

contact

SOUTH AFRICA'S NON-RACIAL REVIEW

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UP's Immigration Fantasy

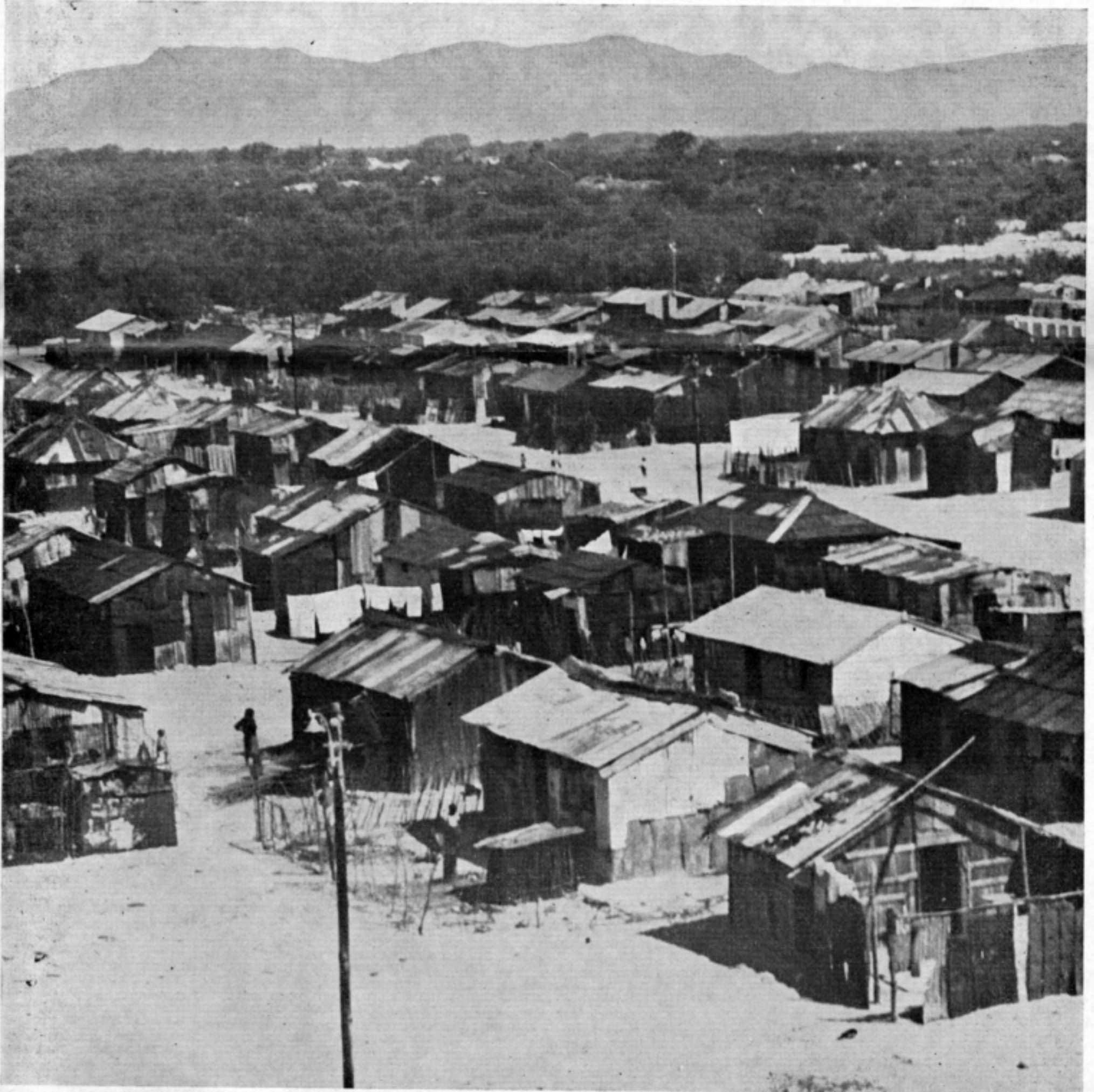
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Nyanga Housing Misery

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NEW SLUMS FOR OLD: This is Nyanga, the NEW housing estate for Cape Town's Africans. As the tin-and-sacking hovels of Cape Town's African slums are cleared, the owners are given a free lorry ride 14 miles out of Cape Town and told to re-erect them here, at Nyanga. This is called the "site-and-service scheme".

GRAAFF'S IMAGINARY MILLIONS

White Immigration is a UP Illusion

INTENSIVE WHITE IMMIGRATION is one of the cornerstones of United Party policy. "White leadership", it argues, can be maintained indefinitely if the gap between white and non-white in South Africa's population is reduced. By all means bring the emergent African into the economy and let him assist in its development. But at the same time let us strengthen our white stock with a huge influx of skilled workers from Britain, Holland, Germany and the other countries of Europe.

It is comforting thought, this illusion of a waiting reservoir of white workers anxious to leave their homelands for an uncertain future in South Africa. And it is one which beguiles United Party members and supporters from Sir de Villiers Graaff down.

Speaking at a recent meeting in his Sea Point constituency, Mr. Jack Basson, MP stated that "thorough investigation has revealed that if every 100 Europeans supported 2½ immigrants a year, the position would be rectified in 40 years."

The "position" which worries Mr. Basson and other "four square behind Div" men is the estimated population trend in South Africa over the coming 40 years to the end of the century. By the year 2000 the Union's population will, on the most conservative estimate, exceed 30,000,000; and, of this total, more than 21,000,000 will be Africans, 4,000,000 Coloured and 1,500,000 Indian. Whites will increase at a slower rate to 4,500,000 without immigration, and, according to the Tomlinson Report, to 6,150,000 with immigration. Quite obviously, this number of whites will find it difficult to dominate 26,500,000 non-whites.

The Tomlinson and Verwoerd answer is to plan for the partition of South Africa. Tie most of the increase in the African population into neat little Bantustan parcels; let the whites keep four-fifths of the country; and allow about six million African workers to live as tolerated sojourners in the white areas. With most of South Africa, the United Party has rejected this fantastic scheme, but it refuses to accept the alterna-

By
Peter Hjul

five — integration of the Union's people in a non-racial society.

Instead it has come up with a scheme even more extravagant than Nationalism's Bantustan. Asked by the *Cape Argus* to outline the "Native" policy of the United Party, Sir de Villiers Graaff suggested this could be carried out alongside a policy of intensive white immigration.

"We shall," he wrote, "as a first priority seek to increase our white population as fast as assisted immigration and social planning for an increased birth rate will permit.

"With our vast natural resources and with a Government with the necessary will, we must strive to build up our European population to at least 15,000,000 before the end of the century.

"As we progress towards the achievement of that aim, one can expect that racial tension will decline."

For a Party which has already lost some of its best members because it has become increasingly unable to face up to political realities in South Africa, this is ambitious talk. On analysis it stands out as a political confidence trick equalled only by the *apartheid* promises of the Nationalist Party.

Greatest ever

To increase the white population of South Africa to 15,000,000 in 40 years' time, a United Party Government would have to supplement the estimated natural increase with 10,000,000 immigrants. This is

a figure only 4,000,000 less than the greatest migrant flow in history.

In 40 years, from 1860 to 1900, the United States absorbed 14,218,050 immigrants. These were the "huddled millions" from Europe's shores who poured without restraint into America. Far less than 20 per cent of them were skilled workers; the rest were labourers, peasants, their wives and their children. During the decade 1880 to 1890 when 5,246,613 people migrated to the United States, 540,411 were skilled workers. To maintain the flow, there was no selection and only the booming economy of North America with the population vacuum created by the drive westwards saved the country from its policy of unrestricted immigration.

These conditions no longer exist for America or for any other country. There is no vast movement of people away from Europe; and for South Africa, there is no need for an influx of unskilled workers and peasants.

The most intensive migration of recent years has been to Canada and to Australia. In ten years, from 1946 to the end of 1955, Canada took in 1,222,319 immigrants. From 1947 to 1955, Australia had 1,000,000, of whom 800,000 remained in the country.

Both Canada and Australia are larger, better-developed nations than South Africa. They have substantial state-aided immigration schemes costing millions every year. They also have homogeneous populations and can take the unskilled worker.

Some idea of the comparative capacities of South Africa and Canada can be gained from the figures for 1947/1948 when both countries had intensive immigration schemes. South Africa in that period had 48,000 immigrants; Canada took in 190,000.

Australian plan

After trying to maintain a programme of 200,000 immigrants a year, Australia has now settled for a more modest 100,000 to 120,000. And this is proving a costly project. At a symposium a few years ago a former Australian state Prime Minister, quoting several authorities, estimated the cost per immigrant at £1,000 to £2,000. This included transport, housing and all the other extra facilities needed by a rapidly-increasing population.

But practical considerations such as these seldom find their way into the nebulous policies of the United Party. The figure of 15,000,000 white South Africans, 10,000,000 of them immigrants, sounds good from a platform and may even

read well in a newspaper article. Perhaps a gullible electorate, anxious to see safety in white numbers, will swallow it. Not so easy to swallow is the cost, on the lowest Australian estimate, of £10,000,000,000, over the next 40 years, or £250,000,000 a year — five-sixths of the total yearly revenue of the Union Government.

Facts needed

But even costs fade before the task of bringing in these immigrants. Assuming that 10,000,000 Europeans were ready to emigrate to South Africa to maintain this bastion of "white civilisation", then they would have to arrive here from 1960 on at the rate of 250,000 a year. This is twice Australia's present rate, and more than 100,000 above the average for Canada. It works out at nearly 700 people a day, every day, every week for 40 years.

This 700 represents the average passenger load of a Union-Castle Line mailship. A large migrant ship might accommodate 1,500 a voyage and at least 20 of these ships would be needed to maintain the flow. Each day South Africa would have to provide jobs for another 200 to 300 white workers;

homes would have to be found for them and their families; and the state would have to provide many of the amenities they left behind them in their homelands.

Even if these miracles could be achieved, what would these new South Africans do to solve the race problems of their adopted country? Absorbed gradually into the white population, they might, as in Rhodesia, acquire some of its prejudices. But 2,500,000 people in ten years is not gradual absorption. Immigrants would bring with them the more enlightened outlook of Europe; they might mix readily with non-white co-workers. On the other hand, an influx on the scale suggested could easily result in an explosive contact between workers competing for too few jobs, too few houses, and for severely strained amenities.

Either way, immigration on this scale, if it were even faintly possible, could be disastrous for the illusions of the United Party. It can never be the answer to the problems of South Africa. And, by seriously suggesting it, Sir de Villiers Graaff joins Dr. Verwoerd among the more fatuous day-dreamers in South African politics.

HERTZOG MEETING FAILS

DR. ALBERT HERTZOG, perhaps the most unpleasant person ever to be made a cabinet minister in South Africa, flew down from the Transvaal to Caledon, Cape, the other day to hold a meeting in support of the Nationalist candidate in the Provincial Council election.

The meeting was well-publicised, and was held in the Town Hall. Only 170 people from this stronghold of Nationalism, attended. *Die Burger* commented (21 Sept.)

"Have Nationalists become used to ministers? Or is it just that there is little enthusiasm for the election? . . . I remember ten years ago, when I attended a provincial election meeting of Minister Paul Sauer at Caledon. 'The Town Hall was crammed, and many people stood', my report ran. Are small meetings a symbol of this election

campaign? The other day there was a report that Minister Jan de Klerk got so small an audience in a Johannesburg suburb that the chairman expressed his disappointment over the absence of so many Nationalists."

Since, according to another minister, Mr. P. W. Botha, the three issues before the electorate are the vital questions of the economy of the country, the republic, and the very existence of the white South Africans, it is clear that the people of Caledon at any rate are not prepared to take the Nationalists at their own valuation.

Cape Girl's Big Award

A SOUTH AFRICAN girl, Miss Morea Veldsman, has the distinction of being the first South African to win a £1,800 award to study library science in the United States, sponsored by the United States Department and the American Library Association. She was chosen from a large number of South Africans who applied for the bursary and left Cape Town recently for New York.

The bursary is a comparatively new one and while open to librarians in many parts of the world, few have been selected for the award.

Miss Veldsman was the first non-white to qualify for the University of Cape Town's diploma in librarianship. Since taking her B.A. degree at the University, she has been with the Cape Town library service, but before finally making up her mind to become a librarian, she thought seriously of taking up ballet and while studying for her B.A. degree travelled around the Cape Province as a ballerina with the Eoan Group.

Miss Veldsman, aged 25, was educated at the Livingstone High School, Claremont.

Unless otherwise stated all political comment, sub-editing and headlines in this issue of CONTACT are by Patrick Duncan, Parliament Chambers, Parliament Street, Cape Town, cartoon by David Marais, 6 Gluckman Avenue, Milnerton, political columns by Peter Hjul, Parliament Chambers, Parliament Street, Cape Town, Peter Brown, 268 Longmarket Street, Pietermaritzburg.

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IF YOU DON'T LIKE IT, GET OUT

NYANGA FACES THE BITTER FACTS

COLD desperation best describes the state of mind of the 20,000 tenants of Nyanga location, a cheerless sandy waste on the Cape flats which is to be the future home of all Africans in the Cape Peninsula and its hinterland. The present nightmare for them is that about 95% of their number owe rent to the Cape Divisional Council, and are facing the constant threat of ejection, gaol (you can go to prison for debt in South Africa—if you are black), or deportation to even worse conditions in the "reserves".

But their abysmal poverty is not the only factor. For a year the hard-core tenants of the "old location" — three-roomed houses built from 1946 onwards — have refused to pay the £4 15s. a month rent imposed in August 1958, but have tendered the old figure of £2 3s. 4d. For £4-a-week people, the old sub-economic rent was bad enough, but on a budget of 12s. transport 50s. food, clothing, fuel etc., etc. extra, the new economic one was quite impossible. And, moved to action by the Vigilance Committee, those who could just afford to pay stuck to the old rent too, joining the poorest of the poor in the Transit Camp in a growing volume of debt.

RENTS RAISED

When rents were raised a council official told the Press: "Many of the tenants get up to £50 a month" (palpably untrue),

and "they can apply to be moved to houses with lower rents" (a cynical play on the word "apply", since cheaper houses are scarcely ever available.)

A year later, the tune is changing. The secretary of the Council, Mr. S. G. Malan says that "the fault is not with the

(Urban Areas) Act (1945) and its amendments, constant police raids, and the actions of Christoffel Scheepers, a junior official who is the most hated man in the location.

All these are as nothing to the icy shock that has hit the people of Nyanga. They have learnt now that even in easy-going Cape Town, their misery and insecurity are a source of gratification to their overlords, the Dept. of Bantu Administration and Development.

The harsh cruelty of influx control has always been slightly cushioned by the attitude of BAD officials here, but recent pronouncements of the new Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner, Mr. J. S. de Wet, have removed the last pretence that the Government means well.

A deputation of women which took to Mr. de Wet their complaints about rent, living conditions, police raids and permits were shattered at his response. All grievances were met with apparent glee and the refrain: "the more you complain, the more it suits us!" The lesson was thoroughly rubbed in that life should be as uncomfortable as possible for the dependents of the Cape's African workers—to force them to "go back to the reserves".

DISMISSED

The police attitude on the other hand was conciliatory and investigation was promised (subsequently a senior police officer warned the Council that the police would not be responsible for the safety of Mr. Scheepers.

Incredulous at De Wet's attitude, the women asked to see the Council's "Native Affairs" manager, Mr. H. M. Pansegrouw. Mr. Pansegrouw saw them on 24 September, while denying to the Press that any meeting was to take place, and simply reiterated Mr. De Wet's dismissal of their complaints.

The women now demand to see Mr. Pansegrouw's bosses, and there is a hope that the "Native Affairs" committee of the Council may be capable of a more human response than the BAD Department.

Meanwhile, Nyanga is tense. Some action must follow the huge rent debt. Somehow ways must be found to keep homes together. Vigilance meetings, women's meetings, political meetings, even the puppet Advisory Board—all argue this nightmarish sequence of low wages, high rent, ejection, gaol, deportation. And no one can see a way out of it all.

PORTRAIT OF NYANGA

In 1951 there were 57,000 Africans in the Cape Peninsula, which was double the pre-war figure. Eight years of accelerating *apartheid* have brought the number up to 110,000. Inexorable economic pressure, the springs of history itself, has brought these families here, because they and the people living here before need each other, whatever governments may say.

On the cover is the Transit Camp at Nyanga, the location which, with municipal Nyanga West, is to house all the Africans of this area. Nyanga has tarred roads, street lighting, a clinic, churches and primary schools, an efficiently-run location office, adequate though expensive transport, and is free of real crime. It has no community centre, cemetery or secondary school. The railway station, by a classic of mis-planning, is three miles from the nearest house. A small minority of the houses have postal deliveries, the tenants are hounded by police raiding for liquor, passes and visitors' permits. The majority live in *pondokkies* on 1,400 square-foot plots of white sand, for which they pay £1 a month (and are gaoled for non-payment). The rest live in two and three-roomed brick houses now being built on smaller plots than before, without floors, ceilings or paint, and the whole area is an unhygienic, damp, infertile corner of the sandy isthmus that joins the Cape Peninsula to the mainland.

Divisional Council but with the wretched wages paid to these people by industry, the Government and other employers." One must add: and the Divisional Council itself, which has a top clerical weekly wage of £4 15s. and labouring wage of £5 10s., while the minimum family subsistence income is agreed at £5 15s. a week. Wages are indeed *part* of their problem, and meanwhile the people of Nyanga cannot and will not pay their rent.

Poverty and rent are not all, even when added to the intolerable working of the Natives

many things that the Liberal Party felt duty bound to do—to ensure that everybody would have the right to adopt a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and his family with education as a right for all. Should the Liberal Party come into power, he said, it would draw together a National Convention of leaders and representatives of all races and parties, to draw up a Bill of Rights on democratic lines.

Sen. Rubin and Mr. Wentzel debated with the audience on the more immediate and practical points of policy. Quoting from his pamphlet "This is *Apartheid*", Sen. Rubin was able to emphasise the human suffering resulting from the implementation of *apartheid* laws, which are directed against those who have no voice in their enact-

SEA POINT

In Sea Point the campaign has gone well, despite the absence of the candidate for three weeks in hospital and in convalescence. Mr. Patrick Duncan is now back on the job, and has moved over to live in Sea Point until the campaign ends.

Three meetings are planned during the last three weeks of the campaign, and great interest in the Liberal idea is being shown by the voters. There has been a definite growth in the willingness of white voters to accept a non-racial solution.

This, together with the great difficulties that have dogged the United Party's local effort, and the great disillusionment felt with the United Party's stand generally, have given the Liberal Party a real chance of winning the seat.

country towns like Howick and Ixopo itself. Its voters share no particular community of interest. Some are leading Durban businessmen, others country store-keepers, many are farmers. It will not be possible to cover such an area with a detailed canvass, so the Party, while it will canvass what it can, will make up for this by holding meetings as widely as possible.

Several have been held — at Hill Crest, Howick, Richmond and Ixopo. Speakers have been the candidate Mrs. F. G. Ventress, who is acquitting herself very well, Ishwar Amin, Bill Benghu, Peter Brown, Violaine Junod, Alan Paton and Leslie Rubin. At Richmond, where the town was confronted with its first-ever inter-racial political meeting, some of the voters had difficulty in retaining their composure when they found themselves being addressed by an African. On the whole however the Party has been given a very attentive hearing.

PRETORIA

The campaign in Pretoria East is going according to plan. The general feeling so far is that there has been stimulating response from traditional Nationalist and UP voters and that interest in Liberal policy is much greater than in the by-election of two years ago.

A lively open-air public meeting was held in Lynnwood, addressed by the candidate Dr. Colin Lang, supported by Sen. Rubin and Mr. Ernest Wentzel. Dr. Lang spoke of the pri-

Houghton Candidate



Mrs. Marion Friedman

LIBERAL PARTY FIGHTS 4 CONSTITUENCIES

NEWS FROM ELECTION FRONTS

THE Liberal Party's four election campaigns are going ahead well. They are taking place at Houghton, Ixopo, Pretoria East and at Sea Point.

HOUGHTON

The campaign in Houghton, which got off to a slow start, is now gaining momentum and canvassing is taking place among the 20,000 electorate.

A fair amount of interest is being shown in the Progressives. Mr. Harry Oppenheimer's defection from the United Party underlines what the Liberal Party has always said, namely, that the practical reasons for writing off the United Party as an effective opposition are as strong as the idealistic ones.

In an appeal to the electorate, Mrs. Marion Friedmann, the Liberal Party candidate for Houghton, urges all concerned to accept the fact that radical changes must come to South Africa and that by voting Liberal, Houghton "may well help to make history."

There are still those whom she describes as "automatic UP voters", but she points out that "their number has decidedly decreased" and that a considerable amount of interest is being taken by them in the forthcoming elections.

IXOPO

The Ixopo constituency, which Mrs. Guinevere Ventress contests on behalf of the Liberal Party in these provincial elections, is vast and presents greater problems of area coverage than any other the Party has yet taken on. It stretches from the spacious Durban suburbs of Hill Crest and Gillitts to small

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by

PETER DREYER

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The Ins and the Outs



Sometimes it's hard to understand why some children can use the swings and some can't. [Sam Dyantyi, Queenstown]

LIBERALS CALL FOR HIGHER WAGES

STRONG representations have been made by the Liberal Party to members of the Government Wage Board meeting at Pietermaritzburg, urging drastic revision of minimum wages if non-white employees are to enjoy a standard of living which is, at least, above subsistence level.

In a memorandum on the subject, the Chairman of the Pietermaritzburg Branch of the Liberal Party, Mr. Jack Spence, deals specifically with conditions affecting non-white employees in private hotels, boarding houses and flats, in respect of whom the 1944 wage determination laid down certain wage scales plus cost of living allowances for married persons.

At the last wage board hearing, the Liberal Party maintained that a family of five required an income of £20 14s. 7d. a month to cover, *inter alia*, food (£12 1s. 9d.), transport (£1 10s. 8d.), rent (£1 10s.), fuel (£1 4s.), clothing (£3 10s.), Sundries (17s. 11d.). This figure excluded expenditure on education, books, hospitalisation, church dues, newspapers and cigarettes.

Assuming that an employee receives food from his employer, he would still be required to spend £8 per month approximately on food for the rest of his family. Taking into account the other items of expenditure, the employee would require an income of at least £16 12s. 7d., including cost of living allowance.

If this figure is compared with the legal minimum laid down in 1944, plus COL, then clearly there are strong grounds for an increase in the wages of the majority of workers in this field of employment.

The wages of unqualified workers are substantially lower

and the need for an increase is correspondingly greater in their case.

Africa South: Latest Issue

THE October-December issue of *Africa South* is just out. It maintains past high standards, and even seems better than ever. Colin Legum has done a most valuable piece on the Belgian Congo, sketching what has led up to the present situation, and giving a key to the somewhat complicated list of parties. This article will be filed by many for reference.

A. C. Jordan contributes a further interesting instalment on Xhosa literature of the late nineteenth century. Basil Davidson's article on French West Africa does for it what Colin Legum's does for the Congo.

Maurice Pope brilliantly discloses what Fort Hare was, and what it is to become, while Ben Turok and James Fairbairn write authoritatively on the horrifying new serfdom into which the Government is pushing African rural workers. There are many other articles of the same high standard.

On the lighter side Tony O'Dowd has done one of his best sketches with the background of an ethnic university. Giving remarkable value for 3s. 9d. Mr. Ronald Segal, the editor, is to be congratulated on a brilliant job, courageously and well done.

THEY BRING MISERY TO THOUSANDS, BUT . . .

UP Would Not Repeal The Pass Laws —Marais Steyn

IN WATTVILLE township, Benoni, a feeling of revulsion from the United Party has arisen. In a recent speech Mr. Marais Steyn spoke of Influx Control—the laws that have taken away the Africans' freedom of movement. He was reported as saying that the United Party had no intentions of repealing these laws, if it came to power. A few examples will show the vicious nature of these laws.

Only recently, a highly-respected African clergyman found himself placed in a dilemma over influx control. As a clergyman liable to transfer from pillar to post at any time, he, like all others falling in his category, cannot have a "permanent" residence. He is now living in Johannesburg.

Because of this, he was told that his son who was a student at Fort Hare when the family was transferred from Pretoria to Johannesburg, could not be permitted to "enter, seek work and/or reside" in the proclaimed area of Johannesburg.

Under Influx Control regulations, the Registering Officer's department ordered the young man to seek an entry permit in Pretoria where he formerly lived as a minor under his father.

Having been at school all his life, he had never registered in terms of Influx Control requirements. There is no record to show he had ever lived in Pretoria; that being the case, Pretoria need not have accepted him if he had applied to seek work and reside in that district.

Can't live with parents

Because of this, he is now in a quandary; he wants to live with his parents; but that, in terms of Influx Control measures, is illegal—illegal to live with his own parents!

Again, not so long ago, a man from Bethal, Eastern Transvaal, successfully found employment in Benoni where his parents now live. When, however, through no fault of his own, he lost his job in Benoni, he was endorsed out of the area and ordered back to Bethal.

At Bethal, however, he was refused entry on the grounds that his stay there had been temporary and had been conditional on his being employed in the district.

Bethal, therefore, referred him to his place of birth, a remote Eastern Transvaal farm where his father once worked before migrating to Benoni.

This was years ago, and for the young man, there was no question of returning to this place since nobody would know him. The farm itself had changed ownership several times and, for him, "home of origin" was non-existent.

In utter desperation, he risked

a return to Benoni where he would live a life of hide-and-seek with the police.

Under these regulations, an African is restricted to residence in the area where he works, or vice versa. Should he perchance lose his job and obtain employment elsewhere, he must move out with his family to reside in the area where he has found new employment.

But the law tells him he cannot introduce dependents into an area unless he himself has first lived and worked in that area over a number of prescribed years. He thus has nowhere where he can take his family to.

Employment next to unemployment

Now, a ludicrous situation obtains on the East Rand. Two municipalities are placed cheek by jowl. One, suffering from the lack of adequate labour, has a fast-growing industrial township bordering on the African residential zone of the other. Only a narrow buffer strip keeps the industrial township and the "location" apart.

The municipal authority under whose jurisdiction the Africans in this "location" fall, has a surplus African labour reservoir. Indeed, this has been swollen to large dimensions through retrenchments caused by the recession in trade which badly hit this particular area.

Many, or most of these unemployed Africans, could easily be absorbed in employment in the neighbouring municipal area; but, thanks to Influx Control, jobs go begging while other men and their families suffer from unemployment.

The incidence of crime steps up rapidly in the municipal area with hundreds of unemployed. Daring daylight robberies are perpetrated in the erstwhile peaceful township; evening social life is dead; clinics and hospitals are kept busier than ever; and the courts are full of murder, assault and robbery cases.

Alarmed at this, local advisory boards plead repeatedly for the relaxation of influx control measures, but their pleadings fall on deaf ears. In desperation, they plead for the right to form civic patrols in order to "deal" not with the law responsible for this upsurge of crime, but with their own people who have turned criminals through influx control measures.

This request is always refused. Indeed, as one elderly man put it: "the white man just glories to see us go at each other like wild dogs."

Such are some of the effects of the Influx Control laws—the laws Mr. Marais Steyn has just blessed in the name of the United Party.

ANOTHER PROP GOES

THE London weekly *South Africa*, which, it is safe to say, has never before criticised the United Party, has come out in severe criticism of what it calls "the conservative rump of the United Party over which Sir de Villiers Graaff now presides". The leader is called "A party that has lost its way". It asks how the United Party "which stands for a fair deal for the natives" could have passed the Bloemfontein land resolution. It explains thus:

"Because according to the United Party diehards, if they consented to further land being purchased for the natives, they would be acquiescing and co-operating in bringing about Dr. Verwoerd's dream of Bantustan. What nonsense! In any case, don't forget it is the United Party above everyone else which has declared that Bantustan is nothing but a dream and must remain so. What the United Party has got to recognise is that, Bantustan or no Bantustan, more land has got to be set aside for the benefit of the African population. The United Party is pledged to that policy up to the hilt. The fact that the Nationalists are prepared to implement the Opposition's own policy, while the United Party disowns it, is the most ironical feature of the situation."

South Africa dismisses with contempt the "palsied programme" which the United Party puts forward to extend the representation of Africans. "Boiled down", the leader runs:

"The United Party's answer to political apartheid is to appoint five more whites to the House of Assembly to speak for millions more blacks. That is a derisory proposal which will attract not the slightest support anywhere at home or abroad."

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OVERSEAS BOYCOTTS

SA - UK CANNED FRUIT TRADE IN DANGER

THE GHANA BOYCOTT seems to have come to very little, largely because it was proposed by Mr. John Tettegah and his Ghana Trade Union Congress, and not by the Ghana government, which, as a member of the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT), is not supposed to go in for boycotts. And the smaller West Indian islands, too, though anxious to boycott *apartheid*, have been dissuaded by Britain, and have not as yet the power to override Britain's wishes in such a matter. The Jamaican boycott remains.

At the same time the matter of exports from South Africa is an extraordinarily delicate one. The country is tremendously dependent on overseas trade.

South Africa's dependence upon overseas trade was relatively the highest in the world and it was more than necessary that this position should be improved, said Dr. A. J. Visser, a well-known Witwatersrand industrialist, at the quarterly meeting of the Johannesburg Afrikaanse Sakekamer recently. The Union's imports in 1958 amounted to 31.5 per cent. of its total national income. In Canada imports were 21.1 per cent.; in Britain 20.7 per cent.; Australia 17.1 per cent., and in

the United States only one per cent.

Already in some key sectors of South Africa's export trade, even with no political complications, the Union's markets are in danger.

A revealing example is the canned fruit export to Britain. The British market is worth some £40 million a year. Last year South Africa sold no less than £12 million worth of canned fruits in this market — £2 million more than the Australians, and way ahead of the Americans, who are still held back by dollar quotas.

But though the Australians and South Africans have marked off so fat a slice of this

fat market, their share of it is slipping. In 1954 their combined shipments represented 70% of total sales in Britain; but in 1958 they only represented 54%. This is due to intensified competition from various countries.

Mr. G. H. Whitehead, of Langeberg Co-operative, reflected South African fears when he said recently that the canning industry was standing on the edge of a precipice.

Quick decision

Perhaps this insecurity caused the quick decision of Langeberg to have talks recently with the ANC, talks which resulted in the ANC withdrawing Langeberg from its boycott list. For this Langeberg was bitterly criticised in the Nationalist press, but Langeberg did not go back on its agreement with the ANC, which included recognition of the ANC-backed Food and Canning Workers Union, and an undertaking not to help the government to enforce the Urban Areas Act against the workers in their plants.

There is another factor that may act to rob South African exporters of the whole of their sales in the British canned

fruit market. To a greater and greater extent the farm gaol system is being extended to the towns in the Cape *boland* (country areas). Under this iniquitous system convicts are made available to farmers at 9d. a day each. Syndicates of farmers build the gaols under private enterprise — the gaol belongs to them. They and the country thus acquire a vested in-

has ceased to be part of the Commonwealth, or if it has become a *broederbond* republic, such a campaign might well destroy, completely, the whole of the £12 million canned fruit export trade with Britain, in addition to much of the canned fruit export trade with the rest of the world.

The British housewife has never lost the belief, dating from



terest in full gaols, which chimes well with the vicious police enforcement of the pass laws and other technical offence laws. The convicts from these gaols work under the shadow of a rifle.

Grim shadow

One day, when Dr. Verwoerd has done something more to inflame overseas opinion, a campaign might well get going in Britain to popularise the fact that South African canned fruit is "grown under the shadow of a rifle".

If by that time South Africa

pre-war, that American canned fruit is the best. She will thus not struggle against such a campaign, especially as the Americans are again knocking at the door of the British super-markets.

If this were to happen, most of the sufferers would be Nationalists. These overseas pressures are already with us. They will increase in intensity. They have already had a tremendous moderating influence on the wild white supremacists, and as pressures step up internally so will the health and influence of overseas boycotts grow.

TABLE TENNIS TOUR

"Honorary Whites" to Play "Non-Whites"

WHEN THE four-man Egyptian table tennis team visits South Africa shortly, it will be undertaking an epoch-making tour, for it will be the first international clash on South African soil against teams selected by the non-racial South African Table Tennis Board.

There have been international tours before, but these matches have been played against the South African Table Tennis Union (white) which has since ceased to be recognised by the International Table Tennis Federation because of its refusal to allow non-white membership.

It will be recalled that the South African Table Tennis Board, which has a membership of Indian, African, Coloured and some white players, was accepted into the fold of the International Table Tennis Federation a few years ago. The Board made history when it sent a five-man team to participate in the world table tennis championships in Stockholm. The team hit the world headlines for just as it was leaving South Africa the Government tried unsuccessfully to stop it.

Early this year the members of the team made another attempt to leave in order to take part in the world championships which were held this year at Dortmund in Germany. Mr. Cassim Bassa managed to elude

By
Rajendra Chetty

the security police but his teammates were cornered. Their passports were withdrawn just as they were preparing to leave. When Mr. Bassa returned, his passport was taken away.

Deep water

With this Egyptian tour, the Union authorities are really getting into deep water. It has become traditional in South Africa to regard Egyptians as "honorary Europeans". Thus, a team of "honorary Europeans" will be playing, in South Africa, teams classed as "non-Europeans". But the Government dare not stop them.

The Government cannot forbid entry to this team of "honorary Europeans" without affecting the status of all Egyptians in South Africa, including diplomats, and risking an international explosion. They cannot do it either without making nonsense of Mr. Honey's pledge on the Olympics that all, irrespective of colour, would be given an equal chance of representing South Africa. And if they were to do this, so soon after the solemn pledge that all, irrespective of colour, would be given passports to go to the Olympics, it is on the cards that a new impulse would be given to the Maori resistance in New Zealand.

Rugby boycotts, above all other sporting troubles, are what the Government does not want.

"Coloured" and "Indian" Education

DEGREE COURSES PLANNED

PLANS ARE being made to introduce degree courses and a higher education diploma (post-graduate) at the teacher-training institutes for Coloureds and Indians in the Transvaal. This information was disclosed by Mr. Smith, Vice-Principal of the Johannesburg Indian High School and Training Institute for Indian Teachers, in an address to the matriculation students of an East Rand High School for Coloureds and Indians.

There are only two training colleges for Coloureds and Indians in the Transvaal. Both are situated in Johannesburg. One, for Coloureds only, is at Coronationville and the other, exclusively for Indians, at Fordsburg. Both these institutes offer a Teachers' Certificate (Standard VIII and two years' training) and a Lower Diploma (Senior Certificate and two years' training).

Mr. Smith said that negotiations are taking place to provide courses that will lead to the B.A., B.Sc. and B.Com. degrees at the training colleges. If all goes well then it is likely that these courses will be available as from next year. At these colleges students will be prepared for the examinations of the University of South Africa. The Transvaal Education Department will provide loans, book and travelling bursaries for all needy students.

In addition, the Department will bear the cost. Students will be expected to repay the cost of their education only after completion of their studies. All students will be required to sign a contract binding them to

By
Henry Simmons

the service of the Education Department for a number of years. During this period of service, deductions will be made from their salaries to pay for the education they have received.

Apart from these degree courses, provision will be made for two diplomas, a post-graduate diploma upon completion of a full degree and a diploma upon completion of five first year university courses.

From next year the Matriculation Certificate will be the minimum entrance requirement for enrolment to the Coloured Training College.

The Coloured Training College is large enough to accommodate these extra classes if they are introduced. The Indian Training College, on the other hand, has not got suitable accommodation, so that when these courses are started there, then the Indian High School (which is at present attached to the College) will have to give way. If it is moved then it will

most probably be transferred to an Indian group area.

Teachers welcome this move by the education authorities to improve the academic and professional qualifications of the Indian and Coloured teachers in the Transvaal. At the moment the qualifications of many of the teachers are deplorably low.

In 1956, of the 907 Coloured and Indian teachers in the service of the Education Department, 589 (or 64.9%) had the Junior Certificate (Std. VIII) only, while 89 (or 9.9%) had qualifications lower than Std. VII. The Senior Certificate was possessed by 187 (or 20.7%) and only 42 (or 4.6%) were graduates with university degrees.

These figures indicate quite clearly the distressingly low qualifications of teachers. Since the teacher is the pivot on which education in all its aspects ultimately turns, it is obvious that with an ill-equipped and ill-educated teacher there can be no suggestion of real education. Small wonder that the standard of education in Indian and Coloured schools in the Transvaal is so unsatisfactory.

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CONTACT

Let's take Khrushchev's proposal seriously

WHEN Mr. Khrushchev made his dramatic disarmament proposal to the United Nations he did something that affects everyone in the world. That is why *Contact*, an African fortnightly, must consider his proposal with as much care as if it were a European fortnightly, published under the immediate shadow of the bomb.

Mr. Khrushchev proposed that there should be complete disarmament within four years. This would involve all types of arms, armies, bases, atomic and hydrogen bombs. Rockets would be used merely for the conquest of space for the common benefit of all mankind. There would remain police forces, to be maintained by all countries under agreement. And there should be set up an international control body. Presumably this control body should have the right of inspection in all countries, as Mr. Khrushchev said: "States will have nothing to conceal any more and the controllers will therefore be able to manifest their zeal to the hilt."

The history of disarmament talks since World War II is a pathetic record of failure. Most of the blame for this failure must be laid at the door of the Soviet Union. It was the Allies, after all, who really *did* disarm in Europe, and it was the Soviet Union that continued to maintain vast conventional armed forces. Even to-day the total number of divisions under NATO command is only 30, while the Soviets and their satellites have no fewer than 100—in Europe. Again, there have been daring and constructive disarmament proposals from the Western side—one only has to think of the scheme put forward by Mr. Macmillan for Britain in 1957. Under this scheme provision was made for all nuclear tests to be stopped, for a drastic reduction in all armaments, for a reduction of military stocks of uranium and its transfer to peaceful uses, and for inspection to see that the scheme was being carried out. This and all other Western schemes have been unacceptable to the Soviet Union, for until to-day the Soviet Union has refused all effective control and inspection.

With this history as a background, there will be a strong tendency among the Western powers to regard Mr. Khrushchev's new proposal as mere propaganda; to dismiss it as impracticable, and to say "we can't trust anything that comes from these goddam Russians." Such a reaction, if it were the official Western reaction, would be a tragedy. It is a pity that President Eisenhower's final communiqué could not have been more constructive. It is important that the Western reply, generally, be considerably more generous.

Why is it so important? Simply because the future of mankind, perhaps of life itself, is at stake. To refuse on principle an outstretched hand at this stage is to take on oneself the responsibility for the supreme tragedy, if it should thereafter come about. It is important because, as Gandhi never tired of pointing out, it is always better to be outsmarted than to allow suspicion to corrode one's soul.

It is finally important that the reply be constructive because of the personal record of Mr. Khrushchev. In a few years, since the end of the tyranny of Stalin, much has been put right inside the Soviet Union. The exchange of visitors and ideas has been stepped up. The slave camp system is being quietly ended, and to an ever greater extent Siberia is being opened up by voluntary, paid labour, and the millions of ex-slaves are being given an ever-increasing amount of liberty. The reign of the uncontrolled secret police is being quietly brought under ever-widening civil control. Discredited leaders are no longer "liquidated" in fearful purges, but are put out to pasture at Turkmenian power-stations or Mongolian embassies.

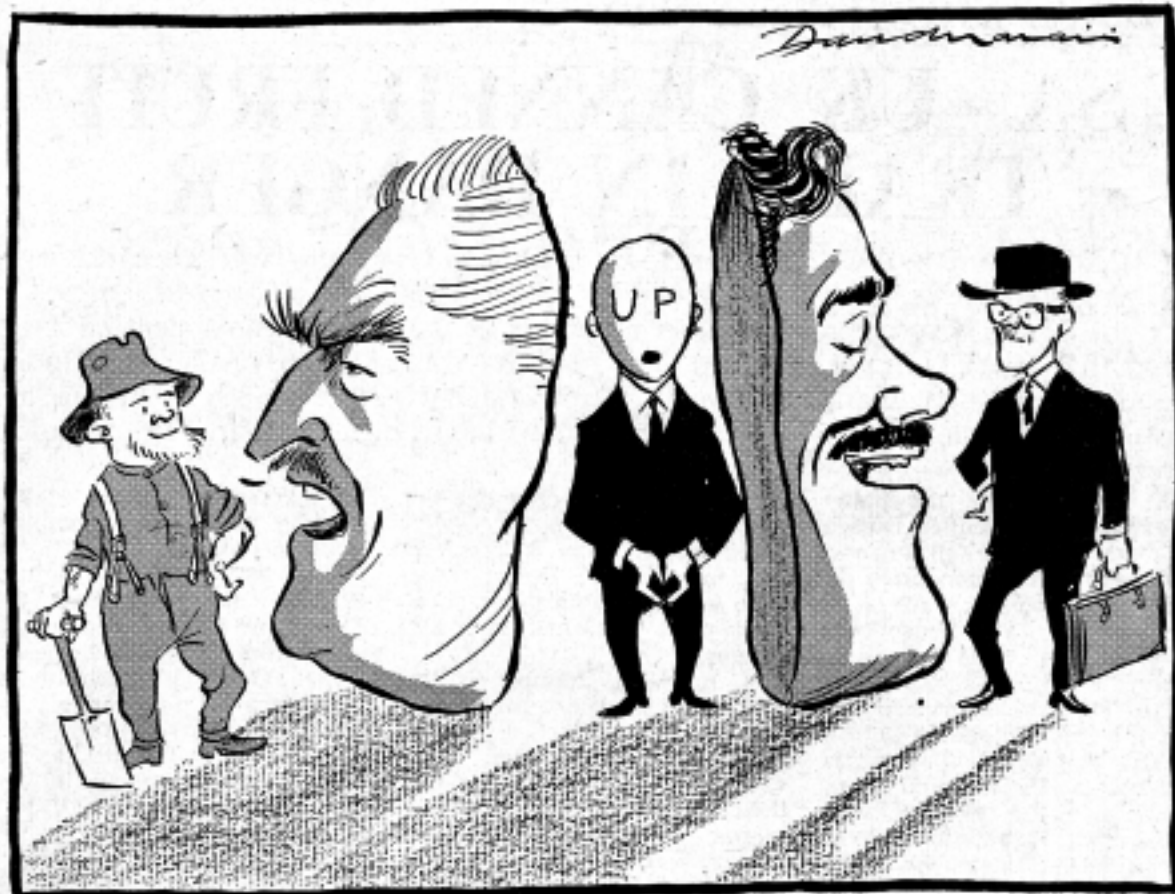
Alongside this progress towards the rule of law Mr. Khrushchev has shown himself to be a man of experimental and non-doctrinaire thinking; a man with a great sense of realities, a man with an acute sense of humour who can even laugh at himself. This peasant realist has said that many marriages are not marriages of love, but the husband and wife have nevertheless to make the best of it. That is how he sees the relations between the United States and his own country. For better or for worse both have to live together, on the same planet. Why not try to make a go of it?

At the heart of this difficulty lies the question of disarmament. Mr. Khrushchev has said that the world is spending £35,700,000,000 a year on arms, and that this money ought to be spent on developing the backward areas. He is right. The most critical difficulty in front of us is that so much of the world is so poor, while Europe (including the USSR) and the West is so rich. If we are to have peace, continental and racial peace, this gap must be closed. It cannot be closed while this fearful arms race goes on. Let the money be spent on developing the underdeveloped areas.

Let us therefore pray that the West will react as Mr. Gaitskell, leader of the British Labour Party, has reacted. He said, about two weeks ago: "I say we should accept Mr. Khrushchev's proposals in principle . . . and then the disarmament commission should get down to brass tacks on the details. Nothing could be worse than to dismiss these proposals as just propaganda."

With wisdom and tolerance on both sides we, the human race, can surmount what Coudenhove-Kalergi has called "the most dangerous crisis in our history". The choice, as he says, lies between "unimaginable catastrophe" and "incomparable renaissance".

Let the West therefore meet Mr. Khrushchev in the spirit in which he has gone to America, and let all together plan the best for ourselves and our children.



Mitchell: "Only the UP can keep the Native in his place."

Graaff: "The UP believes in a South African patriotism which will include all races."

A European Ghost

About 300 years ago Captain van der Decken, in command of a sailing ship of the Dutch East India Company, was trying to sail round the Cape on his return to Holland. The winds were against him. In a fury with the Almighty, van der Decken swore that he would go on sailing, even if he had to sail until Doomsday. The Devil heard him, and his ship disappeared. Since then many people have seen a ghostly ship still trying to round the Cape. Some years ago it was seen in Cape Town harbour. Apparently since then van der Decken has landed — and this is what happened when he talked to a modern South African.

GOOD evening, Sir. I'm a reporter from *Die Volk*. I just saw you land on the beach in those old clothes. Are you taking part in a pageant?

Heavens, No, young man. I'm Captain van der Decken of the Flying Dutchman. I've sailed these seas for nigh on three hundred years, condemned never to round the Cape for defying the Almighty to stop me. What a fool I was. At last I've been allowed to land to replace my sails.

This is the scoop of the century, Captain. This interview will go down in history. Is it your ship that is sometimes sighted by mariners? Will your punishment never end? What happened to your crew?

Now, now, young fellow. All in good time. Tell me first, what is this town called? It was a tiny settlement last time I called.

Cape Town, Captain. Did you enjoy your last meeting?

Rather. Went to a terrific wedding. The settlement's surgeon married a local belle named Eva. The bride's family, huge black fellows, were full of fun and . . .

Yes, Captain, Quite. Not by any means the traditional South African way of life, but I suppose that people born in Holland never quite understand local conditions. Will you allow me to show you our city? We have a special tour for overseas visitors . . . except clergymen. First through the

European suburbs and then on to the Coloured and Bantu areas.

Capital idea, Sir, Thank you very much. I am pleased to hear that you have Europeans here. I'm longing to chat to someone from Europe. Where were you born, young man? I can tell by your accent that you're not European.

I beg your pardon, Captain. I most certainly am European. Here's my identity card. See "W". It means "White".

Good Heavens, young man, you should be in bed. My sailors all went white before they died. Cheeks completely lost their normal pinkish tinge.

Sssh, Captain, please don't refer to anything as having a pinkish tinge. It can only lead to trouble, with one of our cabinet ministers. Come, shall we get started? You will be pleased to see what we are doing for the Black people.

Oh, yes, I remember them. Used to steal the settlers' cattle but those that joined the company were O.K. — like Eva. Only trouble was that most of the sailors had wives at home so that only a few could marry local women. There appeared more and more brown-skinned people around the place. Half white and half black but of course perfectly acceptable. We are used to such people in Holland as a result of the Dutch East India Company. Fascinating women in the Indies, you know.

No, Captain, you are quite wrong. Our government has proved that there is no white blood in the coloured population.

I should think not. Who ever heard of anything but red blood?

Please, Captain, Don't think me rude but may I suggest that you refrain from commenting on our domestic affairs until you have heard both sides. So far you have obviously only heard the rantings of Liberalists and political clerics. Completely out of touch with reality, probably communists. They don't even support *apartheid*.

What kind of hate, Sir?

Not hate, Captain, *heid, apartheid*. Possibly an unfortunate word. I prefer separate development. Keeping the different groups apart.

Congratulations, Sir, a bold but

necessary step. In my day there was a shocking amount of mixing and I believe that this can only lead to a lowering of moral standards.

My respect for you grows, Captain. You are just the type of man we need in South Africa.

Yes, the mixing in my day was disgusting. Everywhere one went, one saw men and women mixing in the most disgraceful manner. Even walking in the parks.

I don't mean men and women, Captain. I mean Black and White. We keep apart but develop along our own lines.

Well, that's democratic, anyway. And how often does each group meet to decide which lines it wants to develop along?

Oh, no, Captain. The Bantu are like little children who need to be led and our government knows what is best for them. We must protect European civilization, you know. Of course, we have councils of responsible Bantu to form closer links with them and these councils often send telegrams of thanks and appreciation to our Cabinet ministers. Simple telegrams, you know, but really quite sweet. Of course, we have a small number of agitating kaffirs but we'll fix them along with the sickly Liberalists. Human Rights, indeed!

Hmm, how very odd. Never mind, no doubt I'll understand as time passes. Let's go and meet those European friends of yours. Which part of Europe did you say they came from?

You don't understand, Captain; They are not European Europeans, they are white Europeans.

Look here, young man, are you trying to be funny?

Captain, somehow I feel that you will not make a success of living in our glorious new vision.

I agree, you impertinent young blackguard. And now that I think of it, I suppose that my sails could last for another hundred years. No doubt you'll all have come to your senses by then. I'm going back to sea. Hmm, how very odd! European civilization being protected by a group of Europeans who are not European Europeans . . .



Peter Brown, Chairman of the Liberal Party

WHY LIBERALS ARE NOT OPPOSING PROGRESSIVES

THE United Party is embellishing its Provincial election campaign with a poster proclaiming that only it is fighting Dr. Verwoerd, the Nationalists, the Liberals, the Progressives, the Federals and the Independents. The impression which the poster is no doubt intended to create is that, while the United Party is locked in do-or-die combat with the Nationalists and Dr. Verwoerd—the two are distinguished in order to make it easier, presumably, for non-Verwoerdian Nationalist voters to turn UP—packs of other interfering busybodies are yapping at its heels.

In fact the Liberal Party could produce as impressive a list of opponents for an election poster if it wanted to. It is fighting Dr. Verwoerd, the Nationalists—it does not believe the one should be distinguished from the other—the United Party, the Federals and the Independents. The only people it is not fighting are the Progressives. It has gone out of its way to avoid doing so by withdrawing its candidate from the Pinetown constituency in Natal.

The Liberal Party has avoided fighting the Progressives not because of their policy—they have not decided on any policy yet—but because they have taken a stand on an important matter of principle and should be supported in that stand.

In past elections, the UP has made great play of, and achieved some success with, the propaganda line this poster typifies. It has insisted on its prior right to fight the Nationalists in every possible seat, on the grounds that only it can defeat them. When its non-Nationalist opponents have decently refrained from contesting such seats, for fear of splitting the anti-Nationalist vote, it has derided them, in those seats which they have contested, for not having the courage to oppose the Nationalists.

This October things have changed. In Pretoria East Dr. Colin Lang of the Liberal Party

opposes the Nationalists in a straight fight. Good luck to him! For the first time the Liberal Party is able to get to grips with a Government-supporting candidate without finding somebody from the UP in the way. And the Party is delighted. At long last it can confront the electorate in a Nationalist constituency with the two clear alternatives from which it must choose . . . the slow deterioration of Western standards and disintegration of the Western way of life in a futile attempt to preserve White supremacy, or their preservation through the rapid extension of rights and responsibilities, until they embrace all South Africans.

The Liberals of Pretoria East deserve our admiration and congratulations for being the first in a field in which, increasingly I hope, Liberal and Nationalist will find themselves in straight opposition on the fundamental issues which really count.

While the contest in Pretoria East breaks new ground for the Liberal Party it is also, I think, a sign of the times for UP. In the past the UP has tried to oppose every Nationalist it possibly could. It is no longer doing so. In the Cape, Transvaal and Free State over fifty Nationalists will be returned unopposed on 14 October. I believe that this is a sign of the UP's dwindling confidence and diminishing conviction. It is also a sign of its characteristic inconsistency. Many of the seats the UP will not contest are platteland seats.

At Bloemfontein the UP deliberately broke faith with the African people to free itself to oppose further African land purchases in rural areas and presumably in the hope of drawing to it Nationalist voters from those areas. The logical next step to Bloemfontein was to contest every possible platteland seat, dangling this appetising bait before disgruntled White farmers. But that is not happening. Why is the UP so shy of showing its new wares where they should sell best? Is even it ashamed of them?

For over six years Liberals have been predicting the decline and disintegration of the United Party. The years have proved them right. Today I predict, for the future, further decline and disintegration. It is a process which I do not believe can be arrested. Cracks may be papered over for months, or even years, but the break will come. Ever since 1948 the prevailing councils of the United Party have been set in the direction of reaction. Hofmeyr was blamed for 1948, Strauss was blamed for 1953. The Public Safety and Criminal Laws Amendment Acts were supported, the original promise to the Coloured people was

repudiated, the 1958 platteland hustlings rang to cries of "Verwoerd, the kaffirboetie". All to what end? All to win votes. Each of these manoeuvres bears the same distinctive mark — it was a dismal failure!

Each election campaign based on these tactics has brought the Nationalists more votes and the UP less sets, yet, at Bloemfontein, the same men with the same arguments, and a formidable list of failures behind them, again carried the day.

I predict decline and disintegration for the UP precisely because its policy-making remains firmly in the hands of those who have served it so badly in the past. But that is not my only reason. With the advent of the Progressives, the UP will lose some, at least, and possibly a large part, of its departure it has also lost its best

brains. All that is left now are people bent on gaining office at whatever costs. But, most important of all, the Party has now lost its integrity. And a political organisation without integrity will carry neither youthful nor enthusiastic support, the only kinds of support which count in the end. I do not myself think any self-respecting person can now vote for the UP with a clear conscience. It sold nine million Africans down the river.

The UP will not get back to power again because it has no clear alternative to offer to Nationalist white domination. Its consuming ambition is to get rid of the Nationalists. So is it everyone else's. But simply "getting rid of the Nationalists" financial support. With their

is neither a policy nor a principle and it can only be done with both policies and principles. The Liberal Party has an unambiguously clear alternative policy to that of Dr. Verwoerd and it is based on clearly-stated principles. In Pretoria East the Nationalists are being confronted with it. In other constituencies one-time supporters of other parties are. Amongst them will be one-time United Party supporters. Can they possibly support the Bloemfontein land resolution? Have they asked an African what he thinks of it? Do they think that Strauss and Oppenheimer and Harry Lawrence have suddenly gone mad? If, after years and years of loyal service, these men cannot stomach the expedient fumbblings of the UP any longer, I cannot believe that any self-respecting UP voter in Houghton or Ixopo or Pretoria East or Sea Point can.

The time for him to make the break is now and the way in which to make the Nationalists feel it most is to give his support to the policy which they recognise as the only real alternative to their own—that of the Liberal Party.

FAIR COMMENT

by Patrick Duncan

I'VE been off for a fortnight having an operation. Nice to be back on the job again—minus most of my stomach. Nowadays you can do without almost any part of the body. If you're in the UP you can even get along without a brain.

THE leaders of the Pan-Africanist Congress have publicly claimed that they have enrolled a membership of 25,000. *Contact* has good information to the effect that they have not yet got 2,500 card-carrying members.

When they founded their movement early this year, they promised they would have 100,000 members by July this year. South Africa can take comfort from this fact, as this is the movement which refers to white, and Indian South Africans as "foreign minorities."

Contact challenges the PAC to substantiate its claim with detailed figures of branches.

DID you know that there are still millions of slaves in the world? Some people fear that the trade from Africa into Arabia is on the increase, not decrease, as the slave-owners get richer and richer on oil revenues.

For nearly two centuries the Anti-Slavery Society—Wilberforce's society—has battled to end slavery everywhere. It is at present struggling to get set up, in the United Nations, a special organisation which would implement the Slavery Conventions. Progress is very slow.

Africa has suffered so much from slavery, and is still suffering. Can't we in Africa give the Society a hand? It needs members and funds badly.

Another thousand members would enormously increase the power of the society for good. Couldn't someone make it his business to enrol them?

Incidentally Dr. Hastings K. Banda has been a member of the committee for over twelve years.

Any offers should go to: The Anti-Slavery Society, 49 Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Road, London SW 1.

I'VE discovered an infallible way of telling whether an area is "white" or "non-white". You find out whether there is money in it. If there is, then it's "white".

But do you know that some of the time an area can be "white" and the rest of the time it can be "non-white"?

Town locations are "non-white" when Africans have to be removed from the flourishing city-centres. But, believe it or not, they are really "white". This discovery has been made by Mr. D. W. R. Hertzog, chairman of the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, the biggest Nationalist-controlled chamber of business. He has said that he regards locations in white areas as white "areas", and the trade in those locations must remain in "white" hands.

The reasons? Well, Mr. Hertzog said, the Africans have a spending power of more than £1 million a day. By implication it is obviously unnational, and treason to white South Africa, to allow as much fat as this to remain in uncivilised hands.

Secondly, some African traders cooperated with the ANC boycott — another crime against civilisation, clearly.

Thirdly, "if the whites are not able to trade in locations, the money which the *Bantoe* earn from the whites does not come back to the whites."

Like Hamlet's corrupt mother, Mr. Hertzog, your appetite seems to grow by what it feeds upon.

So, once again it is clear, "apartheid = greed".

I WOULD like to put right something which has been misinterpreted. In our issue of 5 September we published an interview with Chief Lutuli by Mr. Riesel, an American journalist. In the introductory paragraph we said: "Readers should remember that the report was written for Americans." This of course was only concerned with the presentation of the interview, and did not mean that Chief Lutuli would give one story to Americans and another to South Africans.

Incidentally his farm at Groutville is becoming one of the great centres of our country. During the last fortnight the American ambassador, Mr. Crowe, has visited him there. I understand too that Mr. Jan Steytler, leader of the Progressives, has also had talks with him. And when a close friend of "Chief" spent a day in Durban about a week ago, "Chief" saw him,—but it meant putting off two other visitors. And "Chief" told him that for that day, and the following, his engagement book was absolutely full.

Englishman works under African boss

MOST OF YOU, like me, will have heard of St. Faith's Mission, near Rusape in Southern Rhodesia, where Guy and Molly Clutton-Brock showed that an African community could farm Southern Rhodesian land well, and could make progress on what the land gave them.

I've been on a long hitch-hike round Africa, in the intervals of going to university, and I decided that St. Faith's just had to be one of my stops. I found it all informal—and very informative.

I arrived one night at 11.30 with two hours' notice, slept in an office and, after a breakfast of mealie porridge, went out herding cattle at 7 o'clock the next morning. From then on, I just worked farm hours, doing whatever work the manager gave me, in return for my board and lodging: in other words, seeing Africa from the bottom upwards.

African boss

My boss was a young African who had grown up with the farm over its first ten years from a-shilling-a-week on weekend cattle herding, to the position of pig manager for a wage well above the average paid on white farms to Africans. But the significant part—it was a wage considerably below what he might have got with his primary education in Salisbury. A breakthrough had been achieved. Not only had enlightened conditions of work triumphed over high wages, but it was manual work: indeed the most despised farm job of all.

My position in this was one so full of potentialities that even now I cannot help feeling how short I fell of realising them fully. Beaven, my boss, once said to me, speaking of the days when he worked with Cedric Wildman, a young Englishman who had gone out there to do such work as he was given for as much money as he was paid, in the hope that he might be able to make some contribution: "Cedric and I—we worked together as two brothers."

By
Vernon Gibberd

At first, I hadn't been out of England long enough to realise the incongruity of my actions—doing dirty unskilled work under an African—but I can well remember the frustrations it entailed. I was impatient. I was fully aware of the cash, and skills, shortage; less aware of my own lack of



VERNON GIBBERD



At work in the field

agricultural knowledge, and least of all, totally unaware of the need to adapt my outlook to that of my work-mates, rather than hoping that, perhaps by some miracle, they too could suddenly see life through the eyes of one born and bred in a highly-developed capitalist country.

As I worked on, through my daily contact with the ordinary people over our ordinary jobs, I began to see round my feeling of frustration—though my impatience somehow never left me—to something more funda-

mental.

I realised that agriculture among Africans in Southern Rhodesia is in a fearful mess. The people have been converted into serfs, driven at times by the agricultural officers, but robbed of any feeling of responsibility or participation. And they have not nearly enough land.

St. Faith's has overcome this by sharing not only the jobs but the thoughts and plans. For Africans in Southern Rhodesia the next move must be more agricultural education — AND MORE LAND.

EAST AFRICAN BOYCOTT TO START SOON

NAIROBI. 1 November will mark the start of the boycott of South African goods in the East African territories. A decision to this effect was taken at a meeting of the Pan-African Freedom Convention of East and Central Africa held at Moshi, Tanganyika, earlier this month. As a symbolic protest, the meeting called on the pub-

From *Contact* correspondent

lic to refrain from purchasing South African sherries and other wines, which are sold here in large quantities at cheap prices.

Between now and the date for the start of the boycott plans are to be worked out for the boycott to operate in Kenya,

Uganda and Tanganyika. Delegates from all territories were present at the Moshi meeting and initial plans are already in hand.

However, there is a section of African public opinion, in this case the African elected members who belong to the Kenya National Party, and their supporters, who say that the boycott is "absurd and impracticable" in view of the fact that the masses have not been organised. Similar views have been expressed by delegates of the Uganda Democratic Party who also attended the Moshi conference.

As far as consumption goes, the main buyers of South African goods are Europeans and Asians, and even if the latter decide to cut out South African products from their shopping lists the European community, with a few exceptions, will not follow suit.

Students Rebuild Bombed School

MR. MARC ANTHONY BOULLE, a 24 year old student of science at Natal University, is one of over 100 students from 49 countries rebuilding a school house in the small Tunisian town of Sakiet-sidi-Youssef, just a few yards away from the Algerian border. The school house was totally damaged in a French air bombardment in February 1958 which killed 55 villagers and 11 school children.

To express the international student community's condemnation of French colonialism in North Africa, 66 national unions of students participating in the 8th International Students Conference (ISC) in Lima, Peru, this February unanimously decided that an international students work camp should be held to reconstruct the school.

This project, jointly organised by the Co-ordinating Secretariat for national unions of students participating in the ISC and the Union Générale des Etudiants de Tunisie (UGET) has the full support and aid of the Tunisian government.

Mr. Boulle was recommended as a participant in the camp by the National Union of South African Students, and is on the executive of the Southern Africa Work Camps Association. As a participant in many previous work camps, Mr. Boulle said about Sakiet, "this is the largest and also the most internationally representative camp that I have ever attended..." Along with other participants, Mr. Boulle has had the opportunity to visit parts of Tunisia and he found that the government is making "a valiant attempt to develop the country by promoting education, land reforms, irrigation schemes, etc."

KENYA AFRICANS SPLIT

NON-RACIAL PARTY OPPOSES MBOYA

NAIROBI: The political tug-of-war goes on apace. At the moment it appears that the main contenders are the Kenya National Party (KNP) which has been registered as a political party, and Mr. Tom Mboya's Kenya Independence Movement, which, though it has been refused registration, is still a powerful force.

Mr. Mboya has announced the movement's intention to organise in such a manner that the refusal of registration will not prevent it from going to the people. The method adopted for this is to have a movement in every district.

An impetus has been given to the African nationalists by the recent conference in Moshi, Tanganyika, of the Pan-African Freedom Convention of East and Central Africa. Mboya got a badly needed shot in the arm from fellow freedom fighter Julius Nyerere, President of the Tanganyika African National Union.

To be self-governing was human, Nyerere said. The African people's impatience to govern themselves was based on a human principle, and principles could not be tampered with. Even so, they were not asking for self-government immediately, which they were entitled to demand. All they wanted was responsible government in 1960.

The reason for this, Mr. Nyerere went on, was that the African people wanted in the period between responsible government and freedom to demonstrate to the "doubting Thomases" that "our desire for self-government has nothing to do with the idea of driving out the non-Africans."

Days after the conference ended it was announced that the KNP members had been refused delegate status because the KNP had not lived up to

the demand made by all PAFMECA constituent units that responsible government should be granted in 1960.

This the KNP's African founders have refused to accept, saying that at no time has any member of PAFMECA bound itself to such a demand on the timing of responsible government.

Even Dar es Salaam's *National Weekly*, founded a few weeks ago with the full backing of Nyerere's party was constrained to remark: "It is to be hoped that all right-thinking persons of all races who have the interests of East Africa at heart will welcome all participants of all national movements, not as representatives of community or race, but as free citizens. An important political organisation such as PAFMECA will be setting a very undesirable and undemocratic example if it does not allow these citizens their right to participate without any racial prejudices. It is hoped that the leaders of PAFMECA were not swayed by the extreme black nationalism of some African leaders of Kenya and Uganda."

Side by side the split in the ranks of the African elected members in Kenya has become complete and final. An attempt made by the eight members of the group who are holding aloft the KNP banner to iron out their differences with the Mboya six in order to present the constitutional adviser, Prof. W. J. M. Mackenzie, with a united front, came to naught.

The KNP is expected to secure a valuable ally and active worker in a few weeks' time when Sir Ernest Vasey, Minister of Finance, gives up his portfolio. He believes that its demands for constitutional advancement and reforms—it wants responsible government in 1964 and full self-government in 1968—do not take fully into account the training in the art of government that the African people need, but are nevertheless formulated along the right lines.

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Is his film fact or fiction?

Truth About Rogosin

I AGREED to play in Lionel Rogosin's film *Come Back Africa*. This is the film that has been described both as a searing exposure of apartheid and a malicious, cynical exaggeration. What is the truth?

I first met Lionel Rogosin at a party. He told me that he had come to this country to do a documentary travel film featuring African music. Now that he had been here for several months he was so appalled by the conditions under which many Africans were forced to live, that he had completely changed his orientation. He now wanted to give his film a more serious content.

Some months later, he approached me to act in the film.

"You are just the type I am looking for" he said. "Don't worry about not being a professional. All you will have to do is to be yourself. I have worked out techniques of filming with non-professionals."

Typical employer

Briefly we discussed the part he wanted me to play, that of a typical white employer. When I reported for shooting, I was initiated into this "technique". The first thing that I learned was that two African journalists had guided and advised Rogosin in the script. Although Rogosin had been in this country for seven months, soaking up background as he liked to call it, he had relied heavily on his assistants for the incidents in the story. Also these incidents were in outline only. The dialogue was only hinted at.

I was decidedly put out when I saw the paucity of the script. Rogosin saw this and said "now tell me in your own words what you would do in such a situation, or if you like, what you have seen other South Africans do."

That was easy and as I told him I criticised the script and told him that whites would not behave in the way depicted. This was accepted immediately. Then he called Zachariah, the African lead, and asked him his opinion of what I had said and also how he would reply in the situation described. Zachariah, apparently used to this technique, entered fully into the discussion.

"Right" said Rogosin. "Let's just try it once or twice." And

Lionel Rogosin, brilliant American director of On the Bowery, smuggled out of South Africa a similar "natural" film, Come Back Africa, which has already made its mark at the Cannes Film Festival. Apart from its real quality as cinema, it is important as a very sharp thorn in the side of Government propagandists, and as a visual proof to the world at large of conditions of South African life. One of the actors gives his views . . .

before I was quite aware of what was happening. I was acting a scene with Zachariah along the lines discussed.

By the time we had finished rehearsing, the scene bore very little resemblance to the original script, but I was happy that it was as true a portrayal as we were capable of.

I was often present at the filming of other scenes and they all followed the same pattern.

For the one shebeen scene, Rogosin took a tape recorder into a Sophiatown shebeen. Unknown to the somewhat inebriated patrons, he taped a discussion on the South African political and social scene and on white Liberals. He was so intrigued with the content that he located the leading participants in the conversation, played the tape back to them when they were sober and managed to get them to re-enact the discussion.

Average types

On the whole, the whites portrayed in the film seemed to me, and to the Africans concerned, the average type that the majority of Africans are likely to come across. There are patient and impatient employers: kind and unkind.

When I queried the only (to my mind) really explosive scene in the film—a white policeman making a pass at an African domestic worker—the African laughed and asked "do you think it has never happened here?"

Zachariah drinks his employer's brandy; is enticed by a



workmate into joyriding in a car that doesn't belong to them. His wife is tragically killed by an African gangster.

It is obvious that the film was made from a specifically African point of view, but the question is still there: how truthful is it?

To me that hinges on a second question: how many whites are familiar with, understand or appreciate the African point of view when the usual master-servant restraints have gone?

I ask this in all humbleness because working in this film was an amazing experience and a revelation for me.

Lionel Rogosin taught me a great deal.

(Above) Zacharias and shebeen queen; (below) Rogosin directing.



INTERNATIONAL

PARISH OF FRIENDSHIP

NEW YORK: A parish of friendship in the turbulent racial life of New York's Harlem is slowly being built by a group of anonymous American ministers who have dedicated themselves to creating a bridgehead in this racial slum area.

As Harlem has become predominantly Negro and Puerto Rican, so the agencies of the white churches have tended to move away and to neglect the challenge of race and racialism on their doorstep. It was this situation which ten years ago a group of young ministers decided to change by moving into Harlem to build a parish of friendship without large resources and without erecting buildings and elaborate organisation. It was a deliberate attempt to start with people as people, and to see whether the presence of "white faces" in Harlem would increase racial tension or help to allay it.

It has taken ten years for the young men and their families, and their successors, to live down suspicion and race hatred. But their original storefront church now has two companions, and another storefront is a

centre for dealing with drug addicts. Two apartments in an old house form the venture's medical clinic, and a former furniture store provides a library, legal aid, and a credit union which helps large numbers of people to manage their finances and avoid the money-lender and the racketeer. Two street clubs are run for young people in rented rooms.

The group deliberately chose to live as Harlem lives and "to be native in all things save faith and morals." They have avoided erecting buildings, and also avoided large-scale organisation on the pattern of American religious organisation, recognising that a bridgehead of friendship in a racial area like Harlem can only be created by people's personal identification with the local people.

The present staff of the

Harlem venture consists of eight young ministers and their families, two students, six lay workers and office assistants, and their support comes from a group of American mission boards. But out of the venture a "parish sense" is gradually emerging. It does not claim any spectacular results for its ten years work in Harlem, but the presence of this bridgehead of friendship and reconciliation is recognised by the whole community as a genuine contribution to New York's most bitter problem.

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SAM SLY'S CORNER

FORTNIGHTLY NOTES ON BOOKS AND THE PRESS

Worm's-eye views

Three Hundred Years (Sam Sly 5 September) is by "Mnguni", who is not Mr. Hosea Jaffe. My apologies to both. Its two volumes were published by the New Era Fellowship (P.O. Box 7, Lansdowne, C.P.) in 1952, and was their contribution to the tercentenary commemoration of that year. (See 50 *Inglorious Years*) Two other worm's-eye-view histories I could have mentioned were Rubusana's unpublished *History of South Africa from the Native Standpoint* and John Henderson Soga's *The South-Eastern Bantu*. Though both temperate and just, the latter would frighten a government school-teacher out of his wits in the unlikely event of his reading it. Theal-Cory distortions mar all but a few school history books to-day, and I am glad to hear that Dr. Edgar Brookes and the Natal University history faculty are trying their hand at a history course for schools. (Soga's book only deals with the Xhosa people, but how nobly!)

Get it?

Jan Rabie, author of *Een-en-Twintig* and *Ons die Afgod*, writes about Van Wyk Louw on this page. The anonymous epigram below was inspired by the "commitment" of another distinguished Afrikaans poet of the Establishment:

*Ons het nou ook ons skrywers
engagés:*

*Kyk hoe befoeter ons die wreed
A.A.!*

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Yes, I know it's esoteric, but one can't very well explain it at greater length than the epigram itself.

50 Inglorious years

The official junketing to commemorate the 50 years since Union will not be applauded by *Contact*. We make our contribution here and now: dissatisfaction with the prizewinning symbol for the celebrations is widespread (though I personally like it better than them) and we are happy to present a new device whose symbolism hits the nail unquestionably on the head:



Courts of Reason

LIBERALE NASIONALISME and BERIGTE TE VELDE (second edition). By N. P. van Wyk Louw (Nasionale Pers) 17s. 6d.; 15s.

N. P. VAN WYK Louw is well-known as the most distinguished Afrikaans poet, as well as a fine critic and writer of analytical prose. No other writer in South Africa has such a bold and wide-ranging mind with so much clarity of expression at its command. For us who are aware of the *trahison des clercs*—the writers' betrayal of their task of social comment, or at least of not remaining silent in a world where nationalism and privileged injustice warp the values they represent, it is important to see what Professor Louw says and does not say.

With his recent book, *Liberale Nasionalisme*, he himself gives us the right to this query.

As a member of the Afrikaner group with its strong cohesion, he believes in nationalism. Yet he is uneasy enough about it to add the adjective, liberal. Is this a happy marriage? Or an honest one?

In 1936 he wrote in *Berigte te Velde* that nationalism "makes the same absolute demands as a religion". In 1952 this martial note is toned down to: "the ultimate temptation for a nation is to believe that mere survival is preferable to survival with justice." And: "how can a small people survive for long if it becomes something hateful and evil for the best inside—or outside—itsself?" Elsewhere he asks the difficult question: "Must the Afrikaners survive as a separate people?"

This is honest, courageous thinking. Yet he maintains a sad and hurt defence of nationalism, and accuses liberalism of too abstract an approach to our concrete multi-national situation. Even though Louw considers nationalism and liberalism as the fruitful poles of South African history, he can give no definition of "liberal nationalism".

Our all-devouring "colour problem" never comes into direct focus in his writing. He seems to stop short whenever the suspicion of

"politics" might be forming in his white reader's mind. He says, for instance: "dit is vir 'n volk beter om geslaan te word as om te slaan," but remains silent about who is actually handing the lash. It is true however that his purpose is "rather to stimulate thought than to preach certainties." In this he succeeds well. But it is also true that the more militant South Africans—of any camp—will call him a cautious *draadsitter*.

Van Wyk Louw personifies the writer's dilemma today. He can write a pamphlet, or a poem. No layman dares say if and when these should meet. Writing has its own laws, as much as living. But we live in violent, urgent times where, most of all the arts, writing is being exhorted to attain the democratic level of the daily newspaper, or be called the bad political names in vogue. This dilemma, too, explains the reserve in Van Wyk Louw's writing, the feeling one gets of watching a fine pedagogic game of tennis on the courts of reason, where no decision is ever reached.

Liberale Nasionalisme was written in Holland, as long ago as 1953. Last year Professor Louw returned, to a chair at the University of the Witwatersrand. We are indeed curious to see what he will write next.

JAN RABIE

To Parry Danger

FROM WAR TO PEACE. By Count Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi (Cape) 18s.

I HAVE just read a great book, by a great man. It deals with the central questions that exercise men's minds to-day. It puts forward humane yet realistic solutions to some of the most difficult questions. And it touches on questions that lie at the heart of our own South African existence. It has appeared in this English translation during the current year.

Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi, born of a Japanese mother and a noble European father, is now sixty-five years old. In 1923, following the publication of his first book *Panuropa*, he founded the Paneuropean union, and since World War II, with people like Winston Churchill, he has pressed forward the idea of European federalism.

European federalism, yes, for the Europeans, but, and this is a measure of the man, not against the Russians and Asians. For we live in the age of the atomic bomb, and it is urgently necessary for there to be world federation, with a world federal army. But, since it is not possible for the Americans and the Russians to give up suddenly their own arms, this world federal army will have to await the relaxing of the cold war tensions.

The book contains an eloquent plea to the Americans and the Russians to compromise. These two great powers—the only possible challenger to their power, China, cannot reach their standards before some 50 or 60 years—have so much in common. America is half-socialist; Russia is state-capitalist. Each has vast empty spaces to fill. The vital economic interests of neither clash in any serious way. The Russian revolution is simmering down. The Russians want peace, and have as much to lose as anyone from the suicide of a nuclear war: "Some maddened dictator like Stalin could perhaps bring about a double suicide like this, but not a political realist such as

Khrushchev."

Coudenhove-Kalergi expects that, if only the peace can be maintained, the "capitalists" and the "communists" will muddle along together for at least another fifty years. But this depends on the "communists" abandoning their plans for communising the world. As the author says, "the prerequisite for a reconciliation among men is that Bolshevism should remain a politico-economic system, and not develop into a new world religion."

However, a greater potential threat than the cold war is the threat of race war. Even so, it is possible that "Europe and China should work together from the very beginning in the creation of a peaceful world". The pacific nature of the Chinese is commented upon, and the westernising and anti-racial influence of communism is mentioned.

Racial peace, however, could not come about without Europe's abandoning its racial arrogance. "In order to parry the danger of racial wars that threatens, what is needed is a renewal of the consciousness of human fraternity, transcending nationality, race, class, and religion... and (it must be remembered) that within almost every man there is a mixture not only of all the races, but also of the elements called good and evil." The author quotes Confucius's "eternal words, now more relevant than ever before: 'Among truly educated men there are no racial differences'."

Nevertheless the racial question is one of near-insolubility, and the author—and this is where I part company with him—recommends leaving aside certain "problems which for the time being must remain insoluble. The cause of peace would not be served by an attempt at an immediate solution. For example an endeavour to force the white population of South Africa, in the name of democracy and racial equality, to submit to the wishes of their black fellow-citizens with their overwhelming majority, would result in the whites' fighting to the last man to maintain that racial superiority on which their culture depends."

Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi is a proud man, and one wonders if he would have penned that sentence if his colour had been black. Nevertheless, that a man of his wide and peace-loving views, a man feeling fellow-citizenship with all human beings, should feel this way is a reminder to all freedom fighters just how tough is our assignment here. Let us use his judgment to harden ourselves and to sharpen our weapons, not to accept discouragement.

Apart from this I felt only excitement and pleasure at finding a case so near my own heart put so eloquently, and with such a total absence of hatred. I hope that many leading minds on both sides of the iron curtain see this book, read it, and pass it to all their friends. It is prophetic and it is profound.

PATRICK DUNCAN

Reaching Millions

WAYALESHI. By Peter Fraenkel (Weidenfeld & Nicolson)

NOW that it seems man is moonwardbound, there can be no doubt that the driving force of technology and industrialisation is going to be even more accelerated. For us in Africa this means moving directly from the darkness

of the past into the technological society of the future without any intermediate steps, and naturally, the problems of adjustments are going to be many and agonising.

It seems to me that the first problem is going to be communication on a mass scale: the transmitting of the ideas and values of sophisticated societies to the masses of Africa who, as they participate in government, are going to make far-reaching decisions.

In illuminating the problems of communication and the educative potential of the radio medium in Africa, Peter Fraenkel has produced a book of unequalled value.

In the early fifties, Fraenkel joined the Central African Broadcasting Station under an idealistic Englishman called Michael Kittermaster. This broadcasting venture was aimed at reaching millions of Central Africans who had never heard of the radio before. The content of broadcasts was for education and entertainment, some times in the most rudimentary sense.

Wayaleshi (African corruption of "wireless"), is an inestimable report on African broadcasting. The problem of paramount importance, of course, is communicating some of the underlying ideas behind world progress and making them understandable to a people with only a very basic rural culture.

Fraenkel observes: "Even the words 'machines can do the work of the men... more cheaply' really call for many pages of explanation... Uneducated Africans coming from a background of subsistence agriculture without any knowledge of the laws of a money-economy do not have any idea of costing."

Fraenkel found it even harder to convey the idea of Leonardo da Vinci's work "by speech alone", however he was able to put across his "versatility, his restlessness and inventiveness."

However, there were other simple facts that Africans could grasp, facts which are more important for people making the transition from a tribal to an industrialised society. "The Africans with whom I discussed the drafts were prepared to acknowledge that there was something to be said for creating land where there had been sea, and for building bridges and designing aeroplanes, but they often had serious and searching doubts about the European spirit". A case in point was the importance of being first to climb Mount Everest!

Not only is this book valuable as a primer for those pioneering into African radio in this country, but there are interesting sidelights on the emergent African, the degree of his sensitivity and suspicion. There are sometimes poignant insights into the loneliness of the African who has broken with his tribal past and finds no acceptance in the new society. There is Pepe Zulu who won't accept the hospitality of the simple rural Africans without paying for what they give him: "We Africans cannot go on living in this easy-going way. I myself do not want to have to support hundreds of strangers, so in turn I cannot accept the hospitality of these people."

Fraenkel wondered about this: "Perhaps he was right," he says. "the break with the past had to be made dramatically."

LEWIS NKOSI

White Novel Black Nation

IT was natural that South African novelists, who almost alone have made our literature known, would find the racial situation of the country a fertile ground for their novels. The racial scene is a paradise for the pen, with its wealth of human passions so nakedly assailing the souls of the black majority.

Our white writers should be credited with being brave enough to tackle this field. But in doing so some also show a weakness — the weakness of failing to find substance for literature in their immediate environment and in white society, and of seeing only "plots" in the abounding life of the townships and locations, or in the clash between these two societies.

It is with this failing that I am chiefly concerned here, for I believe that in having succumbed to it, our white writers have betrayed the true functions of literature and art.

THE TWO DIVISIONS

The writing of novels is in the main a record of the social conditions of man in living human images. Often they are filled with the problems and discontents that are the sores of a society, and which mar the inner harmony of the individual with the external world. They are the mirror of man, seeking the truth or showing the way to the truth.

As such they fall generally into two divisions, namely, the social novel of Zola and Dickens, and the other more profound type, the novel of Tolstoy and Dostoevsky, which digs deep into the meaning of life and seeks to give significance and purpose to human existence. Social novels became popular with the rise of industry, and the reduction of the working class

Two South African writers, Nadine Gordimer and Harry Bloom, have recently stated on this page their view of the novel in our society. Here is a new approach

By
Bennie Bunsee

to the level of brutes. The tremendous sufferings and degradation that poverty bred made sympathetic writers strike out in outrage against it. Dickens took us to this world and in graphic, shocking images showed us the utter shameful poverty that was creating. So did Emile Zola in *Germinal* and other works where he tried to show the influence of environment upon man's moral decline.

Our white writers are direct heirs of these social novelists. They saw the wealth of material that lay in the stories that came from the township and plunged into the field with zest. In doing so some good work was produced, like Alan Paton's *Cry, the Beloved Country*, but generally what has flowed from European pens about Africans has lacked the substance of life.

CAUSE OF FAILING

In *Episode*, for instance, Harry Bloom has a good vision, but his characters, though they can be clearly seen, do not move around as if they were real. Perhaps if the author had lived among his characters and seen their conduct with his own eyes, he would have been able to portray them more powerfully.

This is the cause of the failing of our white writers in general. Mr. Paton's book, I believe, was such a success because of his first-hand acquaintance with African life at Diepkloof Reformatory, where he worked for 10 years. Dostoevsky once said that if a writer wants to write about pimps and prostitutes, he must live with them, sleep with them. That is a statement our white writers should heed.

They would, I believe, produce greater works if they sought their material in their native environment. Their work would then be more lifelike and faithful. Even more important, they would be writing with a sense of true human values in presenting characters that they know about, which is a primary function of their art.

"PLOT" WRITERS

What is happening at the moment is that they have become more or less "plot" writers. It is much easier to conjure up stories about the life of a prostitute or a tsotsi than to have an insight into the passions of a person, even the person next to you. Consequently, white writers produce very little that throws light upon the meaning of human existence, or upon the problems of living, or even reflects their contemporary world. Ducktails, the divorce rate, call girls, homosexuality—nothing of this is ever written.

In *A World of Strangers*, Nadine Gordimer writes:

old bulls of finance, still sniffing the sawdust, with the broken shafts of money-tussles, overwork, overeating overdrinking stuck fast in their thick necks . . . (their clothes) covering the ruin of the hardened arteries, the damaged liver or the enlarged heart that lay heavily in the breast.

Here in a few phrases the whole stinking hypocrisy and rottenness of a white society that oppresses a black is symbolised. But where is the writer that has stripped to the bare the bourgeois world in which white society wallows?

I am not trying to say that European writers must strictly confine themselves to writing about their own society. They should look around themselves more to give a sense of eternal value to their work, and infringe upon African life when they see truth contained there. African writers themselves will in time interpret for us the underworld of African life in a manner both true to life and vibrating with a meaning such as the outsider cannot provide.

Perhaps the results will help whites and non-whites to understand each other and help in the creation of a South African culture absorbing all the elements of our multi-racial country.

THE IDEA OF COLONIALISM. Edited by Robert Strausz-Hupé and Harry W. Hazard (Atlantic Books, Stevens) 42s.

A somewhat massive, but extremely commonsense primer of colonialism. Although concerned to make it quite clear that the Soviet Union is the major modern practiser of colonialism, the book deals also with the colonialism of Europe and that of the United States.

The book is extremely fair-minded, and will be kept by many of its readers as an invaluable reference book and source book.

P.D.

CORRESPONDENCE

Boydell Replies

SIR, In your issue of 19 September, you say: "What Mr. Boydell did was far worse; he defended the despicable system by which one South African who happens to be white, batters on and exploits another because he is not white."

What a despicable thing to say when I do nothing of the kind. It is *Contact* that supports the white capitalist exploiting cheap black labour. *Contact* is against the Bantu being given a chance to govern themselves and build up their own economy in their own territories. *Contact* does not want to deplete the white capitalists' cheap black labour force, so it opposes apartheid.

What earthly hope has the African got to develop his own nationalism and find expression for his own language under *Contact's* policy? Not a snowball's hope.

Isn't it time *Contact* stuck up for the Bantu and gave him a chance to stand on his own feet and do something for himself? Or perhaps *Contact* thinks the white capitalist's profit must come before Bantu welfare?

To succeed in this despicable policy, *Contact* fights against "separate development" or apartheid.

By a fortunate coincidence in the very next column to my letter there is a letter from E. J. Banda from Northern Rhodesia. Speaking on behalf of the natives there and in Nyasaland what does he say? "We want self-rule: Black self-rule. No more, no less."

They want self-rule: "separate development — apartheid." They want a chance to stand on their own feet and to build up their own social and economic organisation.

Why shouldn't they get the chance? If they want it up there, why shouldn't our Bantu have it here?

They won't get it here if *Contact* can stop it. The white capitalist must not be deprived of his cheap black labour. How could he batten and fatten without it?

All I say to *Contact* is shame on you for such a despicable attitude.

THOMAS BOYDELL
Arcadia, Bay View Ave.,
Tamboers Kloof, Cape Town

I say, Tommy, that you, together with the rest of white South Africa, are to-day exploiting your non-white fellow-citizens. You have taken away their vote. Now that they are powerless you are forcing them to work for you in a unified South Africa for starvation wages. You prevent their young people from going to decent universities here, and when they win scholarships abroad, you take their passports away. You pull the hems of your pants away from them in buses, as if they were lepers. You threaten their jobs, their homes. You blacken their name abroad by telling other people that they are not assimilable in their own country which they share with you. In exchange for this brutal exploita-

tion you—and Dr. Verwoerd — promise (wonderful word in South Africa's mouth!) them freedom in the future in "their own areas" as if the whole of South Africa were not their own area now. This promise has not yet come true, and in the nature of white South African politics, I'll believe in a free Bantustan when I see one.

*And you have taken it upon yourself to go round the world defending this inhuman system, blunting the edge of the honest dislike felt for apartheid by decent simple people round the world. That is why *Contact* criticises you and will go on criticising you, hitting you, Tommy, as hard as you have ever been hit in your long political career. *Contact* will go on fighting for political and economic equality for all South Africans irrespective of race as long as it is able.—Editor.*

Nyasaland Ban

SIR, The fact that Nyasaland is a police state as stated by the Devlin Report is true. That is what Dr. Banda said before the State of Emergency in Nyasaland. There was nothing wrong with *Contact*. We feel that that was the truth about the Devlin Report and why the Nyasaland Government should ban the newspaper is a thing which no person can understand.

People have already realised that the Government wants to put strict laws against anybody who will speak against the Federation. That is why it wants to nominate Africans into Legco and most of those, we know, shall be "Yes Bwana, yes Bwana" men.

When these laws will be put into Nyasaland, those Africans will be there so that that will be the Government excuse that Africans were there when those laws were being made. After their approval, then the Government will think of releasing those whom it thinks will be harmful to the Federation so that when they speak against Federation at that time, they will be arrested because they will break the laws.

R. C. SOWOYA
Box 401, Blantyre,
Nyasaland

SIR, Residing in a temporary Police State as I am, I feel duty bound, regardless of all risks, to express my utmost appreciation to the Editor and all the staff of *Contact* who worked so hard to publish the summary of the Devlin Report in the issue of 22 August. Your task in doing this has not only obtained the Nyasas' eulogy, but has also quenched our five-month thirst of this Report which is unavailable to most Nyasas.

Passing from one man to the other, this issue is feverishly circulating from one Nyasa to the other. *Contact* is unique in fidelity and truth amidst these days when injustice seems to monopolize justice. May *Contact* see many more days until

(Continued on page 12)

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(Continued from page 11)

we tread in the sweet days of liberty, now drawing nigher and nigher. Saviour and patriarch, Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda, though behind bars in exile now, be ever blessed.

Mr. Editor, could you please let me know the subscription fees of *Contact* and at the same time please register me as your agent for this all-Africa newspaper.

Patriotically ever yours,
ALEX. J. MAPIRA
Box 7, Kota Kota,
Nyasaland

Afrikaner's Criticism of Contact

SIR,
I read with much interest H.J.B.'s letter on the ill-treatment accorded to the Afrikaners, and I should like to comment on it. In the first place H.J.B. equates "Afrikaner" with "Nationalist" throughout. In doing so he has the full backing of the Nationalist Party, but that does not make it any more accurate.

There are thousands of South Africans who do not belong to the Nationalist Party — some belong to the Liberal Party, some not—who have as much right to the name of Afrikaner as anyone in South Africa and infinitely more than Dr. Verwoerd. I am one of these.

My Dutch ancestors came to South Africa in the 17th century, and I have the usual South African admixture of German and French blood, together with some Dutch Reformed Scottish. But the bulk of my ancestors were Dutch. I grew up in a DRC parsonage, completely bilingual. Yet I am no Afrikaner because I am not a Nationalist, and my case is typical of thousands.

Is not this form of condemnation, by what H.J.B. calls "his people", of Afrikaner non-Nationalists, a case of what he refers to as "the vindication at all costs of their own point of view"?

In any case, as I read *Contact*, my impression is that its criticisms are not directed wholesale against Afrikaners. They are levelled against those Nationalists who make and enforce, and those who approve or condone, unjust and discriminatory laws. The Nationalist Government has passed and enforced many such.

In the second place H.J.B. is entirely in the right when he says that Nationalist-Afrikaners are as much victims of circumstances as the non-Whites. This is particularly true of the younger generations; those who grew up under the impact of Christian National Education.

These young people have in a hundred subtle ways been so thoroughly conditioned to believe in authority (the CNE

doctrine is that "authority is of God"), that to them criticism of Church or State savours of sacrilege and treason. "Not all the water in the rough rude sea can wash the balm off an anointed" Cabinet Minister or Minister of the DRC and to criticise either is to invite chaos to come again, or, as H.J.B. more temperately puts it, the "disregard of law and order".

One must have some degree of sympathy with the sensitivities of these victims. But even an age that believed in the divine right of kings believed in a higher law and order than the king's, and if he violated justice, he sinned against the higher law, and lost the protection of God, and it was right to depose him.

But does H.J.B.'s learning and culture, as an educated white person, not arm him to break away from these conditioning circumstances? Or is he going to continue to be ruled by them?

H.J.B. also makes a curious statement to the effect that "more space is often given (in the English press) to the alleged misdeeds of the police than those of the persons being arrested".

But surely one expects that a person who is arrested should at least be thought to be guilty of some misdeed, or why else is he arrested? What one does not expect in a civilised country is that the guardians of the law, those who are entrusted with seeing that it is kept, should have so much contempt for it as to break it themselves.

A crime in a policeman is an exceedingly serious matter. To treat it as no more important than in anyone else is to bring the whole conception of law into contempt. The criminal is arrested and punished not because he has offended either the policeman or the man who made the law, but because he is an enemy of society. If then, the guardian of the law, and so of society, is a law-breaker and an enemy of society, the whole system must break down.

The present Minister of Justice does not appear to find the conviction of a policeman an unduly serious matter, since he has reinstated several after conviction. It is perhaps not surprising then that H.J.B. should, like so many Nationalists, adopt the attitude of his leaders, and be hurt that the English press makes a fuss about wanting policemen to be law-abiding, no matter in what language.

Which is the more pertinent question about a policeman; whether he is an Afrikaner or whether he has broken the law?

(Mrs.) N. J. MARQUARD
Windrush, Draper Road,
Claremont

SIR,
I was interested to read H.J.B.'s frank criticism of *Contact* and the English press and I feel that there is much truth in what he writes. It does not help matters to antagonise Afrikaans-speaking people. As Liberals we claim that we accept and judge each man for himself, not for the colour of his skin or for the language he speaks.

It should be impossible for us to attack or condemn a group. And certainly there is a disturbing tendency to idealise the African, which, in an insidious way, is as bad as shallowly to

label 'the Native' as 'childlike'.

The African does not want to be idealised and what we should be striving for is to get people to recognise the man beneath the dark skin as a perfectly normal human being, albeit a human being living under abnormal conditions. We, above all, must recognise the individuality of each human being, African, Afrikaans or Hindu, and avoid the group loyalties which have so tragically split our country.

But when H.J.B. writes: "They (i.e. the Liberals and the English press) would gladly suffer the worst depression of all times and would joyfully see the economy of the country disintegrate . . . as long as the Nats are driven from power", I feel he is writing naively and lacks a clear perception of the situation. It is the Nationalists who, with their "job reservation", are driving the country towards an economic depression; who, by turning South Africa into an unsound investment with their *apartheid* policies, are losing the country thousands of pounds of foreign capital; and who, by attempting to turn the clock back to the merry days of tribalism, are heading straight for chaos. They fail to realise that the only way to achieve and maintain economic prosperity is by developing South Africa's potential manpower of fourteen million, and that we are already too far gone along the path of economic integration to retreat.

They also fail to acknowledge the tremendous potentialities of South Africa's home market which, little developed as it is, is already beginning to demonstrate its power.

No, it is not the Liberals or the English-speaking press, backed as the latter is by the financial support of big business, who are aiming at the worst depression of all times; but we recognise that the Nationalist government with its *apartheid* policies are already well on that road and we will use all our power to check them.

There are other comments I would like to make about this article, but you ask for letters to be kept short.

LIZ PALMER
Box 15, Ladysmith

ICFTU and WFTU

SIR,
The criticism of SACTU for "making it impossible for the ICFTU to assist them" which appeared in "Fair Comment" (*Contact* 22 August) fails to mention the terms under which ICFTU was prepared to give assistance.

It was the old story of "aid with strings attached", and the "strings" were, that SACTU first break away from the Congress Alliance. SACTU is not prepared to create a split in the liberatory movement for the sake of financial gain. Furthermore, any realistic trade unionist realises that the situation in South Africa is such that it is impossible to divorce politics from trade unionism. The only people that would gain from SACTU breaking away from the Congress Alliance would be the Nationalists.

The allegation that "some people are trying to use them (the unions affiliated to SACTU presumably) for their own ends in world affairs" could only be made by someone who is ignorant of how SACTU functions. SACTU's policies and decisions are made only after consultation with the rank and file membership. This procedure precludes the possibility of dictation from above.

As for WFTU "remaining silent about imperialism in places like Tibet", I can only repeat what a Zulu worker said to me in this connection. "So he (the Dalai Lama) thinks he's a god, does he? Well, Tibet must be like South Africa, because we've got a fellow here who thinks he's a god and it will be a happy day for us when he gets kicked out."

And that, as far as I can see, sums up the general South African working class opinion with regard to Tibet. And I have a pretty shrewd suspicion that it also sums up the general opinion of the ex-serfs in Tibet as well.

MELVILLE FLETCHER
70 Dayal Rd., Clairwood,
Durban

Mr. Fletcher admits that SACTU is affiliated to WFTU —

that is the main "string" and he must know it. How can he expect ICFTU (the world's free trade unions, i.e. not trade unions that are the organs of communist states) to support WFTU? As to his remarks on Tibet, I am publishing his letter although it feels like a stab in my own body. Ever since childhood I have admired the Tibetans, the world's most harmless people. Mr. Fletcher's callous remarks will, I hope, show many the crudity and cruelty of the communist propaganda which poor Mr. Fletcher seems to have swallowed hook, line, and sinker.
—Editor.

Non-Racial Canvassing

SIR,
Allow me to congratulate the Cape Provincial Division of the Liberal Party for the sound idea of election canvassing by whites and non-whites.

The mere fact that white and non-white are canvassing together, will help to do away with the accepted South African cry, by the whites, "that there are very few non-whites who are capable of taking a responsible part in political affairs".

In any case, why should non-whites not take even a more active part at election times? The whole idea of being "Liberal" collapses if each section does not take on equal responsibility.

ROY A. COVENTRY
Bergville, Natal

Pointless Reportage

SIR,
Under the heading of "former messenger plans £20,000 hotel" you publish a success story which might serve as a model for the Government Information Service. Just what purpose such reportage can serve other than to substantiate the claim that under *apartheid* all things are possible, I am unable to say, except that for the white *baas* whose resplendent Cadillac is washed down by a black millionaire, it offers all that and heaven too.

A. J. STORM
Rooi Dag, Forth Road,
Rondebosch

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