would like the State of Emergency to continue for a long time. This group, after all, is in the saddle and finds it easier to stay there, and finds the country easier to govern, by decree-rule.

This group would like to use the State of Emergency for the purpose of engineering a "crash-programme" — to steamroller through its plans for the partition of the country.

Mr. Maree, Minister of Bantu Education, was speaking for this group when in a speech in Natal he spoke of telescoping plans which would normally have taken 50 years into 10.

Minister of Bantu Administration De Wet Nel, when his speeches are not incomprehensible rubbish, clearly shows that he, too, belongs to this group.

This group is rigidly doctrinaire, in obedience to the purest Verwoerd-Eiselen doctrine. The old fixation, that all initiative in "the Bantu areas" must be by "the Bantu" themselves, and that

there is no place in those areas for White capital and initiative, remains in their plans.

The second group, centred round Minister Paul Sauer and the Cape Nationalist daily *Die*

by  
"ORYX"

*Burger*, holds, on the other hand, that development of the reserves, though important and urgent, is not the heart of the matter. The heart of the matter, they hold, is the Africans in the towns. To win their goodwill this group is prepared to go far, by Nationalist standards, in making concessions. Minister Sauer showed, in his Humansdorp speech, that part of the blame for the crisis might lie on the Government, and spoke of the "pinpricks" that would have to be removed.

The concessions envisaged by the Sauer group are: loosening up of the liquor laws, so that the police are not constantly raiding the townships in search of beer and spirits; relaxed administration of the pass laws, which however would not themselves be altered; higher wages (which they justify to critical Nationalists as a device to reduce the number of Africans in the towns by forcing employers to make better use of their workers); better housing; relaxation in the racial classification of people of doubtful "race"; and more humane administration of the Group Areas Act.

According to the *Sunday Times* (the diplomatic political reporting of which must be treated with reserve) this group numbers 46 in the Nationalist caucus of 180 M.P.s and Senators. The remaining 134 are composed of unstated numbers of Verwoerd men and uncommitted members.

Mr. Sauer has for a long time been Dr. Verwoerd's most constant critic in the caucus, and it is logical that it should have been his speech that showed the degree of disunity that exists.

Although he was publicly snubbed by Mr. Louw in Parliament, it is of interest that it is Mr. Sauer and his associates who are, at the moment of writing, looking confident and relaxed, not the closest friends of Dr. Verwoerd.

All this should not be taken to mean that the Nationalist Party is about to split. It came to power, and has so far maintained itself there, by cultivating the fetish of *volksseenheid* (national unity, meaning unity of Afrikaner Whites). Neither the Verwoerd group nor the Sauer group are thinking in terms of splitting the existing Nationalist Party. For, so long as the Afrikaners vote Nationalist, so long can they maintain their grip on Parliament, on the Whites, and, therefore, on the country as a whole. The struggle between the two groups, thus, is a struggle to see which can take command of

the Nationalist Party, not a struggle to see which can take the larger part of a split party away with it.

The Sauer group is powerful and has one notable success to its credit. Of recent years the two groups clashed over the issue of the republic. The Verwoerd group wanted the republic, when it came, to be modelled on the old Boer republics, and not, as is the case with our present parliament, on the British parliamentary system. The Sauer group wished the changes involved in a switch to a republic to be minimal. When it came to the decision the Sauer group won, and the legislation for the republic which is now before the country is based on the views of that group.

However powerful the Sauer group may be, it was not, on the republican issue, opposed by blind colour prejudice, as it now is. On the other hand the non-violent nature of the Africans' protest has probably strengthened the hands of all moderates, including theirs. It remains to be seen which group will win this time, though the probabilities are on the side of the moderates.

Whichever is to win, it is certain that the Nationalists have



never been so bewildered, so uncertain of where they are going, as they now are.

Now that the dust of the March days has begun to settle, most Nationalists, like other South Africans, are again allowing themselves to settle down in their jobs and get on with their careers. And, in South Africa, nearly every job that exists is based on close collaboration between Black and White. And so the wordy planners of partition and Bantustan will return to what they have been doing for the last twelve years: building, without seeming conscious of the fact, a racially integrated South Africa.

The Nationalists are probably fated to prove the Liberal thesis: that economics in South Africa is more powerful than phony nationalisms.

**Blanketed Quisling**

*The house of Chief Botha Sigcawu, great favourite of the Government since he agreed to become the stooge of Dr. Verwoerd, was burned to the ground by tribesmen whose loyalty to him has been destroyed by his acceptance of Bantu Authorities.*

*Mr. Sigcawu fled disguised as a blanketed peasant, and is now living in the servants' quarters of the local "Native" Commissioner.*

**Commerce calls for Multi-racial Enquiry**

**CAPE TOWN:** Early in April, following the Pan-Africanists' peaceful campaign against the pass system in Cape Town, the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce addressed a memorandum to the Union Government. This memorandum, which we reproduce in full below, contained the revolutionary proposal that the grievances of the African people should be investigated by a Commission of Enquiry, which should be composed of representatives of all non-White urban groups, as well as of representatives of the main sectors of the economy.

The memorandum runs:

1. The disturbances that occurred on 21st March, and subsequent events including the declaration of a state of emergency, have had and are continuing to have serious ill effects on South Africa's economy.
2. The immediate cost to the community has been loss of life and loss of production caused by strikes, general unrest and the diversion of part of our man-power to military service.
3. Far more serious than the immediate material cost is the loss of confidence among investors in South Africa and abroad, resulting in withdrawals of capital and cancellations of business projects that were under favourable consideration; the potential loss of people through emigration and reduced immigration; and the damage that the economy sustains as a result of mounting international disapproval of the policies being followed in South Africa, which are widely believed to have caused the present crisis.
4. It appears self-evident that the demonstrations which started on 21st March were basically caused by discontent or grievances among the African people.
5. It follows that until such grievances are substantially removed, not only will it be impossible to achieve the co-operation of non-White South Africans in promoting peacefully a rapidly expanding economy with a view to raising the living standards of all sections of the nation, but the economy will continue to suffer through a persistent state of emergency, recurring disorders and the fear of them.
6. We, therefore, the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce, believing that we express the desire of a large number of persons engaged at all levels in the country's productive effort, respectfully request the Government:
  - (a) that a Commission of Enquiry be appointed forthwith;
  - (b) that such a Commission shall include non-White representatives of all non-White urban groups as

well as representatives of the main sectors of the economy.

- (c) that its terms of reference be to investigate and establish the nature of existing grievances among non-White workers in urban areas, with particular reference to African workers; and to formulate proposals calculated to remove such grievances.

For the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce.

H. W. MIDDELMANN,  
*President.*

W. O. WEBB,  
*Secretary.*

11th April, 1960.  
CAPE TOWN.

This memorandum was presented to Mr. Paul Sauer, Minister of Lands, and senior cabinet minister, and Dr. N. Diederichs, Minister of Economic Affairs, with the request that it be submitted to the cabinet.

After an exchange of views the minister accepted the memorandum and promised to give it consideration.

Contact learns that the Chamber is determined to have an answer to its memorandum.

**REFUGEES REACH BASUTOLAND**

**From Contact Correspondent MASERU:** On Good Friday Maseru was full of tourists from the Union, chattering happily and making plans to see as much of Basutoland as they were able. And unseen to the visitor's eye, there were others who had crossed the Caledon River by one way or another, and who were making plans to stay in the country permanently. One such person, Mr. Melville Fletcher, had been a trade union organizer in Durban. When he fled, he escaped by bare seconds from the Security Branch men who had come to get him. Hidden by his neighbours, smuggled from house to house, he made contact with friends in the city. He was then taken in an unknown car, driven by an unknown man, to a town in the Free State near the Basutoland border. He swam across the Caledon, and rode on a borrowed horse to a mission station, then went on to Maseru by bus, and it was here I first saw him.

Another man detained in the first police "swoop", and released because the Emergency Regulations had not yet been promulgated, escaped from Durban in a chartered aeroplane to Qacha's Nek with about half an hour to spare. He was Mr. Joe Matthews, son of Professor Z. K. Matthews.

And these are only two among a hundred-odd people who by one way or another have taken refuge in Basutoland. They were given a mixed reception: the Basutoland Congress Party was embarrassed, the peasants extremely friendly, and at long last the agents in Maseru of the South African Police had something to do.

The greatest problem confronting the men and women, who are now in exile, is how to make enough to live on in a country which offers very few opportunities of employment, and in order to cope with it, the refugees have established a permanent committee with headquarters in Mafeteng where they have been given a house.

# contact

## WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

WHERE do we go from here? That is the question which is uppermost in the minds of all who care for our country.

The central fact is surely this: that a century-old tide has turned. Ever since 1853, when Britain gave votes to all in the Cape Colony, the White South Africans have fought to take away from the non-Whites what had been given.

This policy of deprivation is no sin peculiar to the Nationalists: it was the United Party that robbed the Africans' rights on the common roll in 1936. But in all fairness it must be said that in the hands of the Nationalists the whips have turned into scorpions.

This century-old tide has, during the last months, been turned.

Two forces have turned it. Firstly there was the courage of the Pan-Africanists. And, in response to their courage, there was the response of the Commonwealth, the United Nations, of the whole world, more unanimous than it has ever been before.

These two forces are complementary. One feeds strength to the other. As they grow more powerful as their fields expand, so the room left for apartheid becomes narrower and smaller.

The Government has declared a State of Emergency, and has, with a superhuman effort, screwed down the safety-valve which so nearly blew open. What passes for normality and law and order has returned.

And yet the memory of the March days in Cape Town will live for as long as men live in Southern Africa. The government *did* make concessions in response to the tremendous pressures which it felt. The rulers *did* act in the manner of sane rulers in other countries: This is a fact, this is the central fact.

Whether the concessions yielded were honoured is not here under discussion; concessions wrung by force could equally have been dishonoured. The central fact is that the concessions were made in response to *satyagraha*, Gandhian non-violent non-co-operation.

No one can study Gandhi without being filled with admiration for his discovery that love, if manifested according to his rules, can achieve devastating political power, that it is more powerful than the greatest guns. It was this power which made itself felt in the midst of the great quiet demonstrations in the streets of Cape Town.

The African demonstrators had reason to come with hatred, violence, and war. They in fact came with calm. They came in accordance with these rules, laid down and proved in India by the greatest man of our age.

These rules can be called love-in-action. Surely the next phase of the struggle must be fought out in accordance with them. We must always know that the ruling Afrikaners need the love of other South Africans. If some Afrikaners have recently behaved as brutes the reason must be sought in history, a history for which the younger Afrikaners are not to blame. Most of us non-Afrikaners, if we had been born White on to a Free State farm, would behave as most Afrikaners are behaving. It is necessary to understand this. It is also necessary to seek to find the reasons for the Afrikaners' historical attitudes. And it is also necessary to constantly remind ourselves of the finest side of the Afrikaner character. Not only have they done a great work in preparing this country for modernization. Not only have they exerted tremendous efforts to raise the cultural and spiritual levels of their own group. They are in addition true South Africans. Their stamp on this country will not be erased in a thousand years.

It is necessary to remember all this, it is necessary to show that these qualities are constantly remembered, to bring home to the Afrikaners that it is not through a blind hatred of them, their language and their culture, that democrats have now said "No further!" to apartheid.

In counselling a policy of love-in-action with the Afrikaners, we do not counsel anything wishy-washy. We believe that only those who have prepared themselves to face the ultimate sacrifice can truly influence the South African situation, and we think that the Nationalists ought to know that there are now many



"The Press in South Africa is perfectly free. Go ahead — write something."

people in South Africa who will not flinch, not even when their jobs, their lives, are asked for. We think that they will do well to know that they are facing people who are utterly determined and dedicated. In the words of old Chief Masopha of the Basotho "*Ntsaba, ke le ke u tsabe*" (respect me so that I may respect you).

But this determination must never spill over into a personal or racial hatred.

The human race, White and Black, has come to live in South Africa, and to live in a united South Africa, and to live in a United South Africa together.

In South Africa we are all members one of another, and just as the hand does not stab the foot, so no South African section dare counsel hatred against any other section.

The way forward from here, thus, should combine in maximum proportions unflinching courage and love-in-action. No other programme holds out so much hope for human happiness here during the current century.

## PRESS FREEDOM

AT the height of the crisis, Minister Eric Louw said at the press conference that "In this country there is complete freedom of the press".

At almost the same time the Security Branch in Cape Town raided our office, removing all the copies that it could find of our issue of 2nd April (the one that had the picture of Mr. Mangaliso R. Sobukwe on the cover). Shortly afterwards, the same officials advised the Central News Agency not to distribute our last issue (with the picture of the Cape Town demonstration on the cover). And, down at the Post Office, the postal officials illegally detained some 8,000 copies of the same issue.

It is obvious that in a time of crisis even governments are inclined to become a bit confused. But, now that things are becoming quiet, we feel that the Security Branch should take immediate steps to harmonise its actions more nearly with Minister Louw's assurance.

*Contact's* aims are, after all, the aims of the whole of the freedom-loving world. We are non-racial and democratic. We oppose communism as uncompromisingly as, and much more effectively than, the Security Branch itself. In attacking *Contact* the Security Branch is attacking the spirit of Magna Carta, of the American constitution, of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights.

We leave these questions to the authorities, trusting that they will consider them responsibly.

## MISS BLUMBERG

IT is clearly going to be necessary for the government to reconsider the cases of vast numbers of those now detained. And it is going to be necessary to reconsider many of these cases in the near future.

Without for the moment arguing the case for the ending of the State of Emergency and the release of

all the detainees, we wish to appeal to the Minister now, and as a matter of urgency, to release those whose detention was obviously a mistake.

One of these cases is undoubtedly that of Mrs. Myrna Mackenzie, who has written for *Contact* under her maiden name of Myrna Blumberg. She is also the local correspondent of the *London Daily Herald*.

Now we know that the Union Government does not like either *Contact* or the *Daily Herald*. But if it is for this that she is detained, it hardly seems fair. She is a professional reporter and, although sometimes, because of their special responsibility, editors have to suffer for the sins of reporters, it is hard when it happens the other way round. We have never known her to report misleadingly or untruthfully. By no stretch of the imagination could she be described as a danger to the state.

She has one small daughter of three years of age. Even in a State of Emergency it is surely necessary for a ruler to temper his rule with mercy, and we do earnestly appeal to Mr. Erasmus to reconsider her case, and to release her, along with others whose detention could only have happened by inadvertence.

## A LIE

AS was to be expected, the Government has said, over and over again, that the pass campaign of the Pan-Africanist Congress was caused by communism.

Again, Mr. Erasmus said, quoted by *Die Burger* (25th April) that "the degree to which outside countries are to-day concerned with South Africa is a new phenomenon. It shows most clearly how far the influence of communism already goes in the world."

Both of these allegations are quite untrue. Indeed, they are both the opposite of the truth. The Pan-Africanists have based their whole movement on a rejection of the communism which they found in high places within the African National Congress. And the opposition of the Western world to apartheid has been no less, since Sharpeville as well as before, than that of the communist camp.

In our last issue we commented on two important promises which Mr. Erasmus had broken—the promise to suspend the pass laws until things returned to normal, and the promise (made in his name) that he would give Mr. Philip Kgosana, the Pan-Africanist leader in Cape Town, an interview.

Now, by bringing in the issue of communism in this way, the same Minister has shown that he is as prepared to lie as he is to break faith.

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



ALAN PATON takes . . . . .

. . . . . THE LONG VIEW

## Our Rulers' Latest Blunder



Alan Paton, National President of the Liberal Party, does duty on this page in the absence of Peter Brown, the National Chairman.

THE latest blunder of our rulers is quite fantastic. They leave the outside world in no doubt as to what they are up to. Mr. Erasmus has now decided that prospective lawyers need screening. He obviously doesn't think that lawyers — except Nationalists — should take any interest in politics. And no doubt he is angry because there are lawyers who in his view impede the processes of justice by their persistence in trying to find out the truth in

every situation. This sounds an ugly thing to say, because it is generally admitted that this is exactly what a lawyer should be doing. Nevertheless in a society which has been corrupted by the colour bar, authority not only is tempted to become impatient with, but also to become hostile towards, lawyers who intervene on behalf of the humble and dispossessed. It requires even greater courage to intervene on behalf of those who are not so humble, Africans or other non-White people who believe they have rights, and who stand up for them, quietly or resolutely or truculently, it makes no great matter which.

Imagine what courage it requires, after a riot has taken place in which white policemen have been killed by Black rioters, for a lawyer to come and demand who assaulted a certain Black woman who was considered to have evidence valuable to the police, and to demand who overturned her furniture

and smashed one of her cupboards to pieces.

Imagine what courage it requires, in one of the remote White farming areas, where a White farmer has been brutally murdered, for a lawyer to come and demand what has become of a suspect who has been taken to the police station for questioning, and unfortunately, in the few hours that he was detained there, has collapsed and died.

Yet such acts are the duty of any lawyer, and by performing them fearlessly, they add lustre to their profession, and strengthen the respect of society for the law. This is however not unequivocally so in a colour bar society; for it is clear that Mr. Erasmus, for example, considers that such lawyers bring discredit both on their profession and the law. The reason for this is quite simple; it is not the sanctity of law that is the supreme value for Mr. Erasmus, it is the sanctity of White supremacy.

Nevertheless Mr. Erasmus has to consider the attitude of the outside world, which

for him means the western world. Therefore he and his colleagues are quick to hint that such diligent lawyers are communists, and are interested, not so much in justice and humanity, as in the overthrow of western democracy and the triumph of Russian communism. Such propaganda is losing its potency; it may still deceive a few fools in England and America, but it leaves the rest of the world cold.

If the newspapers had asked me—which they did not—to comment on the latest stupidity of Mr. Erasmus, I should have said that I did not regret it in the least. It is actions such as these that are keeping world opinion active and observant, and that is what we want. We do not want to languish unforgotten. We want apartheid (for this latest stupidity is only apartheid in another guise) to remain in full view of the world. And how lucky we are, for we need do little ourselves. The Nationalists will do most of the work.

Will this latest folly shake the White non-Nationalists alive? Frankly I do not know. Many of them will criticise it, but if the outside world criticises it, they will rush to its defence. If they understood their own interests, they would stop this nauseating defence of their masters. **For one thing is certain, that if White non-Nationalists continue to accommodate themselves to one Nationalist excess after another, they will play no part whatsoever in the creation of the new South Africa that draws nearer each day.**

Let Sir de Villiers and Mr. Mitchell take note. Let them consider carefully their opposition to this latest threat of Mr. Erasmus. For if they decide to defend only some rights of some lawyers, as in the past they have defended only some rights of some people, they will lose what little moral authority they have left.

## Fair Comment . . . by Patrick Duncan

I MUST record my appreciation, and that of all liberals and democrats, of the role of the Progressive Party during the crisis.

They opposed the declaration of a State of Emergency. They have been in the forefront of the parliamentary critics of the Government's neo-fascism. They have worked like beavers, and in many cases successfully, to get improvements in the treatment of the detainees.

The United Party is now lining itself up with them, and is calling for an end to the State of Emergency. But at the time when it really mattered the Progressives held the pass, and they deserve the thanks of all of us.

INCIDENTALLY I hear that the State of Emergency is to last at least six months, probably a year. The Government is determined to try many of those now detained. It will be a repetition of the Treason Trial, that mammoth flop. My interrogators in the local Security Branch assure me that the mistakes made in Mark I have been corrected, and that Mark II will really fly. Knowing my own country and its peoples I beg leave to doubt it, and I prophesy that if the Government should essay a second trial, it will be a bigger flop than the first. It will never look like getting off the ground.

THE Whites in South Africa should long ago have taken steps to make the Coloured people good allies," said Minister P. W. Botha the other day. As proof of the Government's desire to please the Coloured people he referred to a new "Agricultural Gymnasium" to be built near Stellenbosch where Coloured people can be taught agriculture "till they reach a standard which is satisfactory for the (White) farmers."

I find such stupidity unfathomable. In order to make friends you do not acknowledge the humanity, the dignity, of your would-be friend. You offer to make him a satisfactory serf. And that on top of the Group Areas Act, and the Population Registration Act and all the other apartheid laws, under which the Coloured people have been served notice that because they did not arrange for all their ancestors to come from Holland and England, but only some of them, the Government regards them as having some sort of political leprosy.

MANY months ago I said that the word apartheid was turning into a liability for the Nationalists. I predicted that they would soon want to drop it. That has now happened—see Die Burger's proposal and the dreadful, inane wafflings of the Cape Times's crypto-Nat, columnist "The Man on the Spot" (writing from "Villa Spot" whose grocery and gardening requirements used

to form so notable a feature of his column).

I said then, and I repeat it now, that we, the democrats, will not allow them to drop the word. It worked for ten years well for the Nationalists, and brought them to power and kept them there. Now it is working well for us. It will serve us well, too, and will dismiss the Nationalists from power and keep them out, for ever.

I APPEAL to the Government to call off the "Union Festival". What is there to celebrate if a State of Emergency should continue? Even if I were a top Broeder I should not feel like celebrating the fact that, after twelve years of Nationalist rule, it has become necessary for the man-catchers of the Security Branch to haul men and women out of their beds at three in the morning, to separate mothers from their small children, and for the police to run a sjambok reign of terror in the African townships.

IN the issue of Contact before last we printed a special editorial appealing to the United Nations to intervene in South Africa. For years this has been a dream of mine: now, with breathtaking speed, it is becoming practical politics. The Cape Argus speaks about the possibility in a friendly way. And, when the Security Council put teeth in the post-Sharpeville apartheid debate, and ordered Mr. Hammarskjöld to negotiate with the Union Government, the

Union Government courteously invited him to South Africa.

Now, in England, Mr. Marquand, a Labour M.P., has begun to echo Michael Scott's old, old plan. Over ten years ago Scott realized that it would be necessary for the world to intervene to end apartheid. And he knew that the U.N. is not allowed to interfere in matters of domestic jurisdiction. He then realized the importance of South West Africa as the road by which the world could move in. He pushed hard and the matter was taken to the international Court of Justice in 1950. This Court gave its opinion that the Mandate (given by the old League of Nations) had not lapsed, that the General Assembly of the United Nations is legally qualified to exercise the functions of the League of Nations, and that South Africa is legally obliged to submit to its supervision with regard to the administration of the territory.

The day is fast approaching when the United Nations is going to put teeth into its South West policy. I prophesy that it will happen within one year.

IN about 1943 world anger began to mount against racialism in Germany as news leaked out about the murder camps. With a truly teutonic insensitivity the Nazis decided to make a film purporting to show Jews in Theresienstadt, one of the worst camps. They did an elaborate fake. According to the

latest issue of Jewish Affairs this "documentary" was "meant to convince millions of people . . . that all rumours about the treatment of Jews were lies spread by the enemy . . . The film should be a conclusive proof that the Ghetto inhabitants were under their own administration in which Germans did not interfere, leading a life rich in cultural activities." (Our emphasis.)

Mr. Piet Meiring and his Information Service should note that this film, like so many similar ones made more recently, cut no ice with the outside world. Racialism, whether against Jews or against Non-Whites, simply cannot be concealed.

JOHN MOTLOHELOA, whose political views got him a free tour some years back to the communist satellite countries, and who called one of his children Molotov, has been on his travels again. This time it was in the guise of a delegate of the Basuto-land Congress Party to the conference of Afro-Asian Solidarity in Conakry, Guinea.

This conference was notable for the large Chinese and Russian delegations which attended.

I can imagine the comrades' amazement and delight when they realized that in John they had a friend who lived right in the centre of apartheid.

NOW that he is out of Cape Town for a week I can say something about Peter Hiul, the provincial chairman of the Liberal Party. Under his able leadership the party played its full part in the recent historic events. Members feel prouder than ever to be members, and much of the credit is due to him.

## Islam gains Ground as Christianity is Queried

From Contact Correspondent

CAPE TOWN: During the three weeks in the Cape from 21st March to 7th April, a total of 13 Christian churches were deliberately set on fire. Some were totally destroyed, others severely damaged. Damage was officially estimated at £60,975. This includes mission schools.

The assault on places of worship began in Langa on the evening of 21st March. When the sun rose the next morning there were only ashes where the New Apostolic Faith Mission once stood.

Only a pathetic notice board mounted on a wooden pole remained . . . "New Apostolic Faith Mission," the notice said, "Services . . . ALL WELCOME". People looked, grimaced and passed by.

The Bantu Methodist Church and the Dutch Reformed Church were both damaged in Langa that night. Several days later from Worcester came the news that in one night five churches were completely destroyed. The fires spread to Paarl, Simonstown, East London and Port Elizabeth, ending with the firing of a big church building in Walmer Location on 7th April and another damaged seriously.

Christian consciences began to flinch. Was this the work of hooligans who had got out of control of the faithful? Or is this the ultimate culmination point of the African people's anger against what these churches preached? Is the African's patience with the

unpractised "brotherhood in Christ" exhausted?

"Conversions," the Reverend Qabazi of Holy Cross, Nyanga, told me, "are becoming very difficult. The crucifix has become to a certain extent the symbol of White rule. And that is not accepted."

"You see," he explained, "while the educated African can argue Christianity on the simple 'practise what you preach' basis . . . the non-committed man has already accepted the political arguments. He is uncertain where to go. The church does not offer as much as the politician does."

In Nyanga, I am told, Islam with its slogan of complete equality is gaining ground. Conversions to a religion that preaches equality without reservations are easy among Africans.

"Not only is our authority being challenged these days," Anglican Reverend F. Ndungane told me, "but the open threats during the heat of the disturbances made to our persons show that even we are no longer safe. The attitude to us, although not quite the same, is similar to that of the



African workers enter a mosque for ten o'clock prayers, as more and more are doing.

people to the African police. We are accused of being government stooges preaching tolerance when the people are itching for freedom."

It was of interest that the Bantu Nationalistic churches were not immune from the burnings, and this in spite of having a black clergy with a black church and services preached in the vernacular.

"The people were angry and they could not control their anger," one ardent "all black" preacher said to me.

"But if the people were so angry what makes us think that their anger has been abated and that it will not get out of control again?"

"Is this just the opposite side of the apartheid fence?" I challenged. The answer came in a jumbled argument about preaching equality more intensely than ever before.

For years now a solitary thought-provoking signboard has stood at the top of the steps in front of the St. George's Cathedral (Anglican):

"This Cathedral," it reads, "is open to welcome men and women of all races to all services at all



The notice board of St. Cyprian's Church, Retreat, Cape Town, is reminiscent of government-inspired apartheid.

times." Just at the back of the cathedral, an ardent D.R.C. man pointed out, is St. George's Grammar School . . . "for Europeans only".

Despite the above questionings, Father Gardner, of the Society of St. John the Evangelist, told me that the Anglican church in Nyanga and Langa had had record congregations this Easter, a feast that occurred right in the middle of the crisis. "The Easter congregation contains both the faithful and the fringe Christians, and we have found no tendency to stay away from church. Quite the opposite." But Father Gardner did not deny that a more critical atmosphere was developing, that held possibilities of danger for Christianity in the long run.

### CONTACT RESUMES PUBLICATION

We have now had three visits from the Security Branch of the South African Police. On one of their visits they seized over two hundred copies of one of our issues, and in other ways did what they could to prevent our last issue from going out.

We were compelled to reorganize. We suspended publication for a week—we have now resumed and intend to continue throughout the State of Emergency and after—and we dissociated *Contact* from the company that has, till now, published it. In future it will be published by the proprietor, P. Duncan, at the same address as before.

*Contact* will continue to tell you the news behind the news, and to reflect, in its editorial columns, uncompromising democratic views.

## Brecht English Premiere in Cape

Brecht's plays are always topical. *Round Heads Peaked Heads* was more than usually topical. The Theatre Group, Cape Town, chose a play in which characters are continually threatened with "protective detention" by the police of the symbolical state Yahoo. The war which rages between the Landlords and the Sickled Tenants is complicated by the fact that some of the citizens of Yahoo have round heads and others have little peaks on top, some of them are Czichs and some of them are Czuchs (Jew : Aryan; Black : White). The muddle of hysterical racialism which follows is South African. Brecht has adapted Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure* and as usual he hits hard. Tenant Farmer Callas (played in an excellent off-hand manner by Dennis E. Hendricks) is told how wonderful it is to be a peasant by the Deputy Regent (Minister of Peasant Administration and Development?). Callas shows that morals are all right for those who can afford them; when asked by the judge whether his daughter, a peasant's daughter, could afford the flashy clothes she is wearing if she was not working in Madame Conamontis's brothel, her father says that of course she could not, but that at any rate she is well dressed. Albert Thomas resurrected this translation. Its first English performance was a success partly because Brecht was at his most provocative (and muddling) and partly because most of the acting was virile. It might have been ruined by the slowness of the scene changing; without a revolving stage the set should have been rationalized and simplified. But what an enterprising choice it was!

## P.A.C. Leader in Basutoland

From Contact Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: Peter Raboroko, top-ranking member of the national executive of the now banned Pan-Africanist Congress, was sent to Basutoland by the organisation two months before the start of the anti-pass campaign so that he could maintain contact with the outside world.

Raboroko was a foundation member of the P.A.C. He prepared the Congress "Statement of Policy", and served as the national secretary for education.

A former school teacher who lost his job under Bantu Education, Raboroko is a Mosotho. He therefore had no difficulty in returning to the territory. His wife and children were left behind in Johannesburg.

In anticipation of the entire P.A.C. leadership surrendering themselves for arrest, Raboroko was instructed to leave the Union so that he could continue to disseminate propaganda and keep Pan-Africanist Congress views alive in the outside world.

He was recently reported to have secretly returned to Johannesburg for a short time before leaving for Basutoland again.

### AN IDEA

During a state of inter-racial and inter-religious rioting in a large Indian city, the local Rotary Club decided to try the influence of Rotary fellowship. In pairs the Rotarians of opposing races and religions walked through the streets arm-in-arm to the amazement of rioters of both factions, and shortly peace came to the city.

(From *Victories without Violence*, by A. Ruth Fry.)

## THESE FIGURES ARE AN EDUCATION

In the Cape Province, according to a letter dated 2nd November, 1959, from the Inspector of Bantu Education, Port Elizabeth, the following amounts are spent annually on children's education in the Cape Province:

White child	£68
Coloured child	£28
African child	£6

## A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa 1958-9

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

## The Cost of Living for Urban Africans Johannesburg 1959

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

## from the S.A. INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS

P.O. Box 97, Johannesburg.



If Hammarskjold should fail . . .

## STRONG U.N. ACTION CERTAIN

**UNITED NATIONS:** By now the whole world and even the South African government realize that the U.N. Security Council adopted a resolution deploring the recent actions of the South African government and urging it to "abandon its policies of apartheid". This article is to take readers of *Contact* behind the scenes at the United Nations for a glimpse at some of the manoeuvrings perhaps not always reported in the world press.

The horror of the Sharpeville massacre was so great that there was never any serious doubt that (1) the Security Council would be called into session and (2) that the 29-member Asia-African complaint against South Africa would be inscribed on the agenda of that session.

The Council's President for March, U.S. Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, did not even call for a vote on the agenda item. The only two powers which might have prevented debate on this issue were Britain and France. Public opinion inside their countries, and in the whole world, were too great for them to prevent discussion on the matter. After the issue was placed on the Council's agenda, Britain, France and Italy for the record stated certain juridical objections, while the U.S. and U.S.S.R. spoke strongly in favour of the Council's debating the issue.

The final U.N. resolution showing "strong feelings" and "grave concern" was the product of the normal process of U.N. political negotiation. The nine independent African States (Cameroun is not yet a U.N. member), aided by 20 Asian states, wanted as strong a resolution against South Africa as the Security Council could pass. If it were too strong, a resolution would probably have failed because of the veto of one of the Council's permanent members: U.S., U.S.S.R., Britain, France or China. The Afro-Asian bloc felt, on this matter, that it could count on the U.S.S.R. and probably on the U.S., since the latter was rapidly becoming less neutral in its African policy. China—Taiwan—was a question mark since it is often more pro-Western than pro-Asian! France, it was known in advance, would be difficult because of recent rebuffs the U.N. handed her over the continued war in Algeria and her tests in the Sahara. Britain would be slippery, despite Prime Minister Macmillan's speech in Cape Town, because of her fear of driving South Africa out of the Commonwealth.

Thus the two Afro-Asian members of the Security Council—Tunisia and Ceylon—had the delicate task of framing a resolution which would gain seven of the 11 votes necessary for passage and not incur a veto. While Britain continuously threatened a veto, the Afro-Asian bloc itself had a powerful threat

up its sleeve: it would take the South African issue to a special session of the U.N. General Assembly where there is no veto and where it could probably attain victory. Tunisia and Ceylon finally induced Ecuador, also a Council member, to introduce a resolution which passed, virtually unmodified, by a vote of nine to nothing, with only Britain and France abstaining.

**Why was not stronger action taken at this time by the Security Council?** Some nations, quite apart from South Africa, feel that the U.N. under article 2(7) of its Charter cannot intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state. They assert that events so far within South Africa, however tragic, have not jeopardized international peace. Some nations honestly believe this to be the case; others use these juridical doubts as an excuse to prevent stronger action.

There is, however, a more fundamental reason for the inclination on the part of many members of the Security Council not to take stronger action against South Africa at this time. They feel that the U.N. can still fruitfully negotiate with the South African government. While years of

the African National Congress had left South Africa and was en route to the Security Council, the African delegations were prepared in one way or another to have him speak—had he arrived in time—to counter the official account of the Sharpeville massacre as given to the Security Council by the South African ambassador. (He gave this original interpretation: "Shots were fired at the police before the police returned fire".)

**What was the effect of the demonstrations by Africans in South Africa during the Security Council debate?** The demonstrations in Cape Town, Johannesburg, Durban, and elsewhere during the three days of the Security Council debate lent a special urgency to the discussion. The New York newspapers headlined these events in South Africa almost in every edition. This news was not missed by the U.N. diplomats. The South African government implied that the Security Council discussions only encouraged the Africans to demonstrate. It is hard to judge cause and effect, but the massive demonstration of African unity and African opposition to the whole South African system—not only against passes—made a deep impression throughout the United Nations' headquarters.

**What of the future?** The U.N. resolution, in addition to the now-familiar rhetoric ("condemn" was softened to "deplore" in the final wording), has "teeth" in charging the U.N. Secretary-General with consulting South Africa and making "such arrangements as would adequately help in upholding the purposes and principles of the Charter". An early draft of the resolution would have had him report to the Security Council before 30th June, but the resolution as approved contains no date but only bids him report to the Council "whenever necessary and appropriate". Mr. Hammarskjold lost no time, however, and scheduled a meeting with the South African ambassador the day after the resolution was approved. Just what he will be able to do depends upon his ingenuity—and the situation inside South Africa itself.

If the Secretary-General meets frustrations in dealing with the South African government, the Security Council is sure to take more drastic action against South Africa. If, before the Secretary-General has time to complete his negotiations, renewed, widespread violence re-occurs within South Africa, the Council will be reconvened, either by the Secretary-General or by the Afro-Asian bloc.

**How strong action could a second round of Security Council session or a special session of the General Assembly take toward South Africa?** The following actions were freely discussed in the corridors of the U.N. and may find their way into official resolutions at any further meeting:

¶ **Political sanctions against South Africa.** The U.N. could urge that its member states break diplomatic relations with South Africa. There is apparently precedent for this kind of action during the 1946 debate at the U.N. on Franco Spain.

¶ **Expulsion of South Africa from the U.N.** This is always possible, but unlikely, for the whole trend is to make the U.N. a universal body on the theory that it is better for the nations to talk than to fight, for any nation—however recalcitrant—to be inside than outside.

¶ **Arms embargo against shipping military supplies to South Africa.** Why should U.N. members ship jet planes or helicopters to South Africa to harass demonstrating Africans or why should they ship machine guns and ammunition used to kill Africans? There have been such arms embargoes before, why not in this instance?

¶ **Economic sanctions by governments against the products of South Africa.** While the growing, worldwide consumer boycott has been impressive, especially during March in the British Isles, this cannot be as successful as

a government boycott could become. The U.N. could make this recommendation to its member states.

¶ **Some kind of U.N. "presence" in South Africa, including conceivably even a U.N. Emergency Force.** This is the ultimate sanction, hinted at by many, yet nobody has figured out just how such a police force would work against an unco-operative South African government.

In many ways the U.N. Security Council meeting on South Africa was historic—and decisive. The many injustices in South Africa are now considered by the U.N. a security matter, not only an item affecting civil rights. Together with the Sharpeville massacre itself, the Security Council debate may constitute a hinge of African history. The ultimate freedom of Africans, Coloureds, Indians—even Whites—in South Africa might date from these last days of March in the Africa Year 1960.

### from Homer A. Jack

Homer A. Jack, editor of "Africa Today", attended these Security Council debates as an observer for the American Committee on Africa.

negotiations with South Africa by the General Assembly—over apartheid, over the treatment of Indians in South Africa and over the status of South West Africa—have resulted in no less oppression by the South African government, they still feel that somehow the South African government will yet change its ways. Thus Sir Pierson Dixon of Britain warned against irritating a delicate situation rather than curing it. The U.S. appealed "once again" to the Union of South Africa "with the greatest sincerity and friendly intent". If past experience is any guide, this holding of an olive branch to South Africa is bound to fail.

**What was the role of the ambassador from South Africa during the Security Council debate?** Ambassador Brand Fourie walked the narrow line between minimum co-operation with the Council and contempt for it. He did not, however, permanently walk out.

**What was the role of the independent African states?** They considered the Sharpeville massacre and the aftermath to be their fight; only an accident of history and geography separated the Africans in South Africa from themselves. Ghana, Guinea, Liberia and Ethiopia insisted on sitting at the Security Council table as non-voting members (along with India, Pakistan, Jordan—and South Africa. When Ambassador Jha of India announced that Oliver Tambo of



From left to right: Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda, Mr. Thurgood Marshall (Legal Adviser to the East Africa Constitutional Conference), Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, and (head showing at extreme right) Mr. George Houser (Exec. Director, American Committee on Africa) at the Freedom Day Rally held in New York on 13th April.

## Great Rally in New York

**NEW YORK:** Dr. Hastings Banda, flown into New York ten days after his release from a year's imprisonment, received a thunderous standing ovation at an African Freedom Day Rally held here on 13th April. Dr. Banda told the estimated 4,000 people of all races who packed the New York Town Hall: "The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was formed in the teeth of our strong and unanimous opposition, and was imposed not for economic or defence reasons but simply to stop Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland in their march to independence. But why should we be forced or imposed on in this way? We are not a conquered power and will not tolerate being treated as such. When Nyasaland agreed to the protective supervision of Britain, it was never meant to be at the price of the people being unable to shape

their own destiny." Dr. Banda went on to say, "The reason given for my imprisonment was that I planned to massacre the White people in Nyasaland. This is not true. I would never dream of killing White people. I owe them too much—my education for one thing. No, I am not anti-White but I am anti-domination and I will never compromise on that." He added "Apartheid is a social and political cancer, and as such must be cut out."

"I am a Christian," he said, "and when Nyasaland is independent I want it to be a Christian country. I have come here to ask American help, economically and financially, for us to form that ideal. I hope we get it because we don't want to have to look elsewhere."

The meeting was also addressed by Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, President of the Independence Party  
[Continued on page 6]





## SAM SLY'S CORNER

FORTNIGHTLY NOTES ON BOOKS AND THE PRESS



London newspapers serve up a South Africa which is certainly nearer truth than our *Mail*, *Argus* or *Mercury* have ever conveyed it. But how one yawns at their black heroes and white villains, African saints and Afrikaner animals, which blunt awareness of the common South African-ness that racialism will one day cease to obscure.

I am as tired of the brutal policeman cliché (avoid the 23rd April *Spectator*) as I am of the brutal policeman (black or white). Every country has brutal policemen, though in most they are checked by authority rather than egged on.

### Ponder

And if we, in our day and age, have some decent policemen too, isn't that a sign there is good material in all our people? In a published lecture, Uys Krige made two remarks to be pondered by those who smack their lips over the strident abuse of whole groups of our people that sometimes passes for news: "You only diminish yourself in your own dignity if you minimize the moral worth of your adversary", and, oft-quoted (by me): "Surely the tragedy of South Africa is not that the white man is such a villain . . . but that he is quite a good chap". I admired Laurens van der Post for writing to the *London Times* on this subject—an unpopular thing to do.

### Faked tickle

I admit to a thrill at a well-directed anti-apartheid haymaker in the *New Statesman* or *Guardian*—Eric Louw in London will make a very special punchbag for Malcolm Muggeridge and his fellow sluggers. But I find unpalatable the sugary, priggish tone often used again all nationalist Afrikaners, faked to tickle up the self-righteousness of the "village reader" in England. It's bad for him and bad for us.



MAROLE (l.), MBEDZI

### Well hoed

Lukas Thangeni Marole, born at the time of the rinderpest, author and publisher of twelve books in the Venda language, has just paid his first visit to the Cape and to the sea. From his book depot at P.O. Box 1, Sibasa, he started with his Venda psalm-book in 1926, and is now busy with a revised version of *Makulukuku*, his favourite story. In his books are a lifetime of effort to teach his people their history, perpetuate their traditions, and help them to understand Western ways. As there are only 120,000 BaVenda, and fewer Lemba and Shangaan who share the written language, and as its many diacritical marks make it a costly one for printers, Mr. Marole has hoed a hard row all

these years. A fellow Venda, my friend Mr. George Mbedzi, has written the first English-Venda Dictionary and is determined to see it published, despite official, and publishers', indifference. Marole and Mbedzi are a type of South African writer whose contribution must not be ignored in what Professor Leo Kuper heralds (in the *May Drum*) as the "flowering of drama, literature and the arts, stimulated by contact between the various cultures of South Africa".

### Attachment

It is not that one fears a withering of the African languages in the South Africa ahead of us. As in other "new" states a world language will be insisted upon, but the linguistic expertise of so many African leaders and intellectuals reflects their attachment to mother tongue and her relations. Nana Mahomo, while a law student at the University of Cape Town, was also demonstrator in the School of African Studies and took on editing work in S. Sotho and Tswana for a local publisher. Sobukwe, also, has for some time been Bantu-language reader for a great British publishing house. (His book reviews in *African Studies* were careful and very pointed.) Mahomo, now in Ghana, is Minister of Cultural Affairs in that PAC cabinet which, until a month ago, raised smiles among many people who are now wondering what they found so ridiculous about it at the time.

## REVIEWS

### Fresh Caught

ROAD TO GHANA. By Alfred Hutchinson (Gollancz) 18s. 6d.

ALL the characters in the story of Mr. Hutchinson's escape, all the States through which he passes, are on the road to Ghana: Sergeant Halberg of the S.A.P. Special Branch as well as Mr. Orton Chirwa, Southern Rhodesia as well as Tanganyika. All that distinguishes their journeys is the degree of willingness and haste to reach freedom—freedom from race oppression as giver or receiver.

Mr. Hutchinson, after a shaky start in style as well as in events, makes the Johannesburg-Accra journey an incomparably fascinating one. It is not a story of a man on the run in enemy territory, but of someone crossing his own continent, amid strangers who are always friends. (The only African he mistook for a policeman was an important politician—moral?) With this uniqueness, the book is enhanced by being, I suppose, the rewrite of a detailed diary. The sounds, feelings, smells, the endless succession of scenes bright and sombre, and the crowds of individuals he seems always threading his way through, are fresh caught, not dully recollected in tranquillity. And Mr. Hutchinson can write, once he breaks away from the *Drum* school of tough, veneered writing.

*Kwacha* rises in Nyasaland, *Uhuru* approaches in Tanganyika—the certainty of African freedom everywhere—only from Hutchinson, or from the genes

of Hutchinson's White grandfather, comes the doubt.

"The Whites have forgotten we are men", a friend had once said in anger. We had allowed the Whites to relapse into a smug indifference, perhaps. And being only human they would continue in their smugness until they were shaken out of it . . . Was the much-vaunted patience of the African just another name for cowardice?

The contrast is certainly: "Africa must be free," said Nyerere to himself. "South Africa has no chance. How can a tiny corner of Africa hope to enslave Africans when the rest of Africa is free . . .?"



HUTCHINSON

*Road to Ghana* completes a trio, with Mphahlele's *Down Second Avenue* and Noni Jabavu's *Drawn in Colour*. These very different books seem to me part of a foundation for the building of a truly modern South African literature in English. All are books written with freedom in sight, by authors who have lived as non-Whites, or non-men, in South Africa. If this literature is founded in truth rather than in fiction, I for one have no regrets. All three are certainly works of literature. S.S.

### Semblance of Life

FRIDAY'S FOOTPRINT. By Nadine Gordimer (Victor Gollancz)

NADINE GORDIMER'S latest volume of short stories is as good as the earlier ones, but not better.

Aristotle said that literature, no less than painting, is *mimesis*; that is, it creates a semblance of life and of living beings. Nadine Gordimer does this. Look, for instance, at this fragment of a teasing conversation with a small girl:

"Who?" She screwed up her face in an urgent snarl of incomprehension."

The child's expression and her lively intelligence are brought vividly before us. She is one of many persons and scenes that *live* in these pages.

But literature can do more than imitate. It may have humour, or significant intellectual or moral content; or it may be edifying to the spirit, like great classical music. In these stories such possibilities are not realized. Nadine Gordimer has phenomenal powers of observation, a lively imagination, abundant invention. Aply she draws on these for characters to people a central situation, for circumstances to illuminate the characters, for physical surroundings in which the circumstances arise. In the highly professional story of a crocodile hunt, ironically named "The Gentle Art", the central situation is that some men make money in this dangerous fashion. The

characters to illuminate this situation are well conceived and delineated—the "hero" Baird, friendly, courteous, brave, skilful, not unimaginative; the admiring Vivien, unthinkingly inspired by dangerous living; and (barely but sufficiently sketched) the wife who remained behind and "waited". Her suffering ("passion", in the old sense of the word) is the obverse side of the coin of her husband's life of action. The physical surroundings are wonderfully rendered: the dark river and the searchlight are described in memorable pictures, and the account of the hunt is clear, bold and moving.

The whole is skilful, but the "story" seems invented to justify what is essentially a fine journalist's report of an unusual experience.

Sometimes in the peopling of the situations virtuosity overrides artistic economy, or bristling issues arise that are never dealt with. For instance, the past and present marital status of the two anthropologists in "The Night the Favourite Came Home" is at best irrelevant; and while the extra guests at Manuel's luncheon in "The Path of the Moon's Dark Fortnight" may be necessary and are entertainingly portrayed, his neighbour seems superfluous.

Yet there are stories in this volume where nothing is irrelevant, accidents of the author's experience play no part, and her shrewd understanding of human beings compels our admiration, as in the painful family relationships of "Harry's Presence", or the subtly ambiguous ones of "Little Willie".

Artistic in a more poetic, less workmanlike way than the crocodile tale is "Check Yes or No", where the images of a doll's house and a tightrope walker in a sack show creative imagination and are supported in masterly fashion by descriptions of the occupants of the doll's house and the circus tent, scene of an unexpected brawl. Only the "mature, distinguished-looking" husband (like William in "Something for the Time Being" or Max Leonard in "A Thing of the Past") is an empty figure. These men who seem to command Nadine Gordimer's respect are shadowy compared with the pitiable ones like "Old Van As" or the husband of "Our Bovary" or the Greek father in "The Presence of Harry". Studying the values implicit in these stories one finds that the "admirable" men have not achieved freedom from the general unworthy scramble for economic, social or sexual prestige, merely succeeded in it. Only in the unpretentious hero of "The Bridegroom" do we glimpse a genuinely moral grasp of essentials.

OLGA McDONALD MEIDNER

### Vital Delineation

COMMONSENSE ABOUT INDIA. By K. M. Panikkar (Gollancz) 6s. 6d.

THIS very informative book would have been more aptly called an "Outline of Social, Economic and Political Questions in India", for that is precisely what it is.

Without going into any involved details, Mr. Panikkar, who is by far the most authoritative and interesting writer upon Indian politics, delineates the vital issues of political India with a simple clarity and impartiality which puts her into an intelligible perspective.

Yes despite his transparent honesty one cannot help feeling that Mr. Panikkar has fought shy of several questions. He underestimates the powerful and reactionary right wing of the Congress Party, who have put a brake upon the enforcement of the more radical and essential provisions of the Land Reform Bill. While he points out, quite truthfully, that the Congress's political objective is a Socialist India, he seems to overlook the fact that this is almost solely due to Mr. Nehru himself.

What will happen to it after Nehru is very dubious and there is more reason to believe that it will entirely disappear, and be replaced by the capitalist interests of the powerful right-wing, led by Mr. Morarji Desai, who has been tipped as Mr. Nehru's most likely successor.

The corruption, nepotism and inefficiency that Congress's right wing has bred, are a dreadful menace, with the Communist Party ever seeking causes to gain mass support. It was this very factor which gained the Communist Party their success in Kerala.

Of all the points upon which Mr. Panikkar elaborates he pays a great deal of attention to democracy in India. He himself has great faith in India's democracy and while he does not underestimate the danger of Communism, he thinks that her democratic institutions as represented by her elections (provincial and general), municipalities, village boards, trade unions, etc., have given democracy a firm footing in the country.

One cannot but give due credit to the leaders of India who in the face of tremendous difficulties and problems have achieved real democracy (that is, democracy as understood in the Western sense), especially when it is being reduced to a shambles elsewhere in the newly emergent Afro-Asian countries. Indeed, of all India's great achievements in her brief decade of independence, this is the most outstanding. What is even more remarkable is that India has been able to effect her revolutionary social and economic changes through the democratic process, and has so far proved that it is not merely a façade behind which vested interests hold the power.

India's secular state, also, in which 40,000,000 Moslems, almost half the population of Pakistan, have equal rights with the vast majority of Hindus, should be an example to many countries. Mr. Nehru and his government have tackled this problem of sectionalism so effectively that not even India's constant quarrelling over the Kashmir question with Pakistan has given the Hindu Mahasabha Party any chance to use this as a successful electoral issue. For us in South Africa who know that narrow sectionalism abounds everywhere this is very significant.

Will India be able to solve her economic and social problems, and her population increase problem, before the Indian nation becomes disillusioned and affords the Communist Party a chance to come into power? This really is the greatest question in Indian politics.

BENNY BUNSEE

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